

EARLY

# HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

DOWN TO THE MAHOMEDAN CONQUEST.

BY

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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Section I. Etymology of the word Dekkan and its denotation.	1
„ II. Settlement of the Âryas in the Dekkan ...	2
„ III. Approximate date of the Âryan settlement in the Dekkan and notices of Southern India in ancient Indian Literature and Inscriptions ...	5
„ IV. Political History of the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra—Analysis of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India ...	11
„ V. Native and Foreign princes mentioned in the inscriptions. Identification of the former with the Andhrabhṛityas of the Purâṇas ...	17
„ VI. Chronology of the Andhrabhṛityas or Śâtavâhanas.	19
„ VII. Political and literary traditions about the Śâtavâhanas or Śâlivâhanas ...	29
„ VIII. Religious, social, and economic condition of Mahârâshtra under the Andhrabhṛityas or Śâtavâhanas ...	31
„ IX. Probable history of the period between the extinction of the Andhrabhṛityas and the rise of the Châlukyās ...	35
„ X. The early Châlukyās ...	36
„ XI. The Râshtrakûṭas ...	47
„ XII. The later Châlukyās ...	58
„ XIII. The Kalachuris ...	70
„ XIV. The Yâdavas of Devagiri,— <i>early history of the family.</i>	75
„ XV. Do. do. <i>Later history</i> ...	81
„ XVI. The Śilâhâras of Kolhâpur ...	92
Appendix A.—Note on the Gupta Era ...	97
„ B.—Note on the Śaka dates and the years of the Bârhaspatya cycle, occurring in the inscriptions ...	105
„ C.—Introduction to Hemâdri's Vratākhaṇḍa, Râjaprasâsti I. ...	109
„ Do. do. II. ...	116
Supplement ...	i—iv



## LIST OF CORRECTIONS.

- Page 4, line 4, for Pāli read Pāli.
- „ 6 „ 1 of notes, for Pāntintya read Pāṇiniya.
- „ 7 „ 13, for Nāśikya read Nāsikya.
- „ 10 „ 21, for Aparantaka read Aparāntaka.
- „ 16 „ 26, for S'iri read Siri.
- „ 19 „ 4 of marginal note, for Ujjayini read Ujjayint.
- „ 23 „ 2 of marginal note, for Ândhrabhṛityas read Andhrabhṛityas.
- „ 28 „ 31, for Indrāji read Indraji.
- „ 32 „ 38, for Silāhāra read S'ilāhāra.
- „ 36 „ 16, for Abhtras read Âbhtras.
- „ 39 „ 17, for Gurjara read Gūrjara.
- „ 42 „ 23, for S'ilāditya read S'ilāditya.
- „ 48 „ 12, for drew read drawn.
- „ 57 „ 14, for Vallabha-rāy read Vallaha-rāy.
- „ 66 „ 2 from bottom, for तङ्गनृत्य read तुङ्गनृत्य.
- „ 68, note 4, for XV read XVI.
- „ 82 line 24, for Jajjala read Jajjalla.
- „ 85 „ 32, for princes read provinces.
- „ 93 „ 12 of note 3, read “ about” before S'aka.
- „ 93 „ 15 of note, read “ possible” before date.
- „ 93 „ 16 of note, for while read which is, and delc “ is S'aka 795.”
- „ 109 „ 2, for Vratākhaṇḍa read Vratākhaṇḍa.
- „ 109 „ 22, for तल्य read तल्प.
- „ 109 „ 29, for बुध read बुधं.
- „ 111 „ 16, for बादगिः read वादुगिः.
- „ 112 „ 9, for चिर read चिरं.
- „ 112 „ 9 from bottom, for भुवल्यं read भूवल्यं.
- „ 114 „ 18, for यना० read येना०.
- „ 116 „ 14, for ज्येष्ठावरत्व read ज्येष्ठावरत्वं.
- „ 117 „ 22, for भृश read भृशं.



# EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

## SECTION I.

### ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "DEKKAN" AND ITS DENOTATION.

The word "Dakkhan" represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Dakshina, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadâ. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Dakshinâpatha or "the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the Periplus calls that portion of the country Dakhinabades.<sup>1</sup> In the vernacular or Prâkṛit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Dakshinâpatha must have become Dakkhinâbadha or Dakkhinâvadha by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, Fah-Hian,<sup>2</sup> the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called Ta-Thsin, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit Dakshina.

Dakshinâpatha or Dakshina was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadâ. Among the countries enumerated in the Mârkanḍeya<sup>3</sup>, Vâyua<sup>4</sup>, and Mâtṣya<sup>5</sup> Purâṇas as comprised in Dakshinâpatha are those of the Cholas, Pândyas and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabâr. In the Mahâbhârata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pându princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Dakshinâpatha after having conquered the king of the Pândyas.<sup>6</sup> This would show that the country of the Pândyas was not included in Dakshinâpatha. Again, the rivers Godâvarî and others springing from the Sahyâdri are spoken of in the Vâyua Purâṇa as rivers of Dakshinâpatha<sup>7</sup>, while the Narmadâ and the Tâpî are not so styled; whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Dakshinâpatha. The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadâ on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kṛishṇâ to the south, exclusive of the

Etymology of the word "Dekkan."

Denotation of the word Dekkan.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Travels of Fah-Hian by S. Beal, p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. 57, v. 45, Ed. Bibliotheca Indica. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, Pândyâś cha Keralâś chaiva Cholâh Kulyâś tathaiva cha, as it is in the MSS. I have consulted.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. 45, v. 124, Ed. Bib. Ind.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. 112, v. 46, Poona lithographed Ed.

<sup>6</sup> Sabhâparvan, Chap. 31, v. 17, Bom. Ed.

<sup>7</sup> Chap. 45, v. 104, Ed. Bib. Ind.

provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical with the country called Mahârâsh̥tra or the region in which the Marâthî language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghâts and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadâ and the Tâpî; and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vâyu Purâna. Thus the word Dekkan expresses the country watered by the upper Godâvar and that lying between that river and the Kṛishnâ. The name Mahârâsh̥tra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purânas<sup>1</sup> and other works distinguished on the one hand from Aparânta or Northern Konkan and from the regions on either side of the Narmadâ and the Tâpî inhabited by the Pulindas and Śabarâs, as well as from Vidarbha on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakośa Mahârâsh̥tra, Vaidarbha, Tâpî-taṭa-deśa and Narmadâ-taṭa-deś (i.e., the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkan are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Dekkan or Mahârâsh̥tra in this the narrowest sense of the word forms the subject of the present notice.

## SECTION II.

### SETTLEMENT OF THE ÂRYAS IN THE DEKKAN.

Settlement of the  
Âryas in the Dek-  
kan.

It is now a recognised fact that the Âryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjâb. Thence they emigrated to the east and for a time the easternmost province occupied by them was Bramhâvarta or their holy land lying between the rivers Sarasvatî, the modern Sarasuti, and Drishadvatî<sup>3</sup>, a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar. There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed. Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himâlaya and the Vindhya. This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For the name Âryâvarta or the region occupied by the Âryas, as explained by Manu<sup>4</sup> and even by Patañjali<sup>5</sup> the author of the Mahâbhâshya on Pânini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them. The name Pâriyâtra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range from which the rivers Chambal and Betvâ take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yâtrâ or range of communication. After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, he crossed it and established an Âśram or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Âryan province

<sup>1</sup> See the chapters of the three Purânas referred to in the preceding notes.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Aufrecht's Cat. of MSS. in the Bodleian Library, p. 352.

<sup>3</sup> Manu II., 17.

<sup>4</sup> Manu II., 23.

<sup>5</sup> Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya under Pân. II., 4, 10.



in the southern country must have been the Vaidarbha or the Berârs. For in the Râmâyana when Sugrîva the monkey-king sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Râma's wife Sîtâ and Râvana her ravisher, he directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Rîchîkas, and Mahishakas, and also to Daṇḍakâranya (the forest of Daṇḍakâ) and the river Godâvarî.<sup>1</sup> This shows that while the country about the Godâvarî, that is, the Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country. In the Mahâbhârata also Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman demanded her of the king in marriage.<sup>2</sup> In the Râmâyana, Râma is represented to have lived for a long time in Daṇḍakâranya, at a place called Pañchavaṭî situated on the banks of the Godâvarî about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya.<sup>3</sup> That this Daṇḍakâranya was the modern Mahârâshṭra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godâvarî, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brâhmins in Mahârâshṭra do not utter the name Mahârâshṭra but Daṇḍakâranya with the word *deśa* or "country" attached to it. In the introduction of Hemâdri's Vratakhanda, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatâbâd, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Daṇḍakâranya. Nâsik claims to be the Pañchavaṭî where Râma lived. But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nâsik. The river Godâvarî must, from the description occurring in the Râmâyana as well as in Bhavabhûti's Uttara Râmacharita, have been wide at Râma's Pañchavaṭî. It could hardly have been so at Nâsik, which is very near its source. On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyâdri through which flowed the river Godâvarî and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purânas represented as "the most charming on earth; and there, to please Râma, the sage Bhâradvâja caused heaven's trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and his lovely garden came into existence."<sup>4</sup> In the Mârkanḍeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town; but the Vâyu and the Mâtsya seem to mean it to be a mountain. This Govardhana must, from the given position, be the same as the village of that name near Nâsik; and thus the three Purânas must be understood as supporting the identification of Pañchavaṭî with Nâsik.

Vidarbha, the first Āryan province in the south.

Daṇḍakâranya, the same as Mahârâshṭra.

Pañchavaṭî.

But though Mahârâshṭra was the last country occupied by the Indian Āryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern countries. Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles and incorporated the rest into their own society. The present Marâṭhî

The complete subjugation of Mahârâshṭra by the Āryas, proved by the prevalent dialect of the country.

<sup>1</sup> Râmây. IV., Chap. 41, Bom. Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Mahâbh., Bom. Ed. III., Chap. 96, 97.

<sup>3</sup> Râmây. III., 13, 13, Bom. Ed.

<sup>4</sup> Mârkanḍeya, Chap. 57, vv. 34-35; Vâyu, Chap. 45, vv. 112-114; and Mâtsya, Chap. 112, vv. 37-39. The passage, however, is corrupt. The three Purânas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted. The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the Vâyu.

language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of northern India. The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Mahârâshtrî, the S'aurasenî and the Mâgadhî, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pâlî—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws. These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race. For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prâkṛit dialects, as they are called. This long continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects. Such however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit. The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not. Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Āryas; and thus the Prâkṛit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them. A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prâkṛits, and these point to the same conclusion. It thus appears that the Indian Āryas in their progress through the country came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated in their society and learnt their language at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities.<sup>1</sup> This was the state of things in the north down to the Marâthâ country. But farther south and on the eastern coast though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization. On the contrary, the Āryas had to learn the languages of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization. Thus the Kanares, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that southern art is so different from the northern. The reason why the result of the Āryan irruption was so different in Southern India from what it was in the north appears to be that when the Āryas penetrated to the south there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms. In the passage in the Râmâyana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhra (Telugu people), the Pândyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, in the south, and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pândyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, and will be noticed hereafter. In the north, however, at the time of the Āryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Dandakâaranya, which is represented in the Râmâyana as

Prâkṛit dialects.

The subjugation of the country farther south, partial.

<sup>1</sup> These points I have developed in my Lectures on the Sanskrit and the Prâkṛit languages derived from it.

a forest infested by Rākshasas or wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brāhmaṇ sages. And throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Āryas were gradually progressing from the Panjâb, the wild tribes they met with are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Rākshasas and others.

## SECTION III.

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE ĀRYAN SETTLEMENT IN THE DEKKAN  
AND NOTICES OF SOUTHERN INDIA IN ANCIENT INDIAN  
LITERATURE AND INSCRIPTIONS.

We will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Āryas settled in Daṇḍakâraṇya, and trace the relations between the civilized Āryan community of the north and the southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well known dates in Indian history. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Viśvâmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Āryan settlements, and these, it is said, "were the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarās, Pulindas and Mûtibas, and the descendants of Viśvâmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus."<sup>1</sup> Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the south, the Puṇḍras in the Rāmâyaṇa and the other three in the Purâṇas.<sup>2</sup> From the later literature, the Pulindas and Śabarās appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhya.<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadâ. The Andhras, who in these days are identified with the Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godâvarî or perhaps farther to the north. If these were the positions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Indian Āryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

The Āryas  
acquainted with  
Northern India in  
the time of the  
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

Pāṇini in his Sûtras or grammatical rules shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India. Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjâb and Afghanistan; but the names of countries situated in the eastern portion of Northern India also occur in the Sûtras. The countries farthest to the south mentioned by him are Kachchha (IV., 2, 133), Avantî (IV., 1, 176), Kosala (IV., 1, 171), Karûśa (IV., 1, 178)<sup>4</sup>

Also in Pāṇini's time.

<sup>1</sup> Ait. Brāh., VII. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages above referred to.

<sup>3</sup> In his Kādambari Bāna places the Śabarās in the forest on the Vindhya range.

<sup>4</sup> This name does not occur in the Sûtra, but is the second in the list or Gaṇa beginning with Bharga. As regards the words occurring in these Gaṇas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gaṇa to Pāṇini, (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times), still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his. This was objected to by Professor Weber. But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view. I may, however, here state that since Pāṇini refers to these Gaṇas in his Sûtras by using the first word in the list with *âdi*, equivalent to "and others," added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more. This observation is meant to be applicable generally. In the present case, however, the expression *Bhargâdi* forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied.

and Kaliṅga (IV., 1, 178).<sup>1</sup> The first is the same as the modern country of that name, Avantî is the district about Ujjayinî, and Kaliṅga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars. Kosala, Karûṣa, and Avantî are mentioned in the Purâṇas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya.<sup>2</sup> In the Ratnâvalî, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range. Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther south in Pânini's work is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the north that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Âryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya, but did proceed or communicate with the northernmost portion of the eastern coast not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course.

Southern India  
unknown in all like-  
hood in Pânini's  
time.

Southern India  
known to Kâtyâyana  
but unknown to  
Pânini.

Kâtyâyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vârtika is to explain and supplement Pânini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations. Pânini gives rules for the formation of derivatives from the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country." Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pañchâlas, or the king of the country Pañchâlas, is to be called Pañchâla; a descendant of Sâlva, or the king of the country of the Sâlvas, is to be called Sâlveya &c. Kâtyâyana notices here an omission; the name Pânḍya is not explained by Pânini. Kâtyâyana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pânḍus or the king of the country, should be called a Pânḍya."<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Pânini tells us that in either of these senses no termination should be appended to the word *Kambojas*, which was the name of a non-Âryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed, but that the word *Kamboja* itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas."<sup>4</sup> Kâtyâyana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word *Kambojas*; for the rule applies also to the name "Cholas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Chola and other tribes, and the kings of the Chola and other countries should be called by the names "Chola and others." Similarly Pânini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Nadvat, and Vetasva are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies, Naḍa or reeds, and Vetas or canes, respectively.<sup>5</sup> Kâtyâyana adds "Mahishmat is so called because it contains Mahishas or buffaloes.

<sup>1</sup> In the so-called Pâniniya S'ikshâ the expression Saurâshtrikâ nâri or "a woman of Surâshtra" occurs. But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pânini was acquainted with Surâshtra. The Pâniniya S'ikshâ cannot be the work of Pânini; for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain S'ikshâ according to the views of Pânini and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian. Besides, the author notices the Prâkrit dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Pânini's great work and writes in verse. Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sûtras. The Pâniniya S'ikshâ therefore must have been composed long after Pânini.

<sup>2</sup> See the passages cited above.

<sup>3</sup> Pân. dyan, which is a Vârtika on Pân. IV. 1, 168.

