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THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS AND THEIR TIMES

being

a political, administrative, religious, social, economic and literary
history of the Deccan (*i. e.* Southern Gujarat, Maharashtra,
Karnatak, Nizam's Dominions, and Northern Mysore,
during C. 750 A.D. to C. 1000 A.D.

BY

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'A New Gupta King' etc.

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TRANSLITERATION

In the transliteration scheme followed in this book the following deserve to be noted :—

Long vowels : by a line above the short ones.

ऋ r,	ॠ ṛ,	च ch,	छ chh,	ऌ ḷ
ॡ ṛ,	ॢ ṛh,	ॣ ṛ,	। ṛh,	॥ ḷ
॥ ḷ,	० sh,	ॡ s,	ॢ ḷ,	विसर्ग ḥ

Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali words and ancient names are spelt according to the above system ; modern current names and terms are spelt without any diacritical marks.

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BOOKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. **A History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawar;** reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*, 1924-25. *Out of print.*
2. **A History of the Village Communities in Western India.** Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1927, Pp. xvi + 144. Price Rs. 3-
3. **Education in Ancient India.** The Indian Book Shop, Benares City, 1934. Pp. vi + 386. Price Rs. 3-

PREFACE

The reconstruction of Ancient Indian History has passed through several stages. In the beginning, almost everything appeared to be of the nature of a dim legend; hardly any historical data were available. When the key to the ancient Indian inscriptions was discovered, abundant historical material became available, and the energies of scholars were for some time directed towards the task of assorting it. The first generation of scholars was naturally engaged in determining the chronology and giving the frame-work of the political history. These problems became more or less settled in course of time. Owing to the commendable zeal of the Indian Government and of the various research societies, both in India and abroad, immense historical material became available in course of time. The discovery of the *Arthas'āstra*, which coincided with the political awakening in the country, gave a powerful impetus to the study of the political institutions of Ancient India. The material now available is, however, so ample that the historian need not longer be exclusively or mainly occupied with the court, but can give equal attention to the cottage.

In this book, which substantially represents a thesis accepted for the D. Litt. degree of the Benares Hindu University, an attempt has been made to give a comprehensive history of the Deccan under the Rāshtrakūṭas (c. 750-1000 A.D.).

The first Part (Chapters I-VI) deals with the political history of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. More than 40 years have elapsed since the late Drs. R. G. Bhandarkar and Fleet wrote upon this subject. During this time, several new inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas and their contemporaries have been published, necessitating the rewriting of the history of the dynasty. Some idea of the new material, that has be-

come subsequently available in this period, may perhaps be gained, when it is pointed out that in the present work, it was found necessary to devote about four times the space that was found more than sufficient by Bhandarkar and Fleet for narrating the political history of the house. Like a novel, political history cannot be all new or original. It is, however, hoped that scholars will find the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas expounded here much more fully than in any book so far published. Several new suggestions, viewpoints, and conclusions will be met with, and Chapter I, dealing with the predecessors of Dantidurga, will be found to be substantially new and original. The political relations of the Rāshtrakūṭas with their contemporaries and feudatories have been fully discussed. The history of the feudatories, however, has not been dealt with in detail as it was outside the scope of the present work.

Part II (Chapters VII-XII,) contains a comparative study of the Rāshtrakūṭa administration. The books on the subject of Ancient Indian Politics are now so numerous, that the students of the subject may be inclined to feel some apprehension at the prospect of a new one being added to their number. It is, however, confidently hoped that a perusal of this part will show that epigraphical documents have a rich store of material bearing on the subject, which has been practically untouched to the present day. The information from the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions has been in several places compared to, contrasted with, and in some cases, where it seemed justifiable to do so, supplemented by the data supplied by the earlier, contemporary, and later inscriptions and works on the *Nitiś'āstra*, *Dharmas'āstra*, and *Arthas'āstra*.

Part III (Chapters XIII-XVII) attempts to delineate the religious, social, literary, educational and economic conditions of the times. Here the back-ground had to be necessarily

wider. The method in this part is also comparative. I have not only tried to show what the things were in the Deccan under the Rāshtrakūṭas, but also introduced comparisons with a view to illustrate the state of affairs in the earlier and later times. In this part the treatment has been mainly confined to the Deccan under the Rāshtrakūṭas; in a few cases evidence from Northern India is also considered with a view to emphasise the points of similarity and contrast. While considering the economic conditions, the data supplied by some Chola records had to be utilised, as it was necessary to do so in order to interpret properly the numerous Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions, hailing from the northern districts of Tamil country. Epigraphical sources have been primarily relied upon, but at every step an effort has been made to show how far the realities of the situation, as disclosed by the inscriptions, confirm, modify or contradict the picture based upon the Smṛtis and Purāṇas. As social and religious customs and institutions do not change suddenly, the information in this part is in some cases supplemented by the data supplied by the 7th and the 11th century inscriptions also.

The reader will thus find in this work not only the political history of the times, but also the religious, social, economic, literary and administrative history of the age. Unlike most of the books on the subject of Ancient Indian History, he will find here equal attention given to the cultural as well as to the political history. A perusal of the book will show that there hardly exists any work at present, which offers so complete and comprehensive a study of any period in Ancient Indian History.

The main sources of the book are the inscriptions of the Rāshtrakūṭas, their contemporaries, and their immediate predecessors and successors. These are supplemented by the accounts of the Arabic travellers and the valuable book of Alberuni. Contemporary works like Somadeva's *Yas'astilaka*

and *Nītvākyaṃṛta*, Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya* and later Smṛtis and Purāṇas have also been utilised. Later travellers like Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta, Bernier and Tavernier have also been consulted with a view to see whether they could throw any light on our period.

