

himself, but that the people conferred it on him<sup>67</sup> in appreciation of his many noble qualities.

Vikramāditya had in him all qualities of an ideal king. There is no exaggeration in saying so. The king and his subjects were bound faithfully and unflinchingly with each other with the deepest ties of love and understanding. The king's honesty of purpose was unimpeachable and the loyalty of the subjects was no less absolute. Vikramāditya's policy was beyond reproach. People were happy and prosperous. Life was a perpetual hum of contentment and healthy activities in all the branches. Merchants merrily plied their trade, workmen sang joyfully while hard at work, and artists and artisans received due impetus and recognition in proper quarters. All the sections of the people went on gaily with their work in life. Perfect harmony prevailed in the whole atmosphere. Women folk, whose chastity was under perpetual danger of being molested during the cruel rule of the Śakas and even before that, now breathed relief from all anxieties. Under the strict vigilance of the police-force of the king and by the noble example set by the king himself, their chastity became absolutely inviolate.<sup>68</sup> Crime was conspicuous by its absence. At the very beginning of his rule, he had severely suppressed all criminal and immoral activities which were a source of constant danger to the safety and security of the people.<sup>69</sup> Strict laws were enacted to put a stop to such undesirable things.<sup>70</sup> The safety and the happiness of his subjects were so dear to his heart, that on most days in a month, he sacrificed his well-earned rest at night, and with some of his most loyal and trustworthy

(67) Pp. 368, f. n. no. 10. "From Amarakosha we learn that Sudraka, Hala and other kings had the title of Vikramāditya". It is probable that the subjects of these kings conferred the title on these kings, on account of their continuous efforts to make them happy.

(68) The misconduct of Pingalā is an apt instance of this.

(69) This will show that mere laws are not enough for abolishing criminal activities at any time. There must be a strict hand and an effective and organized policy to enforce them.

(70) Read f. n. no. 69 above.

body-guards, he walked in cognito round the streets of the city at mid-night<sup>71</sup>. Many a time he mixed with various sections of the people, who could not recognize him on account of his disguise. No danger daunted him and no difficulties could deter him from pursuing the path of his noble mission of making his subject happy. He used to visit alone the most haunted places and dared to fight against the most evil supernatural spirits like devils and witches<sup>72</sup>. His dare-devil temperament and his determination to face any difficulty at any time, won him the most cherished title "Vir Vikram". He performed his duties as a king, not because he wanted to earn their praise and admiration but because he most earnestly believed that as a king, he was entrusted by the Almighty with the most sacred trust. Consequently, his name shines even to-day with unimpaired brightness<sup>73</sup>. His love for his subjects was inexpressibly profound. This is the reason why, though many emperors, who wielded their sway over empires much mightier than Vikram's, are no longer remembered affectionately by the people but Vikramāditya's name is on the lips of all.<sup>74</sup>

As a matter of fact, Bharat'hari's name should not be included in the dynastic list of the Gardabhils<sup>75</sup>. During the rule of his elder brother Vikramāditya, he helped him whole-heartedly in all the activities accruing to the happiness of the people. Hence, next to Vikramāditya, he also had won a place in the hearts

(71) Cf. pp. 333, extract from H. H. "He himself went out in disguise".

(72) Cf. pp. 373, f. n. no. 31.

(73) He was endowed with many other virtues. Vide pp. 366 and read there the life of Śanku.

(74) Details given in this paragraph provide ample testimony of this.

(75) In all the popular songs he is known by the name "King Bharathari". As a matter of fact, however, he never came to the throne as an independent sovereign. No doubt, Vikramāditya, his elder brother, loved him so much that he had granted him wide powers and had entrusted him with high offices in the administration. Moreover, whenever Vikramāditya remained temporarily absent from his kingdom, Bharat'hari was appointed as the head of the whole administration. Read f. n. no. 77 below.

of the people. In fact he was one of the strongest pillars that supported the edifice of Vikramāditya's beneficent rule. For some time he was placed at the head of the whole machinery of administration. So, the authors of Purāṇas have mentioned his name in the dynastic list.

### BHART̥HARI, BHARATHARI-ŚUKRADITYA

The reason why Bhart̥hari was, for a time, invested with all the powers of a king is as follows. We have already stated in a previous paragraph that Vikramāditya's sense of justice was incomparable. His zeal for administering even-handed justice to all his subjects was supreme—indeed it was as supreme—

**Bhart̥hari-  
 Bharathari :  
 Śukrāditya**

as the zeal of Priyadarśin for the propagation of his faith, and of Chāṇakya for putting into practice all the tenets of political science. So, whenever he was not satisfied with the evidence presented to him by his officers, he used to varify it by stralling in cognito round the streets of the city at night. On one such occasion<sup>76</sup>, he had to remain in cognito for some time. During that time, Bhart̥hari was invested with full powers<sup>77</sup>. We do not know how long Vikramāditya remained out of his kingdom.

Bhart̥hari had in him all the admirable qualities of his elder brother and so, he was loved by the people as tenderly as his brother. So, when due to a family calamity, he renounced the world and became an ascetic, the bereavement of the people knew no bounds. Many songs, vividly describing that sad occasion, are extant even to-day. The reason of this renunciation by Bhart̥hari was the disloyalty and misconduct of his queen, Pingalā by name. Under the wanton rule of the Śungas, moral degeneration had become rampant among the people. That continued, though to a lessened degree, even after the rule of the Śungas, and inspite of the strenuous efforts of Vikramāditya at rooting the evil out,

(76) It is not yet known what the occasion was. We can conclude, however, that it must have been very important.

(77) Vide pp. 332, f. n. no. 9, read the extract quoted there. Cf. f. n. no. 75<sup>a</sup> above.

it was not wholly wiped out. When Bhartṛhari came to know that the queen, whom he loved more than his own life, was utterly faithless to him, he renounced the world and retired into forest<sup>78</sup>.

Bhartṛhari was a learned man. He composed a learned treatise named "Śukasaptati." After his retirement<sup>79</sup> into the forest he composed many poems. We do not know when he died. He is popularly known as Bharathari.

Now the reader will see that Bhartṛhari cannot be classed as an independent king and that his name should not be included in the dynastic list. After his renunciation, Vikramāditya again took control of the administration. Vikramāditya died in A. D. 4 and his son Mādhavāditya succeeded him on the throne.

(3) MĀDHAVĀDITYA; (4) DHARMĀDITYA;

(5) VIKRAMACHARITRA : MĀDHAVSEN

It is a custom, commonly observed by all historians to give a separate account of each king in a dynasty. We have here deviated from the custom for the following reasons:—(1) We have stated in Vol. I, that (3) Mādhavāditya, (4) Dharmāditya, (5) Vikramacharitra as yet, little or nothing is known about many dynasties<sup>80</sup> that ruled in ancient India. The Gardabhīla dynasty may, without much fear of exaggeration, be included in the list. Hence, if an attempt is

(78) Cf. the extract quoted on pp. 333:—"Younger brother Bhartṛhari, the noted poet; several years after Bhartṛhari disgusted with the world, through a family calamity let Rāj to his ministers and passed into religious retirement.

(79) The legend tells us that he put on coloured garments and took to ascetic ways of life. We know, however, that his family-religion was Jainism. Hence, he must have entered the Jaina holy orders.

(80) Some of the names of such dynasties are given below:—

Prasenjit's dynasty (The king of Kośal).

Bṛhadrath's dynasty (The king of Kāśī).

Udayan's dynasty (The king of Vatsadeś).

The Pradyota dynasty (which ruled over Avantī).

Mahāmeghvāhan's dynasty (The king of Chedi).

Udāyan's dynasty (The king of Sind-Sauvir), etc. etc.

made to give a separate account of each king, conclusions arrived at, after much hard thinking and proper consideration of all available information, are very likely to be ascribed to those, with whom they might have nothing to do. (2) The duration of the rule of these three kings has been fixed up as 90 years. Pages and pages might be filled up, with all imaginary trash about them, if one so desires to do. We know, however nothing more, than details about four or five events, out of the many that might have happened during this period of 90 years<sup>81</sup>. And, if we try to give a separate account of each king, it is very likely that confusion might prevail about the time, when they must have happened. Hence, we have given here the account of these three kings conjointly.

We have distributed these 90 years among the three kings in the following order : 40 : 10 : 40. We have stated reasons for doing so in Chap. I. We might add here that there is a possibility of change in the order of their succession. For instance, Mādhavsen or Vikramacharitra, who has been placed 5th in the line, may as well have been the name of the 3rd king and vice versa. There is, however, little doubt about the name of the fourth king, because the name of the successor<sup>82</sup> of Vikramāditya was Mādhavsen ( or Mādhavāditya ), while the name of the fourth king was Dharmāditya. Similarly; there is also a possibility of change in the durations of their rules, though it is pretty certain that both Nos. 3 and 5 ruled for a longer period than did No. 4. Vikramāditya ruled for 60 years. The reign of his successor also lasted for a pretty long time. Again, No. 3 was the son of No. 2. So<sup>83</sup> the fourth king must have ruled for a short time.

(81) Details about these events are given later on.

(82) Details about this are given in Chapter I.

(83) We have used the same rule in arranging the chronological list of many dynasties. ( Vide Vol. I ). For instance:—

The Śiśunāga dynasty.

The dynasty of Śātānik, the ruler of Vatsa.

The dynasty of Chandapadyot, the ruler of Avanti etc. etc.

Let us now turn to the five events that took place during their rule. (1) It is stated in Rājtarāṅgiṇī<sup>84</sup> that Mantrigupta was appointed as governor of Kāśmir by a king named Vikramāditya. (2) It is stated on pp. 142 of J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IV, "In a Marwari manuscript of 121 pages without date, Gardabhīla is said to have 84 Samantas. (3) Madhavsena, the son of Vikramāditya, had married a certain princess named Sulochana, who was the daughter of a king of a certain island in the Arabian Sea.<sup>85</sup> (4) legend prevailed in the North-West Provinces to the effect that the daughter of the king of Dhar was married with a Gardabha<sup>86</sup>. (5) It is stated in Jaina books<sup>87</sup> that a high priest named Vajrasvāmi, who was 15th in the line from Mahāvīra, got many temples repaired on Mt. Śatrunjaya. Almost at the same time, Vikramāditya and Hāl-Śālivāhan of the Śatvahanā dynasty also performed religious ceremonies there<sup>88</sup>. Now, we shall try below to find out the approximate time when each one of these five events occurred. We shall also make an attempt to find out the collateral circumstances.

(1) On pp. 378 we have stated that Mantrigupta must have been appointed as governor of Kāśmir by a king of the Gardabhīla dynasty. His name is stated to have been Vikrama. Naturally, he has been identified with Vikramāditya Śākārī by all, due to the similarity in names and due to the fact of his having been the most powerful and the most famous king in the whole dynasty. A study of the information at hand about him, however, points to the conclusion that the odds are against the theory. A king, who conquered Kāśmir, must also have conquered all the territory lying between Avantī and Kāśmir, because without doing so, he could not have crossed those territories in order to reach Kāśmir. It has been proved that Vikramāditya Śākārī's reign lasted from B. C. 57 to A. D. 4 (See the dynastic list facing

(84) Pp. 378 above.

(85) Pp. 333 above.

(86) Pp. 336 above.

(87) Vide Pariśiṣṭha Parva.

(88) Some of the details have already been given.

pp. 79). Now, during that time the territory in question was under the power of the Indo-Pārthian emperors, Azilises and Aziz II. (Chap. VIII their accounts). So, it is quite improbable that Vikramāditya Śakāri conquered Kāśmir and appointed any one as governor over it. Now then, let us try to find out which king of the Gardabhila dynasty could have done so. We know that in A. D. 45, Goṇḍofārnes, the fifth Indo-Pārthian emperor gave up his Indian throne and went for good to Persia to occupy the vacant throne there. We also know that the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty over northern India—including the provinces in question—was established in A. D. 78<sup>89</sup>. (According to my calculations, the year of the establishment of the rule of the Kuśāna dynasty is 103 A. D.) So, any one of the Gardabhila kings, who may be on the throne during the intervening period between 45 A. D. and 103 A. D. must have been powerful enough to achieve this conquest. A glance at the dynastic list will tell us that such Gardabhila king was Vikramacharitra – Mādhavsen. It is quite possible that due to similarity in names, he must have been confused with his more powerful and more famous predecessor Vikramāditya. Hence, we may conclude that Vikramacharitra's kingdom included within it all the territory lying between Avanti and Kāśmir and that he appointed one of his ministers Mantrigupta by name, as governor over Kāśmir. Here, one may reasonably raise a doubt. The rule of Goṇḍofārnes over northern India ended in 45 A. D. The king who was on the throne of Avanti at the time was Dharmāditya, the 4th king. Again, his rule lasted upto 53 A. D. Is it not possible that it was he, who

(89) I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 33:—"Prof. Oldenberg put forth the statement that Kanishka founded the Saka era and this theory has been generally accepted by the majority of oriental scholars".

In north India the "Pūrṇimānta" system of calculating time was prevalent; while the "Amāsānta" system was prevalent in central and western India. This shows that political changes in north India were of a very short duration, because the same system was prevalent during the rule of the whole of the Kuśāna dynasty. (Vide poste Part VIII, Chap. II and read there the matter pertaining to f. n. no. 46 in the extract beginning "According to Dr. Kielhorn himself")."

conquered Kāśmir? In answer to this we can only say that the odds are in favour of No. 5, because his reign lasted for 40 years, while the reign of No. 4 lasted for only ten years. Again, the similarity of names, due to which the confusion has resulted, exists between No. 2 and No. 5; the name of No. 4. (Dharmāditya) admits of no such confusion, because in Rājtarāṅgiṇī, the term "Vikrama" is explicitly stated.

(2) The second point to be considered is that a certain Gardabhīla king had 84 Sāmantas. Of all the Gardabhīla kings, only three, namely Nos. 2, 3 and 5, were powerful enough to have so many Sāmants under them. Of these three, No. 2, Vikramāditya Śākārī is the most popular and most well known. Naturally, one is inclined to believe that only he, of all the kings of the Gardabhīla dynasty, was powerful enough to have such a large number of Sāmantas. We have, however, shown above, that the territorial extent of No. 5 was much more larger than that of No. 2, because the kingdom of the former included within it all the territory lying between Avanti and Kāśmir. Hence, we shall have to conclude that though No. 5 is not as popularly remembered as No. 2 to-day, his was a more extensive kingdom, thus requiring a large number of Sāmantas.

(3) Now we have to find out which king of the Gardabhīla dynasty married Sulochanā, the daughter of the king of an island in the Arabian sea. The very name of the princess shows that she was the daughter of an Āryan king.<sup>90</sup> We, however, know nothing about the island over which he ruled. We do not know his name also. I think, however, that if we deal with point No. 5 below, in conjunction with this point, we might come to some tangible conclusion. So, we postpone the consideration of point No. 4 in favour of point No. 5.

(90) One might wonder whether Indians would ever have settled in Arabia, the home of Muslims at present. In answer to this, we may state that, the Islam was founded in the seventh century A. D. We are here, on the other hand, considered with the first century B. C. At that time, Arabia was under the rule of Jaina kings. (Vol. II, pp. 52, f. n. no. 54).

(5) It is stated in Jaina books that Vajrasvāmi was the 15th monk in succession to Mahāvīr (His time was V. E. 78 to 114 = A. D. 21 to 57 = 36 years). He got many temples repaired on Mt. Śatrunjay. The Jaina gentleman, who financed these reparations was Jāvaḍśāh by name. He was a native of a town named Madhuvantī (Mahuvā) which was situated in the southern part of Saurāṣṭra. His father's name was Bhāvaḍśāh. He was the owner of a large commercial fleet and conducted large scale business with many foreign countries, the ports of which were constantly visited by those ships. He had also purchased large tracts of land in Arabia, over which he had acquired judicial and revenue powers. He used to stay there for a number of years at a time. He often visited his native place. On one of such occasions, he financed the reparations of temples on Mt. Śatrunjay, at the instance of Vajrasvāmi. These facts lead us to believe that this gentleman enjoyed sovereign rights over Arabia or over some island on the Arabian sea; and that he used to visit his native place often. On such visits he used to perform religious ceremonies and grant large sums of money for religious purposes. In the account of Vikramāditya Śākāri, we have stated that he and Hāl Śālivāhan of the Śātvāhan dynasty performed religious ceremonies on Mt. Śatrunjay under the supervision of the three Jaina monks, whose names were, Pādaliptasūri<sup>91</sup>, Nāgārjun and Āryakhapuṭ<sup>92</sup>. These details lead us to the conclusion that the Gardabhīla kings were adherents of Jainism.<sup>93</sup>, and that

(91) The town of Pālītānā was named after the name of this Pādlipta-sūri. From this, we understand that the ascent to Mt. Śatrunjay must have been put into vogue from Pālītānā and must have been shifted from Junāgaḍh.

(92) According to Jaina books these events took place in the beginning of the Vikrama era, i. e. nearly 10 or 15 years after the era was begun. Vikramāditya Śākāri died in A. D. 3. (Vide pp. 368, f. n. nos. 10 and 12, See the dynastic list given in the next Vol.) and Hāl Śālivāhan died in A. D. 15. The reparations financed by Jāvaḍśāh under the supervision of Vajrasvāmi in about A. D. 50. This proves that Vikramāditya, Śālivāhan and the Jaina monks named Pādlipta, Nāgārjun and Āryakhapuṭ lived some 20 to 25 years before Vajrasvāmi.

(93) Vide pp. 380 above.

they performed Jaina holy rites on Mt. Śatrunjay, the most sacred centre of Jainism. It is quite probable that one of the Gardabhīla kings, who must have come into close contact with Jāvadsāh, accepted his daughter's hand in marriage<sup>94</sup>, thus cementing the tie of relationship with one, who was also an ardent follower of the same faith. Thus most probably, Sulochanā was the daughter of Jāvadsāh.

Now let us find out which of the Gardabhīla kings married Sulochanā. The author has plainly stated that it was Mādhavāsen, the son of Vikramāditya. Mādhavāsen's number in the dynastic list is 3. Let us see whether that contention is all right or not. No. 3, according to that list, ruled for 40 years from A. D. 3 to A. D. 43. The time of Vajrasvāmi, under whose supervision the reparations took place, was A. D. 21 to 57. So, the dates tell us that most probably this king married Sulochanā, the daughter of Jāvadsāh.

There is another possibility also and it deserves some attention. The time of Vajrasvāmi was A. D. 21 to 57. This means that he was a contemporary of the 4th and the 5th Gardabhīla kings also. Hence, one may well ask "Why should we not suppose that one of them married the daughter of Jāvadsāh?". We may state in answer, that the reparations in question took place in the first part of Vajrasvāmi's career. Hence the probability is that No. 3 married Sulochanā.

If the conclusion arrived at above, be proved to be true, events Nos. 3 and 5 took place during the reign of the Gardabhīla king No. 3.

(4) Now we turn to point no. 4., which tells us that a legend prevailed in North-West Provinces to the effect that the daughter of the king of Dhār married a Gardabh. We have already proved that it was the 5th Gardabhīla king whose sway extended over Kāśmir and over those provinces. So, the legend must have first spread there during the rule of this king. We

(94) Class distinctions were no bar to marriages in those times. A Vaiśya could marry a Kṣatriya.

know that the root of the legend lies in the fact, that Gandharvasen, the founder of the Gardabhīla dynasty had married the daughter of the king of Dhār.

In short, events Nos. 1, 2, and 4 are connected with the 5th Gardabhīla king, while events Nos. 3 and 5 are connected with the 3rd Gardabhīla king. We close their accounts here, as we have no further information about them.

It is our custom to devote a separate chapter to the account of the territorial extent of a dynasty. But as very few details are available about the dynasty itself, we have thought it proper to close this chapter with what information is at hand on this point.

Gandharvasen came to the throne of Avanti immediately after the death of Nahapāṇ, the Kṣaharāṭa kṣatrap. Naturally, all the territory that was under the rule of Nahapāṇ came then under his power. Rṣabhadatta, the son-in-law of Nahapāṇ, was however, the rightful claimant to the throne. So, when he heard that Gandharvasen had usurped the throne of Avanti, he declared himself as the independent ruler of all the provinces over which he was appointed as governor. To that extent was narrowed down the suzerainty of Gandharvasen; and his reign lasted for too short a time to allow him any opportunity for expanding his kingdom. And hardly had he settled himself and consolidated his power, when due to his thoughtless and wanton behaviour, he had to face a calamity which ended in the establishment of the rule of the Śakas over Avanti. The hold of the Śakas over the already reduced kingdom was still more loosened on account of the atrocities which they perpetrated over the people. Thus, when their rule ended and Vikramāditya Śakāri ascended the throne of Avanti, his kingdom was merely a slice of the original realm. By a happy combination of valour and tact, he expanded his kingdom very rapidly. He defeated Devaṇak, the son of Rṣabhadatta and annexed all the provinces under his rule, with the result that he became the master of all

the territory that was under the rule of Nahapān—i. e. the whole of central India from east to west. He had no further territorial ambitions. The whole of south India was under the powerful rule of the Āndhra kings, with whom he always maintained relations of a most cordial nature and who had virtually helped him to the throne. In the same way, the Indo-Pārthian emperors were supreme over the whole of north India. Moreover, much of his time and energy, he had to devote to establishing peace and order in his own kingdom, where people's minds had known no peace during the rule of the cruel Śakas. His reign lasted pretty long. Hardly one or two kings of all the kings that ruled in India enjoyed a longer reign. In spite of such longevity, his kingdom was not very vast. His was a reign of peace, prosperity and order. His son, who succeeded him, followed the footsteps of his worthy father. So, no territorial expansion has been recorded during his reign. This state of things continued uninterruptedly upto the beginning of the reign of the fifth king of the dynasty. Then fortune smiled upon it. The Indo-Pārthian emperor-Gondofarnes left India for good and went to Persia to occupy the vacant throne there. So, the northern provinces—especially Mathurā, the Indo-Pārthian capital and Takṣilā—had practically no ruler over them. Vikramcharitra, the fifth Gardabhila king, had no difficulty in annexing these provinces to his own kingdom. We have given above enough proofs in support of this. After acquiring mastery over the Punjab, he felt a desire to bring Kāśmir under his rule, because it had the best climate of all the provinces. He conquered it and appointed his minister, Mantrigupta as governor over it. In short, during the time of Vikramcharitra, there were only two mighty kingdoms in India—all the territory on the north of the Vindhyā ranges constituted the kingdom of the Gardabhila kings and all the territory on the south comprised the Āndhra kingdom. By this time, the Kuśāns came to power in the territory lying on the northern borders of India. Their chiefs—Kadaphisis I and Kadaphisis II conquered all the territory around the Hindukuśa together with the provinces named Kābul and Chitrāl in Afganistan. These provinces were formerly under the rule of the Indo-Pārthians.

Having achieved these conquests on the borders of India, they now began to cast longing eyes over India proper. They were however not powerful enough to oppose Vikramcharitra and so rested content with their acquisitions. In 93 A. D. Vikramcharitra died. The account of the events that happened after his death is given below.

It is found that these five kings ruled for 49 years (93 A. D. to 141 A. D.) in the aggregate. Probably each of them ruled for a decade. No noteworthy event seems to have happened during their rules.

No information is available as to what happened to Mantrigupta. Probably he was defeated and killed by some Kuśāna chief. In about 100 A. D. Kadaphisis II died, leaving his throne to his ambitious and brave son, Kaniska I. He aspired to be the master<sup>95</sup> over a realm as vast as that of the Chinese Emperor. After conquering both Kāśmir and the Punjab, he advanced further to achieve more conquests. During the 25 years of his powerful rule, he annexed the whole of northern India including Rājputānā and selected Mathurā as the seat of his capital;—the former Indo-Pārthian capital. Consequently, the territory under the rule of the Gardabhills was now but a portion of the original kingdom. The Kuśana empire, on the other hand, now not only became as vast as that of Menander, the yona general, but had Kāśmir under its rule also. We know that Menander had appointed Bhūmak as ksatrap over Rājputānā—Madhyadeś. In the same way, Kaniska appointed Ghsamotik as the ksatrap over that province. In the course of time, Kaniska was succeeded by his brothers Vasiska and Haviska, and others. Ghsamotik was succeeded by his son, Chasthan by name, in about 142 A. D.<sup>96</sup> By that time, important changes took place in the

(95) Proofs about this will be given in the next volume. Before he saw the fruit of his efforts, he was murdered.