<sup>4</sup> Pân. IV., 1, 175.

<sup>5</sup> Pân. IV., 2, 87.

Now Mahishmat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purâṇas is associated with Mahârâshtra and is called Mahishakas. Mâhishmatî on the banks of the Narmadâ was probably its capital. Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstucker has done in many similar cases, that had Pânini known the Pândyas, Cholas, and Mahishmat, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sûtras. Thus then the Âryas of the north were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pânini, but were so in the time of Kâtyâyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nâsikya, which is very likely the same as our modern Nâsik.

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the south. As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the south and tells us that in Dakshinâpatha the word *Surasî* is used to denote large lakes.<sup>2</sup> He mentions Mâhishmatî,<sup>3</sup> Vaidarbha,<sup>4</sup> Kâñchîpura<sup>5</sup> the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala<sup>6</sup> or Malabâr. Patañjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kâtyâyana's Vârtikas as found in the Sûtras used by the schools of the Bhâradvâjîyas, Saunâgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vârtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb *adhanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kâtyâyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kâtyâyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ. In this manner the interval between Kâtyâyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years. Now, Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vârtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pânini which are taught by Kâtyâyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pânini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures "on the Sanskrit and Prâkṛit languages," and given from the Vârtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, *viz.*, either that Pânini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible, wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya, that verbal forms such as those of the Perfect which are taught by Pânini as found in the Bhâshâ or current language, not the hândasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead.<sup>7</sup> Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pânini in his Sûtras in a sense which became obsolete in the

Patañjali intimately acquainted with Southern India.

Chronological relations between Kâtyâyana and Patañjali.

Between Kâtyâyana and Pânini.

<sup>1</sup> In a Vârtika on Pân. VI, 1, 63.

<sup>2</sup> On Pân. III., 1, 26.

<sup>3</sup> IV., 2, second Âhnika.

<sup>4</sup> Mahâbhâshya on Pân., I., 1, 19.

<sup>5</sup> IV., 1, fourth Âhnika.

<sup>6</sup> IV., 1, fourth Âhnika.

<sup>7</sup> See the passage in the first Âhnika beginning with *Astyaprayuktah*.

time of Kâtyâyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pânini's time but was known to Kâtyâyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pânini and Kâtyâyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pânini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kâtyâyana to be as old as those which were old to Pânini. No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances. Pânini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still; and against this conclusion I believe no argument has been or can be brought except a vague prejudice. And now to our point, the Indian Âryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ; they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no farther, and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or in communication with the countries on the northern skirts of Vindhya and Kalinga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berar, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route; but the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Daṇḍakâraṇya along the banks of the Godâvarî, that is, Mahârâshṭra or the Dekkan. Before B.C. 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Madura.

The Âryas penetrated to the Dekkan after the beginning of about the seventh century B. C.

Chronological value of the epics.

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so satisfactory. Though a Mahâbhârata existed before Pânini and Âśvalâyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time; and the text it has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the Râmâyana also has become corrupted, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali rescension of the poem like the Bengali rescensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in the north part of the country and in the south is more reliable; and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts, even on this side, still there is hardly any material difference. The date of the Râmâyana is uncertain; the present Hindu belief based on the Purâṇas is that Râma's incarnation is older than Kṛishṇa's, and consequently the Râmâyana older than the Mahâbhârata; but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vâsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhisṭhira in Pânini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahâbhârata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Râma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians. Even a much later author, Amarasimha, the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Viṣṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛishṇa incarnation, but the name of Râma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Râma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛishṇa, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached

Places in the Dekkan, alluded to in the poems.

to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Dekkan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pândyas, Pravidas, Udras, Keralas, and Andhras,<sup>1</sup> and also to have visited Kishkindhâ, which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampâ lake or river, where Râma met Sugrîva the monkey chief, though the country Kaishkindha is placed by the Pârânas among those near the Vindhyas. He went also to Sûrparaka, the modern Supârâ near Bassein, Daṇḍaka, the same as Daṇḍakâranya but not mentioned as a forest, Karahâṭaka the modern Kârhâṭa on the confluence of the Kṛishṇâ and the Koinâ, and to others. The countries mentioned in the passage in the Râmâyana, added to above, as lying to the south are Utkala, probably the modern Ganjam, Kalinga, Daśârṇa, Avantî, Vidarbha, and others. The district near Bhilsâ must have been called Daśârṇa in ancient times; for its capital was Vidiśâ, which was situated, as stated by Meghadûta in the Meghadûta, on the Vetravatî or Betvâ and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsâ. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya or nearly in the same line with it farther east. Between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pândyas, and Keralas, the Râmâyana mentions no other place or country but Daṇḍakâranya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Âryan settlements in the Dekkan, while that represented by the Mahâbhârata the place indicated seems subsequent, whatever may be the chronological relation between the two epics. One thing is, however, clear that the name Mahârâshṭra does not occur in either of them.

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty reigning at Pâṭaliputra in Magadha, speaks in his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnâr in Kâthiâwâd on the west, and Dhauli in Katak and Jaugad in Ganjam on the eastern coast, and also at Khalsi in the Himâlaya and Bâhbaz-giri in Afghanistan, of his having sent ministers of religion to the Râstikas and the Petenikas and to the Aparântas. The last which we know best is Northern Konkan, the capital of which was Sûrparaka. Petenikas is not unlikely the same as Paithanakas, *i.e.*, the people or country about Paithana on the Godâvarî. The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratishtâna, was in those days, as it now is, Pethana or Paithana, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call Paithana or Baithana. The Râstikas, the Sanskrit of which name Râshṭrikas, were very likely the people of Mahârâshṭra, for a tribe of the name of Raṭṭas has from the remotest times held political pre-eminence in the Dekkan. One branch of it assumed the name of Raṭṭrakûṭas and governed the country before the Châlukyas acquired power. It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Châlukyas again after some time. In later times, remnants of the name of Raṭṭas governed Sugandhavartî or Saunttî in the Belgaum districts. In the thirteenth edict the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Râstikas. Bhojas, we know,

Names of peoples in the Dekkan in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

<sup>1</sup> Sabhâp. Chap. 31.

Etymology of the name "Mahârâshtra."

ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berâr<sup>1</sup> and also in other parts of the Dekkan. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kudâ,<sup>2</sup> the name "Mahâbhoja" or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Bedsâ. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahâbhojas, the Râshtrikas, Rattis, Ratthis, or Ratthas called themselves Mahârattis or Mahârattas, as will be shown below and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Mahârattâ, the Sanskrit of which is Mahârâshtra. In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the outlying provinces of the Cholas, Pândyas, Ketalaputras (Chera or Kerala), and the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Patañjali the whole of the southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the north, and the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra had regular kingdoms governed by Rattas and Bhojas.

The occurrence of the names "Mahârattî," "Mahârattâ" and "Mahârâshtra" in books and inscriptions.

In the Mahâvaṃso, a Ceylonese chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dîpavaṃso, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggaliputtisa who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation said that missions have been held in the time of Aśoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahârattâ, Aparantaka, and Vanavâsi.<sup>3</sup> Whether the name Mahârattâ or Mahârâshtra had come into use in the time of Aśoka does not appear clear from this, but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era admits of little doubt. In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhâjâ, Bedsâ, and Kârli which are to be referred to the second century, male donors are called Mahârathi and the female Mahârathinî, whose names, as observed before, correspond to Mahâbhoja and Mahâbhojini and signify the great Rathi (man and woman).<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in the large cave at Nânâghât a Mahârathi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prâkrits the principal one was called Mahârâshṭrî, because we are told it was the language of Mahârâshtra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled Setubandha attributed to Kâlidâsa and mentioned by Daṇḍin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Śâlivâhana. It is the language of Prâkrit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays. Its grammar we have in Vararuchi's Prâkrit Prakâśa, but the date of this author is uncertain. Though the date of Kâlidâsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined, still he is mentioned as a poet of great

<sup>1</sup> In the Daśakumâracharita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

<sup>2</sup> Kudâ inscriptions Nos. 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Bedsâ No. 2; Arch. Surv. of West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Mahâvaṃso, Turnour's Ed., pp. 71 and 72, and Dîpavaṃso, Oldenberg's Ed. p. 54. The latter however omits Vanavâsi.

<sup>4</sup> Arch. Surv. of West. Ind. No. 10; Bhâjâ No. 2; Bedsâ No. 2; Kârli Nos. 13 and 14. Pandit Bhagvânâlâl appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Mahârattâ to be equal to the Sk. Mahârathi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Bedsâ No. 2, a woman is called Mahârathinî where the word certainly cannot mean a great warrior, and to interpret it as "the wife or daughter of a great warrior" is simply begging the question. Mahârathi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and the same as our modern Marâthâ. It will appear from this inscription that the marriages were intermarriages between the Mahâbhojas and the Mahârathis, for the last mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mahâbhoja and a Mahârathi or the wife of a Mahârathi.



merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bâna in his *Harshacharita* in the north,<sup>1</sup> and in an inscription at Aiholi<sup>2</sup> dated 556 Śaka in the south. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country, perhaps it is too short. Kâlidâsa may therefore be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr. Kern in the first half of the sixth century.<sup>3</sup> The Mahârâshṭrî dialect, therefore, in which Kâlidâsa wrote the *Setubandha* and the Prâkṛit verses in his plays must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier and been called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature. Varâhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahârâshṭra as a southern country; and in the Aiholi inscription said to above Mahârâshṭra is mentioned as comprising three districts and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Châlukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has since properly identified with Mahârâshṭra. The occurrence of the name of Mahârâshṭra in the Purâṇas has already been noticed.

## SECTION IV.

## POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN OR MAHÂRÂSHṬRA—ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF WESTERN INDIA.

No clue to the political history of Mahârâshṭra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purâṇas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has in some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great; but traces of their occupation in the south have not yet been found. Chandragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B. C. 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kâthiâvâḍ, and his grandson Aśoka, who reigned from B. C. 273 to B. C. 229, retained possession of the province.<sup>4</sup> The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted on the frontiers of his dominions, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kâthiâvâḍ in the west. He does not seem to have ruled farther south. For in his inscriptions he speaks of his dominions generally as "the conquered countries," while he gives the names of such as did not acknowledge his sovereignty. Hence the Râstikas, the Bhojas, the Petenikas, the Malas, the Pândyas, and others were not subject to his power. And if he had ruled over Mahârâshṭra or the Dekkan we should have found an inscription of his somewhere.<sup>5</sup> But Vidarbha must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the

Extent of the dominions of Chandragupta and Aśoka.

Vidarbha, a separate kingdom in the time of the S'ungas.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, Preface, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII., p. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. of Varâhamihira, Preface, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> See inscription of Rudradâman; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 260, line 8.

<sup>5</sup> Since this was written the discoveries of Mr. Campbell and Pandit Bhagvânâlâl at Supârâ were announced. It would appear from the fragment of the eighth edict found at the place that Aśoka's power extended down the coast up to Supârâ, but the statement in the text about Mahârâshṭra or Dekkan remains true.

been called at the time.<sup>1</sup> There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nâsik inscriptions. In an inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapâna the great Kshatrâpa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed.<sup>2</sup> The minister appears to have been a Brâhman, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra.

Inscriptions of  
Gotamîputra  
S'âtakarni and  
Puḷumâyi at Nâsik.

Next in order come the inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamîputra S'âtakarni and Puḷumâyi are mentioned. In the longest of the four occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nâsik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Puḷumâyi, the son of Vâsi shthî, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrâyanîya sect by Gotamî the mother of king S'âtakarni Gotamîputra. She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king." Gotamîputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Aśika, Aśmaka, Mûlaka,<sup>3</sup> Surâshṭra, Kukura, Aparânta, Anûpa Vidarbha and Akarâvantî.<sup>4</sup> He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyâvat, Pâriyâtra, Sahya, Kṛishṇagiri, Malaya, Mahendra Sreshṭhagiri, and Chakora. His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them. His burden of burden drank the waters of the three seas. He was the father of all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own. He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, *viz.*, duty, worldly prosperity and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each. He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brâhman. He conferred upon Brâhman the means of increasing the race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes. His exploits rivalled those of Râma, Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhîmasena and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhâga, Nahusha, Jarasandha, mejava, Sagara, Yayâti, Râma, and Ambarîsha. He was descended from a long line of kings. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Kshatriya, destroyed the Sâkas, Yavanas, and Palhavas, left no trace of remnant of the race of Khagârâta, and re-established the glory of the S'âtavâhana family. In the last line of the inscription mentioned is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple.<sup>5</sup>

Charter of  
Puḷumâyi.

In a later inscription engraved in smaller characters below the Vâsishthîputra Srî Puḷumavi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to his lieutenant in Govardhana, Sarvâkshadalana. He calls attention to the fact that the village granted by the "lord of Dhan

<sup>1</sup> No. 13, Kârli Inscriptions—Arch Surv., W. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> No. 25, Junnar Inscriptions, *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Aśmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purâna.

<sup>4</sup> Surâshṭra is Southern Kâthiâvâd, Kukura, a portion of Râjputânâ, and Aparânta Northern Konkan. Anûpa is mentioned in the Purânas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhya. It was the country on the upper Narmadâ with Mâhishmati for its capital, according to the Raghuvarṇa. Akarâvantî must be the eastern portion of Mâlva.

<sup>5</sup> Inscription No. 26, *Ibid.*

kata"<sup>1</sup> (Gotamîputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrâyanîyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter.

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another inscription. It purports to be an order or notice issued from the camp of the victorious army of Govardhana, by Gotamîputra Sâtakarnî, lord of Dhanakataka, to Vishupâlita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was up to that time in the possession of one Ushabhadâta, for the benefit of recluses. The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated. Below this is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order near Ramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamî, the Sâtakarnî, who is also called the royal mother. She therein speaks of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, but she assigns another hundred by this charter out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony. It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only; hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field. The date of this grant is 24, i. e., it was made six years after the first.<sup>2</sup>

Charter of  
Gotamîputra

Of the wife of  
Gotamîputra.

Besides these, there are two inscriptions at Nâsik recording the defections of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh<sup>3</sup> years of the reign of Siri (S'rî) Puḷumâyi, and two in the cave at Kârli,<sup>4</sup> dated in the seventh and twenty-fourth years of his reign.

Private inscriptions  
containing Puḷumâ-  
yi's name.

Since Gotamî is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamîputra Sâtakarnî is presented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Sâtakarnî mentioned in those inscriptions is Puḷumâyi, it appears that this last was the grandson and son respectively of the two ladies. He was therefore the son and his mother Vâsishthî the wife of Gotamîputra Sâtakarnî. Sâtakarnî issued the charter contained in the second inscription in the year 18, which must be the nineteenth year of Puḷumâyi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nâsik and Kârli and not to that of Gotamîputra. When the date of the large inscription noticed above in which Gotamîputra's great deeds are recorded is referred to Puḷumâyi's reign. And the grant of the village alluded to in that inscription

Relations between  
the kings and  
queens mentioned  
in the inscriptions  
in Gotamî's cave.

Pandit Bhagvânâlâl and Dr. Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nâsik inscriptions have just appeared, read the expression thus understood by me as धनकटसमनोहे for the Sanskrit धनकटश्रमणेः. But what the S'ramanas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakataka, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Kṛishnâ, had to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nâsik to the Bhadrâyanîya mendicants of the place it is impossible to conceive. The expression धनकटसमनोहे, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनोहे for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिभिः or धनकटस्वामिनोहे corresponding to महासामिनोहे in the first part of No. 25, the Sanskrit of which is महास्वामिकैः. The form सामिनोहे must have come into use on the analogy of आत्मनोहे for आत्मभिः and राजानोहे for राजभिः.