For the purpose of Parts II and III, I have thoroughly studied the whole of the *Dharmas'āstra*, *Nītis'āstra*, and *Arthas'āstra* literature, and the relevant portions from the Purāṇas and the later Nibandhas. My principal aim is to find out how far the epigraphical data confirm, modify or contradict the conclusions based upon the theoretical works on the subject.

In Part III the aim is merely to describe the social, religious and economic conditions of our period. No attempt is made to account for the changes that we witness taking place at this time. To a student of the *Dharmas'āstra* literature, the temptation to initiate this enquiry is almost irresistible, but that would have been beyond the scope of the present work and would have unnecessarily increased its size. I hope to write in course of time a few monographs on the origin, development and history of the various socio-religious institutions of the Hindus. The first of these, dealing with the history and development of Education in Ancient India, has been just published.

In conclusion I would like to offer my hearty thanks to the Oriental Book Agency and its enterprising manager Dr. N. G. Sardesai for undertaking the publication of this work, and to Mr. S. R. Sardesai, the manager of the Samarth Bharat Press, for printing it neatly.

Benares Hindu University, }

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A. S. Altekar

CONTENTS

	Page
<i>Transliteration</i>	ii
<i>Preface</i>	iii
<i>Abbreviations</i>	viii
PART I—Political History	
<i>Chapter I</i> , Early Rāshtrakūṭa Rulers, Their Stock, Home and Relations with the Predecessors of Dantidurga	1
<i>Chapter II</i> , The Rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas; Indra I, Dantidurga and Kṛshṇa I	29
<i>Chapter III</i> , The Empire at its Zenith	48
<i>Chapter IV</i> , Amoghavarsha I and the Gujarat Branch	71
<i>Chapter V</i> , From Kṛshṇa II to Govinda IV	90
<i>Chapter VI</i> , Last Four Rulers	117
PART II—A Comparative Study in the Rāshtrakūṭa Administration	
<i>Chapter VII</i> , Political Divisions	135
<i>Chapter VIII</i> , Central Government: King and Ministry	150
<i>Chapter IX</i> , Provincial, District, Divisional and Town Government	173
<i>Chapter X</i> , Village Government	188
<i>Chapter XI</i> , Revenue and Expenditure	212
<i>Chapter XII</i> , The Military and the Police, and the Feudatories	246
PART III—A Comparative Study in the Religious, Social, Economic, Literary, and Educational Conditions of the Times	
<i>Chapter XIII</i> , Religious Condition	269
<i>Chapter XIV</i> , Social Condition	317
<i>Chapter XV</i> , Economic Condition	353
<i>Chapter XVI</i> , Education and Literature... ..	398
<i>Chapter XVII</i> , Conclusion	413
Errata and Addenda	419
Bibliography	423
Index	426

ABBREVIATIONS

Ang.	Ardhamāgadhī
A. S. R.	Archæological Survey of India, Annual Reports, New Series.
A. S. S. I.	Archæological Survey of South India Annual Reports.
A. S. W. I.	Archæological Survey of Western India, Annual Reports.
B. G.	Bombay Gazetteer.
B. I. S. M. J.	Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samshodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona (Marathi).
C. I. I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Dynasties.	Dynasties of the Canarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency.
E. C.	Epigraphia Carnatika.
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica.
Elliot	Elliot, History of India, 7 vols.
I. A.	Indian Antiquary.
J. A. S. B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. B. B. R. A. S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.
J. B. O. R. S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
J. M.	Jain-Mahārāshṭrī.
J. R. A. S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
M.	Mahārāshṭrī.
S. I. I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
Sachau	Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau.
Skt.	Skt.

however, admitted that fine arts do not seem to have received any impetus in the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Mauryan, Gupta, Chālukya and Pallava ages had their own distinctive and creditable contributions in the sphere of fine arts; no such claim can be made for the Rāshtrakūṭa age. Fine arts seem to have been practically neglected by the Malkhed Court. The rock-cut temple at Elora is no doubt an architectural wonder; but it is the only imposing monument of the age, handed down to the posterity, and there is no evidence to show that any other monuments of equal magnificence have been subsequently destroyed. The Elora temple, again, may, not unlikely, have been the work of artists imported from Kanchi.

In the religious and social spheres, our age was an age of transition. It was towards the end of our period that Buddhism, reconversions into Hinduism, intercaste dinners and marriages, and religious *parishads* having powers to settle socio-religious matters, disappeared from the Hindu society. *Vratas*, tonsure of widows, provincial sub-castes, the association of dancing girls with temples, the resuscitation of the Satī custom in the Deccan, and the more intricate Smārta ritual are innovations that can be traced either to our, or to the immediately succeeding age. It is probable that our age believed that most of these changes were changes for the better, but the subsequent history of the Hindu society has shown that they have weakened its unity and cohesion. One cannot help thinking that the thinkers of the age should have taken a longer view of the situation, and realised the full consequences of the new changes that were being either forced upon or recommended by them.

ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>For</i>
5	19	Hoshangabad	Houshangabad
7	8	Nannarāja	Nannāraja
10	11	Indra II	Indra I
34	2	the last	last
35	10	the last	last
49	13	the last	last
51	8	तस्यानुजो	तस्यानुजा
62	20	Śivamāra	Muttarasa
62	last	कृतप्र	कृतप्र
64	34	चक्रायुषाय	चक्रायुषाय
71	11	the last	last
85	7	in	is
88	22	Karṇāṭakaśabdā- nuśāsanam	Karṇāṭakaśabdā- nuśāsanam
92	top	92	20
92	10	staying	statying
95	12	Kirnapur	Kiranyur
95	13	250	150
106	31	वर्षो	वर्षो
108	14	Amoghavarsha III	Amoghavarsha II
123	6	was	wa
127	16-17	Bhīmaparākrama	Bhīmapapākrama
129	22	Govinda IV	Govinda II
151	9	Raṭṭarājya—	Raṭṭarajya—
160	4	in	is
156	29	XVI	XV

165	13	Rāshṭrakūṭa	Rāshṭragkūṭa
166	28	समादिष्टः	समादिष्टः
195	16	to interfere	interfere
199	26	still	till
218	18	tola	atol
257	19	Rāshṭrakūṭas	Rāshṭrākūṭas
259	8	in contradiction to	in contradiction of
259	9	burnt	burn
264	12	and control,	, and control
265		Karṇāṭabhāshā- bhūshaṇa	Karṇāṭabhasahā- bhūshāṇa
267	21	indignities	indignitiest
278	29	Amoghavarsha I	Amoghavarshal
281	26	founded	funded
294	9	buffaloes	buffalos
308	20	Kāmpilya	Kāmpailya
337	8	Pārasāva	Pārāsāva
345	21	but	bu
364	10	Paramamāheśvara	Paramamaheśvara
374	2	tax	ax
375	2	from	to

ADDENDA.

Pp. 52-3. The conjecture hazarded here that Śrīvallabha mentioned by Hariṣeṇa in the colophon of the *Harivans'a* as ruling the Deccan in the year 783 A.D. would be Dhruva rather than Govinda II, is now confirmed by an unpublished grant of Dhruva lying in the treasury of the State of Bhor, which is dated in Ś'aka 702 i. e. 780 A.D., and is issued by Dhruva Dhārēvarṣa. The plates will be shortly published.

P. 85. The statement in the book that Dantivarman had succeeded his elder brother Dhruva II was based on the fact that there was a long interval of 21 years between the last known date of Dhruva II and the first known date of his successor Kṛṣṇa. Recently, however, a new grant of Dhruva II has come to light, which I am editing for the *Epigraphia Indica*, and which reduces this interval to a period of less than four years. The passage giving the date is in words, but is defective; it reads शकनुपकाळातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु षडुत्तरेषु. The word for the number of centuries is omitted by inadvertence, but there can be no doubt that the expression was intended to be संवत्सराष्टशतेषु. This record thus supplies 884 A.D. as the latest date for Dhruva II. It, therefore, now looks extremely improbable that Dantivarman could have reigned between Dhruva II and Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa II. In my paper on this plate I have adduced reasons to show that Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa II was very probably a son of his predecessor Dhruva II and not of his brother Dantivarman.

Pp. 124-5. The sack of Malkhed. In *Śāradāsrama Vārṣika*, p. 6, Prof. Hiralal Jain has suggested that the sack of Malkhed by the Paramāra ruler Siyaka may have taken place in 962 A.D. and not 972 A.D. He relies on the colophon of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, which according to its colophon was completed on the 11th of June 965 A.D., and which refers to the sack of Malkhed in a verse of its 87th chapter. Until the *Purāṇa* is published, it will be difficult to assess the value of these passages. It, however, seems extremely improbable that the Rāshtrakūṭa capital could have been captured during the reign of the mighty emperor Kṛṣṇa III. He was holding even Tamil districts down to the last year of his reign; this would have been impossible if the Rāshtrakūṭa prestige had been shattered by the capture and plunder of the imperial capital in 962 A.D. We must further note that the Malva Praśasti distinctly states that the opponent of Siyaka was Khoṭṭiga:— श्रीहर्षदेव इति खोट्टिगराज्य-
लक्ष्मीं जयाह यो युधि । This statement in the Paramāra official document would show that the sack of Malkhed took place during the reign of Khoṭṭiga, rather than that of Kṛṣṇa. We must, therefore, accept 972 A.D., as the date of the event as supplied by Dhanapāla in the colophon of his *Pāiyalachchhī*.

P. 309. The identification of Kāmpilya suggested here is wrong. The new copper plate of Dhruva II, dated 884 A.D., makes it clear that this Kāmpilya is to be identified with the village Kāplīā in Bardoli Taluka, Surat district.

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B

- Bādapa, of Vengi, 121-2
 Badḍega, See under Vadḍega
 " a Chālukya chief, 129
 Bāhukavallabha, 66 n. 50
 Baḷagachchu, 224
 Bankaya, 77-8; 85
 Banking by village councils, 208-9
 Bappuva, 130
 Bengerivishaya, 51 n. 10; 129
 Bhāga-kara, 214-5
 Bhakti movement, 299
 Bhāmaha, Taila's father-in-law, 127
 Bhaṇḍāgarika, 171
 Bharoch, 358
 Bhoja, 233-4
 Bhaṭṭakalanka, on Amoghavarsha I, 88
 Bhavanāgā, 29
 Bhīllama II, 126 n. 49; 130
 Bhīma, Taila's ancestor, 127
 Bhīma I of Vengi, wins back his kingdom, 76, 91; his son killed in battle, 96
 Bhīma II of Vengi, 107
 Bhīmaparākrama, 127
 Bhogapati, 137; 177-8
 Bhoja I, Pratihāra emperor, 77; 82; 85; 97
 Bhoja II, Pratihāra emperor, 101
 Bhukti, 137
 Bhūtaratayratyāya, 228-9
 Bhūteyadeva, 132
 Bigāri, 231
 Bonthādevi, 104; 127
 Brahmahara, same as Bhāmaha, 127
 Brahmanas, exemption from the capital punishment of, 329-30; from taxation of, 327-8; inferior

to the Kshatriyas?, 324; professions followed by, 325-6

- Budharāja, 159
 Budhavarsha, 46
 Buddhism, and military emasculation, 315; declining, 269-71; its establishments in the Deccan, 308-9
 Būtuga II, 79; 87; 94; marries a daughter of Amoghavarsha III, 109; supplants Rūchamalla, 112; helps Kṛṣṇa III at his accession, 115, and in the Chola war by killing Rājāditya, 118; provinces ceded to him by Kṛṣṇa, 119