(96) A change of a year or two may have to be instituted in this number. This is a provisional number.

Kuśāna empire, which was on its way to decline. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Chasṭhaṇ invaded Avantī, defeated the last Gardabhīla king, Nāhaḍ by name and established himself as the ruler of Avantī. Thus ended the Gardabhīla dynasty.

Details about the religion followed by the Gardabhīla kings have already been given in the account of Vikramāditya Śakāri. So, no new paragraph is given here in connection with them.



CSL

## Part 8

## PART 8

### VARIOUS ERAS : OR DATING OF EVENTS



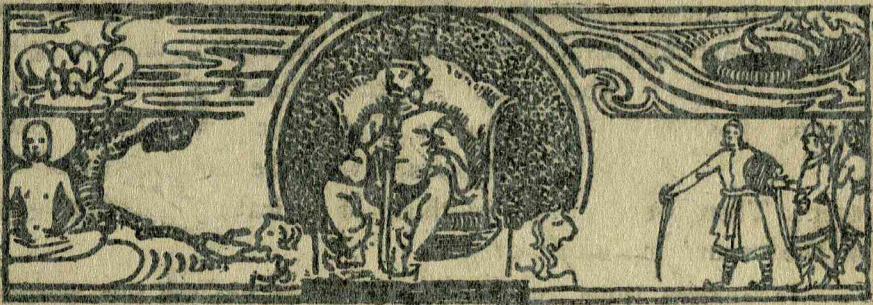
#### Chapter I

- (1) Mahāvira era
- (2) Chedi „
- (3) Kṣaharāṣa „
- (4) Vikrama „

#### Chapter II

- (5) Mālava era
- (6) Śaka „





## Chapter I

### The various Eras

**Synopsis:**—*Methods adopted in the literatures of all the three religions for the calculation of time—Innovations introduced by different kings—foreign and Indian.*

*The theory that the scholars hold about the founding of the Vikrama era—Śakāri Vikramāditya has been said to have been the founder of the era; who was he?—when did he live and rule?—Extracts quoted from the books of about ten scholars in connection with this—Discussion about it and the conclusion arrived at by us—Details about nearly 12 to 15 kings, who lived at any time during the 1000 years beginning with B. C. 57 and all of whom were called (or called themselves) “Vikramāditya”—which of them can be called Śakāri Vikramāditya?*

*Causes why the Vikrama era fell into disuse after some time—Difficulties arising from the tendency of the writers to give figures without mentioning the era to which they belong—The possible year from which the Vikrama era was dated; two numbers in connection with it.*

## INTRODUCTORY

If, in stead of indicating in a very general manner the time when a particular event took place, a particular date is given about it (i. e. the number of the year of a king's reign or of a particular era), the reader is duly impressed with the authenticity of that event. There were various methods of indicating the exact time of the occurrence of an event.

In ancient India, various eras were in use for this purpose. Two such eras are mentioned in the most ancient Hindu sacred books. One was called the Udhistira era and the other was called the Lankik era. The former was also called the Kali era. These eras were, however, in use in very very ancient times with which we are not concerned here. So, no details are given about them.

The time-limit fixed up for this book is 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.; during that time there were two religions in India. In the middle of the 6th century B. C., Buddhism came into being. Some portions of the population were converted to it; and during the rule of Aśokavardhan, it was almost the state religion and much prominence was given to it. Except Aśok, however, no other Indian king seems to have been either its follower or its supporter. Moreover, it spread for the most part in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> Hence it did not exercise much influence over India. It would not thus, argue injustice, if we omit any mention of it<sup>2</sup> in this chapter. The two religions, which were most prevalent in those times were Hinduism and Jainism. Brāhmīns are considered to have been the originators of the former and their most sacred books are the Vedas. In the 8th century B. C., we may thus note that only two religions existed, namely Hinduism and Jainism.

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(1) Read f. n. no. 2 below.

(2) The Buddhist era is of use and of importance to the ancient history of Ceylon only. It was in use in India during the rule of Aśokavardhan only. Buddhism had not much influence<sup>2</sup> in India.

The two eras, the names of which we have mentioned above, were used by writers of the Vedic books only. The reason for this probably was as follows. The Kali era was founded in commemoration of the Mahābhārata wars. It is generally believed that the Pāṇḍavas, and the Kauravas were followers of the Vedic religion.<sup>3</sup> The Pāṇḍavas, as it is well known, were the victors in these wars. Yudhiṣṭhir was the name of the eldest Pāṇḍav. His devotion to truth was unique and unsurpassed. So, the era which was founded in commemoration of these wars was called the Yudhiṣṭhira era. It is also believed that the Kali age began almost at this time. So, the era is also called the Kali era. This era is principally used in all the Vedic books.

Things are not so simple in Jainism. No era seems to have been used in ancient Jaina books. At the most, it is stated that a particular event took place during the "period"<sup>4</sup> of a particular Tīrthaṅkar. Each of these periods consists of, not a small number of years. So, though the events themselves may be of historical authenticity and importance, yet modern scholars hesitate to give credence to them. This is a defect—and an unfortunate one at that—which has made Jainism suffer very much. During the 9th century B. C.—all events, that happened since when, have been recorded in this book—there prevailed the "period"<sup>5</sup> of Nemināth, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkar. A century after it began the "period" of Pārśvanāth, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkar. Events that took place since then upto the time of the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr, are described to have happened in the "period"<sup>6</sup> of Pārśvanāth. Since the year of Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr, an era was started in commemoration of his name. Even then, not many

(3) We are not here concerned with the question, whether the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas were really the followers of the Vedic religion or not.

(4) In Jainism, "Period" means, the time that elapses between the lifetime of one Tīrthaṅkar and that of his successor. (Read f. n. no. 6 below).

(5) Vide pp. 92 and also details about Kṛṣṇa and Nemināth in the Appendix on Mathurā.

(6) The "Pārśvanāth Period" means the interval between the time of attaining Kaivalyagñān by Pārśvanāth and that of by Mahāvīr.

Jaina books, since written, seem to have dated the events according to it. Nor does it seem to have been much used in state records. Several inscriptions<sup>7</sup>, however, of those times, contain the mention of this era.<sup>8</sup> This leads us to believe, that some such era was used sometimes, if not always<sup>9</sup>. It does not appear that all the inscriptions contain its mention. Later on, some of the kings began to get it inscribed, that a particular

(7) Some of such inscriptions are:—(1) The Hāthīgumfā inscription by Khārvel; the number given in it is believed by scholars to be representing the Maurya era. We shall prove later on, that this conclusion of the scholars is not correct. (2) The Sahaśrām inscription by emperor Priyadarśin. (For details about it, vide Vol. II. Full details about it will be given in the "Life of Priyadarśin" to be published shortly by me). (3) The inscription, details about which are given on pp. 2 of the "Mathurā Inscriptions" by Śrī Gaurīśanker Hirāchand Ozā.

Over and above these proofs based on inscriptions, the evidence of coins also established the fact, that the Mahāvīra era was started. (Vide Vol. II, pp. 83 to 87 and footnotes there. Read especially f. n. nos. 70-71 ).

(8) Though it is not explicitly stated in those inscriptions, that the numbers given in them represent the Mahāvīra era, the weight of circumstantial evidence proves them representing that era only. (No. 3 in the above f. n. no. 7 is more explicit than others in this matter ).

(9) C. A. R. Pref. CXC:—"With the silver coins of Chasthana, begins the use of patronymics, which is the chief characteristic of this dynasty and which together with regular practice of dating the coins, has made it possible to restore the outlines of its geneology and chronology with remarkable completeness."

[ Note : The extract quoted above testifies to its author's belief that upto the time of Chaṣṭhaṇ—i. e. upto the beginning of the Christian era—no dynasty founded its own era; and that whatever eras there were in existence, were founded in commemoration of some religious event or some religious prophet. The first to found the era in commemoration of his own name was Vikramāditya. Both Chaṣṭhaṇ and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi started their own eras, by way either of emulation or of jealousy. Probably, they were instrumental in the discontinuance of the Vikrama era. Vikramāditya was thus the pioneer of the system of starting an era in his own name. All credit for that innovation rightly goes to him. At the same time, the blame of discontinuing the system of religious eras, also must be imputed to him. Similarly the discontinuance of the Vikrama era, later on, was due to the coming into being of other eras. (Read further). ]

event took place during the particular year<sup>10</sup> of their reign. This helps us to locate the time, when those events took place. As long as however, a particular system of dating events is not uniformly adopted in all books, we have to experience much difficulty in fixing up the dates of events. Ancient Jaina kings do not seem to have been particular about it, probably because they had no great attraction for fame or long-lasting names. Neither do they seem to have deemed such a record of dates to be one of the important branches of knowledge to be imparted to the posterity.

This state of affairs continued for three centuries after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr. As time went on, foreigners began to invade India with the result, that Indians came into close contact with them. People began to understand that recording and dating certain events would be advantageous to them as well as to posterity. Alexander the Great was the first powerful invader over India. Two or three centuries before him, the Persians had invaded and plundered some parts of India. We have not taken much notice of them, because they did not settle in India and because they are not in any way connected with internal affairs. Various foreign races invaded India after Alexander the Great. They do not seem however, to have attached any significance to dating events. Had they felt any importance of these events, they would have dated them at least, with the eras in use, in their native countries. The first Indian ruler—though of a foreign origin—who dated events that took place in his reign, according to an era, was Bhūmak, the Kṣaharāṭa<sup>11</sup> kṣatrap. Nahapāṇ continued the practice of his father. They began their own era and called it the Kṣaharāṭa era. Other foreign rulers<sup>12</sup> also dated the

(10) This method has been adopted by Priyadarśin in his inscriptions and Chakravarti Khārvel in his Hāthīgumfā inscription.

The kings of the Traikūṭaka dynasty adopted the same method in their coins. (Vol. II, pp. 142, coins nos. 105 and 106).

(11) Vide the account of Nahapāṇ.

(12) Viz. Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ in the inscriptions at Nāsik, Rājuvul and Pātik in Takṣiṇā and Mathurā. (Ante. pp. 202. Read there details about the Lion Capital Pillar at Mathurā).

events of their reigns according to this era, as we have already noted<sup>13</sup>. The first brave and powerful Indian ruler—the son of the soil—who founded an era in his name and who scrupulously made use of it, was Vikramāditya Śakāri.

In short, in ancient Vedic books the Kali era or the Yudhiṣṭhira era was used.<sup>14</sup> No definite method of dating events was adopted by Jaina writers of those times. This continued upto 57 B. C. = A. M. 470. By that however, India had assimilated and had become the home of many foreign races, who had indistinguishably mixed and mingled with the sons and daughters of the soil. People had begun to think in the terms, of India for Indians and a sort of patriotic spirit had spread among, and taken root in, the minds of all. Nationalism was in vogue. Events were happening, the recording and dating of which seemed imperative to all concerned. People were as if eagerly waiting for some powerful king, who would start an era and who would relieve them from the cruelties of the Śakas. At last, Vikramāditya Śakāri who inflicted a terrible defeat, on the Śakas and who

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(13) We have not mentioned the names of Indo-Pārthian emperors in f. n. no. 12 above, due to two reasons. In the first place, they lived and ruled much after Bhūmak and Nahapāṇ and hence, they cannot be considered as the first adopters of the system. In the second place, they have not made use of any era. The number, which is found on the Takṣilā copper-plate, has been mistakenly believed by scholars to be representing some connection with Mauses. True details about it have been already stated on pp. 187 and seq. A glance at them will convince the reader that the number represents the Kṣaharāṭa era.

(14) The Śunga kings were the followers of the Vedic religion. Their royal preceptor was Patanjali, the famous grammārian and staunch adherent of the same faith. In spite of this, the Śunga kings do not seem to have used the Yudhiṣṭhira era. Hence, we have reason to believe that Yudhiṣṭhir and Patanjali must have belonged to different faiths and that this belief must have been current even in those times. (Vide pp. 42. There we have proved that Agnimitra should not be believed to have been a follower of the Vaiṣṇava sect, simply because he destroyed the Voḍvā stūpa of Mathurā. For the information of how such incident of change in faith has occurred, vide Vol. II, pp. 371 ).

established peace, order and justice everywhere, was hailed as a God-sent deliverer by all, and an era was at once started in commemoration of his name. In connection with this era, Dr. Keilhorn says:—"Samvat and Sam may be used for the years of any era and only in quite modern times are those terms by the Hindus themselves employed to distinguish the Vikrama from the Śaka years. In fact the words "Varsha" and "Samvatsara" are synonymous and such differentiation can hardly be exact." Another scholar<sup>15</sup> says in this connection:—"The term Samvat does not apply exclusively to the era of Vikramaditya. Colebrook first corrected this erroneous supposition in regard to the Bhupal dynasty, the Samvat of the Gour inscriptions, Col. Todd in regard to Vallabhi Samvat and Kirkpatrick in regard to Newar era (A. D. 880) of Nepal."<sup>16</sup>

Thus was begun the Vikrama era, which was adopted in the whole of northern India. In southern India, however, different conditions prevailed. We shall note them later on.

From 900 B. C. to 100 A. D.—the time-limit fixed for this book—four eras came into existence. They were:—(1) The Mahāvīra era; (2) The Chedi era<sup>17</sup>; (3) The Kṣaharāṭa era & (4) The Vikrama era. The numbers are assigned to them according to the priority of their beginning and of their use. Of these, No. 3 was the era started by foreigners. Details about the origin of No. 1 and of No. 3 have already been given above. Details about

(15) Vide I. A. Vol. 20, pp. 404; I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 46; Princep's "Indian Antiquities; Useful Tables", Vol. I, pp. 525.

(16) Thus "Samvatsar" is a general term meaning "era". (In Jaina books also this term has been much used. Scholars, however, mistakenly believe that the term "Samvatsar" means the "Vikrama era" only. Many confusions and misapprehensions have resulted from this. For instance, it is stated in Jaina books that Devaḍḍigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ lived in 510 and Haribhadrāsūri died in 585. These numbers, the scholars believe, represent the Vikrama era. As a matter of fact, however, they belong to quite another era. Similarly, the numbers stated in the inscriptions at Hāthīgumfā and at Sahasrām, represent the Mahāvīra era. Read f. n. no. 32 below.

(17) For an example of this, read line no. 6 in the Hāthīgumfā inscription,

No. 2 will be given in the account of the Chedi dynasty, to be given later on; while the account of the Vikrama era is given below.

There are few differences of opinion about the name of the founder of this era. A short time after its inception, it was discontinued on account of certain reasons.

**The Vikrama era** Unfortunately, scholars are not unanimous about these causes. Several theories are, moreover, advanced about the possible year, when it was founded. Some hold the opinion that it was started in the year in which Vikramāditya came to the throne. Others go against this contention. Thus, there is a sort of tangled skein about the information regarding this era. This state of affairs necessitates a thorough and detailed examination of, and inquiry into, the whole problem. We shall, therefore quote below extracts from different scholars representing the various points of view. Then we state reasons for our own theory about the problem. Some of the prevailing confusions will have to be dispelled, in the light of logical reasoning and of information available to us from various sources. The readers will then see, that most of the theories held about this era by various scholars, have no basis in the realm of truth and logical reasoning.

Another point to which the reader's attention should be drawn at this place is, that same eras have been much mixed with the Vikrama era. This has given rise to numerous false theories and contentions. So, if clear-cut information is given about them, most of these false theories would cease to vex the minds of the readers and of the scholars as well. Hence, though giving details about these eras is not properly within the province of this book, we have not refrained from giving some details about them, because they help a lot in clarifying false theories woven around the Vikrama era. The two eras in question are the Mālava era and the Śaka era. Some scholars believe that a separate era was started in about B. C. 80, (Read and compare last few lines on pp. 256 and few initial lines on pp. 257 above.) during the rule of Aziz I, the Indo-Pārthian emperor, and the



(1) One writer<sup>21</sup> says:—“Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya<sup>22</sup> A. D. 389–414, finally crushed the Śaka power of Ujjain... Indian tradition does not make any distinction between the first Vikramaditya and the second. It regards the supposed founder of the era, which began in B. C. 57 and the royal patron of Kalidas, who lived more than four hundred years later, as one and the same person.”

From this extract we understand that (a) Chandragupta II alias Vikramāditya—the Gupta king—was the ruler of Avantī. He ruled from A. D. 389 to 414. He extirpated the Śakas and started the Vikrama era. (b) Another king named Vikramāditya lived about 57 B. C.; Indian tradition, having mixed him up with the Gupta king of the same name, has established him as the founder of the Vikrama era.

[Note:—It is true that Chandragupta II, of the Gupta dynasty, had assumed the name Vikramāditya and that he had ascended the throne of Avantī after defeating the Chasṭhāṇa Ksatrapas; the extract quoted above betrays its author's mistaken belief that the Chasṭhāṇas were Śakas. It has been conclusively proved however, that the Śakas were extirpated by Gautami-putra Śātakarṇi<sup>23</sup> in A. D. 78 (?). Hence the theory that their

As regards Śudraka it is stated in Amarkoś:—“This Shudraka may be said to have founded the Vikrama era in B. C. 58, by defeating the Sakas of Malwa. Tradition is strong in ascertaining that Vikramaditya defeated alien Sakas near Karur and established his era”.

(21) C. H. I. pp. 533.

(22) On pp. 533 of C. H. I. It is stated in connection with the meaning of the word Vikramāditya:—“Vikramaditya = The Sun of Might”. It is hopeless to discriminate between the elements, which may be historical and others which are undoubtedly romantic in the great cycle of legends which has gathered round the name or rather the title of Vikramaditya. The Sun of the Might may be kings at different periods and in different countries of India may have been so styled—while it is possible,—nay even probable, that there may have been a Vikramaditya, who expelled the Sakas from Ujjain”.

[ Note : Details about this will be given later on. ]

(23) The Nāśik inscription by Queen Balaśrī. (Supra pp. 150).

extirpation took place nearly four centuries later than that, is entirely ill-founded. The evidence based on rock-inscription proves it beyond doubt, that the Śakas were no more in India after A. D. 78. Again Chasthan was not a Śaka<sup>24</sup>. The Śakas, whom we have called Scythians for the sake of clarity, were rooted out by Vikramāditya of the Gardabhīla dynasty in B. C. 57<sup>25</sup>; while the Indo-Scythians were massacred and driven out by Gautamīputra Śatakarṇi, the son of queen Balaśrī.<sup>26</sup> These details clearly show that the theory, that there were at all any Scythians or Indo-Scythians in the 4th century A. D. is little more than a chimera. Many other pieces of evidence can be given to disprove the theory. We need not bother about them here, as the evidence stated above is quite enough. So Chandragupta II cannot be called Śakāri Vikramāditya and the founder of the Vikrama era.

(2) Another writer<sup>27</sup> says:—"This Aziz I has been placed in about B. C. 58; and it appears therefore that the era referred to, in the Taxila inscription is the Vikrama era, beginning in 58 B. C. which was founded perhaps to commemorate the accession of Aziz I". Commenting on this extract, Mr. Rapson observes:—"The interpretation may well be correct, inspite of the tradition, that the era was founded by Vikramāditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of Śakas." These extracts thus state plainly that (a) though the king who rooted out the Śakas was Vikramāditya of Ujjaini (b) yet the Vikrama era, which is said to have been begun in 58 B. C. and which is mentioned in the Taksilā inscription, was begun to commemorate the accession of Aziz I.

[Note: Mr. Rapson, in trying to support the contention stated in the first extract, has virtually repudiated it. In the

(24) Pp. 164-169 where comparison is given between Nahapān and Chasthan and between their races.

(25) Vide ante, pp. 367.

(26) Pp. 297 & seq. details about the end of the Śāhl dynasty.

(27) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, new edi. Vol. III, pp. 68; also point no. 10 in this chapter.

same breath he has stated two contradictory things. He expresses his inclination towards the theory that the era was started in connection with Aziz I, and then immediately hastens to observe that the extirpator of the Śakas was Vikramāditya, the king of Ujjain. We may note here, that the seat of the capital of Aziz was Mathurā, and that he never defeated the Śakas. Hence he cannot be said to have held the title “Śakāri” which has been proved to have belonged to the founder of the Vikrama era. Moreover, B. C. 58 was not the year in which his rule began. That year, on the contrary, saw the end of his reign.<sup>28</sup>]

(3) The third scholar<sup>29</sup> says:—“In general, Hindus knew of but one Vikramaditya but the learned acknowledge four; and when written authorities were examined, they were found no less than eight or nine. Those, who reckon four heroes of that name, agree only about two. The first Vikramaditya was he, after whom the period is demonstrated; the second is Raja Bhoja.”

[Note:—The author of the extract has refrained from stating his own opinion about the various theories. He has merely stated the various opinions that exist on the problem and has rested content with that. Neither has he given the date of Vikramāditya, the founder of the era, nor has he given any other details about him. Probably he holds the opinion, that of all the nine Vikramādityas, the one who preceded all others, was the founder of the era. As to how many kings lived in ancient India with the name Vikramāditya to their credit, we shall discuss it later on.]

(4) Sir Cunningham<sup>30</sup> says:—“A cave inscription at Udayagiri of Samvat year 1093 or A. D. 1036, couples the name of Chandragupta with the kingdom of Vikramaditya. In the Rajatarangini also, it is mentioned that Mantrigupta was placed on the throne of Kāshmir by Vikramaditya of Ujjain. According to my corrected chronology of Rajatarangini, this happened in A. D. 433.

(28) See above the dynastic lists facing pp. 79 and pp. 329.

(29) Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 117.

(30) Vide “The Bhilsā Topes” by him, pp. 143.



The Satrunjaya Mahatmya also places (Wilford Researches A. S. Bengal IX 156: and Wilson. Res. A. S. Beng. XV, 39 note) the third Vikramāditya in Samvat 466: A. D. 409".

From this extract of Sir Cunningham, we understand that:

(a) According to the cave inscription at Udayagiri, a certain king named Chandragupta was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. (b) According to Rājatarāṅgini, Vikramāditya placed Mantrigupta on the throne of Kāśmir. (c) During the time of Vikramāditya the work named "Satrunjaya Mahātmyam" was composed. Sir Cunningham thinks that all the three Vikramādityas connected with the three activities mentioned above, represent one and the same individual. In support of this contention, he states that according to his corrected chronology of the Rājatarāṅgini, Mantrigupta's accession to the throne took place in 433 A. D. and that Mr. Wilford and Mr. Wilson have proved that "Satrunjaya Mahātmyam" was composed in 409 A. D. In short, Sir Cunningham holds the theory, that all the three points mentioned above, are connected with one and the same Vikramāditya, who ruled from 409 A. D. to 433 A. D. at the least.

[ Note:—The reader will note that Sir Cunningham has built his theory on the assumption that, if mention is found of two activities happening almost at the same time, in connection with individuals of the same name, then in all probability, the two identical names represent one and not two individuals. Now this assumption cannot always be true, because in every period of time, there have been not only two but several persons holding the same name. We here draw the reader's attention to Vol I. pp. 187 and request him to glance at the dynastic list given there. We have shown there how, so many confusions have arisen in the arrangement of historical data, because two kings named Bhojdev were contemporaries and how, events connected with one, have been often mistakenly ascribed to the other. Sir Cunningham however, being an acute and accurate student of facts, is not at all dogmatic about his theory. He has stated it merely as a probability; we will leave it at that. Turning to his other reasons in support of the theory, we will have to state that the time of

the composition of Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam was not A. D. 409. We have elsewhere proved conclusively<sup>31</sup> that the number 477, which is stated in the book by the author himself, represents the Mālva era<sup>32</sup>. Calculating it in terms of the Vikrama era, we get the year 1066 when Bhojdev, who had also assumed the name Vikramāditya, was ruling over Mālwa. (Vide Vol I. pp. 187; see the dynastic list there). At his court, Śrī Dhaneśvarasūriji<sup>33</sup>, a Jaina monk and author of Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam, was the royal preceptor. This means that the book was written in about<sup>34</sup> 1009 A. D.=1066 of the Vikrama era. As regards the third point, we have to state that in Rājataranginī, the king who placed Mantrigupta on the throne of Kāśmir is definitely named as Vikramāditya Śakāri. We have proved in the foregoing pages that he belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty. Hence his time could never have been A. D. 430<sup>35</sup>. Thus, of the three points raised by Sir Cunningham, the last two are found to be groundless. As regards the first, he has simply mentioned that a certain individual named Chandragupta was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. He has not stated whether that Chandragupta was a king or was not one. In short, in the light of the facts that we have at hand, we find it difficult to concur with the view-point of Sir Cunningham.]