<sup>2</sup> No. 25, *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 3 and 27, *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 14 and 20, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

and the one below appears to have been made by Gotamîputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakataka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear has been cut away. Gotamî is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country, since the inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakataka, which has been identified with Dharanikot in the Gantur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamî's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time. Since the charter of the year 24, intended as supplementary to the 18, was issued by Vâsishthî, while the first was issued by her husband it appears probable that Gotamîputra had died in the interval at Vâsishthî reigned as regent at the capital, while Puḷumâyi continued to govern the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra. The years given in a charter must be those of Puḷumâyi, since even the large inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belong to the Sâtavâhana dynasty.

The names of two other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, found in other inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kânheri 1 Thâna, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Maḍharîputra Śakasena.<sup>2</sup> In two other inscriptions at the same place the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamîputra Śrî Ya Sâtakani (Gotamîputra Śrî Yajña Sâtakarṇi).<sup>3</sup> In one of these years that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the eighteenth of his reign. There is one inscription at Nâsik which is dated in the seventh year of that king.<sup>4</sup>

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist

Maḍharîputra.

Yajña Śrî.

Names of princes  
on the coins found  
at Kolhâpur.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Bühler (Arch. Surv. of West. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 110,) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake. But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874. And even this statement has a very high corroborative value. For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotamî's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. If the son were dead, no object is gained as regards this point by saying she was the mother of that son that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a living great king. And if it was a fact that Gotamîputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated and Puḷumâyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puḷumâyi became king only after Gotamîputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

<sup>2</sup> No. 19, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI. and Vol. XII., p. 409. In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasenasa, but in the second, which is Pandit Bhagvânâl's rubric, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants. The Pandit, therefore, reads the name as Śrî Senasa for Śrî Senasaya, but the mark is distinct even in his copy. *Siki* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the original and do not represent the vowel *i*. Dr. Bhâu Dâji also read the name as Sakasenasa. That this is the correct reading will appear in the sequel.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 4 and 44, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI.

<sup>4</sup> No. 4, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., and Trans. Or. Congr., 1874, p. 332.

stûpa at Kolhâpur. Another hoard had been found some time previous in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly resemble those in the cave inscriptions above noticed. They are as follows<sup>1</sup> :—

Rañño Vasithîputasa Viḷivâyakurasa.  
 Rañño Gotamîputasa Viḷivâyakurasa.  
 Rañño Maḍharîputasa Sevalakurasa.

Here we have the same names as before; but the words Viḷivâyakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhâpur.<sup>2</sup> For, coins of two of these princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanikoṭ in the Gantur district about the site of Dhanakaṭaka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhâpur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on.

Thus then, from these inscriptions and coins we arrive at the series of the following kings arranged in the chronological order indicated by the forms of the characters used :—

Kṛishnarâja.  
 Śâtakarṇi.  
 Kshaharâta Nahapâna and his son-in-law Ushavadâta.  
 Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi.  
 Vâsishthîputra Puḷumâyi.  
 Gotamîputra Śrî Yajña Śâtakarṇi.  
 Maḍharîputra Śakasena.

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka Śâtavâhana, a king who reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place in the list.

#### SECTION V.

INDIAN AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.—  
 IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER WITH THE  
 ANDHRABHRITYAS OF THE PURĀNAS.

The first thing that will strike one on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Kshaharâta Nahapâna is not Indian but foreign. The title Kshatrâpa or Mahâkshatrâpa so used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritized form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian *Satrap*. From the statement in the inscription of Gotamîputra that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kshaharâta Nahapâna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a Śaka or Palhava. Again, we are told, that

Nahapâna, a Śaka.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, p. 305, and Vol. XIV, p. 153-54.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV, p. 154.

Gotamîputra left no remnant of the race of Khagârâta or Khakhârâta which name seems to be the same as Kshaharâta or Khaharâta as it is spelled in the Kârli and Junnar inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the Śakas or Palhavas made themselves masters of the country some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamîputra Śâtakarṇi, and that they were driven out by Gotamîputra who, by thus recovering the provinces lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the inscription, the glory of the Śâtavâhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

S'akas and Palhavas  
overthrown by  
Gotamîputra.

Purânic dynasties.

Now, in the Purânas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country. The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the Maurya founded by Chandragupta in B. C. 320 as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great. It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purânas, and the last king Bṛihadratha was murdered by his general Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years, was succeeded by the Kânva family which ruled for forty-five years. The Kânvas were overthrown by Sîprakā, Sindhukā, or Śisukā, who is variously named, who founded what the Purânas call the dynasty of the Andhrabhṛityas, that is, Andhras who were dependents or servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Kṛishṇa according to all, the third was Śâtakarṇi or Śrîśâtakarṇi according to the Vâyu or Vishṇu, while the Bhâgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śântakarṇa. The Mâtsya interposes three more kings between Kṛishṇa and Śâtakarṇi, while the Vishṇu has another Śâtakarṇi which correspond with that of the Mâtsya. Gotamîputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vâyu, fifteenth according to the Bhâgavata, seventeenth according to the Vishṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mâtsya. Pulimat, Purimat, or Pulomat was his successor according to the Vishṇu, the Bhâgavata, or the Mâtsya. These names are so many mislections for the Puḷumâyi of our inscriptions and coins. The Vâyu omits his name altogether. His successor was Śivaskandha according to the Vishṇu and the Mâtsya, while the Bhâgavata calls him Vedaśiras, and the Vâyu does not notice him. Yajña Śrî, who is in all, being placed after Śivaskandha, the successor of Śiva Śrî, is in all except the Vâyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamîputra.

The Śâtavâhanas of  
the inscriptions same  
as the Andhrabhṛi-  
tyas of the Purânas.

Thus then, the names occurring in the inscriptions and on coins as well as the order sufficiently agree with those given in the Purânas under the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. The name Madhârîputra Śakasena does not occur in the Purânas; and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list. Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nânâghât inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Śâtakarṇi, the third in the Purânic list, must be the same as Śisuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanâgarî script is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*; hence the name Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, Śisuka, or Śîsuka, in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vâyu and the Sîprakā of

Vishnu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the consideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him. In this manner, the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty of the Purāṇas is the same as the Śātavāhana dynasty of the inscriptions.

## SECTION VI.

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDHRABHṚITYAS OR ŚĀTAVĀHANAS.

The next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nāsik cave inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> I have accepted A. D. 319 as the date of Gotamīputra's accession, arrived at by taking B. C. 315 as the year in which Chandragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pāṭaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamīputra, since the periods assigned in the Purāṇas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Andhrabhṛitya princes who preceded Gotamīputra according to the Mātsya, when added, give 664. The "race of Khagārāta," which Gotamīputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nāsik inscriptions to have exterminated, I identified with the dynasty of the Kshatrapas whose coins are found

The dynasty of Nahapāna not the same as that of the Satraps of Ujjayini and Kāthiāvād.

at Kāthiāvād, as well as a few inscriptions, since Kshaharāta or Khagārāta was also a Kshatrapa and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers. The latest date on the coins of the princes then known was 250, which referred to the Śaka era, A. D. 328. This comes so close to Gotamīputra's A. D. 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other. But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then. (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Kshatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Chashtana and no further, as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed between him and Nahapāna. (2)—If the Kshatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahārāshṭra for about three hundred years as it did over Kāthiāvād, we might reasonably expect to find that country inscriptions or coins of most of the princes, but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karāḍh<sup>2</sup> and no inscription whatever. (3)—Rudradāman in his Nagad inscription calls a Śātakarni, 'lord of Dakshināpatha', which he would not have done if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Dekkan. (4)—And the dates occurring on some Satrap coins recently discovered are said to be 300 and 304<sup>3</sup> which referred to the Śaka are A. D. 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A. D. 340, which is the date of Gotamīputra's death according to the Purāṇic accounts. For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagārāta or Nahapāna which Gotamīputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satraps. (5)—Besides, according

<sup>1</sup> Trans. Or. Congr., 1874.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 57, Note, and Genl. Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. X., p. 127.

to my former view, the interval between Nahapâna and Gotamîputra is about 200 years; but the difference in form between the characters in Ushavadâta's and Gotamîputra's inscriptions is not great enough for that period. Hence the two princes must be brought closer together.

Ptolemy's Siro Polemios the same as Siri Puḷumâyi and his Baleocuros the same as Viḷivâ-yakura.

From the Greek geographer Ptolemy we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions, of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Paithaṇ, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura. Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Puḷumâvi or Puḷumâyi of the inscriptions corresponding to the Pulomat, or Pulimat of the Purâṇas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamîputra, mentioned in the inscriptions, and another an earlier prince of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note; wherefore very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy. But the question is almost settled by the mention of Baleocuros as the governor of the southern provinces. We have seen that in the legends on the Kolhâpur coins the name Viḷivâyakura is associated with that of Puḷumâyi and of Gotamîputra. Viḷivâyakura is the same as Baleocura, and I have already stated that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śâtavâhana dynasty, and on Kolhâpur coins alone while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godâvā districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhâpur. This country answers to the south division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Puḷumâyi of the inscriptions and coins.

Puḷumâyi began to reign about 130 A. D.

Ptolemy died in A. D. 163, and is said to have written his work after A. D. 151. Puḷumâyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Puḷumâyi's accession. Some of Ushavadâta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41, and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapâna is that in the inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, viz., 46. These dates should, I think, be referred to the Śaka era. For, we have seen that before the time of Gotamîputra, the country was subject to the inroads of the Śakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Śakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sind and even in Râjputânâ. The era known by the name of the Śaka and referred to in all the early copper-plate grants as the era of the Śaka king or kings must have been established by the most powerful of the Śaka invaders,<sup>1</sup> who for the first time obtained

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Oldenberg thinks Kanishka to be the founder of the era; but this view I think, untenable. (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era. The dynasty of the Guptas composed of seven kings was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries. (2)—The characters in Kanishka's inscriptions, especially the ya conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kanishka reigned over Gujarât and Mahârâshtra, but the Śaka era began to be used very early, especially in the last century



ed a permanent footing in the country, and Nahapâna and Chashtana<sup>1</sup> or his father must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Mâlva. On this supposition the latest date of Nahapâna must correspond to A. D. 124. Gotamîputra or Puḷumâyi therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Puḷumâyi occurring in the inscriptions is the second year of his reign; and since the inscription could not have borne that date if Nahapâna or his successor had been in power, it is clear that Puḷumâyi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiasenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Puḷumâyi. Tiasenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Chashtana. But according to the Junâgad inscription noticed above, Chashtana's grandson Rudradâman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Śaka, is 150 A. D. Chashtana and Puḷumâyi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A. D. Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, *i. e.* to about the year 132 A. D., since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Chashtana was on the throne and the year 150 A. D. when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadâman having occupied it for some time in the interval. Again, in the nineteenth year of Puḷumâyi, Gotamîputra was in possession, according to the large inscription at Nâsik, of a <sup>1</sup> and many of those provinces which, according to the Junâgad inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradâman. The <sup>2</sup> 72 in the inscription seems to refer to the sweeping away by a <sup>3</sup> firm and excessive rain of the dyke on one side of the lake there-<sup>4</sup> mentioned and not to the cutting of the inscription on the rock. <sup>5</sup> that it is doubtful whether Rudradâman had conquered those <sup>6</sup> ovinces before 72 or did so after 72 and before the incision of the <sup>7</sup> scription. Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nine-<sup>8</sup> enth year of Puḷumâyi must correspond at least to the second or <sup>9</sup> ird year before A. D. 150, that is, Puḷumâyi must have begun to <sup>10</sup> ign, at the latest, about the year A. D. 130. And his accession <sup>11</sup> nnot be placed much later, for the interval between Chashtana

11.—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A. D. 319: while the last of the three kings Kanishka, Kushka, and Vâsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A. D. 78, have ceased to reign about A. D. 178, *i. e.* about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty. And the latest date of Vâsudeva is 89. If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta; but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition that it was much shorter. Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Śaka, *i. e.* 319 A. D., has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians. As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

12 Professor Oldenberg considers Chashtana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamîputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamîputra whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Chashtana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title, and we have seen that Baleocuro, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son, does not use that title. Rudradâman, the grandson of Chashtana, appointed, as we see from his Junâgad inscription, a Palhava of the name of Suviśākha, who was the son of Kulalpa, to govern Surâshtra and Ânarta. This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names and were domiciled in the country.

who was Puḷumāyi's contemporary and his grandson Rudradâman who was reigning in 150 A.D. will be considerably shortened. Nahapâna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamîputra or Puḷumāyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, *viz.* A. D. 124.

Relations of Gotamîputra and Puḷumāyi with Nahapâna, Chashtana and Rudradâman.

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this. Nahapâna was a Satrap ruling over Mahârâshtra. His capital was probably Junnar since the inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister. He must have died soon after 46 Śaka or A. D. 124. Gotamîputra and Puḷumāyi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapâna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country. This appears to be what is meant by Gotamîputra's having been represented in the Nâsik inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagârât," and to have "regained the prestige of his family." Chashtana founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayinî. In the Junâgaḍ inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradâman and chosen him their lord for their protection;<sup>1</sup> and he is spoken of as having re-established the kingdom that had been lost<sup>2</sup>, himself assumed the title of the Great Kshatrpa, conquered Âkarâvantî, Anûpa, Surâshtra, Aparânti and other provinces which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamîputra, and some more, and as having twice subdued Sâtakarnî, the lord of Dakshinâpatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of the remoteness<sup>3</sup> of the connection. The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamîputra Sâtakarnî, after having destroyed Nahapâna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinî. Or the Kshatrpa sovereign of Ujjayinî, Chashtana, or very probably his son Jayadâman, having observed the growing power of Gotamîputra

<sup>1</sup> The expression is सर्ववर्णैराभिगम्य रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृत्तेन. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI p. 260, l. 9.

<sup>2</sup> In Paṇḍit Bhagvânâl's transcript in Vol. VII, Ind. Ant., the reading भद्रराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन. But in a foot-note Dr. Buhler says that the correct reading be राज्य for राज. In Dr. Bhâu Dâji's copy of the inscription the ज्य is distinct. p. 118, Vol. VII, Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Bhâu Dâji and Paṇḍit Bhagvânâl translate the expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of *deposed kings*," (p. 20, Vol. VII., Jour. B. B. R. A. S.), and "he who has restored to the thrones *deposed kings*," (p. 260 a, Vol. VII, Ind. Ant.) If राज were the reading, the translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far-fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost *râjya* or kingdom re-established by Rudradâyâ was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand that he had to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is संबावदूर्या. It is allowable to insert त् and take it as संबावदूर्या. But unless अवदूर is altogether unintelligible, we are not authorized in taking it as आवेदूर and giving it quite the opposite signification, as the translators of the inscription have done, and in basing a historical inference on this precarious translation, as Professor Oldenberg has done. The composer of this inscription seems to have used the preposition अव for वि as in अवजित्य for विजित्य "having conquered," which occurs in this line so that अवदूर is the same as विदूर and means "far away," "distant," and the sense also is good. For, Sâtakarnî's dominions being far away or distant from his Rudradâman did not care whether he remained king or was uprooted.

Pulumâyi who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him. A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayinî having attacked Sâlivâhana at Paithan and been defeated by him. Sâlivâhana is but another mode of pronouncing Sâtavâhana<sup>1</sup>; and Pulumâyi or Gotamîputra was a Sâtavâhana. The ruler of Ujjayinî was defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamîputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avantî, Anûpa, and Surâshtra, and dethroned Jayadâman. For a time he held sway over the territories owned by Chashtana, but subsequently Rudradâman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and drove away Gotamîputra Sâtakarnî. Having regained his kingdom and got himself crowned as Mahâkshatrâpa, he entered on a career of conquest and wrested from Gotamîputra some of the provinces owned by him. Thus the lord of Dakshinâpatha that he conquered was Gotamîputra Sâtakarnî; but he was not able to pursue his enemy into the heart of his country in consequence of its remoteness, as represented in the inscription, or because he was not powerful enough to do so. The rise of Rudradâman and his conquest took place after the nineteenth year of Pulumâyi's reign, that is, after about A.D. 149. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers and gathered at an inscriptions, coins, and popular legends, as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other.