C

- Camp followers, 254
 Canarese, mother tongue of the Rāshtrakūṭas, 21; spoken upto the Godāvāri, 24
 Castes, their number, 317-19; intermingling among, 338-9; intermarriages among, 336-7; provincial, 335
 Ceylon king submits to Govinda III, 69; to Kṛṣṇa III, 118-9
 Chākirāja, 46
 Chakrakoṭa, 92; 95
 Chakrāyudha, king of Kanauj, 30; championed by Dharmapāla, 56 installed at Kanauj, 64; but expelled by Nāgabhaṭa, 65; submits to Govinda III, 66
 Chālukyas, Early, their dominions 30; by whom overthrown, 36-9, 44; their connection with later Chālukyas, 127-8
 Chālukyas, Eastern, see under Vengi

- Chālukya feudatories under the Rāshtrakūṭas, 46
- Chālukyas, later, their connection with the Early Chālukyas, 127-8
- Chāmuṇḍarāya, 412
Chāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa 413
- Chandragupta of Kośala, 66 n. 51
- Character, Indian, estimate of, 314-5
- Chāruponnera, of Nolambavādi, 63
Chāṭa, 234
- Chedis, their marriage relations with the Rāshtrakūṭas, 104
- Chief justice, 167
- Chitrakūṭa, conquered by Kṛṣṇa III, 112; reconquered by Yaśovarman, 113, 120
- Chitrakūṭa king defeated by Govinda III, 66
- Chitravāhana, 174
- Cholas defeated by Govinda III, 69; by Kṛṣṇa III, 116-20
Chorodharāṇika, 261
Chūdivāram, 227
- Cloth industry, 356-7
- Coinage, 364-67
- Commander-in-chief, 167-8
- Concubinage, 346
- Constitutional checks, 157-60
- Copper, its price in relation to other metals, 366-7
- Cosharers, 363
- Cost of living, 389-90
- Court, royal, 155-6
- Courtesans, 155-6
- Cow, 298
- Crops, 354

D

- Dancing girls, 295-6
- Dantidurga, his career, 33-41; Śarva his epithet, 34 n. 12; declares independence, 36; not an oppressor, 41-2
- Dantivarman, of the main line, 27
.. of the Gujarat branch, 85
- Daśāvātāra inscription, belongs to Dantidurga's time, 34-5, n. 12
- Deccan, wealth of, 353-6
- Democracy, 150-1
- Deśagrāmakūṭa*, 178
- Devadāsīs*, see under Dancing girls
- Dhanapāla, 412
- Dhammamahāmātya*, 169
- Dharmāṅkus'a*, 169
- Dharmapāla, marries a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, 55; champions Chakrāyudha but defeated by Vatsarāja, 56; second march against Vatsarāja, 57; defeated Dhruva, 57, defeats Vatsarāja and installs Chakrāyudha, 64; submits to Govinda III, 66
- Dharmapradhāna*, 169
- Dharmāvaloka, 88 n. 33
- Dharmottarāchārya, 410
- Dharmottaraṣippanaka* 410
- Dhruva, of the main branch, 52-9; his plot against Govinda II, 50-2; imprisons Śivamāra, 54; attacks Kānchi, 55; defeats Vatsarāja and Dharmapāla, 56-7; his abdication? 60-1
- Dhruva I, of Gujarat, 81
.. II, of Gujarat, 81, 84-5 see also Addenda
- District councils, 158-9; 211

Doctor, 157; 326
Dramma, 364
Dranga, 214
 Dress, 348-9
Dvā, 166-7
 Dugdhamalla, 129

E

Education, general condition, 398-9; how financed, 404-5;
 Educational qualifications, for government service, 185
 Election, of kings, 150-1; of the village councils, 198-9; of the town councils, 183
 Elichpur, capital of Yudhāsura, 9; pre-Malkhed capital ? 48
 Ereyappa, 112 n. 5
 Excise duties, 229-30
 Export articles, 358-59

F

Family, joint, 339-40
 Favourites, royal, 185-6
 Ferry tax, 232
 Feudatories, 262-8; their different grades, 263; degrees of control over, 264-7; effects of the feudatory policy, 416
 Fighting, rules of, 258-9
 Fine Arts, 418
 Fines, 235-6
 Foreign minister, 166-7
 Forests, ownership of, 240
 Fornication, 346
 Forts, 256-7

G

Gadyāṅka, 366
 Gangavāḍī, invaded by Kṛṣṇa I; 44; annexed by Dhruva; 54; handed back to Śivamāra,

62; again annexed, 63; armies of, defeated, 69; becomes independent, 78; given to Būtuga after the overthrow of Rāchamalla I, 112; under Nolambāntaka Mārasimha, 119; under Panchūladeva; 132; under Rāchamalla II, 132
Gaṇitasārasaṅgraha, 88; 410
Gauḍī style, 407
 Generals, status, privileges and paraphernalia of, 168; 253
 Gogiyama, 121
 Goggi, 128
 Govardhana, 49
 Government expenditure, 244-6
 Government properties, income from, 236-44
 Government revenues, sources of, 212-3
 Governors, their selection, 173- and powers, 174-6; military forces under, 174; central government control over, 175
 Govinda I, 27-8
 Govinda II, defeats the Chālukyas; 44; career as king, 48-52; controversy about the accession of, 48 n. 1; becomes licentious, 50; overthrown by Dhruva, 51-2
 Govinda III, career, 59-71; war after accession, 62-3; war with the Pallavas and Chālukyas, 63-4; expedition in northern India, 64-68; second war with the Pallavas, 69-70.
 Govinda IV, his sensuousness; 106-7; defeated by Bhīma, 107; rebellion against and overthrow of, 107-110
 Govinda, Pulakeśin's contemporary, 28