(5) Mr. Thomas<sup>36</sup> says:—"As there were many Vikramadityas,

(31) Vide pp. 420 to 424 of the "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", Vol. 43. V. E. 1884, Fālgun number 12. It is a monthly published from Bhāvnagar.

(32) Cf. f. n. no. 16 above; then it will be clear how many confusions have arisen from this.

(33) Dhaneśvarsūri enjoyed the same status at the court of king Bhojdev at Mālwa as did Śrī Hemachandrāchārya at the court of Kumārpāl, the Solankī king of Gujarāt.

(34) We have written here the word "about" because it has not yet been definitely established when the Mālawa era was founded. (Read further in this chapter).

(35) Vide pp. 378 above, for details about Mantrigupta. His time has been fixed up from A. D. 53 to 93. For further details, vide next page point No. 5.

(36) J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, pp. 14,



so probably there were many Sakaries<sup>37</sup>. Every frontier encounter with the Scythians, which did not result in absolute defeat of the Indian forces, would under the usual terms of oriental hyperbole, entitle the local monarch to the honorary appellation of "Foe of the Scythians"; and whatever may have been the real effect of the vaunted success of Vikramaditya's arms against the Sakas, now conclusively dated in A. D. 78." The same writer<sup>38</sup> says elsewhere, "The Rajatarangini, the only Sanskrit Indian history extant, though avowedly local in its purpose, gives promise—could we rely on its chronology—of unexpected illustration of the present subject of inquiry, in as much as, it notices a Vikramaditya of Ujjain"<sup>39</sup>, specified particularly as Emperor of India, who nominated Mantrigupta to the throne of Kashmir; moreover, to extend the coincidences, this Vikramaditya is cited as having previously expelled the Mlechhas and destroyed the Sakas."

The extracts quoted above are taken from an article written about 90 years ago. Researches during these 90 years have effected several far reaching changes in the conclusions arrived at by its author. We shall not here go into details about these changes. It will be sufficient to observe however, that the author has not given any evidence in support of his contention, that there were many Śākāris. The extracts tell us one thing very plainly—that the king who founded the Vikrama era was definitely called Śākāri. The second thing that we have to note about it is, that though he believes the facts stated in Rājataranginī as true, yet he does not fully agree with the chronology given in it. Thirdly, he also believes that the founder of the era, besides being the king of Avantī and the emperor of India, was

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(37) It is true that there have been many Vikramādityas; it is not however, true that there were many Śākāris. Had the writer forwarded any proofs in support of the contention, we would have submitted them to the test of inquiry. The fact is that, only one Indian king held the title Śākāri. As for the number of Vikramādityas, read further in this chapter.

(38) J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, pp. 13.

(39) Ibid. His des. Rois du Kachmir II 76 (Troyer). Wilson, Asiatic Researches Vol. XV, pp. 38.

also the person who nominated Mantrigupta to the throne of Kāśmir. All these points, as we have noted in No. 4, apply to Vikramāditya of the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(6) One writer<sup>40</sup> has raised quite a different point of view:—  
“Traditions are strong in asserting that Vikramaditya Shalivahan defeated the alien Sakas near Karur and established his era, Salivahan Sakabda”.

[Note:—In the first place, the author does not explicitly state, whether he writes about the Vikrama era or about the Śaka era. He clearly mentions the term Śakābda; while, on the other hand, it is definitely proved that the extirpation of the Śakas at Kārur is connected with the Vikrama era.

Let us examine the theory in details and find out the truth. There is little doubt about the fact that a certain king named Śālīvāhan was the founder of the Śaka era and that he defeated the Sakas<sup>41</sup>. Does this however in any way prove, that he was also called Vikramāditya?<sup>42</sup>. The author has made no attempt to prove that. Of nearly 30 kings of the Śālīvāhan dynasty, no one ever was called Vikramāditya, except one king named Hāl, who according to Amarkośa, assumed that appellation. (f. n. 20 above.) We have already proved above, on the authority of the Nāsik inscription by Queen Balaśrī that it was her son, Gautamīputra Śātakarni by name, who rooted out the Śakas. Again, Kārur<sup>43</sup> where the battle is said to have been fought has yet not

(40) J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, part I, pp. 65.

(41) It seems now, that some change will have to be instituted in this, in the light of further research work. Vide the account of the Śatavāhana dynasty.

(42) This Śālīvāhana king was given the title “Vikramāditya” by the poet Guṇādhyā who flourished at his court. He did so, in order to give a glowing account of his bravery. So the term has been used there, in the adjectival sense and for the sake of simile. (Vide Vāsiṣṭhiputra's (Hāla's) account in the next Volume).

(43) It is believed that the present town of Mandsore was called Kārur in those times. Mandsore is situated near Ratlām, in the north of Avantī. It is my opinion, however, that Kārur was situated in the south of Avantī. Details in connection with this will be stated later on.

been located. Some scholars believe, that it must have been situated in Mālwa. A little knowledge however, of the history of those times will tell us that at that time, Mālwa was not under the power either of the Śakas or of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. It was under the suzerainty of the Gardabhīla kings of Avanti. Now, if the Gardabhīla king had not himself been concerned in the battle, he would never have allowed two foreign powers<sup>44</sup> to fight in the territory under his power. Let us suppose that Kārur as Mr. Vincent Smith says<sup>45</sup>, was the capital of Kochin in south India. In that case also, the difficulty stated above arises, because the kingdom of the Āndhras never extended beyond the southern banks of the Tungbhadra or upto the northern frontiers of the modern Mysore State. The Śaka kingdom also had its furthest limits upto the southern banks of the Narbadā and upto the source of the Godāvarī in the Nāsik district. As a matter of fact, the battle between the Śakas and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was fought on the soil of Saurāstra<sup>46</sup>. Thus the theory, that Hāl Śalivāhan was connected with the battle fought at Kārur is a mere chimera. Even if one tries to establish that king Hāl of the Śatavahan dynasty was the founder of the Vikrama era, one has to face the difficulty that his reign \* began nearly ten years after 57 B. C. Thus, it is definitely established that Vikramāditya Śakāri of the Gardabhīla dynasty was the founder of the era].

(7) Another scholar has stated his theory as follows<sup>47</sup>:—"He was called Vikramaditya II, the Great, who founded Samvat era in A. D. 515 to 550, who revived Hinduism and introduced Shiva-puja."

(44) The last European war was fought on the soil of Belgium and was therefore universally denounced as transgressing the most sacred international law.

(45) Vide pp. 157, f. n. no. 5 of "Aśoka" by Vincent Smith:—"The ancient capital (of Kerala) was Vanji, Vanchi or Karur (Tirur-Karur) about 28 miles E. N. E. of Kochin.

(46) Vide the account of Rābhadatta.

(\*) See the dynastic list of the Śatavāhanas, in the next Volume.

(47) Dey's "Ancient Geography of India", pp. 59.

[Note:—In the first place, the author has not started the dynasty, to which he belonged and the territory over which he ruled. To find out all these things from the date given by him would be little short of cutting blocks with a razor. Probably the writer alludes to the battle fought between Mihirkul and Tormāṇ on the one hand and the Rājputs of Mālwā on the other. Even this theory, as will be shown in No. 8 below, is quite ill-founded.]

(8) A writer<sup>48</sup> states that, according to Dr. Hoernel and Dr. Keilhorn, Yaśodharmā defeated Mihirkul at Kārur in 544 A. D. This theory however, has been refuted by Dr. Vaidya, stating that the two scholars referred to above, based their theory on the contention of Mr. Albaruni. He also states that the battle of Kārur took place many years before 544 A. D. In short the author inclines towards Dr. Vaidya and says that the theory, that a battle was fought at Kārur between the Rājputs of Mālwā on the one hand and Tormāṇ and Mihirkul on the other, which is held by Dr. Hoernel and by Dr. Keilhorn, who have based their conclusions on the authority of Mr. Albaruni, is quite ill-founded.

[Note:—Mr. Albaruni lived in the 12th century A. D. i. e. several centuries after the battle of Kārur was fought; even if we accept that it was fought in 544 A. D., Mr. Albaruni has based his conclusions on legends and on other such doubtful sources. This is evident in every page of this book. Naturally, we are inclined to agree with Dr. Vaidya. Again, this particular conclusion is refuted by the author of Amarkoś,<sup>49</sup> who was not only the son of the soil but a Hindu also. Naturally, facts stated in Amarkoś are nearer truth than those by a foreigner like Mr. Albaruni. The victor at the battle of Kārur was Vikramāditya Śakāri. Mihirkul and Tormāṇ were Hūṇa chiefs. They were not Śakas in any way. The king who defeated them may well be

(48) "Bhārat-kā Prāchin Rājvaṁśa", Vol. II, pp. 386 and seq.

(49) Vikramāditya has been called "Śakāri" in Amarkośa" itself. (f. n. no. 20 above).

called Hūnāri but he cannot be called by any stretch of imagination, Śakāri. The Hūns hailed from Tibet and from Asian Turkey; while the Śakas were the natives of Seistān, which was situated on the borders of Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Persia. In short, the Hūns and the Śakas were different races. They came to India at different times, and their homes were also quite different. The battle of Kārur, as the author of *Amarkos* says, was fought in B. C. 57 and the victor was Vikramāditya Śakāri of the Gardabhīla dynasty].

✓(9) The famous scholar—Mr. Fergusson, holds the following opinion<sup>50</sup>:—"Hieun Tshang is generally very careless about his dates. Shree Harsa Vikramaditya Sakari lived and defeated the Sakas at the battle of Karur in the first half of the sixth century of our era and the Hindus for the sake of adjusting their eras, placed these events in the first century before Christ." From this extract we understand that (a) Hieun Tshang was very careless about dates; (b) Śri Harsa whose another name was Vikramāditya, was the holder of the title "Śakāri"; (c) The battle at Kārur was fought in the 6th century A. D. and the victor in the battle was the above-mentioned Śri Harsa (d) the Hindus, for the sake of adjusting their eras, placed these events in the first century B. C.

[Note:—With all due respect for the learned scholar, we cannot help observing, that to state a theory is one thing and to prove it convincingly is quite another. In the first place, Harsa's other name was Śilāditya and not Vikramāditya. Secondly Harsa lived in A. D. 634, i. e. in the latter half of the seventh century and not in the latter half of the sixth century as the author complacently believes. Thirdly, if he had credited the Hindus with even an iota of commonsense, he would never have thought of alleging that they were so devoid of all sense of proportion and time as to place events as back as seven centuries. Fourthly, the Śakas were conspicuous by their absence in the sixth century A. D.; where is then, the question of defeating them and earning

(50) J. R. A. S. Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. XII, pp. 279.

the title "Śakāri". No historian except the learned writer, ever has appended the appellation "Śakāri" to Harsa's name. The writer ought to have stated proofs in support of his individual contention that he was called "Śakāri". Theories, unsupported by solid and reliable pieces of evidence, count for little in historical treatises and are a positive source of nuisance and annoyance to all concerned. (5) On what authority does the writer charge Hieun Tshang, a religious missionary to India with carelessness in dates? In short, Mr. Fergusson's theory does not impress us as either true or plausible. ]

(10) In an authoritative treatise<sup>51</sup> it is stated:—"To Aziz I has been attributed the foundation of the Vikrama era, beginning B. C. 58 and according to Sir John Marshall, an inscription discovered by him at Taxila is actually dated in the year 136 of Aziz. This inscription may well be correct, inspite of the tradition that this era was founded by king Vikramāditya of Ujjain to commemorate the defeat of the Sakas and whatever may have been the origin of this era, the assignment of Aziz I to this period is justified by other considerations."

[ Note : In the first place, Aziz I and Vikramāditya were not contemporaries at all. It is so far true that Vikramāditya came to the throne some years before or after the death of Aziz. Thus Vikramāditya can no doubt be said to be alive and kicking on this globe during the later life of Aziz; but most probably they were not contemporaries in the sense, that both ruled at the same time. Aziz died about B. C. 58. Should we then subscribe to the belief, that he started an era in commemoration of his death? Secondly, for what earthly reason should Aziz go out of his way and found an era in the name of Vikramāditya? How could he have anticipated the accession of Vikramāditya in B. C. 57, a year after his death? Aziz was a foreigner and had no ties whatsoever with Vikramāditya. Thirdly, on what ground is it asserted that No. 136<sup>52</sup> belongs to Aziz? At the

(51) C. H. I. pp. 571.

(52) The number given in the Takṣilā inscription is, really speaking 79;

most, one can suppose that at the time when the Taksilā inscription was inscribed, Aziz used in it the era which was most prevalent there. That era could not decidedly have been started by Aziz, because he did not (even including the reign of his predecessor) live for those many years. Whether it was the Vikrama era or not is a different question. (It was not). In short, Aziz had no connection with the era that was started in B. C. 57. (Some details about Aziz I are given in No. 2 above). ]

We have quoted above, extracts expressing ten different points of view about the founder of the Vikrama era. We have also criticized them in the light of indisputable pieces of evidence available and in the light of logical reasoning. Several other extracts can be quoted if one may, but the view-points expressed in them are almost included in the points discussed above. So, we have refrained from bothering our readers with any more of them. After a close scrutiny of these view-points and after gleaning all available truth from them, we arrive at the conclusion that (1) Vikramāditya was the founder of the Vikrama era; and (2) that he earned the title "Śākāri" by inflicting a heavy defeat on the Śakas at Kārur, the location of which has as yet not been fixed.

Many kings in ancient India assumed the name Vikramāditya and it has been very difficult for the students of history to find out, which of them may rightly be called "Śākari". If this is once for all found out, there would be little room for doubt and for various theories about the founder of the era. So, an attempt is made below to enumerate the names and dates of the kings who assumed the title Vikramāditya. Then we shall try to find out which of them earned the title "Śākari".

According to Mr. Princeps<sup>53</sup>, the Vikrama era was prevalent in north India only. In this connection he says:—"The era of Vikramaditya is in general use throughout Telangana<sup>54</sup> and

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but B. C. 57 is added to it and thus the total comes to 136. For details about this, vide supra, pp. 186 and sequel.

(53) Vide pp. 157 of his "Indian Antiquities and Useful Tables"

(54) It is not quite clear which province the writer means by the term

Hindustan properly so called. It is less used, although known in Bengal, Tirhut and Nepal and according to Warren, is nearly unknown in the Peninsula". This extract means that the Vikrama era must have been founded by some powerful king, who ruled in north India. In spite of this, we shall state below the names of those south Indian kings, who called themselves Vikramāditya, so that there may be absolutely no room for doubt. Then shall we try to find out, which of them enjoyed the well-earned and much-disputed title "Śakāri". Though the fact, that the era was founded in 57 B. C. limits our time about that date and though thus, we have to be concerned only with those Vikramādityas who flourished about that time, yet to dispel all possibility of doubt, we shall take stock of all Vikramādityas that wielded sceptre and wore the crown from 57 B. C. to 900 A. D.<sup>55</sup> Rock-inscriptions are extant which bear the dates 811 (A. D. 754<sup>56</sup>), 826 (A. D. 769<sup>57</sup>) and 897 (A. D. 840<sup>58</sup>) of the Vikrama era. In a rock-inscription in Kāthiāwār, the date is 794 (A. D. 738<sup>59</sup>). But the date, the day and constellation stated there-

Telangaṇa. Perhaps he means the regions in which Telugu is spoken. In the latter part of the same statement, it is clearly stated that the era was practically unknown in the peninsula. This means that Telangaṇa must have been the name of a province in north India, or there may have been some mistake about that name, because, as a matter of fact, Telangaṇa was in south India.

(55) The custom of adopting the title "Vikramāditya" fell into disuse after the establishment of Muslim power in India. (Vide the account of Vikramāditya Śakāri).

(56) Dr. Bhāu Dāji, after quoting an extract from J. R. A. S. Vol. II, pp. 271 states on pp. 68 of the second Archeological Report:—"He knows of no inscription dated in the Samvat, before the eleventh century of the Christian era. General Cunningham goes nearly so far. He says the Samvat of Vikramāditya was not used so early as 826, (Arch. Dept. Vol. II, pp. 266); though somewhat inconsistently he says in the same volume that the earliest inscription he knows dated in the Vikrama era is 811 or A. D. 754. (Arch. Dept. II, pp. 68.)"

(57) Arch. Dept. Vol. II, pp. 226. (Read f. n. no. 56 above).

(58) Bhā. Prā. Rāj. Vol. II, pp. 386; I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 35; (of the time of Mahāsen Chauhaṇ of Dholapur).

(59) I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 35.

in, do not bear out a close scrutiny. Hence we can not call it very reliable.

During nearly one thousand years that elapsed between B. C. 57 and A. D. 900, numerous kings—Indian and foreign—ruled over north India. Of these, we shall rule out the foreign ones because, as the term “Vikramāditya” makes it manifest, we are concerned with Indian kings only. The Indian dynasties who enjoyed power in north India were : the Gardabhīla dynasty; the Gupta dynasty; the Parmāra dynasty; the Pratihāra and Parihāra dynasties of Kanoj; and the Vallabhī dynasty of Saurāṣṭra. These were the dynasties that ruled over north India during the interval from B. C. 57 to A. D. 900. In south India, three dynasties—namely the Āndhra, the Chāulukya and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa—ruled during the same time. Thus, in all nine dynasties ruled over north and south India during the time-limit, with which we are concerned here. The Vallabhī dynasty in the north, and the Āndhra<sup>60</sup> and Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties in the south, have no Vikramāditya to boast of. We have noted below the Vikramādityas of the remaining six dynasties:—

Dynasty	Year (date)	Years
(A) Gardabhīla dynasty :		
(1) Vikramāditya or Vikramasīmha	B. C. 57 to A. D.	3 60
(B) Gupta dynasty :		
(2) Chandragupta I or Vikramāditya I	A. D. 319 to A. D. 330	11
(3) Chandragupta II or Vikramāditya II	A. D. 375 to A. D. 414	39
(4) Kumārgupta or Vikramāditya III	A. D. 480 to A. D. 495	15

(60) It has been subsequently found out, that of the 30 kings of the Āndhra dynasty, no. 17 (King Hāl) held the title Vikramāditya. He cannot, however, in any sense, be called Śakāri. (Point no. 6 above). So, we have not given his name in the list. We have, however, not omitted to mention him at least in the footnote.

Dynasty	Year (date)	Years
(C) The Parmāra dynasty :		
(5) Yaśodharman <sup>61</sup>	A. D. 515 to A. D. 550	35
Vikramāditya or	or	or
Śilāditya	A. D. 540 to A. D. 590	50
(6) Devśakti	A. D. 720 to A. D. 780	60
(He was probably called Vikramāditya )		

(D) Chāulukya dynasty :

(7) Vikramāditya I <sup>62</sup>	Śaka 655 to 681	26
	A. D. 733 to A. D. 759	
(8) Vikramāditya II <sup>63</sup>	Śaka 681 to	
	A. D. 759 to	

Some scholars<sup>64</sup> hold the opinion that sometimes the king, who had assumed the title Vikramāditya was called "Bhoja" also. Hence we have also to take note of the kings, who had this name to their credit. According to Colonel Todd, there were three<sup>65</sup> kings holding this name and they hailed from two dynasties. I happen to agree with Col. Todd in this except, that one of these three Bhojdevas had another contemporary of the same name; thus there were four Bhojdevas. They were as follows:—

(61) Vide pp. 219 of introduction to "Gauḍavaho".

(62) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 17.

(63) Read point no. 3 above; Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 177.

(64) Read point no. 3 above; Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 177; J. R. A. S. Vol. XII, pp. 275:—"Bhoja is the name of Persians given to Vikramāditya's son and often confounds the acts of the one with those of the other; Farishtah Danes translation, Vol. I, pp. 13".

(65) According to Colonel Todd the time of these three is (1) 631; (2) 721; and (3) 1091. He has, however, not stated to which era these numbers belong. It is probable that they represent the Vikrama era. Hence we have taken the corresponding Christian dates as 575, 665 and 1035. (Vide "Rājasthān" by Colonel Todd).



Dynasty	Year (date)	Years
(E) Parmāra dynasty of (Avanti):		
( 9 ) Bhojdev, the contemporary and patron of poets named Bāṇ and Mayur according to Vedic books, and of Māntuṅgastūri, a Jaina monk and author of " Bhaktāmar-stotra ", according to the Jaina books.	About A. D. 550. He ruled for nearly 60 years.	
( 10 ) Bhojdev : Ādivarāḥ; a contemporary and patron of Siddharsi, the author of "Upamiti Bhava Prapañcha."	A. D. 870 to A. D. 915=45 years.	
( 11 ) Bhojdev : Śīlāditya; the nephew of Munj the powerful and pupil of Vādivetāla Śāntisūri.	A. D. 996 to A. D. 1055=59 years.	
(F) Parihāra dynasty (of Kanoj):		
( 12 ) Bhojdev, a contemporary of No. 10, and grandson of Āmradev, the disciple of Bappabhaṭṭasūri.	The same time as No. 10.	

The reader will note, that of the four Bhojdevas enumerated above, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, do not at all hold the title " Vikramāditya. " No. 9, seems to have been the successor of No. 5 (at least in time.) [ These dates have been based by me on circumstantial evidence; but if at all, a change is required, it would not make difference of more than 10 years. ] Now, if we take it for granted, that the battle of Kārur was fought in 534<sup>66</sup>

(66) As a matter of fact, its date must have been 531.

A. D., then No. 9 will have to be ruled out. In short, none of the four Bhojdevas seem to have any right to the title "Vikramāditya."

Now we turn to the first eight kings, who were called Vikramādityas and shall try to find out, which of them can properly be called "Śakāri". In doing so, we shall guide ourselves according to two or three well recognized rules. In the first place, a king always prefers the era of his own dynasty to that of any other. Now, it is well known that the Guptas had started their own era and that they uniformly used it. Naturally therefore, the Gupta kings must not have given up their own era in favour of any other era. We have already proved, moreover, that neither No. 2 nor No. 3 was ever called "Śakāri." Hence Nos. 2, 3, 4 from the above list have to be excluded. The same rule applies to Nos. 7 and 8; both of whom belonged to the Chāulukya dynasty, which had its own era—namely, the Śaka era. So, we now exclude Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7 and 8, from the list of the probable founders of the Vikrama era.

We now turn to Nos. 1, 5 and 6. All the three ruled over Avantī. Kārur is said to have been situated in Mālwa, a district of Avantī. Now the battle at Kārur was fought not earlier than 57 B. C., and not later than 533 A. D. The time of No. 6 being much further, he shall also have it to be eliminated.

If we can fix up, once for all the time of the battle of Kārur, we can definitely say, which of the remaining two kings—Nos. 1 and 5—held the title "Śakāri" and was the founder of the Vikrama era. Now both No. 1 and No. 5 had to wage war against foreigners. (1) No. 5 had, however, to fight against the Hūṇs (points Nos. 8 and 9 above); while No. 1 rooted out the Śakas. So, No. 5 can be called "Hūṇāri" (the foe of the Hūṇs) and No. 1 can be called "Śakāri" (the foe of the Sakas). (2) The term "Śakāri" is always appended to the name of No. 1; while it is appended to No. 5 for a special reason only. (To find out, why the Vikrama era fell into disuse and was revived later on).

# Who was Vikramāditya ?

(3) A glance at the history of the Śakas will convince any one that their extirpation must have taken place at the hands of No. 1 only.<sup>67</sup> Thus, we come to the conclusion that the title "Śakāri" properly belongs to No. 1, and that No. 5 was the proper holder of the appellation "Hūnari"<sup>68</sup>.