But the date thus assigned to Gotamîputra is not consistent with that derived from the Mâtsya Purâna. Our next endeavour, therefore, would be to ascertain whether none of the Purânas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the great discrepancy between it and the Mâtsya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as regards the Andhrabhritya dynasty, I have already indicated above. The thesis of our Purânic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things purporting to be narrated by a bard to a king assembled together at a sacrificial session were handed down orally from generation to generation and these were after some time committed to writing. The later Purânas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purânas and not from the oral tradition. Of the works of this class which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the Vâyu, and next to it the Mâtsya. The Itihâsu is later, and the Bhâgavata, the latest. The text of the old Purânas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later Purânas were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account. Now the four Purânas just mentioned contain general statements about the several dynasties, giving the number of princes belonging to each and its duration in years, and also mention the names of those princes more particularly, while the Vâyu and the Mâtsya give in addition the number of years for which each reigned.

Dates of the Andhrabhrityas as determined from the Purânic accounts.

<sup>1</sup> Hemachandra's Prâkrit Grammar,

Often there is a discrepancy between the general and the particular statements. The duration assigned by them all to the Maurya dynasty, founded by Chandragupta whose date as determined by his relations with the successors of Alexander the Great is justly characterised by Professor Max Müller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years. The number of reigning princes given by the Vâyu is nine, and by the rest, ten; but the names actually enumerated in the Vishnu only are ten, while the Vâyu and the Bhâgavata give nine, and the Mâtsya, only four. The total of the years assigned to each prince by the Vâyu is 133 years, so that it is not unlikely that a short reign of four years may have dropped out from the text of that Purâna. Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the Mâtsya has in this case undergone a good deal of corruption. Thus, if with Dr. Kern we take B. C. 322 as the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, its overthrow and the foundation of the next or the S'unga family must have occurred in the year B. C. 185. The S'ungas are generally stated in all the Purânas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the Bhâgavata is not "112 years" but "more than a hundred years." In the actual enumeration the Mâtsya omits two, and the Bhâgavata, one; and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vâyu exceeds 112. There is evidently some mistake here; but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B. C. 73. The dynasty next mentioned is that of the Kânvas; the Kânvâyanas. There were four princes of this line and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhâgavata, through a mistake explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were followed by the Andhrabhṛityas. But here, there is a statement in the Vâyu and the Mâtsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Andhrabhṛityas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purâna, and Śiśuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kânvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the S'ungas."<sup>1</sup> And the Kânvas are pointedly spoken of as S'ungabhṛityas or "servants of the S'ungas." It therefore appears likely that when the princes of the S'unga family became weak, the Kânvas usurped the whole power and ruled as the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of the masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brâhmanas and not Kshatriyas. Thus then, these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the S'ungas include the 45 assigned to the Kânvas. The S'ungas and the Kânvas therefore were uprooted, and the family

<sup>1</sup> काण्वायनस्त [नं त] तो भृत्यः सुशर्माणं प्रसह्य तम् । शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षपायित्वा बलं तं

सिन्धुको ह्यन्ध्रजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुंधराम् ॥ Vâyu. "A servant of the race of Andhras having destroyed Suśarman of the Kânva family with main force whatever will have been left of the power of the S'ungas, will obtain possession of earth." The statement in the Mâtsya is similar.

<sup>2</sup> चत्वारः शुङ्गभृत्यास्ते नृपाः काण्वायना द्विजाः । Vâyu.

Duration of the  
Maurya dynasty.

Of the S'ungas.

Of the Kânvas.

Of the Andhra-  
bhṛityas.

tho Andhrabhṛityas came to power in B. c. 73. In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vāyu, the Vishnu, and the Bhāgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mātsya; and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradition as to thirty princes and about 456 years may be accepted as correct. But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purānas in this last, is very great. This will be apparent from the following table.

Vāyu.		Mātsya.		Vishnu.	Bhāgavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Sindhuka ...	23	S'isuka ...	23	S'ipraka ...	Namenot given; but mentioned as Vrishala or S'ūdra.
...	...	...	...	...	...
...	10	Krishna ...	18	Krishna ...	Krishna.
...	...	Mallakarni ...	10 or 18	S'ri S'atakarni ...	S'antakarna.
...	...	Purnotsanga ...	18	Purnotsanga ...	Purnamasa.
...	...	Skandhastambhi ...	18	...	...
...	56	S'atakarni ...	56	S'atakarni ...	...
...	...	Lambodara ...	18	Lambodara ...	Lambodara.
...	12	Apitaka ...	12	Ivilaka ...	Hivilaka.
...	...	Meghasvati ...	18	Meghasvati ...	Meghasvati.
...	...	Svati ...	18	...	...
...	...	Skandasvati ...	7	...	...
...	...	Mrigendrasvati ...	3	...	...
...	...	Kuntalavati ...	8	...	...
...	...	Svatikarna ...	1	...	...
...	24	Pulomavi ...	36	Patumat ...	Atamana.
...	25	Gaurakrishna or Naurikrishna ...	25	Arishtakarman ...	Anishtakarman Haleya.
...	1	Hala ...	5	Hala ...	...
...	5	Mandulaka ...	5	Pattalaka ...	Talaka.
...	21	Purindrasena ...	5	Pravillasena ...	Purishabhiru.
...	1	Sundara Svaticarna ...	1	Sundara ...	Sunandana.
...	1/2	Chakora Svaticarna ...	1/2	Chakora ...	Chakora.
...	28	S'ivasvati ...	28	S'ivasvati ...	S'ivasvati.
...	21	Gautamiputra ...	21	Gomatiputra ...	Gomatiputra.
...	...	Pulomat ...	28	Pulimat ...	Puriman(mat).
...	...	S'ivashri ...	7	S'ivashri ...	Medashiras.
...	...	S'ivaskanda ...	7	S'ivaskandha ...	S'ivaskanda.
...	29	Yajnasri S'atakarni ...	29, 9 or 20	Yajnasri ...	Yajnasri.
...	6	Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya ...	Vijaya.
...	3	Chandrasri S'atakarni ...	10	Chandrasri ...	Chandravijna.
...	7	Pulomavit ...	7	Pulomarchis ...	Sulomadhi.

Thus, the Vāyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; the Mātsya, thirty and 448 and a half. The Vishnu gives twenty-four names and the Bhāgavata, twenty-two. This last has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hala the Arishtakarman of the Vishnu, whom it names Anishta-

Two traditions about the duration of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty—456 and 300 years.

The lower period the main the family.

Date of the accession and death of Gotamiputra.

karman Hâleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Vishṇu Purâṇa. The details given in the Mâtsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it. Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vâyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must I think be accounted for in some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the Vâyu Purâṇa, in a verse below, to the effect that "the Andhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years,"<sup>1</sup> which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the Bhâgavata by which the Kânvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years. The original account, which the author of this Purâṇa must have seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kânvas and three hundred to the next or Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, viz. 456 years, he connected the "the three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kânvâyana family. Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Paiṭhaṇ and the elderly ones at Dhanakaṭaka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paiṭhaṇ princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakaṭaka. From an inscription found at Banavâsî by Dr. Burgess it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kânarâ. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vâyu Purâṇa refer probably to the main branch. The Mâtsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years assigned to the several reigns in the Vâyu is 272½, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become 300½. Thus then the Vâyu and the Mâtsya Purâṇas give a correct account, but of different things. The Vishṇu, who gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as Vâyu. It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhâg is still more careless, as has already been shown.

If then we take the account in the Vâyu Purâṇa to refer to the main branch of the dynasty and consequently generally correct period that intervened between the rise of the Śâtavâhana Andhrabhṛityas and the end of the reign of Śivasvâti is 206 years. The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B. C. wherefore the end of Śivasvâti's reign and the accession

<sup>1</sup> अन्ध्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुधां शते द्वे च शते च वै । Vâyu.

<sup>2</sup> By adding up the numbers in the table.

Gotamîputra must be placed in A. D. 133. We have seen that Puḷumâyi, whose capital was Paithaṇ according to Ptolemy and who from the inscriptions appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paithaṇ about 130 A. D. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Dekkan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamîputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamîputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purâṇas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A. D. He was alive, as stated before, in the eighteenth year of Puḷumâyi, *i. e.*, in 148, and also in the nineteenth when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, *i. e.*, in 154, according to the two inscriptions mentioned before. Ptolemy's mention of Puḷumâyi I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source and those derived from Gotamîputra's and Puḷumâyi's inscriptions at Nâsik and Rudradâman's at Junâgaḍ, on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Śaka, as well as those derived from the Purâṇas may thus be shown to be consistent with each other. The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged:—

Of the other  
princes mentioned  
in the inscriptions.

Simuka began to reign, in B. C. 73 and ceased in B. C. 50.

Krishṇa began in B. C. 50 and ceased in B. C. 40.

Śâtakarnî (third in the Vâyu P.) began in B. C. 40 and ceased in A. D. 16.

Nahapâna Kshaharâta.

Gotamîputra began in A. D. 133 and ceased in A. D. 154.

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Puḷumâyi in the Mâtsya Purâna are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamîputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakaṭaka in A. D. 154, and to have ceased in A. D. 182. He reigned at Paithaṇ from A. D. 130 to A. D. 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the inscriptions at Nâsik and Kârli is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include the twenty-four for which he ruled at Paithaṇ, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable. He was succeeded by Śivaśrî, whose coin found in the Tailaṅgaṇa districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 64.

Of Puḷumâyi.

Puḷumâyi's  
successors.

It appears to have been Puḷumâyi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vâsiṭhîputa, *i. e.*, Vâsiṭhîputra, or the son of Vâsiṭhî. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A. D. 165. Askanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned. There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country; while the name of the next, Yajña Śrî, occurs frequently. We have seen in inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Puḷumâyi's immediate successor at Paithaṇ. His full name was Puḷumîputra Yajña Śrî Śâtakarnî. Among the coins found at Paithaṇ there are a great many on which we have the name of Puḷumîputra, who appears to be this king and not the elder Puḷumîputra, since he did not reign at Paithaṇ. Some copies of the Purâṇas assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vâyu, twenty-nine, while the Brahmâṇḍa allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahârâshṭra for eighteen or nineteen years, and the eighteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and

Yajña Śrî.

for twenty-nine years at Dhanakāṭaka since, according to our supposition, the Vāyu Purāṇa gives an account of the Dhanakāṭaka branch and his coins are found in Tailaṅgaṇa. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Puḷumāyi reigned at Dhanakāṭaka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, *i. e.*, for eighteen years, Yajña Śrī was ruler of Mahārāshṭra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A. D. 172 and died in about A. D. 202. The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vāyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country; but coins of Chandra Śrī are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the latest Andhrabhṛitya date is A. D. 218. Maḍharīputa Sakasena of the Kānheri inscription, the same as the Maḍharīputa of the Kolhāpur coins, has been identified with Śiva Śrī, the successor of Puḷumāyi, by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. For Sakasena, which was read as Śrīsenā by the Paṇḍit, will not, as I have already observed, admit of being so read. And Mr. Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amrāvātī near Dhanakāṭaka, the legend on which he reads as *Sakasakasa*, but it is not unlikely *Sakasenasā*, "of Sakasena." Besides, we see that on the Kolhāpur coins of Vāsīthīputa and Gotamīputa, the other name that occurs is the same, *viz.*, Viḷivāyakurasa, while on the coins of Maḍharīputa we have Sevalakurasa. This could not be the case if Maḍharīputa were the immediate successor of Puḷumāyi. The occurrence of the name of the same viceroy on the coins of the two kings shows that one of them was the immediate successor of the other, and that Maḍharīputa whose viceroy was a different individual could not have reigned between them. One of the coins figured by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrāji bears the names of both Gotamīputa and Maḍharīputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks that it was originally Maḍharīputa's coin. I think it was Gotamīputa's, for, if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Maḍharīputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Maḍharīputa Śakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamīputa Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi. But, as we have seen, none of his three Purāṇic successors bore the name, and the name Śakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Andhrabhṛityas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanakāṭaka also if my surmise that Mr. Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct. In the Mātsya Purāṇa another Adhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Andhrabhṛitya family will," it is said, "come into power after that family becomes extinct."<sup>1</sup> The Vāyu has got a similar verse, the reading of which, however, is corrupt; but it appears that this dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Andhrabhṛitya family itself and was perhaps an illegitimate branch.

Maḍharīputa  
Sakasena.

<sup>1</sup> अन्ध्राणां संस्थिता (ते?) राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वये नृपाः। सप्तैवान्ध्रा भवि



of it. Our Madharîputa Sakasena, therefore, probably belonged to that branch. Since on this side of the country there is no trace of the Purânic successor of Yajña Śrî, Madharîputa was probably his immediate successor here. How long he reigned we do not know, but, as we have seen, an inscription at Kânheri is dated in the eighth year of his reign, which probably corresponds to A. D. 180. The dates of the later Śâtavâhanas are therefore these :—

Dates of the later  
Śâtavâhanas

*In Mahârâshtra.*

Pulumâyi ...	...	...	A. D. 130—A. D. 154.
Yajña Śrî ...	...	...	A. D. 154—A. D. 172.
Madharîputa ...	...	...	A. D. 172—was reigning in A. D. 180.

*In Tailânga.*

Pulumâyi ...	...	...	A. D. 154—A. D. 158.
Śiva Śrî ...	...	...	A. D. 158—A. D. 165.
Śivaskanda ...	...	...	A. D. 165—A. D. 172.
Yajña Śrî ...	...	...	A. D. 172—A. D. 202.
Vijaya ...	...	...	A. D. 202—A. D. 208.
Chandra Śrî ...	...	...	A. D. 208—A. D. 211.
Pulomavi ...	...	...	A. D. 211—A. D. 218.

Thus then, the Andhrabhṛityas or Śâtavâhanas ruled over the Dekkan from B.C. 73 to about A. D. 218, *i. e.*, for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the Śaka tribe. How long these were in power it is difficult to determine. If the Śaka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrap Nahapâna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamîputra or Pulumâyi, six or seven years after Nahapâna's latest date, *viz.*, 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

## SECTION VII.

### POLITICAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ŚÂTAVÂHANAS OR ŚÂLIVÂHANAS.

The period during which the Śâtavâhanas or Andhrabhṛityas ruled over Mahârâshtra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Śâlivâhana or Śâtavâhana was a family name has been forgotten and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemachandra in his *Deśîkośa* gives Śâlivâhana, Śâlana, Hâla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual; but we see from the list given above that the last two were borne by different princes and both of them were Śâlivâhanas. In his *grâmmar* he gives Śâlivâhana as a Prâkrit corruption of Śâtavâhana. In modern times the Śaka era is called the Śâlivâhana era or an era named by Śâlivâhana. When it began to be attributed to him is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants to the eleventh century speak of the era as Śakanṛipakâla, *i. e.*, era of the Śaka king, or Śakakâla, *i. e.*, the era of the Śaka, and in an inscription at Bâdâmî it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Śaka king." Subsequently, the simple expression Śâke, "in the year of the Śaka,"

was used, and thereafter Śake or "in the Śaka." The word Śaka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten. And since the era had to be connected with some great king it was associated with the name of Śālivāhana whom tradition had represented to be such a king, and thus we now use the expression Śālivāhana Śaka, which etymologically can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families. The current legend makes Śālivāhana the son of a Brāhmaṇ girl who was a sojourner at Paiṭhaṇ and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter. On one occasion she went to the Godāvarî to bathe, when Śeṣha, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her. In due course she gave birth to Śālivāhana, who was brought up in the house of the potter.<sup>1</sup> Some time after, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinî, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetāla or king of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetāla saw Śālivāhana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramāditya. Thereupon he invaded Paiṭhaṇ with a large army, but Śālivāhana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered Vikramāditya, and defeated him. This descent of a king of Ujjayinî on Paiṭhaṇ I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain. The Śālivāhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Puḷumây who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Śakas and fought with Chasṭana or Jayadâman and Rudradâman whose capital appears to have been Ujjayinî. It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Puḷumây's relations with the Śakas and their Satrap kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries.