- Govindarāja of Naravaṇa plates, 14-5
Grāma, various interpretations discussed, 142-7; average size of, 148
Grāmahattara, 158-9
 Guilds, 367-71
 Gujarat, conquered by Dantidurga, 38; by Govinda III, 70 n. 65;—Konkan not invaded by Amoghavarsha I, 84 n. 34
 Gujarat Rāshtrakūṭas; 79-87; extent of their kingdom, 86; line founded by Indra, 79; his son Karkka helps Amoghavarsha I, 72-4, 79; his younger brother Govinda not a usurper, 80; Dhruva I dies fighting against Amoghavarsha I, his son Akālavarsha regains the throne, 81, 85; his son Dhruva II makes peace with Amoghavarsha I, 81; his son Dantivarman, 85; his successor Kṛṣṇa Akalavarsha, 85, and Addenda; expelled by Kṛṣṇa II, 98; end of the line, 98
 Guṇabhadra, 99
 Guṇachandra, 410
 Guṇāvaloka, 83 n. 33
 Gurava, 293

H

- Halāyudha, 408
 Haribhadra, 409
Harivans'a, on contemporary kings, 52; its authorship, 410
 Headman, see under Village headman
 Heir-apparent, see under Yuvarāja.

- Heirless property, 242-4
 Hereditary officers, 178-80
 184-5
 Himalaya, reached by Govind III 7, 66 n. 52
Hiraṇyagarbhadāna, 35, 40, 29;
 House tax, 231-2

I

- Idol worship, 292
 Immolation by royal officers, 186, by widows, see under *Sat*
 Import articles, 359; duties, 229-30
 Indra I, Pṛchhakarāja, 27-8
 Indra II, marries Bhavanāgā, 29
 his career, 31-2
 Indra III, career, 99-103; defeats the Paramāras, 100-1; defeats Mahīpāla and conquers Kauauj, 101-3
 Indra IV, 131-2
 Indra, brother of Govinda III, 62, 65-6, 71 n. 66, 79
 Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa, 2-3
 Indrāyudha, 56
 Industries of the Deccan, 356-7
 Inheritance, order of, 243-4; 340-1;
 Interest rates, 371-6, 386
 Ivory industry, 357

J

- Jagadguru*, 282
 Jagattunga, son of Kṛṣṇa II, 90, 97, 99
 Jagattunga, a younger brother of Kṛṣṇa III, 124
 Jainism, patronised by Amoghavarsha I, 88 and Kṛṣṇa II,

- 99; why prospered during our period, 272, 310-13; Matha life in, 313; responsible for military decline? 99, 315-6
- Jākavvā, 127
- Jānapada, 157-8.
- Jayasimha, 154
- Jayavardhana, 31, 37
- Jejja, 82
- Jhanjha, 126 n. 49
- Jinachandra, 412
- Jinasena, Amoghavarsha's Guru, 88, 410
- Judicial powers of the village councils, 210-1
- K**
- Kalam*, 376-7
- Kālanjar, 113, 120
- Kaṣanju*, 365-6
- Kalas college, 403
- Kalaviṭṭarasa, 174
- Kalhapa on elective kingship, 151
- Kalivallabha, 53
- Kalpi, 102 n. 44
- Kalyan, 358
- Kamalavardhana, 150
- Kampāna* 168
- Kānchī, see under Pallavas
- Karka I of the main branch, 28
- Karka II of the main branch, 125-7; 130-31
- Karkarāja II of the Gujrat branch, his relations with the imperial family, 11-4; governor under Dantidurga, 40, ousted by Kṛṣṇa, 43
- Karka Suvarṇavarsha, a brother of Gavinda III, 59
- Karka Suvarṇavarsha, a son of Indra, Amoghavarsha's guardian, 72-3; same as Pātālmalla, 72 n. 3
- Karkarāja, father of Parabala, 82
- Karkara, 110
- Karṇāṭakasābdānuśāsanam*, 88
- Kāsu, 366
- Kattiyira, 46
- Kavirahasya*, 408
- Kavirājamārga*, 88, 408, 411
- Kāvyaṇuśāsanam*, 408
- Kāvya* style, 406
- Khaḍgāvaloka, 83
- Kerala kingdom, 69; 118-9
- Keśirāja on Amoghavarsha I, 88
- Ketalādevī, 154
- Khottiga, 124-5; see also Addenda
- King, hereditary or elective, 150-1 and n. 2; age at accession of, 154; how far constitutional, 157
- Kiraṇapura, 75, 95 n. 18
- Kirtivarman II, 39; Rāhappa his epithet? 43
- Kokkala, 90-1, 101
- Konnur inscription, its reliability, 76
- Kosala king, defeated by durga, 37
- Kṛṣṇa I career, 41-8; did not oust Dantidurga, 42; overthrows Kirtivarman, 44; invades Gangavādi, 44; defeats Viṣṇuvardhana 45; conquers Konkana, 45
- Kṛṣṇa II, career, 91, 99; wars with Vijayāditya, 91-6; with Bhoja I, 97; puts an end to the Gujarat branch, 98
- Kṛṣṇa III, his career, 111-23; his part in winning the throne for his father, 109; wins Gangawadi for Būtuga, 112; defeats the Che-

dis and conquers Kālanjar and Chitrakūṭa, 113; annexes Tondaimandala, 116-7; conquers Tanjore and marches on Ramesvaram, 118-9; overawes Ceylon, 119; cedes some districts to Būtuga, 119; loses Chitrakūṭa and Kālanjar, 120 defeats Siyaka, 120-1; puts his own nominee on the Vengi throne, 122; death-date discussed, 122, and n. 39