We may now try to decide the respective places where the Śakas and the Hūns were defeated. The author of Amarkoś, an authoritative treatise, plainly tells us, that Śakāri Vikramāditya met the Śakas in an open battle at Kārur. Naturally, we shall have to agree that No. 5 fought with the Hūns at some other place. In this connection Mr. Fergusson observes<sup>69</sup>:—"Battles of Karur and Mansheri"<sup>70</sup> freed India from the Sakas and Huns who had held her in utter subjection; these two battles were fought between A. D. 524 and 544; I feel inclined to fancy that they may only be different names of the same battle. At all events, they almost certainly represent tracts of the same campaign, which freed India in that age from the Yavanas. It was to commemorate the glories of these struggles that the Vikramaditya Samvat was afterwards instituted." Though we do not, and in the light of

(67) See the Nāsik inscription by Queen Balaśrī. It is stated therein, that the Śakas were rooted out. The inscription is accepted to have been erected not later than first century A. D. Hence the extirpation of the Śakas must have taken place before or at least by, that time.

(68) Some details on the point are connected with the Mālava era. Hence they are not given here. Readers, desirous of being acquainted with these details, are requested to read further in the volume.

(69) J. R. A. S. Vol. XXI, pp. 284.

(70) If it is proved that Manśeri was but another name of Mandasore, then the contention that Kārur was another name of Mandasore would be proved wrong. In the light of the information supplied by Amarkoś, it is quite proper to say, that the battle between Vikramāditya Śakāri and the Śakas was fought at Kārur. (Read the next Vol. for details about this. Kārur must have been situated somewhere in the region lying between Mālwā and the southern banks of the Narbada). Here we rest satisfied with the fact that Kārur was the scene of the battle between Śakāri Vikramāditya and the Śakas and that Mandasore or Manśeri was the scene of battle between Hūnari and the Hūns.

facts cannot, agree with several points in the extract quoted above, we concur with the statement that "Hūṇari" Vikramāditya fought a battle against the Hūṇa hordes at Manṣeri.

So, we now come to the following conclusions:—

(A) The battle between Śakāri Vikramāditya and the Śakas took place at Kārur in 57 B. C.<sup>71</sup>. This Vikramāditya belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty.

(B) The battle between Hūṇari Vikramāditya and the Hūṇs took place at Manṣeri in 531 A. D. He belonged to the Parmāra dynasty and was the ruler of Mālāvā;

Enough details have now been given about the Vikrama era. The Mālāvā era and the Śaka era, which are many a time confounded with the Vikrama era, will be dealt with in the next chapter. We shall therefore, close this chapter after giving the reader some idea of the difficulties, which writers of those times had to experience in connection with the Vikrama era.

**The difficulties of  
Jaina historians**

Long before the Vikrama era was founded, there were writers of historical and other treatises connected with all the three religions. The followers of one of the religions only however, had to face the difficulties, because writers of the other two faiths always used eras, which were prevalent at the time of writing and which were suited to the nature and purpose of their subjects. Jaina writers were, on the other hand, under the stress of peculiar conditions. They used the Mahāvīra era before the Vikrama era was founded. When the Vikrama era came into being, they were on the horns of a dilemma, because Vikramāditya, over and above being a brave and powerful king, was a staunch follower of Jainism. So, after the founding of the Vikrama era, they sometimes used that era and sometimes used the Mahāvīra era. This state of affairs continued upto the end of the rule of the Gardabhīla dynasty, which lasted for a century and a half. Then began the rule of the Chasṭhara dynasty over Avantī; and

(71) C. H. I. pp. 155:—"Initial point of this era ought to be B. C. 57 or 56<sup>2</sup> instead of B. C. 56. (Ancient Eras by Cunningham, Pref. viii).

the provinces on the north of Avantī had long since come under the power of the Kuṣāns. It has been conclusively proved that both these dynasties founded their own eras. The next to succeed on the throne of Avantī were the Guptas. They also founded their own era. Later on, when their rule ended, the Hūṇa hordes invaded and conquered Avantī. After half a century of cruel and inhuman rule, the Kṣatriyas of the Agni Kula, who were created from fire, extirpated them and established their own power over Avantī. In commemoration of their victory they started their own era. Their rule lasted for nearly two centuries. Last but not the least, the Muslims invaded, conquered and settled in India and introduced their own era. Thus, within the span of seven or eight centuries, one new era succeeded and supplanted its predecessor and in its turn was succeeded and supplanted by another. Hence, the difficulties of Jainā writers increased to a great extent. The Vikrama era remained unused for several centuries<sup>73</sup>, among the people at large and among the writers of books. Sometimes writers used that era in their books, which was prevalent in the province where they stayed<sup>73</sup>. Sometimes only

(72) Why the era is not found to have been used is now clear.

(73) Below are given some examples of this.

(a) Many Jainā manuscripts were transcribed in Vallabhīpur during the time of Devaḍḍhigaṇi, the great Jainā monk. The number connected with this is 510. Scholars have taken it for granted that it represents the Vikrama era, while really speaking, it represents the Gupta era, which was prevalent at that time in Vallabhīpur. In terms of the Vikrama era, the number would come to 885.

(b) Haribhadrasūri, a great Jainā monk, is said to have written 1444 books. One of them, "Samarāditya Kathā" by name, has become very famous and has been translated into English by several scholars. This Sūri stayed in the Vallabhī kingdom and has used the number 585 in his books. Scholars have taken it for granted that the number represents the Vikrama era, while as a matter of fact, it represents the Gupta era, which when converted into the Vikrama era comes to 960.

(c) The same misunderstanding is prevalent about the time of many other Jainā monks like Śilāṅksūri, Dākṣiṇyasūri and Jinbhadragaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇi. This subject is discussed in details by me in the "Jainā Dharma Prakāś". The reader is requested to go through the following numbers of that monthly:—

the date was mentioned and the name of the era was omitted. Sometimes the term "Śaka" (meaning "Era" of the land<sup>74</sup>) was prefixed to the number. This gave rise to still more confusions, because while in north India the term "Śaka" signified nothing more than "Era", in south India, there actually was prevalent an era of that name (Śaka era). The reader will now see clearly that the term "Śaka" had different connotations in north, and south India.

Special difficulties arose when the number had to be used in connection with the name of a king. The writers naturally enough wanted to eulogize their patron kings in as glowing terms as possible. For doing so, they appended the title "Vikramāditya" or "Bhoj" to their names<sup>75</sup>. This custom continued to be observed uninterruptedly upto the advent of the Muslims in India. We know that the Muslim influence and hegemony was established over north India much earlier than it was

V. E. 1983, Vol. 43, No. 6, pp. 196 to 204.

" " " " " 7, " 229 to 236.

" 1984, " " " 9, " 317 to 323.

" " " " " 10, " 346 to 349.

In the same way, misapprehension prevails about the number 477, mentioned in "Śatrunjaya Mahātmyam" a treatise composed by Śrī Dhaneśvarsūriji, the royal preceptor and guide of King Munj of Mālwa and of Bhojdev, his nephew and successor. As a matter of fact, the number belongs to the Mālava era, which in terms of the Vikrama era, comes to 1066. In connection with this, the reader is requested to read my article in the "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", Vol. 43, 1984, Fālgun No. 12, pp. 420 to 424.

Vide ante. text on pp. 411 under Sir Cunningham's quotation.

(74) In f. n. no. 73 (c) above, there have been stated the names of Śilāṅksūri and Dākṣiṇyachinhasūri. The latter has composed a book named "Kūvalaymālā". He has stated therein that he was the disciple of Śilāṅksūri and has also given number 790 as the Śaka year of the composition of his book. Scholars have transferred this number into the Vikrama era, by adding 135 to it. ( $790+135=925$ ). Really speaking, the term "Śaka" here means the "Era of the land"=the Gupta era, as has been already explained in the various numbers of the Jaina Dharma Prakāś, quoted above.

(75) For instances of this read the details about the possible number of Vikramādityas and Bhojdevas, above.



established over south India. Hence, the custom persisted there for much longer time<sup>76</sup>. These details will give some idea to the readers of the difficulties that the writers of those times—and especially the Jaina writers—had to face in dating events described in their books. The problem is so intricate that no general rule can be framed to meet all the peculiarities connected with it.

There is, we presume, nothing wrong in making an attempt to find out or to frame some general rules for recognizing the eras, which are mentioned in various books, in numbers only, without any particular name being attached to them.

(A) In the first place (1) One should try to find out whether the name of any place is given or not, in connection with a particular number; (2) then one should find out, which were the dynasties which ruled over that place at different times; (3) then one must make an endeavour to find out, which of those dynasties had founded their own era and which of them used the era founded by their overlord, in case they were vassals under him.

(B) There are numerous ways of mentioning and using an era. This subject is a very intricate one and experts on eras should do all they can, to throw as much light upon it as is possible. We have ourselves come across many such methods. For example, writers have generally mentioned four details in connection with an era. They are:—the year, the season, the month and the date. Sometimes, the bright half or the dark half is also added to these details. Sometimes, any one or more are found to have been omitted. Sometimes again the “Purimānta” system is used and sometimes the “Āmāsānta”. A study of these details in connection with the various traits of different families and races of rulers, goes a long way in helping to find out, to which era a particular number belongs.

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(76) In north India, the appellation was in vogue upto the 8th or 9th century A. D. In south India, on the other hand, it was in vogue upto the rule of the Chāulukya dynasty.

No era has presented as many difficulties to the Jaina writers as the Vikrama era. Some instances given below, will give the reader some idea of these difficulties.

We have proved in the foregoing pages that Śakāri Vikramāditya belonged to the Gardabhīla dynasty. As a matter of fact, Gandharvasen was the founder of that dynasty. Some scholars however, hold the opinion, that because the Śaka rule intervened for some years between the end of the reign of Gandharvasen and the beginning of the reign of Vikramāditya, the Gardabhīla dynasty must be considered to have begun from the year in which Vikramāditya ascended the throne of Avanti. Holders of this opinion also advance the argument, that as far as the people were concerned, a new era—both in the literal and figurative sense of the term—began with the accession of Vikramāditya to the throne of Avanti and that the rule of dynasty continued uninterrupted only after that. According to these scholars, the Vikrama era was founded in 470 A. M. = 57 B. C., while according to the former school of thought, the same era can be said to have been founded in 453 A. M. = B. C. 74. These scholars, argue that though, no doubt, a new era began with the accesssion of Vikramāditya, the dynasty itself was founded by his father. They also argue that though several eras—the Chasthāṇa, the Ābhira, and the Gupta—were founded by the second or third king of the dynasty, yet they were all dated from the beginning of the rule of the first king of that dynasty. The same rule they say, should be applied to the Vikrama era. Over and above these two opinions, a third is also prevalent. The holders of this opinion say that, no doubt the era should be calculated from the first year of the rule of Gandharvasen, yet the intervening years of the Śaka rule should be omitted. According to some scholars moreover, the Śaka rule lasted for four years<sup>77</sup>, while according

(77) Hemachandrāchārya, subscribes to this belief. (Vide Vol. I. pp. 195, f. n. no. 33, where the three verses enumerating the names of the dynasties that ruled over Avanti, are quoted).

to others, it lasted for seven years.<sup>78</sup> Hence the era must be dated either 13 years or 10 years prior to 57 B. C. This opinion is held by the Vedic writers. They however, have not made much use of the Vikrama era. The Jaina writers, on the other hand, mainly used the Vikrama era and they are not unanimous in dating it. Some have dated it from 57 B. C., some from 74 B. C. and some from 70 B. C. while others from 67 B. C. Some instances of confusions arising from such reckonings are given below. Jainism has two main sects, namely Śvetāmbar and Digambar. The monks of the Śvetāmbar sect held different titles such as Vāchak, Gaṇi, Upādhyāy, Mahopādhyāy, Sūri, Āchārya and Kṣamāśramaṇ, according to their learning and spiritual progress. In the period of which we have to give instances, there lived a great monk named Devaḍḍhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ. It is said of him, that he got a large number of books written at Vallabhipur in Saurāṣṭra and distributed them among all the principal towns of India. Thus, he earned the merit of preserving knowledge, by getting it all written down in black and white. It is said that he did this in the year 510; but it is not known, to which era that number belongs. Later on, some scribe taking it for granted, that it represented a religious era, called it the Mahāvīra era. As a matter of fact however, the number belonged to the Gupta era which was at that time prevalent in Vallabhipur.<sup>79</sup> This figure in terms of the Vikrama era would come to  $510 + 375 = 885$  (V. E.). The scribe who took it for granted, that it represented the Mahāvīra era<sup>80</sup>, calculated it to 980 by adding 470 to 510. Those writers who believed the Vikrama era to have been begun from the year in which Gandharvasen came to the throne, added 17 years to this and got the number 997; while those who believed that the intervening four years of the Śaka rule should be omitted, added only 13 and got the number 993. Thus three numbers of the Mahāvīra era, namely 980, 993 and 997 have

(78) This opinion is held by Vāyupurāṇ. ( Pp. 332, f. n. no. 7 above ).

(79) Read f. n. no. 73 ( a ) above.

(80) Read the previous pages.

been given in connection with one and the same event—the preservation of knowledge by putting it down in black and white by Devaddigaṇi. The reader will see that these three numbers represent three different points of view and are correct enough, each in its own way. (Though really the time is 885 V. E. = 1355 M. E.) The same thing, as we have often shown, has happened in the case of the Purāṇas, in which the same thing is presented differently from different points of view.<sup>81</sup> Many instances of this kind are found in connection with the rule of the Śungas, because they were followers of the Vedic faith.

Now we turn to another instance. Just as the instance, we have already given, is in connection with the preservation of knowledge by getting it written down, so the instance, which we are now giving, is connected with the reading of what was written down. This event also took place in Saurāṣṭra. Kalpasūtra is a very sacred book of the Jains.<sup>82</sup> Upto a particular year, only the far-advanced monks were allowed to read it. In that year, the son of king Dhruvsen of Āṇandpur—Vardhdhamānpur—had died. The Jaina High Priest of that time read the Kalpasūtra publicly,<sup>83</sup> in order to relieve the mind of the bereaved king from sorrow and grief. This event took place in V. E. 980<sup>84</sup>; but, as we have already explained in the preceding paragraph, two other alternative dates can also be given by adding to it 13, and 17 respectively;

(81) Many instances of this are found in the account of the Śunga dynasty. The Śungas were the followers of the Vedic religion. So all Purāṇas contain details about them.

(82) Some scholars are of the opinion that this number (980) represents the Mahāvīra era. For details about this read f. n. nos. 83 and 84 below.

(83) When did this event take place? Who was king Dhruvasen? Where was Āṇandpur or Vardhdhamānpur situated? Under whose rule was Saurāṣṭra at that time? Answers to all these questions are given by me in the "Jaina Dharma Prakāś", Vol. 45, no. 5, pp. 161 to 174.

(84) Vide pp. 7 of the K. S. S. Probably it was stated in the original manuscript that the number belonged to the Vikrama era. Later on, a scribe must have written it down as representing the Mahāvīra era.

(i. e. 993 and 997). A confusion is very likely to arise in connection with the dates of this event and of the preceding one. We have shown above that the correct Vikrama year for the preceding event is 885, and the false dates for the same are 980, 993, and 997. These three dates, again, are the correct dates of the second event. So, one is likely to think mistakenly that both the events—and very important events at that in the history of Jainism—took place in the same year; while as a matter of fact, there is an interval of 95 years between them. (980 – 885 = 95<sup>85</sup>).

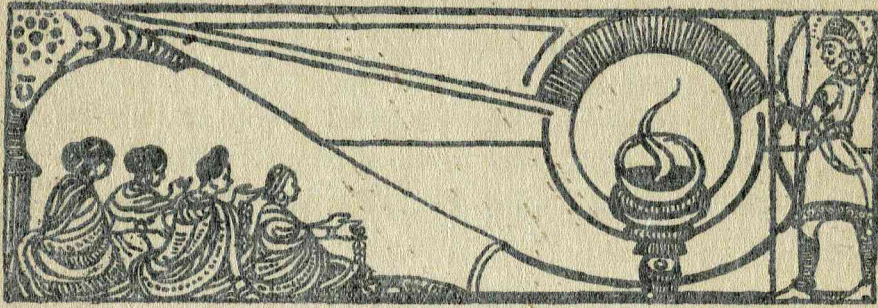
Let us now take an instance from the Digambara sect. It has got four divisions or *saṅghas*. The name of one of them is *Sarasvatī Saṅgh*. In that Saṅgh the High Priests succeed one another in a particular manner. This succession is called the “*Paṭṭāvalī*” of the *Sarasvatī Saṅgh*. In the account of this *Paṭṭāvalī* it is stated<sup>86</sup> that Vikram was anointed on the throne when he became eighteen years old.<sup>87</sup> Then it is said, that if his era is dated from the year of his birth, all the confusions would be done away with. We have, however, already explained how this difference of 17 or 18 years has taken place.

We finish here all the details about the Vikrama era, the Mahāvīra era, the Chedi era and the Kṣaharāṭa era. Now, in the next chapter, we shall deal with the Mālava era and the Śaka era, which have often been confused with the Vikrama era.

(85) Read f. n. no. 82 above.

(86) Vide pp. 156 of “*Jaina Kāla Gaṇanā*” by Muni Kalyāṇavijayaḥ. (Printed in 1976). (This article has been published in “*Nāgarī Prachārīṇī Sabhā's Patrikā*” of Kāśī, Vol. X, Part IV).

(87) He came to the throne, not in the 18th year of his life (rather in the 18th year after the dynasty was founded by his father) but in the 24th or 25th. (Vide his account).



## Chapter II

### The various Eras (Contd.)

**Synopsis:**—*The origin of the Mālava era—Proofs in support of the fact, that it was different from the Vikrama era—Causes why the Vikrama era fell into disuse some time after its beginning—The wider and wider prevalence of the Mālava era—Its absorption in the Vikrama era—Some novel details about the Hūns.*

**Saka era:**—*Six different meanings of the term "Saka," and difficulties arising from these various meanings—The founder of the Saka era—The Saka era in north India and the Saka era in south India—Proofs, based on rock-inscriptions, coins and old literatures, to the effect that they were different from each other—Other peculiarities of the Saka era.*

**Classification of the various eras—Peculiarities of each era—**  
*The three eras most in vogue at present and the method of transforming a number representing one of them, in the terms of the other two and vice versa—A delusion in connection with the Vikrama era and the Christian era.*

## (A) MĀLAVA ERA

The eras discussed in this chapter have little connection with the time-limit fixed for this book. Reasons, however, have already been stated, why we have decided to devote a separate chapter to them.

The question of the origin of the Vikrama era has baffled not a small number of scholars. In fairness to them, we cannot help stating, that all of them were quite honest and sincere in their search for truth in connection with the era. It is but natural that they differed from one another. In spite of this wide divergence of opinions, however, they are all united by a common thread of contention that Śakāri Vikramāditya (whoever he was and whenever he lived) founded the Vikrama era, and that Hūnāri Vikramāditya (No. 5 in the list given in the previous chapter) was the one, who rooted out the Hūns in A. D. 531 = V. E. 598. He founded an era called the Mālava era<sup>1</sup> in commemoration of this event. Both Vikramādityas were rulers of Avantī; only, by the latter Vikramāditya's time, Avantī had begun to be called by a new name—Mālavā. Secondly, both were Kṣatriyas; but, while the former has stated merely that he was a Kṣatriya; the latter has made it expressly clear that he was "Rājput" of the Parmāra clan. In Hindu Śāstras, the first has always been referred to as "Avantipati" (king of Avantī), while the second has always been called "Mālavapati" (king of Mālvā)<sup>2</sup>. We also know that

(1) Bhā. Prā. Rāj. Vol. II, pp. 386 and sequel.

Mr. Smith and Dr. Bhāṇḍārkar hold the opinion, that it was Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty, who revived the Vikrama era and supplanted the Mālava era. This Chandragupta, they believe, had assumed the name "Vikramāditya". This means that the Mālava era was started long before the time of Chandragupta and that he changed its name to Vikrama era. As a matter of fact, however, the Mālava era was started much long after the reign of Chandragupta. The Guptas, moreover, had started their own era. Why should, then, a Gupta king have given preference to the Vikrama era?

(2) It is possible that just as the term "Rājput" originated from the term

the four Rājputa clans<sup>3</sup> ( Parmār, Chauhān, Chaulukya or Solanki<sup>4</sup> and Pratihār or Parihār ) came into being about this time<sup>5</sup>. Each clan established its power over a separate territory. Henceforth the Kṣatriyas began to call themselves " Rājputs"<sup>6</sup>. ( The off-springs or the descendants of the ruling dynasty.)

The Parmārs had established their power in Mālvā, and were, on that account, called ' Mālavapatis' ( Lord of Mālvā ). We know that, five centuries ago, the people of

**Further details about the Paramāra clan** Avantī unanimously and whole-heartedly conferred on Vikramāditya, the title " Śākāri " because he rooted out the Śakas from Avantī<sup>7</sup>.

Yaśodharman, the Parmāra king of Mālvā, liberated the people of Avantī ( now called Mālvā ) from the cruel rule of the Hūṇs. He was, therefore, called by the people, " Hūṇāri Vikramāditya." In commemoration of the extirpation of the Śakas, was founded the Vikrama era; and in commemoration of the rooting out of the Hūṇs, was started the Mālava era.

Ujjaini enjoyed a unique position in ancient India, in many points, most of which we have already noted in the foregoing pages. Of the four Rājputa clans, those three who established their power in north India, retained and continued the Mālva era. The

"Kṣatriya", so also the terms "Mārwād", "Mewād" and "Mālvā" may have originated and come into being at this time. ( Read the f. n. below ).

(3) For details about these four clans, vide pp. 318 and sequel and the last pages of Part IX in Vol. IV.

(4) Probably the Chaulukyas are different from the Solankis. The former always use the Śaka era, while the latter do not. There is also little resemblance between their pronunciations and scripts. Probably the Solankis are a distant branch of the Chaulukyas. There are more points of divergences than of resemblances between the two. ( Pp. 319-320 and footnotes ).

(5) Pp. 318 and sequel. The time stated by me there, is A. D. 533. Further research work tells me that the time was A. D. 531.

(6) Read f. n. no. 2 above.

(7) For details, vide the account of the Gardabhila dynasty.

fourth<sup>8</sup> clan—the Chāulukyās—went southwards and established their rule there. They adopted the Chālukya era which was in vogue there<sup>9</sup>.

The Vikrama era, as we know, was started in Avantī. It remained in vogue for the next two centuries (i. e. upto 150 A. D.<sup>10</sup>. Then the Chasthana ksatraps became the rulers of Avantī<sup>11</sup>. They started their own era, which we shall call the Chasthana era<sup>12</sup>. After their rule ended, the throne of Avantī<sup>13</sup> was occupied by the Guptas in 319 A. D. They founded their own era, called the Gupta era. Several years before the end of that dynasty—i. e. in the last quarter of the fifth century and in the first quarter of the sixth century—the Hūns had established their power over all the region around Avantī. They longed to bring Avantī under their rule. Before, however, they could realize their ambition, the four Ksatriya clans, who had recently been created from fire, attacked and drove them out. Yaśodharman<sup>14</sup>, the chief of the

(8) This shows that the contention that the Chaulukyās were one of the four Fire clans is not correct. (Pp. 319 and sequel). Read also f. n. no. 9 below.

(9) This proves that the Śaka era had long since been in existence. It also shows that the Chaulukyās had settled there since long.

(10) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIV, pp. 22; Vide also the "Pauchāṅg" for S. E. 1800, pp. 2, by Gaṇpat Kṛṣṇāji. It is stated therein, that the era continued to be in vogue for 135 years. This contention is based on the theory, that the Śaka era was founded by the Chasthana kṣatraps and that their rule began in A. D. 78. (For correct details about the origin of the Śaka era, read further in this chapter).

(11) Scholars generally hold the opinion, that the Chasthana era was founded in A. D. 78. I have reasons to differ from them. I believe that the era was started in about A. D. 150. For further details, vide the account of the Chasthana dynasty in the next volume.

(12) The nomenclature is used by me only. The reason for doing so, is that the time of its origin is quite different from that of the Śaka era. (Read f. n. nos. 10 and 11 above). The name has been given to distinguish it from the Śaka era. It has been based upon the name of its founder.

(13) A synopsis of the accounts of all the dynasties that ruled over Avantī is given at the end of chapter IX in next volume.