Legend about  
Śālivāhana.

Śātavāhana's name  
in connection with  
the Bṛihatkathâ.

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana. A work of the name of Bṛihatkathâ written in that form of the Prākṛit which is called the Paisâchî or the language of goblins is mentioned by Daṇḍin in his work the Kāvyaḍarśa.<sup>2</sup> Somadeva, the author of the Kathâsaritsâgara, and Kshemendra, the author of another Bṛihatkathâ, profess to have derived their stories from this Paisâchî Bṛihatkathâ. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Guṇâdhyâ, who for some time had been minister to Śātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kâṇabhûti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Guṇâdhyâ offered them to king Śātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Guṇâdhyâ burnt six of them. Some time after, king Śātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Guṇâdhyâ and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained<sup>3</sup> and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is in the Kathâsaritsâga mentioned with reference to Guṇâdhyâ who was the son of the girl. Śātavāhana's origin is given differently.

<sup>2</sup> भूतभाषामयी प्राहुरद्भुतार्था बृहत्कथाम्.

<sup>3</sup> Kathâsaritsâgara II, 8.

There is a work written in the old Mahârâshtrî dialect called Saptasâtî, which is of the nature of an anthology consisting of Gâthâs or stanzas in the Âryâ metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is in the third verse mentioned as Hâla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Śâlivâhana. Bâṇa speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his Harshacharita as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Śâlivâhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Jâsarûpaka, in the Sarasvatî Kanṭhâbharana, and in the Kâvyaprasâsa. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Andhrabhṛitya princes, one of the name of Hâla, who probably was either the author of the work or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet. From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Andhrabhṛityas, and that the Prâkrits or spoken languages, especially the Mahârâshtrî, were probably for the first time used for literary purposes. In Vâtsyâyana's Kâmasûtra or Institutes of Love, Kuntala Śâtakarnî Śâtavâhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavatî, who is called Mahâdevî, and consequently must have been his chief queen, by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.<sup>1</sup> The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Mâtsya Purâṇa.

Hâla's Saptasâtî.

Kuntala Śâtakarnî.

## SECTION VIII.

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MAHÂRÂSHTRA  
UNDER THE ANDHRABHṚITYAS OR ŚÂTAVÂHANAS.

During this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahâbhojas and Mahârattis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarṇakâras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhânyakâstrenis), druggists (Gândhikas), and ordinary householders (Gṛihasthas) caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned that in the first part of this period the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, Śakas, and Palhavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the cave inscriptions, there are a good many Śakas and Yavanas. The temples were provided with *chaityas* or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhikshus or mendicant priests. These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments. In the month of Śrâvana the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons sited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with stipulations that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The

Founders of Benefactions.

Wandering Buddhist mendicants.

तैर्या कुन्तलः शातकर्णः शातवाहनो महादेवीं मलयवतीं [जघान]. Prof. Aufrecht's edition in the Oxf. Cat., p. 217 b., does not contain the name मलयवती, and he derives मलयवती from the preceding clause; but a Ganikâ or courtesan cannot be called

mendicant priests often travelled by sea; and hence at the head of several of the creeks in the Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharmasâlâs or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahâd, and Kudem situated respectively on the Dâbhol, the Bânkot, and the Râjapurî creeks. For those who landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghodbandar, there were the Kânheri caves.

Brâhmanism equally  
with Buddhism in  
a flourishing  
condition.

Brâhmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the inscription at Nâsik in which Ushavadâta dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brâhman. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Ushavadâta fed a hundred thousand Brâhman as the Mahârâj Sindia did about twenty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brâhman married at one's expense then as now. Gotamîputra also, in the same inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brâhman and as having like Ushavadâta put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

Trade and Com-  
merce.

Trade and commerce must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the Periplus, to Barugaza or Bharukachehha, the modern Bharoch, and the merchandize brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west. Paithan is placed by the author of the Periplus at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakhinabades or Dakshinâpatha and Tagara, ten days' east of Paithan.<sup>1</sup> This town has not yet been identified. Its name does not occur in any of the cave inscriptions, but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century; and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Silâhâra call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devagiri and others with Junnar, but in both cases its bearing from Paithan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account. I have elsewhere discussed the question and have proposed Dhârur in Nizâm's territory as the site of the ancient city. The other sea-towns mentioned in the Periplus are Souppara, the modern Supân or Supârâ near Bassein and the Sorparaka of the inscriptions and the Purânas, where interesting Buddhistic relics have recently been dug out by Mr. Campbell and Pañdit Bhagvânâlâl; Kalliena, the modern Kalyân, which must have been a place of great commercial importance since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kânheri and some mentioned in the caves at Junnar are merchants residing in Kalyân;<sup>2</sup> Semulla identified with Cher

Identification of  
towns and cities.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., pp. 143, 144.

<sup>2</sup> See the inscriptions in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI., and in Arch. Surv. India, No. 10.

some and with Chaul by others; Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Mândâd, originally Mandagada, situated on the Râjapurî creek near Kudern where we have the caves; Palai-patmai, which probably was the same as Pâl which is near Mahâd; Melizeigara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognised as Jayagad and which must be identified with that place whatever the first part Meli may mean; Buzantion, and others. Buzantion is probably the Vaijayantî<sup>1</sup> of the inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified it is difficult to say. Vaijavantî is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates translated by Mr. Telang,<sup>2</sup> and was most probably some place in North Kânarâ. In a grant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, Mâdhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroys of Jayantîpura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital.<sup>3</sup> Jayantîpura is said to be another name for Banavâsî. In the Sabhâparvan of the Mahâbhârata, Banavâsî is spoken of as if it were the name of a country, and immediately after it, Jayantî is mentioned as a town.<sup>4</sup> If then Jayantî and Vaijayantî were two forms of the same name, Vaijayantî was probably the modern Banavâsî, or perhaps in consideration of the facts that the name of Vaijayantî occurs in an inscription at Kârli and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast would not have run at once from Jayagad to the southern limit of North Kânarâ, Vaijayantî may be identified with Vijayadurg. But these objections are not of very great weight.

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Païṭhaṇ and Tagara there was Nâsik, which is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Bedsâ. The district about the town was called Govardhana. Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place. But what its name was we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jîrṇanagara, or Jîrṇanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance. I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapâna. Puṣumâyi, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapâna, is in one of the Nâsik inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the new town. That he reigned at Païṭhaṇ, we know from Ptolemy and also from the many traditions about Śâlivâhana which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the inscription was probably another name given to the town when Puṣumâyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapâna's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Puṣumâyi widened the old town of Païṭhaṇ and called the new extension Navanara. What town existed near

Inland towns.

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<sup>1</sup> Ali No. 1, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Ind. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10, p. 318 and 321.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Ind. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Ep. Ind. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10, p. 69 and 70, Bom. Ed. The Vanavâsinah at the end of v. 69

should refer to the town or country of Banavâsî and ought properly to appear as Vanavâsikân. In the Purânas, too, Vanavâsikâh is given as the name of a people.

the group of caves at Kârli and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an inscription named Valuraka,<sup>1</sup> and the district in which it was situated is called Mâmalâhâra<sup>2</sup> or the district of Mâmala, the modern Mâval. Further south, there was the town of Karahâṭaka, the modern Karhâḍ, which is mentioned in an inscription at Kuḍem<sup>3</sup> and also in the Mahâbhârata.<sup>4</sup> Kolhâpur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhistic stûpa containing the coins we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhâḍ or Kolhâpur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros whom we have identified with the Viḷivâyakura of the Kolhâpur coins.

Persons engaged in trade and commerce seem to have acquired large fortunes. The great *chaitya* cave at Kârli was caused to be constructed by a Sēth (Sreshtin) of Vaijayantî, and in other places also, especially at Kânheri, their gifts were costly. There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, &c. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *nigamasabha* or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadâta's Nâsik inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days. It is also worthy of remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 *kârshâpanas* deposited by Ushavadâta was 100 *kârshâpanas*, and in another case that on 100 was 75, showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed notwithstanding its political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing at Vaijayantî or Banavâsî, and Sôrparaka or Supârâ, are recorded: of the cave at Kârli; of a Nâsik merchant at Bedṣâ; of some inhabitant of Bharukachchha and Kalyân at Junnar; of natives of North India and Dâttâmitrî, which I have elsewhere shown was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nâsik; and of an iron-monger of Karahâṭaka or Karhâḍ at Kuḍem. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Malwa and Karhâḍ are recorded on the stûpa at Bharhut which lies midway between Jabalpur and Allahâbâd.<sup>5</sup> Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

<sup>1</sup> No. 14, Kârli. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, No. 19.

<sup>3</sup> No. 20, Kuḍâ Caves. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> In the place above referred to.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

Trade-guilds.

Rate of interest.

Communication between different parts of the country.

## SECTION IX.

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE EXTINCTION OF  
THE ANDHRABHRITYAS AND THE RISE OF THE CHÂLUKYAS.

For about three centuries after the extinction of the Andhrabhṛityas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mâtsya and the Vâyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabhṛityas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madharîputra of the inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kshatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhâḍ is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kshatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Dekkan after the Śâtavâhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sâha<sup>1</sup> (or Sena) whose date is 144<sup>2</sup> which, if the era is that of the Śaka kings, corresponds to A. D. 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Śâtavâhanas is about A. D. 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhâḍ is Viśva Sâha (Sena), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A. D. 292 and A. D. 302.<sup>3</sup> About this time princes of the race of Ābhîras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Purâṇas. In the Nâsik caves there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Vîrasena Ābhîra, the son of Jamarî and of Śivadatta Ābhîra.<sup>4</sup> The characters in the inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the inscriptions of the later Andhrabhṛitya kings, must be regarded as more modern. The language is Sanskrit, which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pâli, or the Pâli became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious facts; and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Aśoka to the extinction of the Andhrabhṛityas, the language used was mostly the Pâli, or, to speak more accurately, more or more of the Prâkrits of the period. The Ābhîras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vâyu Purâṇa. Many other families are mentioned in the Purâṇas as having ruled over the Dekkan. But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families. It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are thrown together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

Ābhîras.

An inscription on copper-plates found in the *chaitya* of one of the stupas at Kânheri is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakûta.<sup>5</sup> But the published copy of the inscription was made in the time of Dr.

Strakûtas or  
Râshtrakûtas.<sup>1</sup> Journ. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., p. 17. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28 (No. 10). <sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, No. 15.<sup>4</sup> Journ. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., No. 15, and Trans. Inter. Con. 1874, p. 341.<sup>5</sup> Journ. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 16, of the copies of the Kânheri inscription.

Bird and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination. But we have seen from the cave inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Raṭṭhis or Râshṭrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Dekkan or Mahârâshṭra these called themselves "the Great Raṭṭhis or Mahârâṭṭhis, the ancient Marâṭhâs," but in other places the name in use must have been Raṭṭhis or Raṭṭhas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Raṭṭha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kûṭa) and called themselves Raṭṭhakûṭa and later on Râṭhoda, the Sanskrit original of which is Râshṭrakûṭa. These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Andhrabhṛityas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Kshatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence. The Abhîras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only, for the tradition of Gauḷi or cowherd rulers which very probably refers to them is confined to the Nâsik and Khândes districts. The Râshṭrakûṭas therefore probably rose to power about the same time as the Abhîras. The Śtrakûṭa of the Kânheri plate is not unlikely a mislection for Râshṭrakûṭa, and if so that family had been in power for 245 years at the time when the inscription was engraved. From the form of the characters it appears that the plates were engraved in the latter part of the fifth century or the early part of the sixth, wherefore it would appear that the dynasty was founded about the end of the third. And in the inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet first brought to light by Mr. Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot,<sup>1</sup> respectively, it is stated that Jayasimha, the founder of the Châlukya dynasty in the Dekkan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa of the Râshṭrakûṭa family. The Châlukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Dekkan was ruled over by princes of the Râshṭrakûṭa family. This is all that we can gather. More particular information about the period is not available.

## SECTION X.

### THE EARLY CHÂLUKYAS.

We will next proceed to an account of the princes who belong to the dynasty called Chalukya, Chalukya, or Châlukya. A large number of inscriptions on copper-plates and stone tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty. The legendary origin of this family is thus given by Bilhana, the author of the *Vikramâditya Charita*, or life of Vikramâditya, a prince of the later restored Châlukya line. On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahmadeva

Legendary origin.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vols. II., III., IV.; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 12.



at his *chuluka* or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Châlukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hârîta and Mânavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhyâ, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the south.

As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Châlukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mânavya and were the descendants of Hârîti. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kîrtikeya. They obtained from Nârâyana a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhana in representing Ayodhyâ as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century. The first prince who raised the family to distinction in the south was Jayasîmha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, those belonging to the Mâshtrakûta family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Raṇarâga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person. He was succeeded by his son Pulakesî, who performed a great *Aśva-sedha* or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next. He made Vâtâpipura, which has been identified with Bâdâmî in the Kalâdgi district, his capital. He appears to have been the first great prince of the family; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was Satyâśraya Śrî Pulakesî Vallabha Mahârâja. Of these words, *Vallabha* appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases, *Vallabha* had *Prithvî* prefixed to it, so that the expression meant "the Lover or Husband of the Earth." *Satyâśraya* or "the Support of Truth" was inherited by some of the later princes. Pulakesî's son Kîrtivarman succeeded to the throne after him. He subjugated a family of princes of the name of Nalas; but over what province it ruled is not known. He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an inscription at Aihole<sup>1</sup> upon which this dynasty is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavâsî in North Kânarâ.

Kîrtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died. His brother Maṅgalîśa therefore came to the throne after him. Maṅgalîśa vanquished the Kalachuris, a family of princes who reigned over the country of Chedi, the capital of which was Tripura near Jabalpur. He is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and the western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatîdvîpa, or the Island of Revatî. A copper-plate grant by a governor of this island was found near Aihole<sup>2</sup> from which it would appear that Revatî was very probably

Jayasîmha, the first prince.

Raṇarâga.

Pulakesî I.

Kîrtivarman.

Maṅgalîśa.

the old name of Redî<sup>1</sup> situated a few miles to the south of Vengurlem. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Bâdâmî, it is stated that the temple<sup>2</sup> was caused to be excavated by Maṅgalîśa. He there placed an idol of Viṣṇu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nârâyanabali was to be performed and sixteen Brâhman̄s to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Śaka era had elapsed. The reign in the twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated is taken to be the reign of Maṅgalîśa. On this supposition Maṅgalîśa began to reign in 489 Śaka; but I have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Maṅgalîśa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism<sup>4</sup> that I have seen on my observations seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that of Kîrtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Śaka, Kîrtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 Śaka corresponding to A.D. 567. In that inscription Maṅgalîśa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Âditya and Agni and of the assembled crowd of men, and claims to himself only the fruit arising from serving his brother faithfully. In the copper-plate grant of the governor of Revatî, referred to above, Śaka 532 is mentioned as the twentieth year of the reign of a prince who, from the titles given there and from the fact that Maṅgalîśa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Châlukya family. He could not have been Kîrtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Maṅgalîśa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 532 Śaka. He must therefore have been Maṅgalîśa himself, and if Śaka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Śaka.<sup>5</sup> Kîrtivarman thus reigned from 489 Śaka or A.D. 567 to 513 Śaka or A.D. 591, that is, for twenty-four years.