Krshnarāja, a Kalachuri ruler, 3, 364

Kshatriyas, superior to Brahmanas?, 324; exempted from the capital punishment? 330-1; religious position of, 331-2

Kumkumadevī, 154

Kurumbaka, 100 n. 38

Kuruṇi, 376

L

Lakshmana, a Chedi king, 104, 130

Lakshmidēvī, 154

Lakshmivallabha, 84

Land leases, 351-2

Land ownership, 236-9

Land prices, 384-5

Land taxation, in theory and practice, 217-23; for temple lands, 223; for special tenures, 224; revision of rates and remissions of 225; collected in instalments and in kind, 226-8

Land tenures, 251

Land transfer, 346-7; 362-3

Latāfūrā, 22-3

Leṇḍeyarasa, 177

Loyalty, instances of, 352

M

Mādevī measure, 376

Mahājanas, 199-202

Mahākshupatalaka, 170

Mahāprachanḍadandanāyaka, 168

Mahāpradhāna, 165

Mahāpurohita, 169

Mahārathi, 25

Mahāsandhivigrāhika, 166-7

Mahattaras, council of, 205-6

Mahattarādhikāriṇah, 206

Mahattarasarvādhikārin, 159-60

Mahāv. rāchārya, 88

Mahipāla, 101-2

Mailādevī, 154

Malkhed, when it became capital, 46-8; not plundered by Vijayāditya III, 95 n. 18; sacked by Siyaka, 124-5; see Addenda

Mallavādin, 410

Malva 67, 68

Maṇḍala, 136

Mangi, 75, 91-2

Manjūḍī, 366

Mānikyanandin, 409

Manne, the Ganga capital, 44

Mantrin, 169

Mānya tenure, 224

Mārakkal, 376

Mārasimha, a Chālukya feudatory 128

Mārasimha, Nolambāntaka, his succession, 119; helps Krshna III in the Malva expedition, 120-1; scenes of his victories, 125; helps Khoṭṭiga, 125; espouses the cause of Indra IV, 131; dies by Sallekhanā vow, 132

Marathi language, 412-3

- Marriage, age at, 342; tax at, 232;
 with maternal uncle's daughter,
 343
 Mat industry, 357
 Maṭha as centre of education, 401
 -2
Mattar, 220
Maula bala, 250-1
Maulika arhaṇa, 194
Mayūrkhindi, 47
Meṭṭāwam, 224
Meru, an unidentified place, 100
Metals, their relative prices, 366-
 7
 Military, ascendancy of the, 247
 Mines, 241-2; 355-6
 Ministry; 160-73; held in high
 reverence, 160-2; feudal status
 of the members of, 161; nation-
 al welfare dependent on, 162;
 qualifications for the members
 of, 162-3; military qualifications
 for the members of, 164; differ-
 ent members in, 164-173; its
 method of daily work, 172-3
Mitūksharā, 166, 177, 341
 Morality, minister of, 169
Mūlarāja, 121
 Muslims, invasion of Gujarat by,
 32; alliance with Nāgabhaṭa of,
 treatment under the Rāshṭra-
 kūṭa administration of, 187;
 276-7; 387; social relations with,
 307
Muttarasa, 44, 54
- N**
- Nāḍḍāvunḍa*, 178
Nāgabhaṭa, II, 65-6
Nāgadeva, a general of *Taṭila* II,
 132
 राष्ट्र २८
- Nagarapati*, 139, 181
Nagaravoharakas, 139
Nāgāvaloka, indentivity of, 82-3,
 and n. 33
Nāgarvarman, 88
Nalachampū, 408
Namasya tenure, 224
Nambudri Brahmanas, 338
Nandivarman, 37-8
Nanna Guṇāvaloka, 27-8
Nannarāja of Multai plates, 6-10
Nārasimha, a Chālukya feudatory,
 102
Narasimhabhadradeva, 129
Nāri, a measure, 376
Nasik, 47
Navy, 257, 415-6
Nirupama, 125
Nitivākyaṃṛta, 411
Niyuktas, 196
Nolambavādī, 63; under Ganga
 suzerainty, 94; Kṛṣṇa's war
 against, 90, 92; attacked by
Vijayāditya III, 94; Dantiga
 and Vappuga of, killed by
Kṛṣṇa III, 112; *Ayyapadeva*
 and *Ereyappa* of, 112 n. 5
 Numerical figures attached to
 territorial divisions, their
 various interpretations, 139-49;
 revenue theory, 139-40; popula-
 tion theory, 141; estates theory,
 142-48; village numbers theory,
 141-4; divisions theory, 149
Nyāyabinduśikā, 410
Nyāyakumudachandrodaya, 410
- O**
- Officers, loyalty of, 186; salaries
 of, 187-8; selection of, 184-6;
 expenses of their stay, 234
 Ostroï duties, 229-30