(14) The literal meaning of the word is, "One whose sacred duty is to acquire fame". For details about him vide Vol. I, pp. 187.

Parmāra clan, ascended the throne of Avantī. He had a keen desire to revive the Vikrama era, because Vikramāditya had, under similar circumstances, freed the people of Avantī from the cruel yoke of the Śakas. That era had long since fallen into disuse, because each new dynasty, that established its power over Avantī, founded its own era and consequently, supplanted the previous era. On second thoughts, however, he decided to found a separate era in his own name and in commemoration of the victory achieved by him. Thus came the Mālava era into being. As, however, both the eras were founded in the same place, under similar circumstances, and by persons having almost the same name, many confusions have arisen, as a result of which, events connected with the one are ascribed to the other and vice versa.

The people of Avantī, however, thought the other way. They wanted to revive the era of their former liberator. The other two Rājputa clans, who had settled in the north India, felt jealous of Yaśodharman and saw no justice in the founding of an era by him, commemorating himself alone, for a victory in the achievement of which, they had played no small part. This gave rise to the fear of dissensions<sup>15</sup> among those three clans. So, probably the rulers of each clan, conferred with one another for a common formula. They must have decided that the Mālava era was to be discontinued and the Vikrama era was to be revived. This wise decision points to the fact, that the kings who came to it, must have been foresighted and well-educated.<sup>16</sup> One such trio

(15) This state of affairs must have come into being nearly 250 years after the founding of the Mālava era. The Mahomedan invasions over India had already begun by that time.

(16) For proof about this, see the dynastic lists given on pp. 187. Vol. I. It will be seen that Devaśakti, the fifth Paramāra king of Avantī and Yaśovarman, the Parihāra king of Gwāliar, were contemporaries. In the same way, Bhojdev, the 9th Paramāra king was a contemporary of his namesake, who was on the throne of Gwāliar.

Thus in the two clans out of three, it happened twice, that both had wise and foresighted kings on the throne at the same time.

lived in 750 A. D.<sup>17</sup>, while another lived in 875 A. D. or there about. No details are available about the former trio. Of the second trio, however, two are well-known. One was Bhojdev Parmār alias Śilāditya alias Prātapśīl, the king of Avanti, and the second was his name-sake Bhojdev Pratihāri, the king of Gwāliar.<sup>18</sup> Both of them were learned and always patronized and encouraged<sup>19</sup> learned men—Indian as well as foreign. We do not know, who was on the throne of Ajmer, where the Chauhāns, the third clan, had established their power. He must also have

The Mālava era was supplanted by the Vikrama era only after the time of Devāsakti and Yaśovarman, or of the Bhojdevs. For instances in proof of this read further.

(17) Scholars tell us, that the Vikrama era has been found to have been used in the rock-inscriptions, only after this time. According to the Archeological Report, Vol. II, pp. 68, the earliest mention of the Vikrama era has been as late as A. D. 754. (V. E. 811). Somewhat contradictorily, it has been stated on pp. 266-68 of the same report, that the first mention has been found to be somewhat later; i. e. in A. D. 769=V. E. 826. According to Bhā. Prā. Rāj. Vol. II, pp. 386 and Indian Antiquary Vol. XIX, pp. 35. (See the rock-inscription at Dhaulpur by Mahāsen Chauhān), its first mention was dated A. D. 840=V. E. 897. Again, it is stated in I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 35, that the earliest mention was made in A. D. 739=V. E. 794. (Read text concerning f. n. no. 59, pp. 420 above).

(18) Bhojdev of the Pratihāra dynasty was, as a matter of fact, the king of Gwāliar. Scholars have always called him the king of Kanoj. Below are stated true details in connection with this erroneous conception.

Emperor Harṣavardhan of the Parihāra dynasty, had his throne in Kanoj: He had one elder brother and one sister. Both Harṣavardhan and his elder brother died without leaving any male issue behind them. So their sister came to throne. This sister was married with Gṛhavarman, the Pratihāra king of Gwāliar. Consequently Gṛhavarman, who belonged to the Maukhari clan, came to the throne of Kanoj also. Bhojdev of the Pratihāra dynasty, was the fourth or the fifth descendant of Gṛhavarman. (See the dynastic list on pp. 187, Vol. I. Due to, however, similarity in the names of the dynasty, due to contemporaneity of the kings and due to identity in the names of kings, scholars have confused both the Bhojdevs with each other).

(19) Due to reasons stated above, actions done by the Pratihāra Bhojdev have been ascribed to the Paramāra one and vice versa.

been, if not learned, at least a practical-minded person and must have thought it better, to consent to the decision arrived at by the other two, rather than to oppose it and create two strong enemies in place of two strong allies. Thus must have been revived the Vikrama era<sup>20</sup>. It is however, common sense to believe that the Mālava era must have remained in vogue, even some time after this decision was made. No era can be abruptly and absolutely stopped. In course of time, however, it was completely supplanted by the Vikrama era, which is in full force upto the present day.

These are my ideas about the origin of the Mālava era, and about the relation between the Mālava era and the Vikrama era.<sup>21</sup>

Some scholars hold the opinion, that the Mālava era and the Vikrama era are but two different names of the same era<sup>22</sup>. One of them says:—"The former name of the Malava era must have been the Vikrama era. In dating events, however, no name must have been mentioned. Simply the general term "Samvat" (era) must have been prefixed to the number. The king of Mālava must have assumed the name 'Vikramaditya' in commemoration of his victory"<sup>23</sup>. In short, the writer means that the term "Malava" was prefixed to the Vikrama era, which was founded long ago and which, generally, was mentioned by the term "Samvat" (era), "Vikrama" being commonly omitted. This erroneous conception is due to the fact, that both Śakāri Vikramāditya and Yaśodharman ruled over the same country-Mālvā, though at quite different times. We have proved, in the foregoing pages, that the two eras are entirely different from each other and have been

(20) For examples of this, read f. n. no. 17 above and pp. 420, f. n. nos. 55 and 56.

(21) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 145:—"The Vikrama Samvat does not, strange to say, appear to have been adopted till after the 10th century". (For proof, read f. n. no. 17 above and also cf. f. n. no. 9, pp. 402).

(22) Vide I. A. Vol. XIX, pp. 316.

(23) Nā, Pra. Sabhā Patrikā, Vol. X, Part IV, pp. 736, f. n. no. 108.

founded by different persons at different times in commemoration of different events. Again, why should the Parmārs prefix the term "Mālava" to the Vikrama era? No other rulers of Avantī ever followed the practice. The Kṣaharājas, the Guptas and others never did such an absurd thing. They all started eras in their names and had nothing to do with the Vikrama era. All of them, be it noted were the rulers of Mālavā. In short, we come to the logical conclusion that the Vikrama era and the Mālava era were quite different from each other.

### (B) THE SAKA ERA

We have already stated above, that a disquisition on the Śaka era was necessary because many misconceptions prevail about it and give rise to many confusions. It is much older than the Mālava era. Its very name<sup>24</sup> has been so unfortunate that it has often been confounded with the Vikrama era and thus has given rise to a long trail of confusions worse confounded<sup>25</sup>. These are the reasons, why we have thought it proper to give some details about it, though the era itself is partly within the time-limit fixed for this book.

The term "Śaka" has been taken by scholars to mean literally the era of that name. Sometimes, it has been taken to mean the Vikrama era. It has been also found

**Its meaning** to have been prefixed to numbers representing various eras. In such cases it means 'Era'. The various meanings of the term are given below.

(1) Śaka = The era or the "Epoch." It has been used to denote "The Epoch or the Era" in general, but not the particular "Śaka era". The following verse will make it clear:—

Yudhiṣṭhiro, Vikrama Śālivāhanan  
tato nṛpāḥ syādvijayābhinandanāḥ

(24) Details about the meaning of the term "Śaka" have been given later on. They will make clear the meaning of the remark made above.

(25) Sometimes it is taken to mean the "Vikrama era" and hence many confusions arise. The above terminology has been adopted for distinguishing the one from the other. (Read further for instances of this).

tatastu Nāgārjuna bhūpatihi  
kalau Kalkī ṣaḍete Śakakārahā smṛtāhā<sup>96</sup>

"The following kings will flourish in the Kali age: Yudhiṣṭhir, Vikram, Śalivāhan; and later on, Vijayābhinandan, Nāgārjun and Kalkī. Each will found an era in his own name." The reader will see that the term "Śakakārah" in the above verse means "founder of an era". Many instances of this kind can be given. Some of them are given on pp. 426-27.

(2) The term "Śaka" has been sometimes taken to mean, "The Vikrama era". In this connection Sir Cunningham states<sup>97</sup>: "In the Śaka year twelve hundred and seventy five called Chitrabhanu, in the light fortnight of Margashirsha, its fifth day and Saturday". Many scholars have come to the conclusion that the number 1275 in the above inscription represents the Śaka era and have translated it, in terms of the Christian era as  $1275 + 78 = 1353$  A. D. They have done so, because the term "Śaka year" is clearly mentioned in the inscription. Sir Cunningham differs from these scholars and says:—"Nothing can apparently be clearer than this date, which corresponds to A. D. 1353; and yet it is absolutely certain, that the word Saka cannot be intended for the Śaka era, as the name of Chitrabhanu, which is the 16th year of the Jovian Cycle, corresponds exactly with 1275 Vikramaditya". In f. n. 21 on the same page, he further states, "I have since found an inscription dated in Vikrama Saka". All this makes it crystal clear that the term "Śaka" has been used here to mean the Vikrama era.

(3) It also means "The era founded by the king named "Śalivāhan"<sup>98</sup>. This is an independent era and the term "Śaka" represents it. When used in this sense, it has no connection with any other era. Neither does it then mean simply "era". In

(26) Vide J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, pp. 128.

(27) Vide pp. 21 of "Book of Ancient Eras" by Sir Cunningham; vide also Bengal Asiatic Society Journal, No. 28, pp. 4, 5; (Dr. Hall).

(28) We shall discuss in the next volume, whether the usage "Śaka Śalivāhan" is proper or not.

this connection, a scholar says<sup>29</sup>:—"The dates of the western Kṣatrapas are actually recorded in the years of the Saka era beginning in 78 A. D.<sup>30</sup> There can be no possible doubt".

(4) It also means "The era started by the Śakas or the era which the Śakas used." It may mean the era of the Saka-nation themselves, or the era used by the nation who call themselves Śakas<sup>31</sup>. "But whatever their nationality may have been, it seems extremely probable that in later times, they (western kshatrapas)<sup>32</sup> are actually called "Sakas" and it may be suggested that the name which was generally accepted at a later date for the era used by them, may not have been derived from the fact that, it was originally founded by a Saka king, as is generally assumed, but from the fact that, it became best known in northern India, as the era which was used for so long a period by these Saka kings (Saka—Nrupa-kala)". In short, the writer means that the race to which Chaṣṭhana Kṣatrap belonged was called "Saka", and so the era used by these Śakas was called the "Śaka era". The era may have been founded by the Śaka king; or it may have derived its name from its long-term use by the Śakas. The latter conclusion, according to the writer, is the more probable of the two. We deduce from this, that the era had some connection with the Śakas.

(5) The term "Śaka-Nṛpa-Kāla" has been used in connection with the era<sup>33</sup>. The term is capable of various meanings: (a) The era founded by the king of the Śakas. The king in question may

(29) Vide C. A. R. Intro. para. 83; J. R. A. S. 1899, pp. 365.

(30) Scholars hold the opinion that the era which was founded by the Western Kṣatrapas was begun in A. D. 78. This opinion is ill-founded. The point is discussed in details in the next Part. The example given here is meant to show that the term "Śaka" was used in the general sense "Era".

(31) Vide C. A. R. para 84.

(32) Scholars hold the opinion that the Chaṣṭhanas belonged to the Śaka race. As a matter of fact however, they were not Śakas at all. We have referred to this in the foregoing pages. (Vide the account of Nahapāṇ). Full details will be given in the account of Chaṣṭhaṇ. I have not raised this point here because we are not concerned with it at present.

(33) Read the extract quoted above.

have been himself a Śaka or may not have been one. Probably he was not. Thus the meaning would be "The era founded by a king, who ruled over the Śakas". (b) The era founded by a king, who himself belonged to the Śaka race. It does not, however, necessarily mean that the people over whom he ruled were Śakas. Most probably they were not. (c) It may simply mean "In a particular year of a king". The number stated then means, "So many years after the Coronation of that king".

Briefly stated, the term "Śaka" is capable of six interpretations—

- (1) An era of that name (No. 3).
- (2) The era adopted by the Śakas (No. 4 & 5, a).
- (3) The era founded by the Śakas (No. 5, b).
- (4) An era ( any era ) (No. 1).
- (5) A year ( any year of any king's reign ) (No. 5, c).
- (6) Vikrama era (No. 2).

The six meanings given above will help us to a certain extent in finding out an answer to the query made here. Nos. 2 and 3 show, that it had connection with the Śakas.

**Who was the founder of the Śaka era?** According to Nos. 4 and 1, it may have had simply meant an "era" or a particular era. No.

5 tells us that it simply means "a particular date in the reign of a king"; while, according to No. 6 it denotes the Vikrama era. Of these meanings, No. 6 has been discussed in details in the previous chapter. No useful purpose will be served by discussing No. 5.

Let us first discuss Nos. 2 and 3. We have proved in the preceding chapters, that the Śakas were one of the foreign invaders of India. For the sake of clarity, we have divided them into two classes, viz, the Śakas (the Scythians) and the Indo-Scythians. The former ruled in India for 7 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  years only<sup>34</sup>; while the rule of the latter lasted for 22 years<sup>35</sup>. It is not thus probable, that during such short periods of rule, there could have been any Śaka ruler, powerful and mighty enough to found a long-lasting

(34) Vide ante the Inter-regnum, Chapter II.

(35) See the dynastic list facing pp. 369.

and widely prevalent era. We have however to note the fact, that the rule of both the Śakas and the Indo-Scythians was over before the founding of the Christian era. Is it not then probable, that fresh Śaka hordes invaded India and established their rule in it, in the first century A. D. or there after? Many scholars hold the theory, that foreign rulers like Bhūmak, Nahapāṇ, Rājuvul, Soḍās, Liak and Pātik (who were truly speaking Kṣaharāṭas), and like Mauses, Aziz I, Azilises, Aziz II and Gondofarnes (who were Indo-Pārthians), were all Śakas. We have to bear this in mind, while investigating into the origin of the Śaka era.

The foreigners who established their power in India in the first century A. C. or thereafter, were the Kuśans and the Chasthanas. Details about both will be given later on. We may simply state here, that neither of the two can be called Śakas in any sense of the term. Scholars have however, committed the same mistake which they did in connection with the Kṣaharāṭas and the Indo-Pārthians, and have called these both Śakas. We have examined below the whole thing in details.

It is stated on pp. 33 of I. A. Vol. 33, "Prof. Oldenberg put forth the statement that Kanishka founded the Saka Era; this theory has been generally accepted by the majority of Oriental scholars."

Another scholar states the same opinion more clearly as follows<sup>36</sup>:—"Four different theories prevail about the origin of the Śaka era; (a) some scholars say that it was founded by Turūska or Kaniška of the Kuśana dynasty; (his publication Vol. I, pp. 3); (b) according to others Ksatrap Nahapāṇ founded it; (c) while still others ascribe it to either Venski, a Śaka king (d) or to Aziz, another Śaka king." In the light of information at hand, we cannot help saying that all the four theories are void of truth. We shall prove later on, that the Kuśans were quite a different race from the Śakas. Nahapāṇ was decidedly a Kṣaharāt. As regards Venski, we have to state that the name itself is not found to have been mentioned in any historical treatise, worth

the name. Probably, the writer means Vimā Kadaphisis. If that is so, we might merely add, that he was also a Kuśān. The last one—Aziz—was, as we have already proved, an Indo-Pārthian. Thus, none of the four theories hold water.

We now turn to that venerable and veteran student of ancient Indian history—Sir Cunningham. He also holds the opinion that the Śaka era was founded by Kanishka of the Kuśāna dynasty. Mr. Vincent Smith, on the other hand, differs from him and states<sup>37</sup>:—"I do not affirm as a fact the theory that the Śaka era of A. D. 78 was established by Kanishka." Leaving aside other points raised in this statement, we glean the fact that Kanishka was not the founder of the Śaka era. The extracts quoted above show, that though many scholars subscribe to the opinion that the Śaka era was founded by a king of the Kuśāna dynasty, yet they are doubtful whether the Kuśāns were Śakas or not. Mr. Rapson, on the other hand, plainly states<sup>38</sup>:—"One of the main objections brought against the theory, that the Śaka era was founded by Kanishka was, that Kanishka was not a Saka but a Kushan."

[Note:—In other words, Mr. Rapson objects to the theory that a Kuśāna king should have founded the era presumably connected with the Śakas. Kanishka, however, may have started his own era and by some inexplicable perversity, the era may have been named "The Śaka era". It is quite certain, that about this time a new era was started either by the Kuśāns or by Chasthanas (Vide the previous pages). It is another matter, whether that era was started in 78 A. D. or somewhat earlier or later. We must bear in mind however, that though this era was named the Śaka, it does not, in any way, mean that it had any connection with the Śakas themselves—either rulers or subjects.]

These are my views on the Śaka era, that was prevalent in North India. Details about the Śaka era which was, and is still,

(37) Vide E. H. I. Edi. III, pp. 254.

(38) Vide C. A. R. para 85.

in use in South India, will be given in the account of the Āndhras. It will now be clear to readers, that there are two separate eras, bearing the same name and that they were (and one of them still is) prevalent in different parts of India.

Whenever we come across the term "Śaka era" we at once think of the era of the same name that was prevalent in south India. The Śaka era is found to have been mostly used by the Brahmins, who have stated in their books that there elapsed a period of 135 years, between the inception of the Vikrama era and that of the Śaka era<sup>39</sup>. We know that the Vikrama era began 57 years before the Christian era,<sup>40</sup> and that the Śaka era began 78 years after the Christian era. Hence Mr. Rapson correctly says<sup>41</sup> "The Śaka era began in A. D. 78. There can be no possible doubt about it." This is quite true<sup>42</sup>. It is also stated in Jaina books<sup>43</sup>:—"The Śaka king will flourish 605 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr". Other books also support this statement<sup>44</sup>. During the time of Yati Rṣabh, the following three beliefs were prevalent:—

(1) The Śaka king flourished 9785 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr.

(2) The Śaka king flourished 14793 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr.

(3) The Śaka king flourished 605 years and 5 months after the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr.

(39) Ante. pp. 330, f. n. no. 3.

(40) Vide the chapter on the Vikrama era; read also the account of Vikramāditya.

(41) Vide C. A. R. para 83; J. R. A. S. 1899, pp. 365.

(42) We have to bear in mind, that he has made the above statement in order to express the opinion of all scholars of note. The general opinion among the scholars is, that the same era was in use in both North and South India.

(43) Nā. Pra. Patrikā, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 722-23; vide also "Tiloksār" by Nemichandraji and "Tiloyapannati" by Yati Rṣabhadatta.

(44) Nā. Pra. Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 732, f. n. no. 4.

With the first two kings we are not concerned here. We are concerned with the third Śaka king only. Now, Mahāvīr died 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era. (i. e. in  $470+57=527$  B. C.<sup>45</sup>). 605 years after Mahāvīr's Nirvāṇ means in the 135th ( $605-470=135$ ) year of the Vikrama era, and in the 78th ( $605-527=78$ ) year of the Christian era. In short, the Vedic books, the Jaina books and other reliable sources are unanimous about the fact, that the Śaka era was founded in A. D. 78. (= 135 V. E. or 605 M. E.). This era was prevalent in south India.

We now turn to its namesake, which was prevalent in north India. In the foregoing paragraph we have proved that it was started by either the Kuśāns or the Chasthans. We have also stated that two eras bearing the same name were prevalent in different parts of India—one in north India and one in south India. We shall later on discuss, whether they were the names of the same era or whether they were two separate eras having different origins and different founders. In f. n. no. 46, pp. 309, we have clearly stated that the era was founded, not in 78 A. D., but in 103 A. D. If we can prove that the era which was prevalent in south India was founded in 78 A. D., and the era which was prevalent in north India was founded in 103 A. D., it automatically becomes established, that they were two different eras, having naturally different founders. We have however, yet to prove this contention. We shall do so later on. In connection with this point, a writer<sup>46</sup> quoted Dr. Keilhorn and says:—"According to Dr. Keilhorn himself, the solar month<sup>47</sup> is also used in Saka dates (first appears so late, as in the year 944 = A. D. 1022<sup>48</sup>)...It may be said that the use of the lunar month

(45) Vide Vol. II, Chap. I.

(46) Vide I. A. Vol. 37, pp. 46.

(47) The solar month begins from the first of the dark half of a month; while the lunar month begins from the first of the bright half of a month. (For further details vide pp. 374, f. n. no. 34).

(48) So far as I understand, the solar system is of a very old origin. Like the Vikrama era, it also fell into disuse later on (pp. 440). It must have been, again like it, begun to be expressed later on—say from V. E. 944. (Cf. infra. f. n. no. 51).



-dates in Sakaera, is the result of its long residence in southern India, and that the use of the solar month-names, is the result of its northern and civic origin; or may it not be that the Buddhists of the earlier centuries of the Christian era used solar months in the reckonings, while the Brahmins used the lunar months, as their religious ceremonies and festivals are always with Tithis and Pakshas." We deduce the following conclusions from this extract. (1) The solar month is used in the Śaka era. (2) The reason of the use of the lunar month in it, is its long-time prevalence in the south India. (3) The Brahmins of south India used the lunar month in dating their religious rites with Tithis and Pakshas. (4) The Buddhists that lived in the 1st century A. D. or thereabout used the solar month in their books. (5) Because the system of using the solar month originated in north India. Points, other than those with which we are concerned here, will be discussed in a "Note" later on. We deduce one important conclusion that the system of using the solar month was in vogue in north India and that of using the lunar month was in use in south India. This shows that events were differently<sup>49</sup> dated in the two parts of India. Moreover, there elapsed a period of 25 years between the origins of these two eras. In short, there were two different eras<sup>50</sup> having the same name. They were founded at different times by different persons, and were in use in different parts of India.

The era in north India was founded either by the Kuśānas or by the Chasṭhaṇas. It continued to be in use—with slight changes—for some time. We do not know exactly, how long it continued to be in use.<sup>51</sup> It is certain however, that it is no longer in use at present. The Śaka era that is in use to-day originated in

(49) The same opinion has been stated by Sir Cunningham in his "The Book of Indian Eras" pp. 31.

(50) Read f. n. no. 52 below.

(51) According to Dr. Keilhorn, its mention was first found in V. E. 944. We have stated here however, that the method was in use as early as the rule of the Kuśāns. We do not know what happened to it in the intervening period.

Further research work will, I hope, throw light on the point.

south India, and is to-day in vogue there. The method of lunar months is used in it. It was founded by the Śatvāhana dynasty of Āndhra kings.<sup>52</sup> It had nothing to do with the Kuśānas or with the Chasthanas.<sup>53</sup>

[ Note:—We now turn to the other points raised in the extract quoted above. In the first place, Dr. Keilhorn says, that the Buddhists used this era in north India and used the system of solar months. In the account of emperor Priyadarśin ( Vol. II ), we have proved, that he was quite a different individual from Aśok. We have also proved, that most of the inscriptions which the scholars have ascribed to Aśok, are as a matter of fact, connected with his grandson and successor, Priyadarśin. Aśok was a Buddhist, while Priyadarśin was a staunch Jain. Hence, the inscriptions contain Jaina doctrines and not Buddhist doctrines, as many scholars mistakenly believe they do. In support of this, we have given many facts (Chap. I) in the accounts of Mahāvīr and Buddha in the same Volume. The evidence of coins ( Chaps. II and III of the same Volume ) is wholly in favour of the same contention. So, the system of using the solar month, which Dr. Keilhorn has ascribed to Buddhism is, as a matter of fact, connected with Jainism. The following points are stated in support of this.

(1) The Buddhist generally used the Buddha era. They merely stated the number of the year. They seldom mentioned details like season, month, date etc. No definite mention is made of the solar system of months. Jaina books, on the other hand, contain frequent definite mention of this system.