#### Death of Maṅgalîśa.

In the latter years of his reign Maṅgalîśa seems to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakeśi off from the succession and to place his own son on the throne. But Pulakeśi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel he neutralised all the advantage that Maṅgalîśa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Maṅgalîśa lost his own life and his kingdom.

#### Pulakeśi II.

Pulakeśi, the son of Kîrtivarman, succeeded. His full title was Satyâśraya Śrî Prithvî-Vallabha Mahârâja. From a copper-plate grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 Śaka, it appears to have come to the throne in 533 Śaka or A.D. 611. A

<sup>1</sup> Revatî should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revadî or Redî and then to Redî.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. III., p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV., pp. 23-25.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., pp. 57-58.

<sup>5</sup> See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 73.

Maṅgalīśa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appāyika and another named Govinda who very probably belonged to the Śāshtrakūṭa race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family, attacked the new Chālukya king. The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakeśi, and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded.<sup>1</sup> He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavāsī, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Gaṅga family which ruled over the Chera<sup>2</sup> country situated about the modern province of Maisur, and the head of the Alupa<sup>3</sup> race which probably held the province of Malabār, became his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Purī,<sup>4</sup> which was the mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lāṭa, Mālava, and Gurjara were conquered and became his dependents. About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harshavarhana. He was king of Kanoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the north. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadā, but was opposed by Pulakeśi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward, Pulakeśi received or assumed the title of Parameśvara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakeśi II. Pulakeśi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadā to guard the frontiers. Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahārāshtrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kosala and Kaliṅga<sup>5</sup> trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kāñchīpura or Conjeveram and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Kāverī and invaded the country of the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas, and the Keralas. But these appear to have become his allies. After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the south, he entered his capital and died in peace. The date of the inscription from which the greater portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Śaka, corresponding to A.D. 634, so that Pulakeśi's career of conquest had closed before A.D. 634.

It was in the reign of this king that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India. In the course of his travels

Hwan Thsang's account.

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aves I. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 242, line 8 of the inscription. From the words *cha*, and *aparena* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Mr. Fleet in his explanation makes both of them one, which is a mistake, and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

nd. Ant., Vol. I., p. 363, and Vol. VII., p. 168.

The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabār Coast.

The town is called the Lakshmi of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Śilāhāras.

For the position of these countries, see p. 6.

through the country he visited Mahârâshtra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-cha*. He saw Pulakeśi, whom he thus describes: "He is of the race of *Tsa-ta-li* (Kshatriyas); his name is *Pu-lo-ki-she*; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion."<sup>1</sup> About Pulakeśi's having withstood the power of Harshavardhana which we have before mentioned on the authority of inscriptions, Hwan Thsang speaks in these words: "At present the great king Śîlāditya (Harshavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west; he subdues distant people and makes the neighbouring nations fear him; but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners."<sup>2</sup> The Chinese traveller visited Mahârâshtra about the year A.D. 639, that is, five years after the inscription referred to above was incised. The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a large river. The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Mahârâshtra are thus described by him: "The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm. The manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spontaneously, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man upon the road the law does not punish them. Whenever an army commences a campaign these braves march in the vanguard the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despoils and slights the neighbouring kingdoms."

Pulakeśi II. appears undoubtedly to have been the great prince of this dynasty; and his fame reached even foreign countries. He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 291.

embassy to Chosroes II., king of Persia, who reigned from A. D. 591 to A. D. 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after.<sup>1</sup> During his reign the power of the Châlukyas was established over a very large extent of country. His younger brother Vishṇu-  
vardhana, otherwise called Vishamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Sâtârâ and Paṇḍhar-  
ar districts, since a copper-plate inscription of his found at Sâtârâ records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhîmâ.<sup>2</sup> Vishṇuwardhana afterwards obtained the province of Veṅgi between the lower Krishṇâ and the Godâvari, where he founded another flourishing branch of the Châlukya dynasty. Pulakeśi's second brother Jayasîmha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nâsik. For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpurî tâluka of the district, Jâgavardhana, the son of Jayasîmha, assigns the village of Bale-  
râma, which has been identified with the modern Belgâm Tarhâlâ about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpurî, for the worship of the god Kâpâlîkeśvara.<sup>3</sup> The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparâshṭra. Similarly, Pulakeśi's eldest son Chandrâditya ruled over the province which contained the Sâvantvâdî district. In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhaṭṭârî-  
yâ, the queen of Chandrâditya, who is styled Prithvîvallabha and Bahârâja or great king, assigns to certain Brâhmanas a field along with the adjoining *Khajjana* (modern Khâjana) or marshy land in the village of Kocharem situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Veṅgurem. In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of *svarâjya* or "one's own reign." Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramâditya, the second son of Pulakeśi, who succeeded his father at the chief seat of government. Chandrâditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as *svarâjya* or her reign. It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone. The religious merit arising from them is sought by women as much as by men; and hence a woman like Vijayadityâ might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field. The account of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made these grants, as has been thought. She was simply the crowned queen of a reigning prince at that time. Another son of Pulakeśi named Âdityavarman must have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Châlukyâ and the Tuṅgabhadrà.<sup>4</sup>

Pulakeśi was succeeded by his second son Vikramâditya. In his grants he is called Pulakeśi's *priyatanaya* or favourite son; and it appears that Pulakeśi had arranged that Vikramâditya

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Sur. W. India, No. 9, pp. 90-92.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 4, first translated by Bâla S'âstri and then by

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV., and last of all, by Mr. Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 23).

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 244.

should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and he assigned an outlying province to his eldest son Chandrāditya. At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance; but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the north who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far south. The Pallava king of Kāñcī or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Cholas, the Pāndyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled. Vikramāditya, who was a man of ability and daring adventure, broke the power of the Cholas, Pāndyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kāñcī and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Chitrakāñtha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas."

A branch of the Chālukya dynasty established in southern Gujarāt.

During the reign of Vikramāditya I. a branch of the Chālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarāt or the country called Lāṭā in ancient times. Vikramāditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasīmbhavarman, who thus was a son of Pulakeśi II.<sup>2</sup> Jayasīmbha's son Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla received a grant of land in Śaka 653<sup>3</sup>, and Śryāśraya Śilāditya, another son of the same monarch, assigned a village, while residing at Navasari in the year 421.<sup>4</sup> What era this date refers to is not stated in the grant; but it is only by taking it as referring to the Gupta era, which was in use in Gujarāt at the time, that we can bring the two brothers close together; for Gupta 421 corresponds to Śaka 662.<sup>5</sup> Śryāśraya is called *yuvarāja* or "prince-regent," from which it appears that he was associated with his brother in the government of the country. A copper-plate grant of the Gujarāt Chālukyas found at Kherā and translated by Prof. Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz., Jayasīmharāja, Buddhavarmanarāja, and Vijayarājanarāja. Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasīmbha the founder of the Chālukya dynasty in the Dekkan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasīmbhavarman, the brother of Vikramāditya I. and founder of the Gujarāt branch of the dynasty; for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Chālukya princes with Gujarāt. The grant, however, seems to me to be a forgery.<sup>7</sup> The Buddhavarman mentioned in the grant, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasīmbha besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarāja must have ruled over another part of Gujarāt. If the grant is regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era, as that of Śryāśraya's grant has to be.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., pp. 86, 89, 92; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203  
Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127, 130-131.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 2 & 3.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>6</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> My reasons are these:—(1) Its style is unlike that of the Chālukya grants. (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation. (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, *i.e.*, so many as are prescribed in the legal treatises. (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix

After Vikramâditya I. his son Vinayâditya came to the throne. One of his grants is dated Śaka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,<sup>1</sup> another in 613 Śaka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year.<sup>2</sup> There is also an inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occurring in which is 608 Śaka and the seventh year of his reign.<sup>3</sup> From these it appears that Vinayâditya came to the throne in 602 Śaka corresponding to A.D. 680, in which year his father Vikramâditya must have ceased to reign. His latest date is A.D. 694, but his reign terminated in A.D. 696 as is seen from his son's grants referred to below. During his father's lifetime, Vinayâditya assisted him in his wars with the southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, and tranquillizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A.D. 692 — A.D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas, Kaḷambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mâlavas, Cholas, Pândyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Châlukya crown as the Gaṅga family of Chera and the Alupas whose loyalty was for the first time secured by Pulakeśi II.<sup>4</sup> The kings of Kâvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pârasîkas who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabâr, and of Simhala were made tributaries. He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called *Pâlidhvaja*, the drum called *Dhakkâ*, and others. These events must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his predecessors.<sup>5</sup>

Vinayâditya.

Vinayâditya was succeeded by his son Vijayâditya. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the northern kings and his father in the expedition into the north. At the time he was captured by his enemies though they had been defeated and were retreating. Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and took all the insignia of supreme sovereignty. There is an inscription at Kâśâdâmî in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmâ, Hanu, and Mahêśvara were put up at Vâtâpîpura in Śaka 621 and in the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in Śaka 622 in the fourth year of his reign, and another in Śaka 627 and in the ninth year, from which it follows that his reign began in 619 Śaka corresponding to A. D. 697. Both of these grants, and another which bears no date, were found at Nerur in the Sâvantvâdî state.<sup>6</sup> Vinayâditya had a long reign of thirty-six years.

Vijayâditya.

<sup>1</sup> Not to be met with in the genuine Châlukya grants. (5) None of the three has a title or *Birula* as all Châlukya princes from Pulakeśi I. downwards had.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., pp. 89, 92.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127 and 131.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid* and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203, *et seq.*

Vikramâditya II.

After Vijayâditya, his son Vikramâditya II. ascended the throne. A grant of his, engraved on a stone tablet, is dated in 656 Śaka and in the second year of his reign,<sup>1</sup> wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Śaka or A.D. 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramâditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tudâka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field. The Châlukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music. He then entered the city of Kâñchî but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brâhmanas and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Râjasimheśvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken by some previous king. He then fought with the Cholas, the Pândyas, the Keralas, and the Kaḷabhras, and reduced them.<sup>2</sup> A temple in commemoration of his victories over the king of Kâñchî was constructed by his queen at Paṭṭadakal in the Kalâdgi district.<sup>3</sup> The king reigned for fourteen years.

Kîrtivarmân II.

His son Kîrtivarmân II. began to reign in 669 Śaka or A.D. 741 since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka.<sup>4</sup> He assisted his father in his wars with the Pallavas. On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission. The ruler of Kâñchî, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress. His power was broken by the Châlukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil. During the reign of this prince the Châlukyas were deprived of their power in Mahârâshṭra and the sovereignty of that country passed from their hands into those of the Râshṭrakûṭa princes. The main branch of the dynasty became extinct; but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power. From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copperplate grants issued by the Châlukyas; but Râshṭrakûṭa plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Râdhanpur in Northern Gujarât to Sâmangaḍ near Kolhâpur. The grant of Kîrtivarmân II., from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of Mahârâshṭra before Śaka 679, the date of the grant. The name of the Râshṭrakûṭa monarch who first humbled the Châlukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Kṛishṇa. In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Sâmangaḍ he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha.<sup>5</sup> The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka. Before that time, therefore, the Châlukyas must have lost their hold over Mahârâshṭra. In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates the Châlukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereignty.

Overthrow of the  
Châlukya 23.<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 107.<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 26.<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 165.<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 27.<sup>5</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 375.



power in the reign of Kîrtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Châlukyas.

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Châlukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence along with a developed form of Purânic Brâhmanism as well as the old Vedic religion. Ravikîrti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakesî II., and Vikramâditya II. repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijaya Paṇḍit, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and styled the only disputant.<sup>1</sup>

Jainism under the  
Châlukyas.

But Jainism in those days, as present, probably flourished in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country only. Temples in honour of the Purânic triad, Brahmâ, Vishṇu, and Mahesvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of S'iva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nâsik grant of Nâgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kâpâlikeśvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show. And grants to Brâhman who knew the Vedas and S'âstras are very common. Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purânic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave-temple at Bâdâmî dedicated to the worship of Vishṇu by Maṅgalîsa. No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Châlukya princes. But that the religion did prevail and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries is shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang. Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline. The Châlukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

Purânic gods.

Cave architecture.

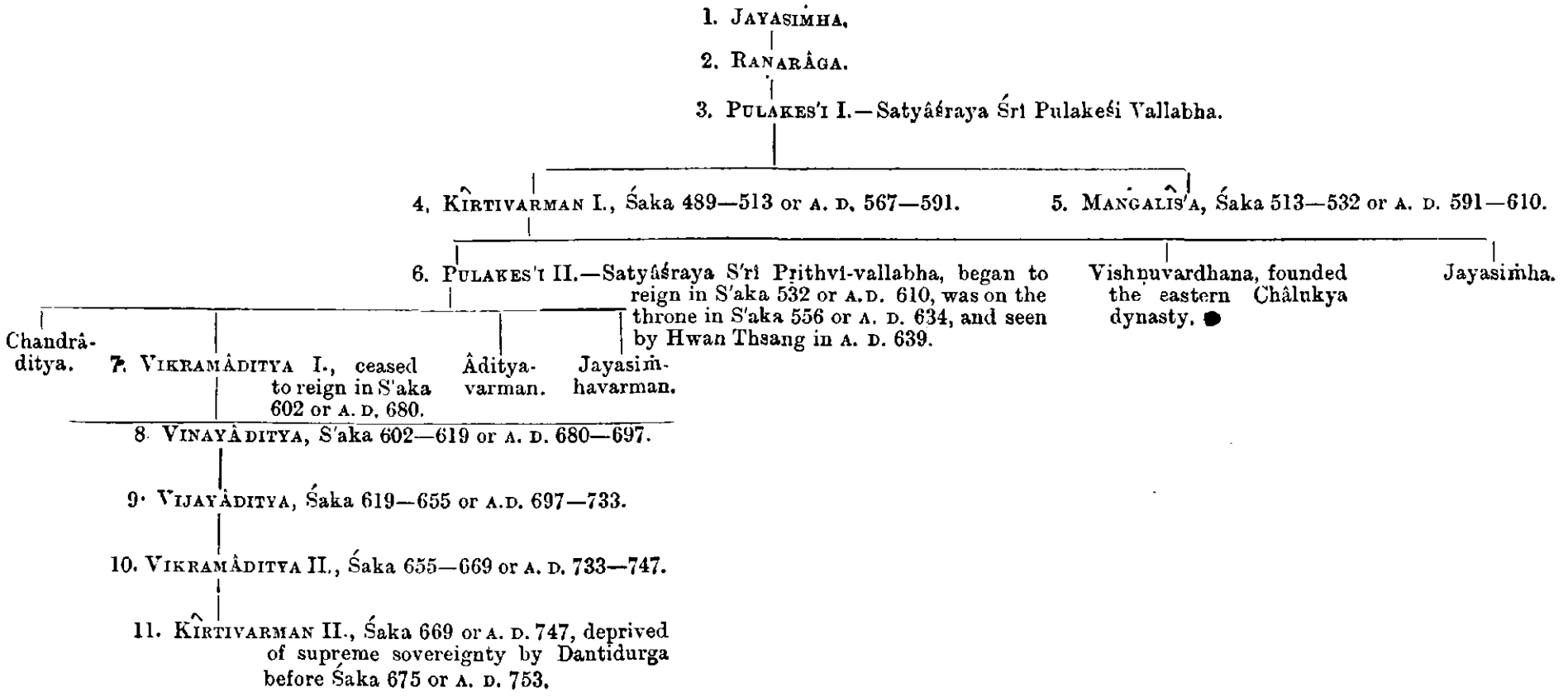
Buddhism

.m.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 107.