P

- Podakku*, 376
Paiyalachchhi, 412
 Paithan, 48
 Pāleyaradeva, 112
 Pallavas, defeated by Dantidurga 38; by Dhruva, 55; by Govinda III, 63; their capital occupied, 69;
 Pampa, on his patron Nārasimha, 102, 107-8; his date, 411-2
 Pānchūladeva, 132
Paṇḍita, 169
 Pāndya king, defeated by Govinda III, 69; by Kṛṣṇa III, 118-9
 Parabala, 55; father-in-law of Dharmapāla, 55
 Parabala, of Pathari pillar, 82-3
 Paramāras, 100-1, 120-1; plunder Malkhed, 124, see Addenda
 Paramēśvaravarma, 38
 Parāntaka, 116
 Pārījāta, 49
Parīkṣhāmukhasūtra, 409
Parīśhad, 283
Parśvabhūdaya, 410
Paura, 157
 Pauranic religion, 283-6; 300-302
Perilmāi measure, 376
 Pilgrimages, 297
 Pimperli plates, genuineness of, 51 n. 2
Pithas of Śankarāchārya, 281-3
 Poets, 156
 Police, 259-61
 Political agent, 264
 Poona, 412
 Portfolios, combination of, 165
 Prabhāchandra, 409-10
Prabhāvākacharit, 83
 Prachanda, Gujarat governor 98

- Pradhāna*, 164-166
Prameyakāmalamārtaṇḍa, 409-10
Pras' nottaramālikā, 89, 411
Pratinidhi, 172
Prāyas' chittas, 286-7
 Premier, 164-6
 Prices; of rice, 378-9, of oil and curds, 381; of pulses, salt, pepper, and cumin, 382; of cardamoms, camphor, sugar and fruits, 383; of ewes, cows and buffaloes, 384, of land, 384-5, no 700 % rise between the 5th and 11th century, 387-392; in the 17th century; 393; control of, 393
 Primary education, 399
 Princes as governors, 153
 Princesses as governors, 153-4
 Pṛthvipati II, 78
 Pṛthvirāma, 93 n. 13
 Pṛthvivallabha, 84
 Pṛthvivyāghra, 31, 37
 Provincial councils, 158-60; 211
 Public works, 290, 303-4
 Pullaśakti Śilāhāra, 78
Purāṇātāya, 165
 Purda system, 343
Purohita, 169

R

- Rāchamalla, 112
 Rāhappa, 43
 Rājāditya, 107-8
 Rājāśekhara, 408
Rājasthāniya, 172
Rajjukas, 172
 Ramesvaram, 118
 Raṇavallabha, 85 n. 33
 Rannā, 412
 Rannādevi, 55

- Ransom for lost articles, 390-2
Rāshṭra, an administrative unit, 136, 173
Rāshṭrakūṭas: early families, 1-11; Yadu descent theory, 16; Rathor descent theory, 17; Telegu origin theory, 17; Marathi descent theory, 18-25; imperial, Canarese family domiciled in Berar, 21-5; not a matriarchal stock, 154; meaning of the term, 26-7; extent of their empire, 135; wars of succession among, 414-5; a dynasty of able rulers, 410; merits of their administration, 416-7; achievements evaluated, 417-8; time and causes of their downfall, 126
Rāshṭramahattaras, 158-160; 176
Rāshṭrapati, 136; 173-76
Rāshṭravarman, 4
Rāshis, different meanings of the term, 26-7; their position in early times, 19-20; spread over Maharashtra and Karnatak, 20-21; and Mahārathis, 25
Rāthors, 17
Raṭṭa, ancestor of the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*?, 17; earlier form of the term *Rāshṭrakūṭa*? 25-6
 Reconversion, 304-7
 Records, Inspector general of, 170; of right, 170-1; 347-51
 Reddis and *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, 17-8
 Regency administration, 153-4
 Remission of taxes, 180-1
 Remuneration of officers, 187; of the village headman, 193
 Rent free lands, for the village headman, 193; for Taluka officers, 179
 Republics, 150
 Resident, 264
 Revakanimmaḍi, 111
 Revenue, see Government revenue; of the average village, 219
 Revenue member, 170
 Roads, 360
- S
- Sachiva*, 168
Sahābhyanarasiddhi, 241
Śākaṭyāna, 410
Sallekhaṇa vow, 132, 180
 Salotgi college, 403
 Salt, 241
Samaṇamahāmāta, 169
 Samangad plates, genuineness of, 33-4 and n. 11
Sāmantabhadra, 409
Sambhṛtopāttaparatyāya, 228-9
Samgrhīṭ, 171
Sanaphulla, 45, 78
Sandhivigrāhika, 167
Śankarāchārya, 279-81; *Piṣhas* of, 281-3
Sankila, 82-3; same as *Śankaraṅga*, 94-5
Śāntipurāṇa, 412
Śāntivarman, 133
Sanyāsa, 280-1
Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa, 408
Śarva, an epithet of Dantidurga 34 n. 12; of Amoghavarsha I, 68
Sarva, a king of the Vindhyan regions, 67-8 and n. 55
Sarvādhikārin, 165
Sasanādhikārin, 1, 3
Sati, 343-4
 Secondary education, 400-1, 404
Śevkḍu, 376
Śilāhūras, 45; 133

Siluka, 39
 Silver, its ratio with other metals, 366-7
 Sindh, 84 n. 43
 Śivamāra, 54, 61-2
 Siyaka, 120-1, 122-5
Smārta religion, 285, 300-4
 Sodhala, 408
 Somadeva, 411
 Sports, 350-1
 Śrīharsha, see under Siyaka
 Śrīpuruṣha of Gangavādī, 44, 54
 Śrīvallabha, in Harivaṅśa is Dhruva, 53 and Addenda; epithet of both Govinda II and Dhruva, 52-3
 Śrīvijaya, 103
 Stambha, 54, 61-3, 153
Stridhana, 341
 Sub-accountant, 196, 397
 Sub-committees, of village councils 198, 202-4
 Śūdrakayya, 121
Sumantra, 171
 Superstitions, 352-3, see also under Astrology
 Surnames, 349-50
Suvarṇa, a coin, 365
 Sūryavarman, 150