(2) On the evidence supplied by inscriptions, we have proved on pp. 352 & seq. Appendix B, Vol. II, that the Chasthana ksatrapas were Jains. An extract is quoted there from Mr. Rapson, who emphatically declares the same thing. They had adopted the solar method because it was in use in Jainism.

(52) The Śatvāhan kings who founded this era, were followers of the Vedic religion. (Vide their account. Dr. Keilhorn is of the same opinion). The Śaka era, on the other hand, which was prevalent in north India, was Jaina in origin, because its founders, the Kuśāns, were Jains.

(53) Read f. n. no. 52 above,

(3) Coins also definitely prove that Chasṭhaṇ was a Jain. (Vol. II, Chap. III).

Some one might doubt the authenticity of the fact that foreigners like Chasṭhaṇas and Kuśānas should have so staunchly taken to Jainism. In reply to this, we have to state simply that at the time with which we are concerned here (1st century A. D.), only three religions were prevalent in the whole known world—the Vedic religion, Buddhism and Jainism. Christianity was in its infancy, and was still practically confined to Syriā and Pālestine, the place of its origin. Except during the brilliant reign of Aśok, Buddhism had not exercised any noteworthy influence at any time or in any part of India. The Vedic religion had its bright days during the rule of the Śungas. In ancient times, no religion was as powerful or as prevalent as Jainism. It had stretched itself far and wide and had millions and millions of people under its broad and soothing wings. Priyadarśin, the staunch Jaina emperor, had sent missionaries to the most distant parts of the earth to spread the gospel of Jainism there. He himself had conducted invasions over Nepāl, Tibet, Khoṭān, Asian Turkey and many other distant lands, had conquered those countries and had spread the Jaina gospel there. During his lifetime, he had appointed his son, Jālauk<sup>54</sup>, as the governor of Kāśmir, his son-in-law, Devpāl, as the governor of Nepāl and his another son, Kusthan<sup>55</sup>, as the governor of Tibet. After his death, all the three declared themselves as independent rulers of the territories over which they were appointed as governors. This took place in about B. C. 200. The home of the Kuśāns was Tibet—Khotān. They came to India in about 1st century A. D. Naturally, they must have had a strong inclination towards Jainism which was prevalent in their native place only a century ago. All these are facts based on the irrefutable evidence of coins and inscriptions. Scholars like Mr. Rapson, an expert in coins, subscribe to the same opinion. The inscription of Rudradāman, the grandson of Chasṭhaṇ, proves the same thing. He got his inscription written on the same slab on

(54) Read the appendix on Jālauk in Vol. II.

(55) Vol. II, account of Priyadarśin,

which Priyadarśin got his, at the foot of Mt. Girnār, a holy place of the Jains. He must have done so with the ambition of being ranked with Priyadarśin. Secondly, Dr. Keilhorn states that the difference in dating events in north, and south India is due to the influence of Brahmins. Of course, the Vedic religion might have exerted some influence over the era, but the extent of that influence was not so wide or so entire as is maintained by Dr. Keilhorn. He seems, to have done so, in order to confirm to the general theory, that the same era was prevalent in both parts of India.]

We have given below a table of the eras we have discussed in these chapters:—

No.	Name	Founder	The date of founding	Other details
1	Mahāvīra era	People	527 B. C.	In commemoration of Mahāvīr's Nirvāṇ.
2	Buddhist era	People	520 B. C.	In commemoration of Buddha's Nirvāṇ.
3	Kṣaharāṭa era	Nahapāṇ	159 B. C.	The year in which his father Bhūmak became Māhākṣatrap.
4	Kuśāna era	Kaniṣka I	A. D. 103 <sup>56</sup>	The year in which he came to the throne.
5	Chasṭhaṇa era	Chasṭhaṇ	A. D. 103	Though the era was founded by Chasṭhaṇ, yet it was dated from the first year of the reign of Ghṣamotik, his father, who was a ksatrap. The same thing happened with the Traikutakas. (Pp. 312).
6	Christian era	People	A. D. 1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ years after the birth of Jesus Christ.
7	Vikrama era	People	57 B. C.	From the year in which Śakāri Vikramāditya ascended the throne.
8	Mālava era	Rajputs	A.D. 531-	The year in which they came to power after the extirpation of the Hūṇas.
9	Śaka era	People & King	A. D. 78	The reason is half-religious <sup>56</sup> .

(56) Details will be given in their account.



We have given separate accounts of the various eras. Now we shall consider certain points which are common to all.

The eras with which we are concerned here are: (1) Mahāvīra. (2) Kṣaharāṭa. (3) Vikrama. (4) Mālava. (5) Kuśāna (6) Chasthara; and (7) Śaka Śālivāhan. The eighth era—the

**The different eras  
—a comparison**

Buddhist—has not been mentioned in any coin or in any inscription. It does not also seem to have been adopted by any king. One expects, that some mention of it must be found in connection with the reign of Aśok, the staunch upholder of Buddhism. No coin or no inscription of Aśok, however, has yet been found out in support of this. It is found to have been in use in Buddhist books and legends.

We now turn to the circumstances, in which each of the above eras was founded. The Mahāvīra era was founded in commemoration of the Nirvāṇ of Mahāvīr; and so was Buddha era founded in commemoration of the Parinirvāṇ of Buddha. Undoubtedly, therefore, they were founded in connection with the most sacred and most revered events. The Mālava era, strictly speaking, was not founded within the time-limit fixed for this book. It has been discussed above, in order to clarify details about the Vikrama era.

Of the remaining five eras, the Śaka era was founded in south India by Śālivāhan.<sup>57</sup> An account of that dynasty will be given in the next volume. Some scholars are of the opinion, that it had a religious origin, while some others believe that it was founded due to political exigencies. These latter scholars believe, that it was founded in commemoration of the extirpation of the Śakas by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the son of Queen Balaśrī<sup>58</sup>. The opinion also exists that it was founded in celebration of the

(57) In the next Vol. in which their account is given, it will be discussed whether the usage "Śaka Śālivāhan" is proper or not.

(58) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. IX, pp. 145. Dr. Bhau Dāji states there:—"Gautamīputra, the son of Padumavi and king of Dakshinapatha or the Deccan, boasts of having destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas etc".

The Nāśik inscription by Queen Balaśrī contains the account in the same strain.



change of the seat<sup>59</sup> of capital to Paithan, which was the original seat of capital. In the account of the dynasty, we shall prove that both these theories, which advocate a political origin for the era, are ill-founded. The theory, on the other hand, that the era has a religious origin, seems to contain some grains of truth, though, perhaps, not all.<sup>60</sup>

We now turn to the remaining four eras. All of them were founded in commemoration of a happy turn of events.<sup>61</sup> Either a king ascended on the throne or performed a marvellous feat of valour. That era must be considered to have the best origin, which was founded by the people themselves, in commemoration of an event connected with the life of their king, because it proves, that the king was the most beloved by his people and did all he could to make them happy. Judged from this viewpoint, the Vikrama era can be said to have the best origin. It was voluntarily and enthusiastically started by the people themselves. The remaining three were founded, more or less directly or indirectly by the kings themselves. Consequently, they fell into disuse, when the rule of those kings or that of their dynasties ended. The Vikrama era is in full vogue to this day. So is the Śaka era, which was founded in south India; which leads us to believe that it must have a semi-religious origin.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, we establish that the Vikrama era has the best origin and the Śaka era has the next best. We have refrained from giving any judgement on the Christian era because, at the time with which we are concerned here, it was not in use in any part of India. Some references to it are, however, made in the following paragraphs.

In this paragraph we shall discuss the eras which are in general use to-day. The Kṣaharāṭa, the Mālava, the Kuśāna and Chaṣṭhāṇa

(59) J. B. B. R. A. S. 1928, New ed. Vol. III, the article by Mr. Bakhle. He has laid special emphasis on this point.

(60) Read f. n. no. 62 below.

(61) For details about the circumstances under which these four eras were founded, vide the accounts of the kings connected with them.

(62) Read f. n. no. 60 above.

eras are no more existent to-day. The Buddhist era and the Śaka era of the south also are not prevalent at present in many parts of India.

We have discussed it in details in the fore-going paragraphs simply because many misconceptions prevail in connection with it among the scholars.

Of the three remaining eras which are in use at present, the first and the most ancient is the Mahāvīra era. The second is the Vikrama era and the third is the Christian era. The Vikrama era was founded 470 years after the Mahāvīra era; and the Christian era was founded  $56\frac{3}{4}^{63}$  years after Vikrama era. The Mahāvīra era dates from the death of Mahāvīr<sup>64</sup>, the Vikrama era dates from the year in which Vikramāditya ascended the throne<sup>65</sup> and the Christian era was founded four years after the birth of Jesus Christ<sup>66</sup>.

We now enter into minuter details about them. According to Jaina books, Mahāvīr died on the last day of the dark half of Kārtik. So, the new year of that era begins on the 1st of the bright half of Kārtik, because the dark half of the month preceded the bright half of the same month. Had it not been so, the last day of the dark half of Aśvin might have been taken as the day on which Mahāvīr died.<sup>67</sup> The new year of the Vikrama era also begins on the 1st of the bright half of Kārtik; but we should remember that in connection with this era,

(63) It is stated on pp. 8 of Sir Cunningham's "Book of Indian Eras", "The initial point of this (Vikrama) era ought to be B. C. 57 or  $56\frac{3}{4}$  instead of B. C. 56".

(64) Vide preceding chapter. Vide also Chap. I of Vol. II.

(65) Vide his account.

(66) J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. VIII, pp. 223. Dr. Bhau Dāji states there:—"There is a difference of 4 years between the Christian era and the birth of Christ".

[ Note : The Christian era, unlike the other religious eras, has no connection either with the birth or with the death of Jesus Christ. It is, in this point, quite different from the other eras. ]

(67) Vide the Sukhbodhika Commentary of Kalpasūtra.

the bright half preceded the dark of the same month. In short, the solar method is used in the Mahāvīr era, while the lunar method is used in the Vikrama era. This, however, does not make any difference as far as the dating of a particular event in both the eras is concerned. Thus, there elapsed exactly 470 years between them. If we have to date any event, that happened before the establishment of the Mahāvīr era, or even if we have to date the death of Mahāvīr, we have to take into consideration both the systems; otherwise we are likely to make a mistake. As far as however, any event, which happened after the establishment of the Mahāvīra era, is concerned, we can date it in both the eras by taking into consideration the fact that the Vikrama era was founded exactly 470 years after the Mahāvīra era.

As regards the christian era, it is said to have begun  $56\frac{3}{4}$  years after the Vikrama era. It was founded after the third, (and before the fourth), year of the birth of Jesus Christ.

The Vikrama year is a lunar year of 354 days. The Christian year is a solar one of 365 days. Every year therefore, the Vikrama year is over 11 days before the Christian one. In the Vikrama era however, two extra months are added every five years and a month is dropped at the interval of some years, in order to make up its differences with the solar year. In the Christian era every four years, a day is added (the Leap year) in order to make it correspond exactly with the time taken by the earth's revolution round the sun. Once every four hundred years, the day is not added and thus the Christian years are adjusted to a nicety with the revolutions of the earth round the sun. Thus, once every five years or so, the dates of both the eras exactly correspond with each other. The new year of the Christian era<sup>68</sup> (January 1), begins at present sometime in Pausa, the third month of the Vikrama year. The same thing happened in ancient times also. So did the new year of the Vikrama era begin some time between the latter half of October and the former half of November. The

(68) Probably a change was effected in the Christian year in the mediaeval age. A Christian year however, always consisted of not less than 365 days. Experts, it is hoped, will throw some light on this problem.

same thing is seen to be happening at present. Hence, as a general rule, the Christian year begins nearly  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 months after the Vikrama year. This shows that the interval between the two eras is not  $56\frac{3}{4}$  years as is believed by Sir Cunningham<sup>69</sup>, but either  $56\frac{1}{4}$  years or  $57\frac{1}{4}$  years, unless of course, that the Christian year began with some other month in place of January, in ancient times<sup>70</sup>. Experts on eras should throw some light on this problem. Sir Cunningham is a great and almost unassailable authority on such problems. Hence, when a scholar of his note states categorically that there was an interval of  $56\frac{3}{4}$  years between the two eras, we cannot help thinking that he must have arrived at that conclusion, after a thorough and deep study of all the material on both the eras. Let us therefore try to adjust our difference with him. It is a difference of  $\frac{1}{2}$  year. It is said that the Christian era was founded when Jesus Christ was running in his fourth year. According to our calculation it comes to  $3\frac{1}{4}$  years. There are therefore, only two ways of adjusting our difference with Sir Cunningham's opinion. (1) The Christian era must have begun six months earlier than we believe it to have begun. (2) Jesus Christ must have been born six months earlier than we believe him to be. If we take the first alternative for granted, the Christian year must be taken to have been begun in those times with the 1st of July in place of the 1st of January. In the case of the second alternative, the Christian era must have begun  $3\frac{3}{4}$  years after the birth of Christ in place of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  years. This is a problem which deserves study at the hand of experts. So far as we are concerned here, we shall have to take for granted that there was an interval of  $56\frac{1}{4}$  years between the two eras.

From the above discussion, we deduce that when we want to fix the Christian date for any event that happened during

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(69) Some will argue that  $56\frac{3}{4}$  is the correct number. These people should remember that the new Vikrama year begins in nearly the 10th month of the Christian year, and that three months after that, begins the new Christian year. Hence three months should be added to 56 or 57, but should not be deducted from them.

(70) Read f. n. no. 68 above.

the first three months of the Vikrama era, we must date it according to the previous year of the Christian era<sup>71</sup>; for any event that happened during the remaining nine months, we must date it according to the succeeding year.

The same method should be adopted in converting a date of the Mahāvīra era into the corresponding date of the Christian era. Only the interval between the two eras was  $526\frac{1}{4}$  years<sup>72</sup>.

The reader will see that the conversion of dates from Mahāvīra era into Vikrama era and vice versa is very easy. When any date of these two eras is to be converted into the Christian era, we must remember the formula stated in the preceding but one paragraph.

The following table is given to give a clear understanding of the relations between the three eras.

Vikrama year			Christian year		
(1)	1st year, Kārtik, Mārgaśīrṣa	=	B. C. 57, Octo, Nov.		
	and Pauṣa			and Dec.	<sup>73</sup>
(2)	57 V. E.	" " "	=	B. C. 1, Octo, Nov. & Dec.	
(3)	58 V. E.	" " "	=	A. D. " " "	"
(4)	1st V. E. Māgh to Āśvin	=	B. C. 56, Jan. to Sept.		
(5)	57 V. E.	" " "	=	A. D. 1 " " "	
(6)	58 V. E.	" " "	=	" 2 " " "	
Or conversely					
(7)	B. C. 57, Octo, Nov. Dec.	=	V. E. 1, Kārtik, Mārgaśīrṣa	and Pauṣa	
(8)	B. C. 57, Jan. Sept.	=	V. E. 1, Māgh to Āśvin		
(9)	B. C. 1, Octo, Nov. Dec.	=	V. E. 57, Kārtik, Mārgaśīrṣa	and Pauṣa	

(71) In the case of A. D., the common expression is "expired" and in the case of B. C., the common expression is "To come" or "In store".

(72) The Vikrama era began 470 years after the Mahāvīra era; and the Christian era began  $56\frac{1}{4}$  years after the Vikrama era. So the Christian era is separated from the Mahāvīra era by  $526\frac{1}{4}$  years.

(73) As we are concerned here with B. C. any "current year" then means some months of the preceding year were yet to elapse. After A. D. a "current year" means that some months of the succeeding year have passed.



- (10) A. D. 1, Jan. to Sept. = V. E. 57, Māgh to Āśvin  
(11) A. D. 1, Oct. Nov. Dec. = V. E. 58, Kārtik, Mārgaśīrṣa  
and Pauṣa  
(12) A. D. 2, Jan. to Sept. = V. E. 58, Māgh to Āśvin  
etc. etc.

We have stated that the Christian era was begun  $3\frac{1}{4}$  years after the birth of Jesus Christ. We have also stated that according to Sir Cunningham, the interval between the Vikrama era and the Christian era is  $56\frac{3}{4}$  years. Adding them, we get the number 60.

A delusion

Now, Śakāri Vikramāditya's reign lasted exactly for 60 years, after which, he died and was succeeded on the throne by his son. This has made some scholars doubt, there must have been some connection between the two events—the death of Vikramāditya and the birth of Jesus Christ. This is a mere delusion as is shown below.

The Christian era, as we know, was founded  $3\frac{1}{4}$  years after the birth of Jesus Christ, i. e. Jesus Christ was born in B. C. 4. Vikram died during the 60th year of the Vikrama era. It has been definitely proved that the Vikrama era dates from the day on which Vikramāditya ascended the throne, which he did in 57 B. C. Thus, Vikramāditya ascended the throne in 57 B. C. and died in 4 A. D., while Jesus Christ was born in 4 B. C. It will now become clear, that Jesus Christ was born nearly 8 years before the death of Vikramāditya.

Looking from the view-point of the beginning of the Christian era also, the birth of Jesus Christ will have to be dated 4 years before the rule of the Vikramāditya ended.

In short, there is no connection between the death of Vikramāditya and the birth of Jesus Christ.



## Supplement to Chap. XI, Part VI

*to read after pp. 326*

In reference to the religion followed by the Ābhiras and the Traikūtakas and in reference to the political relations between them, we have quoted on pp. 324 an extract from Mr. Rapson's book; where he says:—  
by Ābhiras and Traikūtakas “Ābhira chiefs like Īśvardatta were governors of Jaina Kṣatrapas; they became independent later on and assumed the title Mahākṣatrap. Their coins bear the same signs”. On the same page, we have stated in continuation of this:—“Later on, the territory over which they had established independent power, was annexed by the Guptas of Avanti, who were followers of the Vedic religion. So, Dharsen, Vyāghrasen and their successors, who were little more than governors appointed by the Guptas, adopted the title “Parama Vaiṣṇava Mahārāj”. Briefly stated, this means that Īśvardatta and his successors were Jains. When, however, the Guptas conquered their territory, they accepted the Vedic religion—voluntarily or compulsarily. Later on, when the power of the Guptas declined, they became independent and founded the Traikūṭaka dynasty.

Thus the Ābhiras and the Traikūṭakas are the same people. They, however, founded dynasties bearing different names at different times. The Ābhiras did so, after freeing themselves from the power of the Chasṭhanas and the Traikūṭakas did so, after freeing themselves from the power of the Guptas.

An article has appeared in a quarterly named 'Indian Culture', April 1939, (Calcutta), in connection with the Gupta kings. Some of the details stated in it, support the theory stated in the above paragraphs. In it, it is also stated that the Copper-plates of both the Maitrakas and Traikutakas resemble each other in every respect, and that the method adopted in them is found in no other Copper-plates. From this, the writer of the article concludes that the Maitrakas were the vassals of Traikutakas.

[Note:—It is more probable that both the Maitrakas and the Traikutakas were vassals of some third power.]

Moreover, the writer concludes from the dates found on the Maitraka Copper-plates, that the dynasty was founded in 150th year of the Gupta era (i. e. 469 A. D.). He further states—“With reference to Dronasinha—their ruler—it is stated, that he was installed as king by the supreme lord, the master of the whole world, himself. The earliest known date of Dronasinha is 183 G. S. = 502 A. D.”. It is undoubtedly certain, that the Maitrakas (Vallabhi kings) have made use of the Gupta era. They were governors appointed by the Guptas. They were installed by them on the throne. This is one thing to be noted.

The method adopted by the Maitrakas in their Copper-plates is identical with that of the Traikutakas. These Traikutakas also came into power at the time of the decline of the Gupta empire. The earliest known date of their dynasty is 207, i. e. there is a difference of 50 years only, between the earliest known dates of the Maitrakas and the Traikutakas.

From the details given above, we come to the conclusion that the Traikutakas, like the Maitrakas, were the vassals of the Guptas, and had become independent when the Gupta power was in the days of its downfall. Both used the Gupta era. If this is true, the Traikutaka dynasty must have been founded in  $207 + 319 = 526$  A. D., just about the time when Maitrak Dronasinha was installed. The theory of some scholars that the Traikutakas used the Kalchūri or the Chedi era and that accordingly its date of founding was  $207 + 249 = 456$  A. D. will also be proved wrong.

	Ābhiraś	Maitrakas	Traikūṭakas
Whose governors?	of the Chasthana Kṣatrapas	of the Gupta emperors	of the Gupta emperors
Religion	Jainism	Vedic & Jainism (mixed kind)	The Vedic religion (Jainism later on)
Their territory	Govardhan Samay	Saurāṣṭra	Govardhan Samay
The era used by them	The Chasthana era	The Gupta era	The Gupta era (not Chedi, as is believed)
The new name given to that era	The Ābhira A. D. 103	The Vallabhi A. D. 319	The Traikūṭaka A. D. 319
The title assumed by them	Mahākṣatrap	Mahārāj	Parama Vaisṇava Mahārāj

## Dynastic Lists

N. B.—If figures mentioned here differ from those mentioned in the text, they require correction and further investigation.

	x	x	x	x	x
Name	A. M.	B. C.	Yrs.	Remarks	
Śungabhṛtya	301-339	226-188	38	Commander-in-chief to the Mauryas	
	x	x	x	x	x
Puṣyamitra	301-323	226-204	22		
	323-339	204-188	16	Śungabhṛtya in retirement	
			38		
(I) Śunga Dynasty:	323-413	204-114	90		
(1) Agnimitra, the founder					
(a) During the life-time of Puṣyamitra	323-339	204-188	16	} 30	
(b) As an independent king	339-346	188-181	7		
(c) As Emperor Kalki (inclusive of)	346-353	181-174	7		
Heir-apparent					
Vasumitra	339-346	188-181	7		
(2) Odrak alias Balamitra	353-370	174-157	17	} 32	
(3) Bhāg, alias Bhāgavat alias Bhānumitra	370-385	157-142	15		
(4) Sujyeṣṭha alias Sumitra	385-392	142-135	7	} 28	
(5) Ghos	392-396	135-131	4		
(6) Vasumitra	396-403	131-124	7		
(7) Devbhūti	403-413	124-114	10		
				Total	90 years

Dynastic Lists

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Yrs. Remarks
(II.) Foreign Invaders :			
(A) Yonas-Bactrians	322-368	205-159	46
(1) Demetrius			
(a) Outside India	322-335	205-192	13
(b) Within „	335-345	192-182	10
			23
(2) Menander	345-368	182-159	23
			33
(B) Kṣaharāṭas	368-453	159-74	85
(a) Madhya-deś			
(1) Bhūmak	368-413	159-114	45
(2) Nahapāṇ	413-453	114-74	40
			85
(b) Mathurā			
(1) Rājuvul	372-410	155-117	38
(2) Sodāṣ	410-452	117-75	42
			80
(c) Takṣiḷlā			
(1) Liak	372-412	155-115	40
(2) Pātik	412-449	115-78	37
			77
(C) Indo-Pārthians, Pahlavas			
(1) Mauses	442-452	85-75	10
(2) Aziz I	452-469	75-58	17
(3) Azilises	469-497	58-30	28
(4) Aziz II	497-546	30-19 A. D.	49
(5) Goṇḍofarnes	546-572	19-45 „	26
			130
(D) Indo-Scythians : Śāhi Dynasty			
(1) Rṣabhadatta	453-469	74-58	16
(2) Devaṇak	469-475	58-52	6
			22
(E) Kuṣānas (See Vol. IV)			

Name	A. M.	B. C.	Yrs.
<b>(III) Gardabhila Dynasty ( Lords of Avantī )</b>			
(1) Gandharvasen alias Darpaṇ	453-463	74-64	10
Inter-regnum—Śaka rulers (See infra)			
		A. D.	
(2) Śakāri Vikramāditya	470-530	57-3	60
Śanku	470-470	a few months	
Bhartṛhari	470 & seq.		
		A. D.	
(3) Mādhavāditya	530-570	3-43	40
(4) Dharmāditya	570-580	43-53	10
(5) Vikramacharitra alias Mādhavasen	580-620	53-93	40
(6-7) Two small kings	620-634	93-107	14
(8) Bhāilla	634-645	107-118	11
(9) Nāilla	645-659	118-132	14
(10) Nāhaḍ	659-669	132-142	10
			<hr/> 209

**(IV) Śaka Rulers ( Lords of Avantī )**

(1) Amlāṭ	463-463	64-64	6 months
(2) Gopāl	463-464	64-63	6 „
(3) Puspak	464-465	63-62	1 year
(4) Śarvil	465-468	62-59	2½ „
(5) Name unknown	468-470	59-57	2½ „
			<hr/> 7 years

## Chronology

N. B.—Simple figures mentioned against the events show the pages and figures in brackets, the pages of the foot-notes, on which their description is given; when two dates of an event are probable, the one doubtful is bracketted; approximate dates are treated as crica; while those which are doubtful are marked as?.