Overth.  
13

*Genealogy of the early Chálukyas.*



## SECTION XI.

## THE RĀSHTRAKŪTAS.

\* The earliest prince of this dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I. But in an inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Daśavatāras at Elurā the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarāja, occur.<sup>1</sup> The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather. Govinda I. was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikīrti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Chālukya king Pulakeśi II. and to have afterwards become his ally. Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brāhmaṇs performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion. After him his son Indrarāja came to the throne. Indrarāja married a girl who belonged to the Chālukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Rāshtrakūtas themselves. From this union sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father. With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karnāṭaka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kāñchī, the Keralas, Cholas, and Pāṇḍyas, and of Śrīharsha, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajraṭa<sup>2</sup>; and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II. with ease. He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the south.<sup>3</sup> He also subdued the kings of Kāñchī, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrī-Sāila,<sup>4</sup> Mālava, Lāṭa, and Taṅka. At Ujjayinī he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity.<sup>5</sup> A grant of Dantidurga found at Sāmangaḍ in the Kolhāpur districts bears the date 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A. D. 753.<sup>6</sup>

Govinda I.

Karka I.

Indra II.

Dantidurga.

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Kardā,<sup>7</sup> and his paternal uncle Kṛishṇarāja succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at Baroda<sup>8</sup> omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Kṛishṇarāja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with him who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race." The prince dethroned or destroyed by Kṛishṇarāja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kāvī, Kṛishṇa is represented to have succeeded to the throne after

Kṛishṇarāja.

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10, pp. 92—96.

<sup>2</sup> The army of Karnāṭaka was thus the army of the Chālukyas.

<sup>3</sup> Sāmangaḍ grant, p. 375, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II.

<sup>4</sup> This must have been the country about Śrī-Sāila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikārjuna and which is situated on the lower Kṛishṇā in the Karnul district, Madras Presidency.

<sup>5</sup> Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Referred to above.

<sup>7</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III.

<sup>8</sup> Published in Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., pp. 292—303.

Dantidurga's death.<sup>1</sup> The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Karḍā plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Kṛishnarāja, otherwise called Śubhatuṅga, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Châlukyās to complete subjection. In two of the grants<sup>2</sup> he is spoken of "as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Châlukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed<sup>3</sup>—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drew out from it the Lakshmi<sup>4</sup>" of paramount sovereignty. He is said to have defeated Râhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty.<sup>5</sup> Who this person was we have not the means of determining. In the Baroda grant it is stated that Kṛishnarāja "caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elâpura. When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves: 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regard making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Kṛishna with his own hands again decorated Śambhu (Śiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gaṅgâ, the moon, and the deadly poison." The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Siṅhapura, Indur for Indrapura, Śirur for Śirâpura or Śrîpura, &c. The Elâpura of the inscription, therefore, is Elur, and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailâsa itself.<sup>6</sup> Thus it appears that it was

Temple of Śiva at Elurâ excavated at the orders of Kṛishnarāja.

<sup>1</sup> See stanza 11 (p. 146, Ind. Ant., Vol. V.,) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्दिव [गते] remains.

<sup>2</sup> Vani-Diṅḍori, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V., and Râdhanpur, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them. The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea. The story originated from the double sense which the word *parvata* bears in the Vedas. It denotes "a mountain" and "a cloud" also. Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers.

<sup>4</sup> Vishnu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakshmi from it, whom he married.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 182, l. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Bühler in his paper in Vol. VI., Ind. Ant., simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Kṛishnarāja) with the hill at Elâpur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva." He has not identified Elâpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas. He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered. That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt; but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Dr. Bühler was misled by it. Mr. Fleet has recently published a revised translation (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first. He also once spoke of

Krishnarâja that caused the Kailâsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Krishnarâja must have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era, *i. e.*, between 753 and 775 A.D.

Krishnarâja was succeeded by his son Govinda II.<sup>1</sup> Nothing particular is recorded of him in the grants, except, of course, the general praise which is accorded to every prince, however weak and inglorious. It however appears from the Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī and Râdhanpur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. Dhruva, however, was an able and warlike prince. His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dhârâvarsha. He humbled the Pallava king of Kâñchī and obtained from him a tribute of elephants. He detained in custody the prince of the Gaṅga family, which ruled over the Chera country. He also carried his arms into the north against the king of the Vatsas, whose capital must have been Kauśâmbī, the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gaṇḍa country. He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Mârvâḍ and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gaṇḍa king.<sup>2</sup> A stone inscription at Paṭṭadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama. There he is styled Dhârâvarsha and Kalivallabha.<sup>3</sup>

Govinda II.

Dhruva.

Dhruva Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Râdhanpur and Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī grants were issued by him in the Śaka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808<sup>4</sup> while he was at Mayûrakhaṇḍī. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nâsik territory of the name of Morkhaṇḍ. Whether Mayûrakhaṇḍī was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined. Govinda III. was certainly one of the greatest of the Râshtrakûṭa princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Râshtrakûṭas became invincible, as the Yâdavas of Purânic history did when under the guidance of Kṛishṇa, appears credible. Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour; but he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position

Govinda III. or  
Jagattuṅga I.

"a hill fort" (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 124), and now thinks Elâpura is in the passage meant to be represented as Krishnarâja's "encampments." He identifies Elâpura with Yellâpur in the North Kânarâ districts. But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elâpura, and Elurâ from Elâpuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elurâ is meant to be spoken of; and actually the existence of a Râshtrakûṭa inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion. That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII., p. 228, where the reader will find the point fully discussed.

<sup>1</sup> The name of this prince is omitted in the Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī and Râdhanpur grants, for the same reason apparently as that for which Dantidurga's is omitted in the Baroda grant; but he is alluded to when they state that Dhruva or Nirupama set aside his elder brother.

<sup>2</sup> Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī and Râdhanpur plates.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> The Saṁvatsara or cyclic year given in the first is *Sarvajit*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 730, while in the second it is *Vyaya* corresponding to 729 current. As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B.

Govinda III. or  
Jagattuṅga I.

as Yuvarāja or prince-regent.<sup>1</sup> When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him, desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Râshtrakûtas. But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Gaṅga prince of Chera, who had been kept in custody by his father; but no sooner did he go back to his native country than he put himself into an attitude of hostility. But Govinda III. immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again. Subsequently he marched against the Gûrjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Mâlvâ, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him. After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhya. When Mârêsarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before. On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Śrîbhavana, which has not been identified. When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kâñchî under a more complete subjection than before. Thence he sent a message to the king of Vengi, or the country between the lower Kṛishṇâ and the Godâvarî, who probably belonged to the eastern Châlukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant.<sup>2</sup> This grand victorious march to the north and the south must have taken place before Śaka 726 or A. D. 804. For in a copper-plate grant bearing that date found in the Kânarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III.) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kâñchî, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrâ," he allotted some lands to one Śivadhârî at a holy place named Râmeśvara.<sup>3</sup>

Govinda III. thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Mâlvâ in the north to Kâñchîpura in the south and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadâ and the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The Vaṇi-Dindorî plates convey a village situated in the Nâsik district, while those found in the Kânarese country assign some land near the Tuṅgabhadrâ. The province of Lâṭa, situated between the Mahî and the lower Tâpî, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,<sup>4</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> The Kâvî grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, *i. e.*, when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them. Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 27. The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt. The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants.

<sup>2</sup> Vaṇi-Dindorî and Râdhanpur plates.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp. 126-7.

<sup>4</sup> Kâvî plate, Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 29; Baroda grant, Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 296, v. 21, in which तदा ought to be तदत्त as in the Kâvî.

became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. Govinda III., as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhûtavarsha or "Raining profusely," Prithvîvallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śrî-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below. The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lâta, in Śaka 734 or A.D. 812, and the Kâvî grant by Govinda the younger brother of Karka, in Śaka 749 or A.D. 827. We need not notice these princes further, since they belong more to the history of Gujarât than of the Dekkan.

The authorities for the history of the later princes of this dynasty are three copper-plate grants found at Sângalî, Kardâ and Khârepâtan.<sup>1</sup> These do not give many details that may be relied on as historical; and at first sight there appear some inconsistencies in the genealogy found in them. Several scholars have endeavoured to reconcile them in their own ways, or to explain them by making certain suppositions, but it does not appear a difficult task to make out a consistent genealogy. We have a few stone inscriptions containing the names of one or two princes, and a copper-plate grant found at Surat which stops at the successor of Govind III., while stray notices of some kings have been discovered in Jaina works.

In two of the grants just mentioned, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattuṅga, while in that found at Kardâ he is called Jagadrudra. Now, since Govinda III. was one of the greatest princes of this dynasty, it is impossible that he should have been passed over by the writers of these grants. Jagattuṅga or Jagadrudra, therefore, the son of Nirupama, must be Govinda himself and no other. After his death his son Amoghavarsha, whose proper name appears to have been Śarva,<sup>2</sup> came to the throne. He seems to have marched against the Châlukyās of Vengi and put several of the princes to death.<sup>3</sup> In the Kardâ grant the city of Mânyakheta is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in his time. There is little question that it was his capital; but whether it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out, as the reading given by Mr. Wathen is corrupt. But it is very probable that Mânyakheta became the capital of the empire in his time. Mânyakheta has been properly identified with Mâlkhed in the Nizam's territory. In the Kâuheri caves there are three inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsha. In one of them Pullaśakti of the Śilâhâra family, and in the other two his son Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsha. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and 799.<sup>4</sup> In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurâna,

Śarva or Amoghavarsha I.

<sup>1</sup> In Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 111; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 94; and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217, respectively. The original plates of this last are now in my possession.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 183, l. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Sângalî plates. But the reading is somewhat corrupt.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI., West's copies Nos. 15 and 42; Vol. XIII., p. 11; and Prof. Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., p. 133. The cyclic year given with 775 is *Prâjâpati*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which, however, was 774. See Appendix B.

or the latter half of the Mahâpurâna, by Guṇabhadra, Amoghavarsha is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Guṇabhadra and wrote the Âdipurâna or the first part of the same work.<sup>1</sup>

Krishna II. or  
Akâlavarsha.

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akâlavarsha. He married the daughter of Kokkala, king of Chedi, who belonged to the Haihaya race, and by her had a son named Jagattunga or Jagad-rudra. Akâlavarsha's proper name seems from the Kardâ plates to have been Kṛishṇa. He is the Kṛishṇarâja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Pṛithvîrâma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Śaka year 797 at Saundatti.<sup>2</sup> Another Jaina temple was built by a Vaiśya or Bania named Chikârya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Muḷgunda in the Dhârvâd district, and in the inscription which records this fact he is styled Kṛishṇa Vallabha.<sup>3</sup>

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purâna noticed above was completed by Guṇabhadra and consecrated in Śaka 820, the cyclic year being Piṅgala.<sup>4</sup> In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants

<sup>1</sup> One copy of the whole of this Purâna and another of the last three Parvans or sections have been purchased by me for Government this year. The stanza in which Amoghavarsha is alluded to is this :—

यस्य प्रांशुनखांशुजालविसरद्धारान्तराविर्भव-  
त्पादाभोजरजःपिशङ्गमुकुटप्रत्यग्रत्नश्रुतिः।  
संस्मर्ता स्वममोघवर्षनृपतिः पूतोहमद्येत्यलं  
स श्रीमाञ्जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarsha remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gems was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust-pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails ;—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world."

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 200. The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which followed next after S'aka 797.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 192. The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

4  
अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयत्यखलामिलाम् ।  
तस्मिन्विध्वस्तानिःशेषद्विषि वाध्रयशोजुषि ॥  
धर्म v. l.

\* \* \* \*

शकनृपकालाभ्यन्तरविशत्याधिकाष्टशतमिताब्दान्ते ।  
मङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामनि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥

\* \* \* \*

निष्ठितं भव्यवैयैः

प्राप्तेज्यं शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purâna, the essence of the Śâstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men] \* \* \* in the year Piṅgala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Śaka king \* \* \*, while that king Akâlavarsha, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (or who acquired religious merit and fame), was protecting the whole earth."

The cyclic year Piṅgala corresponded to 820 S'aka current and followed next after the year 819.



of Akâlavarsha" are represented "to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaumâra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate."<sup>1</sup> The date 833 S'aka has also been assigned to Akâlavarsha.<sup>2</sup>

Jagattuṅga became king after his father. He married Lakshmî, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Raṇavighraha in the Sâṅgalî grant and Saṅkaragaṇa in the Kardâ plates. From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his father. Jagattuṅga is not here mentioned in the Khârepâṭaṅ grant, but Indra is noticed as the grandson of Akâlavarsha, as he really was. The prince, however, is mentioned in the plates in another connection below. As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Kardâ plates, which is partly due to the bad deciphering and translation. The Sâṅgalî grant however is clear. Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Chedi again. Her name was Vijâmbâ and she was the daughter of Aṅgaṇadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, mentioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Sâṅgalî grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Khârepâṭaṅ grant Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named Amoghavarsha.<sup>3</sup> The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsha, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne. And this is confirmed by the Kardâ plates also. Amoghavarsha and Govinda are there mentioned as the two sons of Ambâ, who is the same as the Vijâmbâ of the Sâṅgalî plate. But the translator of the grant understood Govinda and Ambâ as forming one compound, and called the lady Govindâmbâ, which certainly is an unique name and strikes one as absurd. Thus he dropped king Govinda altogether, and he was followed by all subsequent writers.<sup>4</sup>

Jagattuṅga II.

Indra III.

Amoghavarsha II.  
and Govinda IV.

The Sâṅgalî plate of Govinda the Fourth, as he must be called, does not mention his elder brother Amoghavarsha by name; and

यस्योत्तुङ्गमतङ्गजा निजमदस्रोतस्विनीसंगमा-

द्गङ्गा वारि कलङ्कितं कटु मुहुः पीत्वाप्यगच्छत्तृषः ।

कौमारं घनचन्दनं वनमर्षापत्युस्तरंगानिलै-

र्भन्दान्दोलितमस्तभास्करकरच्छायं समाशिष्रियन् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Fleet in his genealogical table at p. 109, Vol. XI., Ind. Ant., speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed. But he is named Amoghavarsha in the Khârepâṭaṅ grant, and also in that of Kardâ if properly understood.

<sup>4</sup> The 14th stanza, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is चैद्यां मातुलशंकरगणात्मजायाममूज्जगद्गुद्रात् । श्रामानमोषवर्षो गोविन्दाबाभिवानायां । Now, the first line of this is, as it stands, out of place and must contain some mistakes. For, (1) it contains, in substance, a repetition of what we have in the first line of stanza 12, and (2) if it is read here as it is, we shall have to make Ambâ a wife of Jagadrudra along with Lakshmî, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Lakshmî's sister, the father of both being Saṅkaragaṇa. But Ambâ or Vijâmbâ is in the Sâṅgalî grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Aṅgaṇadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Raṇavighraha, the father of Lakshmî; that is, Ambâ was the daughter of Lakshmî's first cousin. She is also distinctly represented as the

the reason is obvious. Amoghavarsha was deposed by Govinda who usurped the throne. This circumstance is alluded to in his grant, which states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of purity and impurity, but became Sâhasânka by his matchless enterprise and liberality." Probably the sins which are pointedly denied in the case of Govinda were laid to his brother's charge, and they are alluded to in order to excuse his conduct in having dethroned him, and even credit is given to the king for not having used such severity towards his brother as in the opinion of the writer he deserved. Govinda seems also from this passage to have been called Sâhasânka, while below is given another of his names, *viz.*, Suvarṇavarsha (Raining gold). Govinda is said to have been a bountiful prince and to have constructed a good many temples of Śiva. His grant was issued in Śaka 855, or A.D. 933, in the Vijaya<sup>1</sup> year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Mānyakheta.