T

Taila I, 127
 Taila II, 125-6, 127-8, 130
 Takkolam, battle of, 117-8
 Tanjore, 118
 Tanning, 357
 Tārā, 309
 Taxes, in emergency, 235; exemption from; 327-28; in labour, 231; on land, see under Land

taxation; on manufactured articles, 228-9; on miscellaneous articles, 194; 231-3; at puberty ceremony, 232; on sonless persons, 232
 Temples, gods in, 287-8; wealth of, 289-90; utility of, 290; worship in 291; castes of the Pujaris in, 293; dancing girls in, 295-6
 Tenures, varieties of, 224
 Thefts, compensation for, 260
 Toleration, among Indian sects, 272-5; towards Muslims, 276
 Topdaimaṅḍalam, 116-7
 Tonsure, 344-5
 Town administration, 181-4; committees, 182-3
 Transport, 359-60
 Treasurer, 171-2
 Treasure troves, 242-3
 Trivikrama, 408
 Tunga, 16-7
Tūṅgi, 376
 Turbans, 349

U

Ubhayakavichakravartī, 412
 Udayana, 31, 37
Udayasundarikathā, 408
Udranga, 203-6
 Ujjayini, 39, 40, 102, and n. 44, 121
 Umbrellas, 349
 Untouchables, groups included among, 320-2; grades among, 323; depth of feeling about, 323-4
Upānyukta, 196-7
Upāṅṅika, 176

Uparikara, 213-6
Upayukta, 196-7
Upendra, 78, 100-1
Urakku, 376
Uri, 376
Vispala dynasty, 150
Utsangu, 224

V

- Vaddega*. (also spelled as Baddega), title of Kṛṣṇa III, 115
Vaddega, Yādava king, 133
Vaidarbhi style, 407
Vaishya, 332-3
Vajrāyudha, 30
Vallabha, an opponent of the Gujarat branch, 81-4
Vallabhājñānānchārīnāh, 184
Vappuga, 112 and n. 5
Vatsarāja, 56, 57, 64
Vedic religion, did not revive, 278-9
Vedic studies, 400-1
Vengi Chālukyas, defeated by Govinda Yuvarāja, 44; by Govinda III, 64; join Nāgabhaṭa against Dharmapāla, 65 defeat the Rāshtrakūṭas, 74 thorough defeat by Amoghavarsha I of, 75-6; reassert under Bhīma, 76
Viddhas'ālabhanjikā, 109
Vidyānanda, 409
Vijayabhaṭṭarikā, 152
Vijayāditya, a younger brother of Śivamāra, 152
Vijayāditya I of Vengi, 64, 74
Vijayāditya II of Vengi, 75
Vijayāditya III of Vengi, 91-6
Vikramāditya III, Bā, 116
 .. III, Chālukya princerd, *Vikramārjunavijaya*, writes:—
Vikramāvaloka, 83 the subject,
Village accountant, part of India
Village council, based upon a distinctive and the relevant constitution
Tamil code, furnished by external, seen carefully and and that the political and power of the
 their judicial functions, 210; their meeting place, 211
Village defence, see under Village headman.
Village groups, for administrative purposes, 138
Village headmen, 188-95; hereditary, 185; their number per village, 189; in charge of defence, 191-2; and of revenue and general administration, 192-3; their remuneration, 193-4 and caste, 195
Village militia, 192
Village size, 148
Village Sanskrit schools, 404
Vinayasthitiśhāpaka, 469
Vingavalli, 75
Virāchārya, 410
Vishaya, 136-7
Vishayapati, 176-7
Vishji, 231
Vishnuvardhana IV, 44
Vitthala temple, 288
Vratas, 286

EXTRACTS FROM SOME OPINIONS

1

Dr. F. W. Thomas, Professor of Sanskrit, Oxford,
writes :—

The work derives its unity from the nature of the subject, the history and culture of a fairly well defined part of India during the period of a particular dynasty. It is based upon a first-hand study of the epigraphical records and the relevant literature, including such information as is furnished by external sources. The materials have been carefully and thoroughly examined, with the result that the political and dynastic history has been expounded much more fully than before. The references seem to me exact, and the argumentation, where there is occasion for such, to be apposite. When previous views are controverted, the reasons are appropriately stated..... Whether the mother (or original) tongue of the Rāshtrakūṭas was Kanarese may perhaps be doubted.

In Part II (Administration) and Part III (Religious, Social and Economic conditions etc.) it is more difficult to distinguish the features proper to the Rāshtrakūṭa period and area from those of greater areas in space and time; and to a certain extent Professor Altekar is constrained to seek information outside the predetermined limits. He endeavours, however, and it seems successfully, to elicit the specialities. It is not his fault if for the most part the methods of Indian administration have rather been uniform and constant. The notes on p. 136 concerning the employment of the term *rāshtrapati* and the discussion (pp. 213-6) of the meanings of the terms *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, adduce new points in matters of known obscurity.....

The book may be described as a solid and well documented piece of work, and it constitutes an addition to previous knowledge of the subject.

(2)

2

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Professor of
Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University, writes :—

The work is on the whole a meritorious production. The author has spared no pains in collecting facts bearing on his subject and his conclusions are almost invariably sober and thoughtful.

3

Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar, Editor of the Mahabharata,
writes :—

This historical work is clearly based on a first-hand study of original documents and contains much sound and original research. The available materials have been thoroughly ransacked and carefully sifted. The author's notions of historical criticism, his weighing of discordant versions, the clarity and the moderation with which he has presented his results,—all these seem to me to merit high praise. It must be admitted that he has been able to expound the history of the House of the Rāshṭrākūṭas much more fully than before. The work must be pronounced to be a solid and well documented piece of research, and it constitutes a distinct addition to previous knowledge of the subject. The author shows a laudable grasp of his materials and a stern sense of impartiality.....