B. C.	B. M.	
5000		Mohan-jā-ḍero civilization, calculated by the scholars to be as old as (93)
3201		Beginning of Kali age (370); scholars assign this time to the Great Mahābhārata War (92)
cir 1000	9000	Composition of Śrutis and Smṛtis; 92, 96, 197; 10th cent. time of the writers of Śrutis and Upanisads, 276, (348)
9th cent.		Close relations existed between India and Persia, even before and after this; 237
877- 777	350 250	Voḍavā Stupā was built 210; 7th & 8th century. Voḍavā Stūpa built by gods according to Jaina literature (207) and supported by Dr. Buhler's theory, 208.
778	251	Pārśvanāth, the Jaina 23rd Tīthankar, 93; 8th century Pārśvanāth lived 223; His name has been preserved in the Stūpas at Taxilā and Māṇikyāl 223.
7th & 8 cent.		Brāhmī Script, prevalent in Jambūdwīp 125
7th to 1st cent }		Taxilā came under the power of several dynasties 222; Jainism was prevalent there all this time 223, 224
6th cent.		Origin of the Kharoṣṭhi from the Brāhmī 127; Buddhism came into being 400; a group of Śakas crossed the Indus 313; in 5th century 347.
558- 530		Emp. Darius of Persia (80) (518, (80) ); (see under 486 )



B. C.

B. M.

551

24 Death of king Pulusāki of Gandhār 80,  
(550, 216)

527

— There was a great forest in the region of Vidisā,  
upto this time 355; Vidisā came into existence  
(between 527 to 57 = 470 years) 357; Vidisā  
founded anytime between 527 - 372=155  
years 355; (shortly after 527) 363; It must  
have already been a flourishing city (in 527)  
364; 365.

cir 505

Chaṇḍapradhyota of Avantī died, 355; he died  
in the same night when Mahāvīr died 356;  
Taxilā ceased to be a Hindu capital (216).

A. M.

486 to

88

For these 400 years, Persia was under  
rulers, from Darius to Mithradates III, 132,  
(Cf. cir. 250) (Cf. 330 to 152)4th & 5th  
cent.Gujerat was known, upto this time, by name  
of Lāṭa (313)

493

34 Founding of Pāṭaliputra 58

486

41 Time of Darius, the Persian Emperor, 278;  
(see above 558)

467

60 Nandivardhan of Magadh conquered  
Avantī, 355

457

70 Beginning of Shri Harsha era (Mr. Thomas)  
267A large number of Śakas converted to Jainism  
(from 457-447) by Ratnaprabhasūri 314; cir.  
450, Certain Jaina monk converted people  
by lacs into Jainism (278)

447

80 Time of origin of the Gūrjars 321

cir 440

Large pouring of Śakas into Rajputana (67)

429-393=36 yrs.

Kharvel's time (22)

425 98-134

Name of Pallavas is found, even long before  
the time of Khārvel 228



Pārthiā & Bactriā became independent  
279, (102)

B. C.	A. M.	
cir. 250		Rule of Arsex dynasty founded over Persia 238; Persia became independent 239 Priyadarśin had sent Dhamma-Mahāmātrās to various countries 193; erection of Sāñchī Stūpa by Emp. Priyadarśin 269
245	282	Death of Deodotus I, (250-245=5) 102
245-230	282-297	Bactrian King Deodotus II, 102
236-227	291-300	Mauryan Emperor Subhāgsen 107
236-202	291-325	Taxilla was destroyed (between these years) 218
cir. 235	292	Birth of Demetrius (203)
230-202	297-325	Bactrian King Euthidemos, 102, 107
229		Puṣyamitra joined the Mauryan army 45
226-204	301-323	Puṣyamitra appointed C. in C. 8, 45, 46. The time of Śunga-bhṛtyas 15, (Puṣyamitra Śunga-bhṛtya 29, (43); Puṣyamitra's whole time of office 25, 15, (226 to 118=38)
226	301	Śātakarṇi alive 31; (Śātakarṇi II died; 29) Invasion of Avantī by Śātakarṇi 43, 45; Avantī came under the Āndhra power 28;
223	304	Antiochos III came to the throne of Greece, 103
215	312	Euthidemos marched towards India 107; Antiochos III of Syria, married his daughter to Demetrius 103; Probable birth of Menander 107
213	314	Probable birth of Mahākṣatrap Bhūmak 137
211-204	316-323	Mauryan Emp. Brhadrath 46
210	317	Euthidemos conquered the Punjab 50: Siege of Sākal by Euthidemos (57)
209	318	Jālaṅk of Kāśmir conquered territories upto Kanoj 103
208	319	Birth of Vasumitra 11, 12
cir. 206	221	Both Jālaṅk & Euthidemos died 103: Siege of Madhyamikā by Euthidemos 57: Jālaṅk died (in 205) 47
205-182	222-245	Rule of Demetrius 104

B. C.	A. M.	
204-188	323-339	Pusyamitra as regent 8; 28; Agnimitra as king 9, 16, 37; Pusyamitra (living in 204) (22)
204-114	323-413	Śunga rule : 2
204	323	Br̥hadrath was killed by Pusyamitra and Agnimitra 20
200-100		During this century, the Kṣaharāṭas came to India 193
197	330	First out of the two bloody wars between the Yavanas and the Indians (48); (circa 199-197), 149; Two conquests of Agnimitra (one over Vidarbha and the other over the Greeks) (between 197-195), 49, 57, (68)
196	331	Agnimitra married Princess Mālvikā 49
194	333	Demetrius began preparations to invade India 50
190-182	337-345	Demetrius ruled over India 105; His career practically came to an end soon after 175 (I. H. Q.) (25)
189	338	First Aśvamedh by Agnimitra during the life-time of Pusyamitra 31 : (195, 50)
188	339	Death of Pusyamitra (at his age of 88) 8, 44, 50, 108; Vasumitra as heir-apparent, 12; (cir.). Demetrius conquered the Punjab, 50
188-174	339-353	Agnimitra as independent ruler 10, 37
182	245	Vasumitra killed in a battle with Yavanas 51, 106 [ His death (in 181 or 178), 11; (in 181), 11, 12, (32)] Vasumitra's time (187-181) 16; Demetrius died while fighting with Agnimitra 51; (181 Bhūmak joined Menander as a Kṣatrap 136, 137 )
182-159	245-268	Menander's time 116, 132 [182-152=26 yrs. 106, 107; according to scholars 160-140=20 yrs. (107)] (156, 68) His death in 159; 115, 116, 239, (268)

B. C.

A. M.

		Rule of Hagām Hagāmas 133 (Menander's time 150-54 according to Greek history, 13)
181	246	Second Aśvamedh by Agnimitra after the death of Pusyamitra 31 : Agnimitra performed sacrifice, 9.
cir. 181	346	Menander appointed Kṣātraps 136
181	346	Emp. Kalki's time 7, 10
181-174	346-353	Agnimitra destroyed Voḍavā stūpa at Mathurā 207 Pāṭaliputra destroyed by Agnimitra (after 179) 58
180	347	Death of Patanjali, shortly after the second Aśvamedh by Agnimitra 32; Patanjali's time (175 (27), Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhak); Upto this time Mathurā was a flourishing city, 206
174	353	Death of Kalki Agnimitra 9, 44, 109; at his age of 86, 10, 55; Probable birth of Nahapāṇ Kṣaharāṭ 146
174-158 16 yrs.	353-369	Odrak alias Balamitra 63 (174-157=17 yrs.; 16); (correct date ought to be 159, 136); death by an arrow from a Śaka (158, 67)
174-136 38 yrs.	353-391	Mithradates II, 188, 240
160	367	Greek King Eucratides (according to Greek history) 25 Bhāg, Bhānumitra, Bhāgvat (157-142) 16; accession of Bhānumitra 116 (his rule 159-142=17 yrs.); 63, 115 (158-142=16)
159	368	Death of Ādrak 136; Bhūmak scored victory over Śungas and became independent 136, 137; His rule 159-114=45 yrs.: Nahapāṇas a Kṣatrap (in 158) 146; Bhānumitra annexed Mathurā to the Śunga kingdom on the death of Menander 179

# Chronology

B. C.

A. M.

		Bactrian rule ended in India (250)
		Hagām died a little earlier than this. 178
158	369	Starting of Kṣaharāṭa era 180; (158, 115 (137)
157	370	The second, out of the two bloody wars between the Yavans & the Indians (48); the time of this (another calculation, cir. 158-56) (48); The Yavana chief Anticaltidas contracted friendship with the Śunga king 69 Kaṇva ministers of the Śungas (from 157-114=43 yrs.) 71, 171 Birth of Rṣabhadatta 300
156	371	Rājuṇul succeeded Hagām-Hagāmāś on the throne of Mathurā 132: Rājuṇul as Mahākṣatrap 133; Rājuṇul conquered Mathurā (cir. 154-5) from the Śungas 179; His rule from 155-117=38 years, 180; Leak Mahākṣatrap (Taxillā) 184; his rule (155-115=40 yrs.)
157-57		These 100 years as Epoch of Śāh kings according to Gen. Cunningham & Thomas 268, 269 : (159-117, 270)
151	376	Kāliksūri, the Jaina monk & maternal uncle of Śunga Balamitra (70) (341)
cir. 150	377	Mithradates conquered Seistān 188
142	385	Bhānumitra Śunga died 69, 138 Śunga Sujyeṣṭa alias Sumitra (142-135) 16
135-131	392-396	Śunga emperor Ghoś 16
131-124	396-403	„ „ Vasumitra 16
130	397	Heliclos, Bactrian king & son of Eucratides, living according to Greek history 25
127	400	Rṣabhadatta rose to power 300; he, as governor under Bhūmak (127-114) 301
126	401	Rṣabhadatta was married to Dakṣamitra 300
124-114	403-413	Rule of Devabhūti Śunga 16

B. C.	A. M.	
123—88 35 yrs.	404—439	Rule of Mithradates II, 245, (342)
123	404	Bactrian rule ended for ever (250) in Bactria and in India in B. C. 159
cir. 120	407	Mauses appointed as a Satrap 245
117	410	Religious ceremony of the Lion-capital Pillar at Mathurā 181 (181) Nahapāṇ was still a Kṣatrap (181) Āmohi erected Āyāgapatta 182 Death of Rājuṇul 180; and Soḍās as Mahākṣatrap of Mathura (117—75=42 yrs) 182 Mathurā Stupa restored by the chief Queen of Rājuṇul 75 years after its destruction (202) 207; scholars have assigned 36 to 30 B. C. to this, 202 (202)
115—80 35 yrs.	412—447	Pātik's time as Mahākṣatrap of Taxilla 187; he came to the throne 185
115—77 38 yrs.	412—450	Rule of Mauses (Total length) 245
114	413	End of Śunga dynasty 72, 74 : Both Śunga dynasty and Kaṇva ministers' rule ended 116; Death of Bhūmak 137, 143 : Nahapāṇ as Mahākṣatrap 146, (181) : Nahapāṇ as king of Avantī 136, 143, 146, 148; Nahapāṇ minted coins with "Raja" title 155 : Nahapāṇ's time (114—74=40 yrs.) 145, 182
114—74 40 yrs.	413—453	Ṛṣabhadatta, as governor under Nahapāṇ 301
112	415	Birth of Devaṇak 301
1 cent. B. C.		One Ṛṣabhadatta flourished (285); Haṛṣapur, near Ajmer was a prosperous city 140 : Gadhaiyā coins (339)
88	439	Mithradates II, the Great died 251, 259
85	442	Mauses, cir. (88); his conquest of Indian territory (240)

B. C.

A. M.

Emp. Mauses conquered Taxillā 186: cir. (80) Mauses's rule began in India 253; [C. H. I. 78, pp. 253) (255)]. Scholars fix 78 B. C. as the time of the beginning of Moga's reign though it is not correct, 189 (187). Some fix it (as 75), 189. Rule of Mauses ended (cir. 77) (245) & according to C. H. I. (75 to 58); Mauses conquered Sursen and established his capital at Mathurā (in 79) 254: Mauses rule ended (in 78) 255: he conquered the kingdoms (78 & 79) of Pātik and Sodās 256: True date (75) of conquering Mathurā by Mauses 256, 257. End of Mauses' reign (in 72) 189: his death (in 75) 256

85—45

Punjab & Mathura under the Pārthian rule for 30 yrs, 378.

81

446 Pātik of Taxilā went to Mathurā on pilgrimage 186

Birth of Vikramāditya Śakāri 370

80

447 Pātik gave up the throne of Taxilā 207: same religious condition prevailed at this time which was there in B. C. 250; 208

An inscription mentioning Voḍavā Stupa, built by gods is found out by Dr. Buhler 206 (He fixes the period as A. D. 157 (pp. 206), but it really comes to B. C. 80 (pp. 207)

78

449 According to scholars, some separate era (Aziz) was started (in 80) 406; supposed to be the beginning of Śaka era by Aziz I (B. C. 78 or A. D. 78?) 257, 258;

Copper-plate Inscription of Taxilā by Pātik 253, 255

Aziz I: his rule from 78—58: 257; possibly 75 to 58=17 yrs. 257



## Chronology

CSL

B. C.      B. M.

78—74    449-453    All the three Kṣaharāṭa kingdoms in India came to end 255

75—57    452-467    Scholars believe that the Śakas inhabited the Sindh delta during this time (93)

75          452    Death of Mauses 256

75—58    452-469    Rule of Aziz I, (299)

17 yrs.

A. D.    A. M.

74—78    453-605    For these 152 years, Śāhi dynasty of Ṛṣabhadatta ruled over Saurāṣṭra (one theory) 272, 164

74          453    Death of Nahapāṇ 146, 256, 267, 330  
Ṛṣabhadatta founded his dynasty 291: he became an independent ruler 301; His reign (74-58=16 yrs.) 291

Gardabhīla dynasty founded 330, 335, (352)  
Gandharvasen's period (74-64=10 yrs.) (335)  
Kāliksūri, the Jaina monk (127-74=53 yrs.) resigned from the Jaina Holy orders (341)

74—52    453-475    Duration of Śāhi's dynasty 301: one scholar assigns the period (74-57=17 yrs.) (348)

=22

64          463    Śakas defeated the Gardabhīla king 294; Their time (64-57) 335

Kāliksūri gained his object 10 yrs. after he had resigned the Jaina Holy orders (341)

End of the Gardabhīla first king 257: according to others his death (in 61) 257: he was allowed to quit Avantī on his defeat 343

(cir. 60) Foreigners landed in India by sea, 227

64—57    463-470    Śaka rulers; 335 [ King Amlāṭ (64-63= $\frac{1}{2}$ yr.); King Gopāl (63-63= $\frac{1}{2}$  yr.); King Puṣpak (63-62=1 yr.); King Śarvil (62-60=2 $\frac{3}{4}$  yrs.); Nameless (60-57=2 $\frac{1}{4}$  yrs.) = all 7 yrs, 351: ]

7 yrs.

61          466    Death of Gardabhīla Gandharvasen 257 (343)

60          467    Mithradates III, came to the throne, 259

B. C.                      A. M.

58                      469      Death of Rṣabhadatta 301 ; his son Devaṇak ascended the throne 301

Aziz I, died about this time 418; his time (58-47=11 yrs.) according to C. H. I. (245) (255)

58 to 30                      Indo-Pārthian king Azilises, 260

57-57=6 months.      Śanku Gardabhila of Avantī 366

57                      470      Śakāri Vikramāditya 2; ( his time 57 B. C. to A. D. 3=60 yrs.) 335, 421 : (57 to 4 A. D. =61 yrs. 388)

57                      470      Inauguration of Vikrama era to commemorate the defeat of Śakas by Vikramāditya aided by Ariṣṭakaṛṇa Āndhra 352 : Vikrama era commenced (93) (268). Beginning of Vikrama era (352), 430; (B. C. 74 & 70 other theories 430; another theory (in 52) (39); (58 according to Prof. Carpentier (370);  $56\frac{3}{4}$  Initial point of Vikrama era, as per Gen. Cunningham's theory (352) (426); beginning Kārtik, Thursday 18th September (374); Vikrama rooted out the Śakas 409.

Battle of Kārur, according to Amarkoś in which Vikramāditya Śakāri was the victor and proved to be the fact 417, 426

According to Amarkoś, king Śudrak founded (B. C. 58) the Vikrama era (408). According to some scholars, Aziz I, is supposed to be the founder of the Vikrama era (in 58) 409, 418. Aziz I, is proved to have no connection with the era, 419 : Takṣillā inscription with fig. 79, is mistakenly supposed to be dated 136 of Aziz era (419).

Till B. C. 57, no method was definitely adopted by the Jains for dating events 404. Gadhaiya coins (339) of the 1st century B. C.

B. C.	A. M.	
57—43	470—484	Time of three Jaina Āchāryas (Pādalipta, Nāgārjun and Ārya-khaput) 371 Time of Emp. Hāl Śālivāhan : exact time of his rule is B. C. 47 to A. D. 18 = 65 years (371)
57—47	470—480	(Between these years) War between Vikramāditya and Ṛṣabhadatta Indo-Scythian 377
52	475	Devaṇak was defeated and killed 300 : death of Devaṇak 301, 325 : he was living (in cir. 50) 297 Śāhi dynasty (Ṛṣabhadatta was the founder) ended 291 : my views confirming this (300); I thought this to be 78 at first (300) Some ten kings of Śāhi dynasty ruled over Saurāṣṭra from B. C. 50 to A. D. 78 as some scholars hold. 297
47	480	Āndhra king Ariṣṭakaṛṇa (Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi) who aided Vikramāditya, died 353; ten years after B. C. 57 he died, and began the reign of Hāl Śālivāhan 415 [his time being B. C. 47 to A. D. 18=65 years (371)] (1st cent.) Arabia under Jaina rule (390)
A. D.	A. M.	
30—19 =49 yrs.	497—556	Time of Aziz II, 262
A. D.		
3—43	530—570	King Mādhavāditya 335 [4 : 386 : Vikramāditya died (391) and Mādhavāditya came to the throne 386]
15	542	Hāl Śālivāhan died (391). Śākāri Vikramāditya & King Hāl had got several temples repaired on Mt. Śatrunjaya under the leadership of the three Jaina Āchāryas Pādalipta, Nāgārjun and Ārya-khaput (see under B. C. 57 to 47) their time being about 20 to 25 years before Vajrasūri (391) (For Vajrasūri's time see under A. D. 21 to 57).

A. D.	A. M.	
19—45	546—572	Goṇḍofārnēs, Indo-Pārthian king 263
21	548	Emp. Goṇḍofarnēs is said to have been initiated to Christianity by St. Thomas (263)
21—57	548—584	Jaina Āchārya Vajrasūri 391, 392 (see below under cir. 50 & 57)
43—53	570—580	Dharmāditya Gardabhīl 335
45	572	Emp. Goṇḍofarnēs Indo-Pārthian emperor, left India for good 264 : he left India to occupy the Persian throne 334 : he left India (334), 378, 389
45—78	572—605	Punjāb & Kāśmīr, were perhaps under Mantrigupta, the Gardabhīla minister 379 (see under 53 to 93)
cir. 50		(see under 57)
53—93	580—620	Vikramacharitra Gardabhīl 336 : correct time of his minister Mantrigupta's governorship over the Punjāb & Kāśmīr (412) : (cf. infra A. D. 409 & 1009)
57	584	Āchārya Vajrasūri died (147) : reparations by Jāvaḍśāh of temples on Śatrunjaya (in cir. 50) (391) : (As these functions are carried in presence of Vajrasūri, who died in A. D. 57, and Emp. Vikramacharitra, who came to the throne in A. D. 53, the date must be fixed to A. D. 55 instead of cir. 50
		The Jaina Aṅgas in existence (147). Ten Parvas were also complete in existence (147)
60	587	Emp. Goṇḍofarnēs is said to have died (263)
cir. 68-70		Hāl Śālivāhan (see under 78)
78	605	Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi rooted out the Kṣaharātas (scholars belief of this date) 151, 334, 408; Gautamīputra's date fixed by the scholars (272), 297. (Though his real time is B. C. 47=see supra).
		According to scholars, beginning of the Śaka

A. M.

era, (437), 447, 448. Śaka era founded (scholars belief) by Kanīṣka 445. Kanīṣka the Kuśān is said to have established his power in north India 264. (Kanīṣkas real time is A. D. 103, see infra)

It is said that Śaka (Rṣabhadatta's) rule ended in India 267; that is not the case 271 (see supra under B. C. 52). Descendants of Rṣabhadatta are said to have ruled upto this time over Saurāṣṭra 271. (This is wrong)

Scholars assign this date to the beginning of the Chaṣṭhaṇa dynasty 285; (307), (437), 443, (443), (which is wrong; see under 103 A.D.).

Some scholars believe that Gardabhīla dynasty ended 330 (This figure is wrong, 333)

Mr. Vincent Smith, fixes Hāl Śālivāhan's time about 70 (A. D. 68) under the belief that Śaka era was founded (by him in A. D. 78) 371; but his real time is in B. C. years (see supra under B. C. 47).

93	620	Vikrama-charitra died 395
cir. 100		Kadaphis II died 395; (This is 103 in exact figures)
103		Kuśāna dynasty founded by Kanīṣka (334)
		Beginning of Chaṣṭhaṇa era (309) 448
107-118		King Bhāilla of the Gardabhīla dynasty 336
118-132		King Nāilla „ „ „ 336
117-180		The author of Periplus of Erythrean sea is said to have lived at this time 268
130		Time of Rudradāman, grandson of Chaṣṭhaṇ (because the figure is 52 + 78 Śaka era date) according to scholar's belief 335 (This is wrong; see Vol. IV)
132-142		King Nāhaḍ Gardabhīla 336;
142		End of the Gardabhīla dynasty 335. Chaṣṭhaṇ

# Chronology

A. D.      A. M.

	succeeded his father Gṣamotik (cir. 142) 395.
	Chasṭhaṇ's time (my theory) 335
2nd cent.	Origin of Ābhīras traced to this period 288
236-238	Supposed date of Dāmsen's rule : present belief, (307); (it is wrong, see Vol. IV)
249	Ishvarsen, (see below) father of Ishvardatta Ābhīr, can be fixed up at, 310; Beginning of Chedi era (310); foundation of Traikūṭaka era by Išvardatta 309, 312
249-261	Išvarsen Ābhīr's actual time of rule 311
261	Išvardatta (second) became independent (286), his time is fixed at 249; according to some (between 236-249); 309 (Though Išvardatta is the founder & his time is 261, the beginning is reckoned from the time of accession of his father Išvarsen in (249)
261-264 & further	Ābhīr Išvardatta's reign 311
3rd cent.	Revival of Mathura, during the time of the Guptas (191)
319	End of the Chasṭhaṇa dynasty over Avantī (381). Guptas occupied the throne of Avantī 437
319-330	Time of Chandragupta I, 421
375-414	Time of Chandragupta II, 421 (369 to 414; 408)
380	Time of Samudragupta, according to Gen. Cunningham 268
400	Fā-Hian, the Chinese traveller 213, 215
409	Śatrunjaya Mahātmaya supposed to have been written (Gen. Cunningham's theory) 411; cir. 430 supposed time of Mantrigupta over Kāśmīr by Vikramāditya (Gen. Cunningham) 412. Time of Chandragupta Vikramāditya 409 to 433 (Gen. Cunningham) 411; (all these three beliefs are wrong; see infra, under 1009 and also supra A. D. 53 to 93).



A. D.	A. M.	
453	510	Supposed date of Devaḍḍhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ is found to be erroneous (405) (see infra under 828)
456		Dharsen Traikūṭak came to the throne 312 (Further research tells me that the figure 207, which is believed to be Chedi era is really Gupta era & hence Dharsen's date will come to $207+319=526$ A. D. (just very close to Maitrakas of Vallabhi becoming independent; 461) (see infra 469)
469		Maitraka dynasty of Vallabhī founded, 461; <b>479</b> , (318); (which is wrong, see under 502)
480-495		Kumārgupta alias Vikramāditya III, 421
490-533		Hūṇas (Tormāṇ and Mihirkul) rule over Avantī 318
502		Droṇsinha of the Maitraka dynasty was installed, 461
515-550	35 yrs.	Time of Parmāra Yaśodharman 422 (also 540-590). Some scholars suppose this to be the time of Vikramāditya, who founded Samvat era & revived Hinduism, 415
524-544		Wrong theory of battles of Kārur & Manseri having been fought, 425. Wrong theory that Yaśodharman defeated Mihirkul at Kārur, 416 (in 544)
526		Traikūṭaka dynasty must have been founded 461 [Scholars' belief for 456 (see above) A. D. seems to be wrong.]
528		Supposed date of Haribhadrāsūri (author of Samrāi-kahā) (405), which is erroneous (see under 903 A. D.)
531		Defeat of Hūṇs by Yaśodharman of Avantī 435; Battle of Mansheri fought between Hūṇāri Vikramāditya & Hūṇs (proved) 426; Hūṇs wiped out almost to a man 319 (first this date was taken to be 533; further research says 531)

A. D.      A. M.

- 533 Long before this time, the Chaulukyas were in existence (320)
- 550 Parmāra Bhojdev 423;
- 6th cent. Śakas were conspicuous by their absence 417; origin of the Gūrjaras according to scholars (313)
- 7th cent. The word Mlechchha came into use (75). Islām was founded (390)
- 633 Beginning of the reign of Emp. Harṣa 267; Harṣa lived 417
- 640 Huen-Tsang, the famous Chinese traveller 215
- cir. 670 Beginning of the Traikūṭaka dynasty 284 (erroneous : see under 456 A. D.) as some scholars think
- 8th cent. Beginning of the famous Rā Dynasty of Junagadh 287, (287); famous writer Vākpatirāj flourished, contemporary to king Yaśoverman of Gwalior 27. Jains of the south to the river Kṛṣṇā were converted to Śaivism 233 : Jains driven out of the Pallava country by the Śaiva saint Appār (in cir. 750) 233; Dantidurg (6th Traikūṭak) ruled over Mahārāṣṭra (in cir. 750) 284
- 8th & 9th cent. Mathurā enjoyed the same religious position in Jainism from B. C. 8th cent. (e. g. nearly 1700 yrs.) 208. The appellation Vikramāditya was in vogue in N. India till 8th cent., but for a longer period in S. India (429)
- 720-790 Parmāra Devaśakti 422
- 733-759 Chaulukya Vikramāditya I, 422
- 738 See under 754
- 754 Earliest inscription bearing V. E. date, 420, (420) (439). Earliest inscription with Vikrama era ( $738 + 57 = 795$ ) is found however; it is proved unreliable 420
- 755-834 King Āmradev of Gwālīor 209
- 759 & seq. Chaulukya Vikramāditya II : 422

A. D.      A. M.

- 826      Bappabhaṭṭasūri performed a religious ceremony at Mathurā 209. Vākpatirāj converted to Jainism 209
- 828      G.E. 510      True date of Devaḍḍhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇ 433, (427), 431 (V. E. 885)
- 868      S.E. 790      This belief is wrong; see under 1009 A. D.
- 870-915      Bhojdev Parmār alias Ādivarāh 423; contemporary to his namesake of Parihāra dynasty
- 10th cent.      Dhārānagarī selected by Bhojdev as the capital of Mālvā (338)
- 903      G.E. 585      Samarāditya-kahā by Haribhadrāsūri (427)
- 923      V.E. 980      True date of reading the Kālpasūtra in the public 432, 433. (Other provisional dates 936, 940 A. D.)
- 996-1055      Bhojadev Parmār alias Śilāditya 423
- 998      Mūlarāj Solanki of Gujerat defeated Dharsen of Ānandpur (337)
- 1009      V.E. 1066      Śatrunjaya Mahātmya composed by Dhaneśwar sūri (428). Correct date of the above during the reign of Bhojdev Śilāditya 412. Time of Dākṣinya-Chinha sūri, author of Kuvalaymālā [ according to my theory 790 G. E. + 319 (and not Śaka's; see 828 supra) = A. D. 1009 ] (428)
- 1022      Expressing the dates, with solar-month system is again found at this time (448)
- 1036      Cave inscription of this date at Udayagiri by Vikramāditya 410; ( There seems to be an error in this )
- 11th cent.      Time of Karṇadev Solanki (337)
- 15th cent.      Founding of Vaiṣṇavism (42)
- 1502      Vāśco-ḍa-Gāmā landed at Calicut 111
- cir. 1819      Said to be the date of a future Kalki according to the Jaina scriptures (41)
- 1869      Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrajit first found out the Mathurā Lion-capital 202

## ERRATA

<i>Pp.</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Incorrect</i>	<i>Correct</i>
15	5	204-218	204-188
41	28	B. C. 1819	A. C. 1819
79	6	Śākadvīp	Śakadvīp
119	20	Brāhmī language spoken by	Brāhmī script written by
127	9	kṣaharāt	kṣarāt
147	34	(upto A. D. 30, the years in which.....)	(A. D. 57, the year in which.....)
151	15	Amaya	Ayama
197	4	Baihbhan	Bambhan
174	31	Patanjali, though	Kātyāyan; and
227	35	2nd century B. C.	2nd century A. C.
262	32	grand-mother	mother
264	6	in A. D. 26	in A. D. 45
264	9	half a century	quarter of a century
281	35	C. H. I.	O. H. I.
297	16	grand mother	mother
314	12	457 to 447 A. D.	457 to 447 B. C.
355	8	Kauśāmbi with a large army	Kauśāmbi
366	6	from B. C. 64 to 63	from B. C. 57 to 57
370	22	B. C. 3101	B. C. 3201
371	13	f. n. no. 19 below	f. n. no. 19
314	25 & 26	Goḍvāl	Golvād



Demetrius

Fig. 10 ]



Menander

[ Pp. 104 Fig. 11 ]

[ Pp. 106



Nahapāṇi: Lord of Avantī

Fig. 14 ]

[ Pp. 143



Chaṣṭhaṇ, Mahākṣatrap

Fig. 15 ]

[ Pp. 164



Rajūvul Mahākṣatrap

Fig. 17 ]

[ Pp. 176



Pātik Mahākṣatrap

Fig. 18 ]

[ Pp. 183



Isvardatta Ābhir

Fig. 25 ] [ Pp. 308



Traikūṭak Dharsen

Fig. 26 ] [ Pp. 305



Traikūṭak Vyaghrasen

Fig. 28 ] [ Pp. 324



Hūṇa tribe-man

Fig. 27 ]

[ Pp. 318



Rudradāman

Fig. 30 ]

[ Pp. 335



Lord Mahāvīr

[ Fig. 33 ]

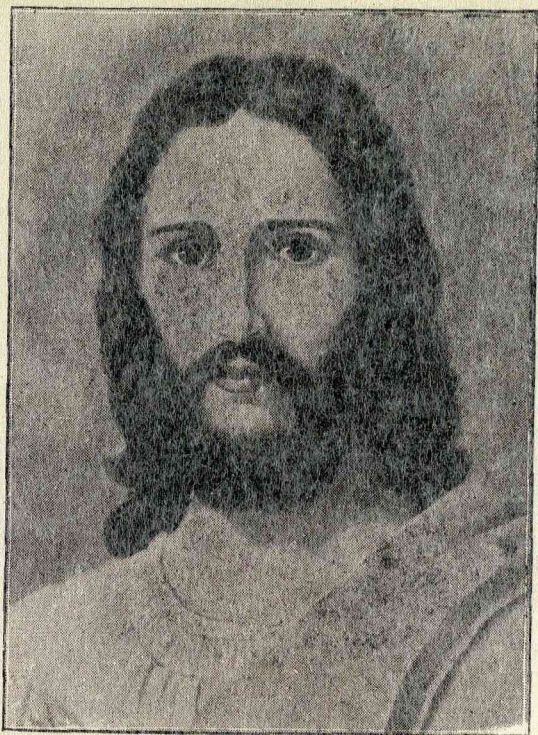
[ Pp. 400



Lord Buddha

[ Fig. 34 ]

[ Pp. 400



Lord Jesus

Fig. 35 ]

[ Pp. 400



Nahapāṇ  
 ( who founded Kṣaharāṭa era )

Fig. 36 ]



Kaniṣka  
 (Founders of the eras)

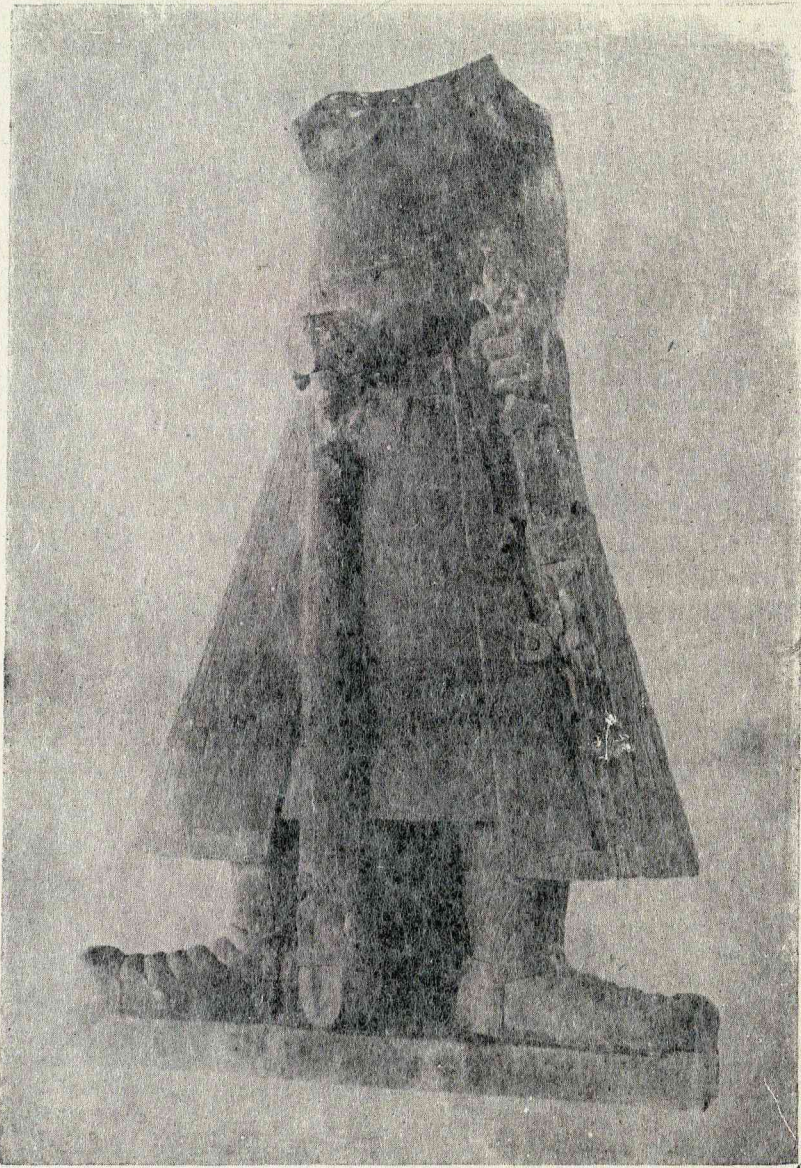
Fig 37 ]



Chasṭhaṇ  
 (Founders of the eras)

Fig. 38

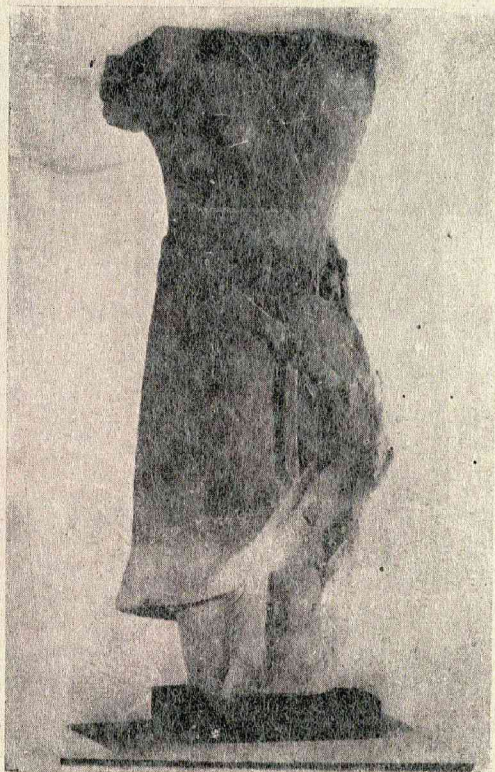
( See Pp. 400 )



Emp. Kanishka

Fig. 39 ]

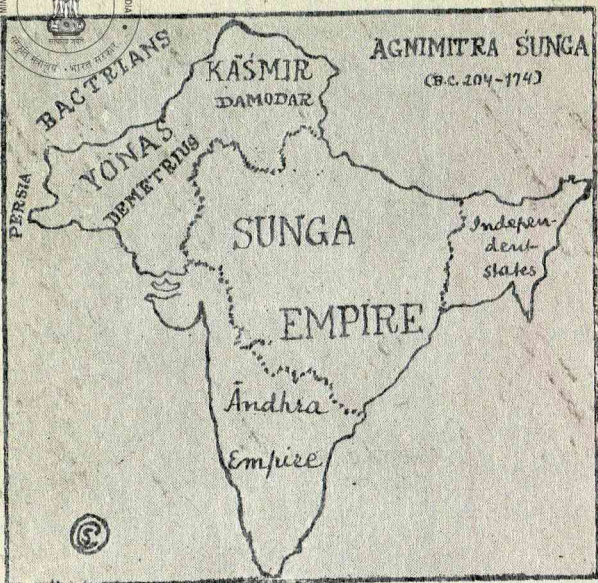
[ Pp. 400



Chasthan

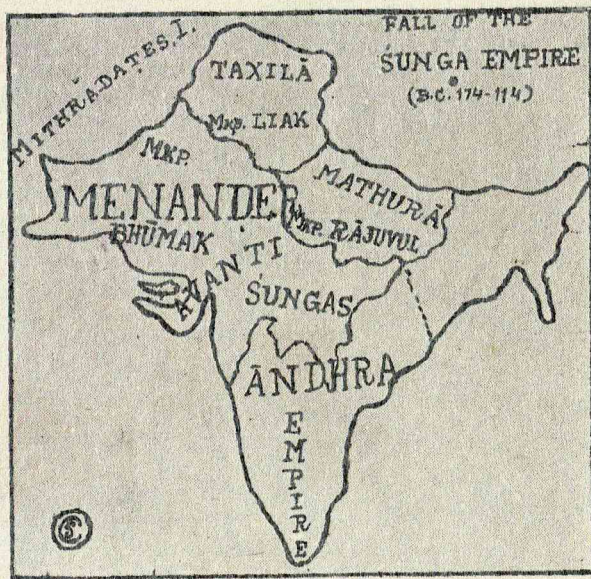
Fig. 40 ]

[ Pp. 400



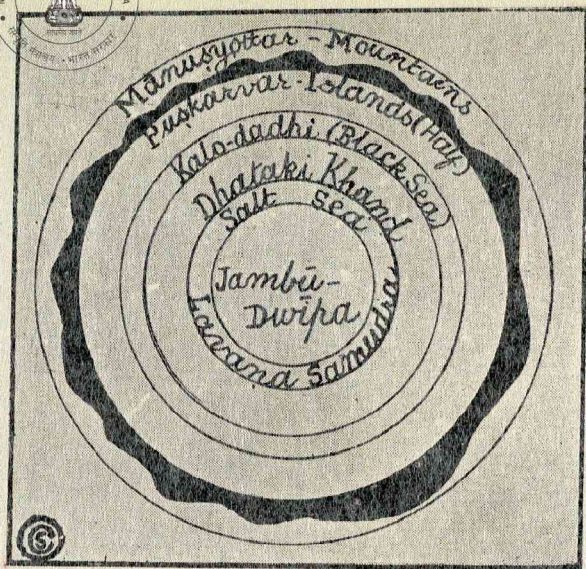
Map No 1 ]

[ Fig. 43, Pp. 47



Map No. 11 ]

Fig. 44, Pp. 71 & seq.



Aḍhī-dwīp & Jambū-dwīp  
( Their relative positions )

Map No. III ]

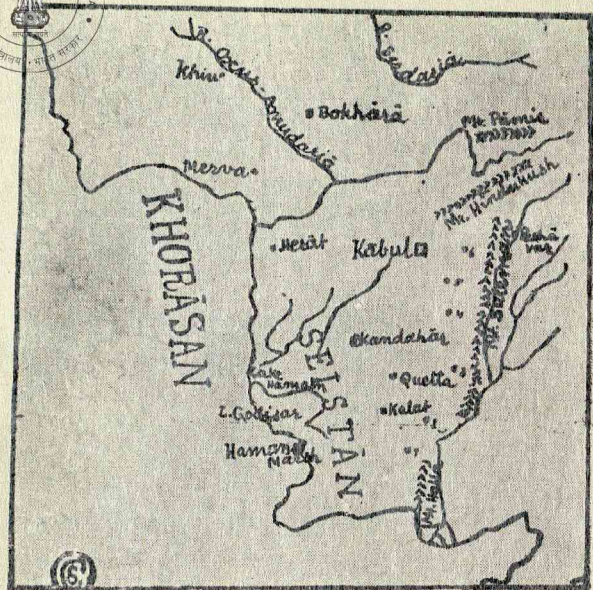
[ Fig. 45, Pp. 84



Jambūdīwīp & Śāka-dwīp  
Their relative positions

Map, No. IV ]

[ Fig. 46, Pp. 89



Śeistān-Śakasthān

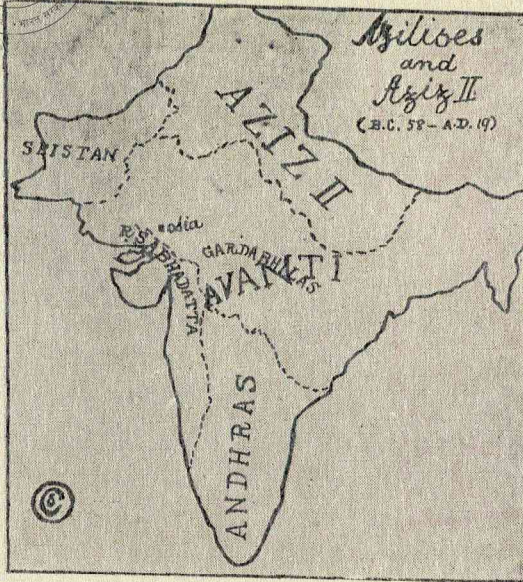
Map. No. V ]

[ Fig. 47, Pp 90



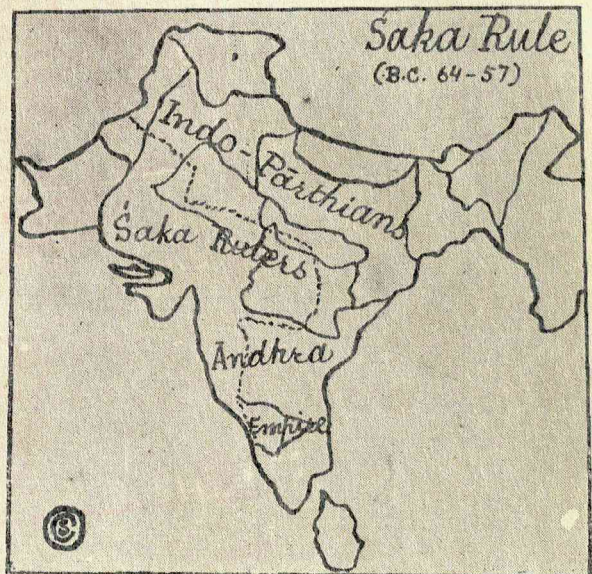
Map No. VI ]

[ Fig. 48, Pp. 149



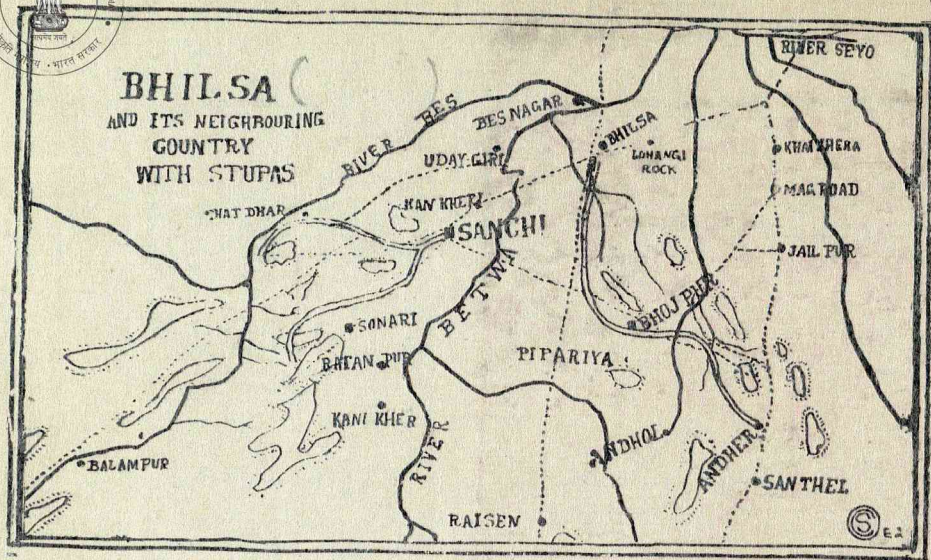
Map No. VII ]

Fig. 49, Pp. 251



Map No. VIII ]

Fig. 50, Pp. 345



Map No. IX ]

[ Fig. 51, Pp. 353



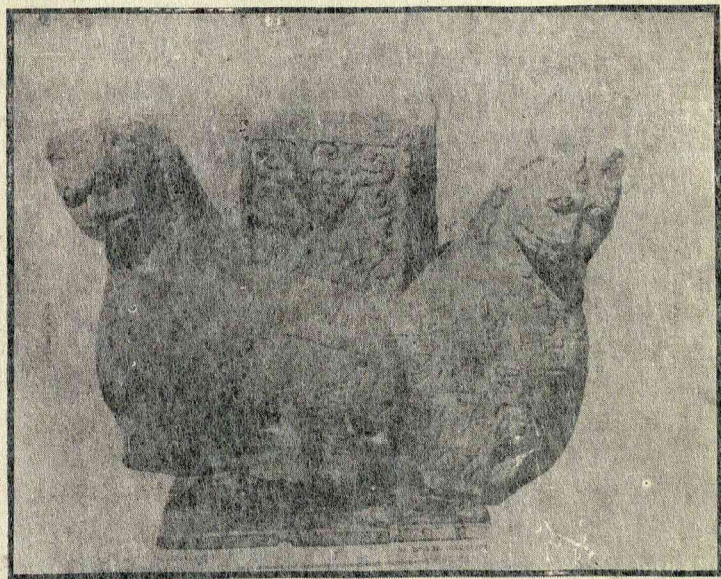
Map. No. X ]

[ Fig. 52, Pp. 377



Map No. XI ]

[ Fig. 53, Pp. 393



Mathurā Lion-Capital-Pillar  
 (Consecrated by Queen-consort of Mahākṣatrap Rājuvul)

Fig. 54 ]

[ Pp. 201

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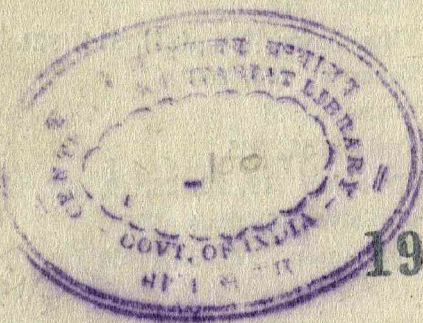
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