Baddiga or Amoghavarsha III.

Kṛishṇa III. and Khotika.

From the Khârepâṭaṇ plates it appears that Govinda IV. was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagat-tuṅga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince. He was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇarâja, and after his death his younger brother Khotika became king. The Kardâ grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâṭaṇ. It states: "When the elder brother Kṛishṇarâjadeva went to heaven, Khotvigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Kandakadevî, the daughter of Yuvarâja, became king."<sup>2</sup> Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khotvigadeva and not to the preceding king,<sup>3</sup> whoever he may have been. Khotika therefore was, even according to the Kardâ grant, the younger brother of Kṛishṇarâja. But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsha, while Kṛishṇarâja is spoken of in the Khârepâṭaṇ plates as the son of Baddiga. In an inscription at Salotgi, Kṛishṇarâja, the son of Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been reigning at Mānyakheta in 867 Śaka,<sup>4</sup> that is, twelve years after the Sâṅgalî grant of Govinda

wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV. If, however, this first line were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, *i.e.*, Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sâṅgalî grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read न्दो for न्दा, and then Ambâ would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda and the whole would be consistent and intelligible.

Mr. Fleet along with others, following Wathen, calls her Govindâmbâ and makes her the wife of Jagadrudra. There is no doubt the text of the Kardâ grant is corrupt. But whether this is due to the bad deciphering, or to the mistake of the engraver or the composer, cannot be decided until the original is re-examined.

<sup>1</sup> The current Śaka year was 856.

<sup>2</sup> ऐन्द्रपदजिगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिरूढे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातारि श्रीमत्कृष्णराजदेवे ॥  
युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोषवर्षनृपा-  
ज्जातः खोटिगदेवो नृपातरमूढुवनविरव्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

<sup>3</sup> For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza and the subject of which is Khotvigadeva. See the passage in the last note.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 205, *et seq.* The cyclic year given is Plavaṅga, which followed next after Śaka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870.

V. was issued. He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining. For the Kṛishṇa of these was the second king after Govinda IV. His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time. Hence his son Kṛishṇa came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant; and there is no other Kṛishṇa mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Śaka. Another date, 878 Śaka, has been assigned to him.<sup>1</sup> If, then, the Kṛishṇa of the grants is the same as the Kṛishṇa of the Salotgi inscription, here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsha; so that the Baddiga of the Khârepâṭaṇ plates was the same as the Amoghavarsha of the Kardâ plates. Kṛishṇarâja and Khotika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Kardâ plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers.<sup>2</sup>

Khotika was succeeded, according to the Khârepâṭaṇ grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama according to the Kardâ grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Châlukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed from the hands of the Râshtrakûtas once more into those of the Châlukyas. The Kardâ grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Śaka 894 or A.D. 972, and in the following year or Śaka 895 Tailapa attained sovereign power.<sup>3</sup> The Râshtrakûtas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A.D. 748 to A.D. 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years.

Kakkala or  
Karka II.

Overthrow of the  
Râshtrakûtas.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Fleet, following Mr. Wathen's translation, makes Kṛishṇa, whom he calls Kṛishṇa III., the elder brother of Amoghavarsha and thus a son of Jagattuṅga II. But in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga, who was the son of Jagattuṅga, and thus a grandson of Jagattuṅga II. He is also represented as Khotika's elder brother. I have shown in the text that the expression "elder brother," occurring in the Kardâ grant, should by the rules of construction be taken as referring to Khotiga and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâṭaṇ. The Amoghavarsha who was the son of Jagattuṅga is that spoken of in the sixteenth stanza of the Kardâ grant, and was different from the one mentioned in the fourteenth, who was the son of Indra and nephew of that Amoghavarsha, as I have shown above. Mr. Fleet brings in another Kṛishṇa and makes him the younger brother of Khotika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below). What his authority is I do not know. But the Khârepâṭaṇ grant mentions one Kṛishṇa only, the elder brother of Khotika and son of Baddiga. The Kardâ also mentions one only, and as to his relation with the other princes I have shown that that grant agrees with the Khârepâṭaṇ plates. The Kṛishṇa of the Salotgi inscription is to be identified with the elder brother of Khotika and is not to be considered a different prince unalluded to in the grants. Nirupama, the younger brother of Khotika, is not and cannot have been called Kṛishṇa, because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khotika was called Kṛishṇa. Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Kardâ plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Karka, who was a reigning prince; and in the Khârepâṭaṇ grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Kakkala is said to be the son of the brother of Khotika. Kṛishṇa, on the other hand, was on the throne in 867 Śaka according to the Salotgi inscription and was a reigning prince according to the grants. Thus then Kṛishṇa was the eldest brother, Khotika the next, and Nirupama the youngest. They were the sons of Amoghavarsha, the same as the Baddiga of the Khârepâṭaṇ grant. In this whole investigation I have found that the apparent inconsistencies and confusion are due only to the Kardâ plates, which must be revised if they are available and re-translated.

<sup>3</sup> The cyclic years mentioned along with these two dates are Aṅgiras and S'rimukha respectively, the current Śaka years corresponding to which were 895 and 896.

Religion under the  
Râshtrakûtas.

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Elurâ still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Purânic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by never to return. Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu. Several of the grants of these Râshtrakûta princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kânheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Châlukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarsha was, as we have seen, favourably disposed towards it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Châlukya princes, those of the Râshtrakûtas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature possessing the same merits and faults. The Râshtrakûtas, therefore must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Kṛishṇas belonging to the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halâyudha entitled the *Kavirahasya*, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Dakshinâpatha.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Westergaard, however, thought him to be the Kṛishṇarâya of the Vijayanagar dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the *Kavirahasya* he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the Râshtrakûta race,"<sup>2</sup> and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar race,"<sup>3</sup> which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagar prince.

Krishna of the  
Râshtrakûta race,  
the hero of the  
*Kavirahasya*.

Balharâs identified  
with the Râshtra-  
kûtas.

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharâs who ruled at a place called Mânkir. The name of the city would show that the Râshtrakûtas, whose capital was

अस्त्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणापथे ।

कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्यदीक्षितः ॥

"In Dakshinâpatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Kṛishṇarâja who was crowned as a paramount sovereign."

<sup>2</sup>

तोलयत्यतुलं शक्त्या यो भारं भुवनेश्वरः ।

कस्तं तुलयति स्थाम्ना राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Râshtrakûta race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden?"

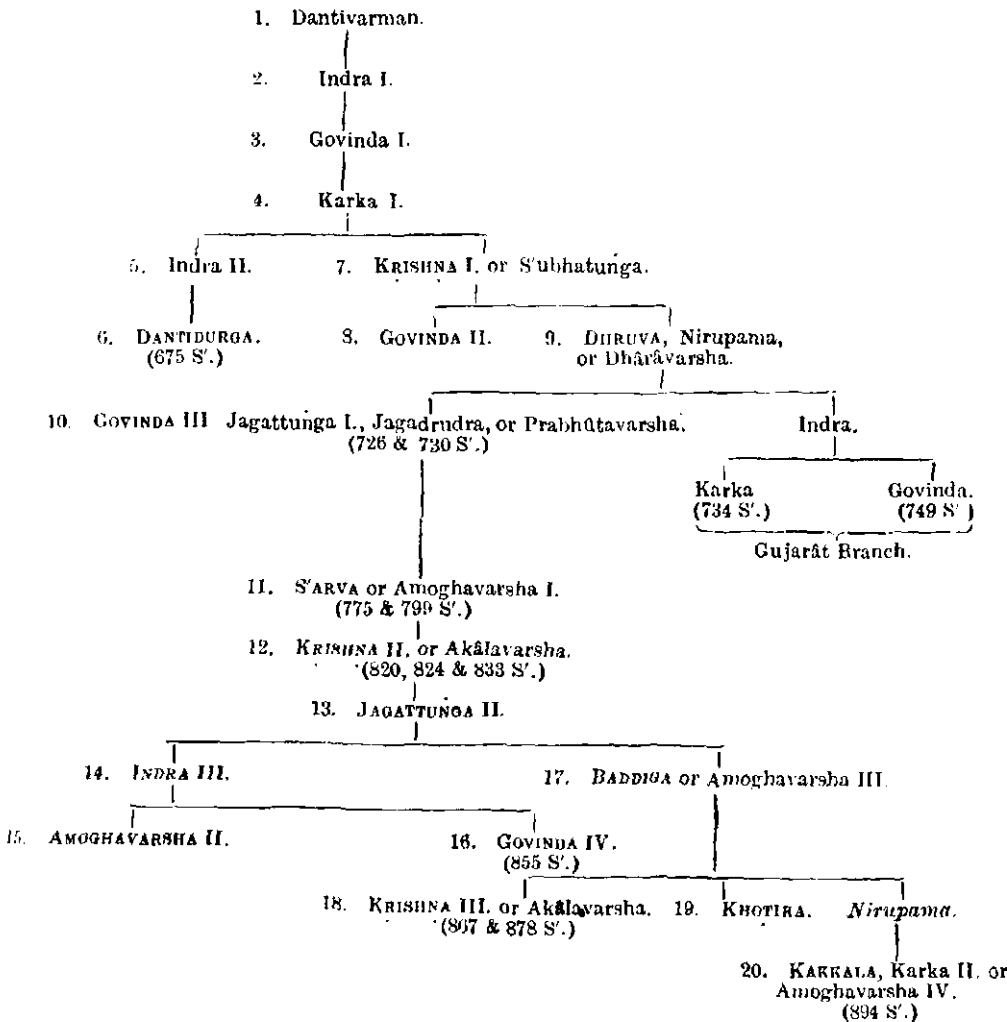
<sup>3</sup>

सोमं सुनोति यज्ञेषु सोमवंशविभूषणः

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices."

Mānyakheta or Mānkhed, were meant. But Balharā, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Rāshtrakūtas. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Rāshtrakūtas appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the Chālukyas. In an inscription on a stone tablet at Lakshmeśvar, Govinda III. is called *S'ri-Vallabha*,<sup>1</sup> while in the Rādhanpur plates he is spoken of as *Vallabha-narendra*. In the Sāngalī and Kardā grants also the reigning king is styled *Vallabha-narendra*, while in other inscriptions we find the title *Prithivīvallabha* alone used. Now *Vallabha-narendra* means "the king *Vallabha*," and is the same as *Vallabharāja*, the words *rāja(n)* and *narendra* both denoting "a king." *Vallabha-rāja* should, by the rules of Prākṛit or vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallabha-rāy*, *Ballaha-rāy*, or *Balha-rāy*. This last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabs.

The genealogy of the Rāshtrakūtas is shown in the following table :—



(a.) The names of those who were supreme sovereigns in the Dekkan are printed in capitals.

(b.) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters.

(c.) The order of succession is represented by the numbers.

(d.) The name of the father of Kakkala, who does not appear to have ascended the throne at all, has been printed in Italics.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 156.

## SECTION XII.

## THE LATER CHÂLUKYAS.

We left the history of the kings of the Châlukya race at Kîrtivarman II. Between him and Tailapa, who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan from Kakkala, the last of the Râshtrakûta kings, the Miraj copper-plate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings. Kîrtivarman ascended the throne in Śaka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 Śaka.<sup>1</sup> We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895, *i.e.*, for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much. This was the darkest period in the history of the Châlukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept. Where the dynasty reigned and what the extent of its power was cannot be satisfactorily determined in the absence of the usual contemporary evidence, *viz.*, inscriptions. There must have been several branches of the Châlukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch. I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct. For the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hârîti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mânavya race; while these later Châlukyas traced their pedigree to Satyâśraya only, and those two names do not occur in their inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his disposal, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kîrtivarman II. and Tailapa. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Châlukyas assumed, mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them. In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 735 found in Maisur a Châlukya prince of the name of Vimalâditya, the son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalâditya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III., the Râshtrakûta king, at the request of Châkirâja of the Gaṅga family, the maternal uncle of Vimalâditya.<sup>2</sup> These three Châlukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch.

The later Châlukya dynasty, not a continuation of the earlier.

A Châlukya prince mentioned in a Vedântic work.

At the end of a work entitled Saṁkshepaśârîraka, the author Sarvajñâtman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Saṁkarâchârya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Âditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरजः संपर्कपूताशयः

सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवरः संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।

चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे

श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

The Deves'vara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Saṁkarâchârya

This description would apply with propriety to such a king as Vikramâditya I., Vinayâditya, Vijayâditya, or Vikramâditya II. of the early Châlukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Âdityas of the race of Manu." For the Mânavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu." But Sâmkarâchârya is said to have lived between Sâka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramâditya II., the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Sâka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Sâmkarâchârya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñâtman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kîrtivarman II. and Tailapa. He may be Vikramâditya, the third prince after Kîrtivarman II.,<sup>1</sup> but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Sâmkarâchârya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the four princes of the early Châlukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Cholas<sup>2</sup> and humbled the king of Chedi.<sup>3</sup> He despatched an expedition into Gujarât, under a general of the name of Bârapa, against Mûlarâja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapattana, who for some time was hard pressed, but according to the Gujarât chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter.<sup>4</sup> Someśvara, the author of the Kîrtikaumudî, speaks of Bârapa as the general of the lord of Lâta, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country.<sup>5</sup> Tailapa invaded Mâlvâ also, which at this time was governed by Muñja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrâditya, crossed the Godâvarî with a large army. He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner. At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor, but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded.<sup>6</sup> This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years.<sup>8</sup> One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saundatti<sup>9</sup> in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 Sâka or A.D. 980.

Tailapa's expedi-  
tions.

Tailapa married Jâkabbâ, the daughter of the last Râshtrakûta king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyâśraya and Daśavarman.<sup>10</sup> The former succeeded him in 919 Sâka or A.D. 997. Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the inscriptions. The Khârepâtaṅ grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in Sâka 930 by a dependent chief of the S'ilâhâra family which ruled over southern Konkan.<sup>11</sup>

Satyâśraya.

<sup>1</sup> See the genealogy at the end of this Section.      <sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Râsa Mâlâ, Chap. IV., p. 38, new Ed.

<sup>5</sup> Kîrtikaumudî II., 3.

<sup>6</sup> Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacharitra by Râjavallabha.

<sup>7</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 210.

<sup>10</sup> Miraj plates; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., pp. 15-17.

<sup>11</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 209.

Vikramāditya I.

Satyâśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramāditya I.<sup>1</sup> the son of his younger brother Daśavarman by his wife Bhagavatî. The earliest of his inscriptions is dated Śaka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor. He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, *i.e.*, in 1008 A.D., and appears to have reigned for only a short time.<sup>2</sup>

Jayasîmha.

He was succeeded by his brother Jayasîmha or Jagadekamalla, who in an inscription dated 941 Śaka, *i.e.*, 1019 A.D., is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Mâlava and is styled "the moon of the lotus which was king Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him.<sup>3</sup> He is also spoken of as having beaten the Cholas and the Cheras. The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, *i.e.*, in Śaka 946, when "after having subdued the powerful Chola, the lord of the Dramila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Konkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at Kolhâpur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them."<sup>4</sup>

Someśvara or  
Âhavamalla.

Jayasîmha ceased to reign in 962 Śaka, or 1040 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Someśvara I., who assumed the titles of Âhavamalla and Trailokyamalla. As usual with the Châlukya princes, the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Cholas.<sup>5</sup> He is then represented by Bilhana to have marched against Dhârâ, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city. These hostilities with the king of Mâlva seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death. Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place. It is narrated in the Bhojacharitra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by him, and finally executed him.<sup>6</sup> Bhoja, who ruled over Mâlva for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died. Muñja was on the throne in 994 A.D.,<sup>7</sup> while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A.D. He must therefore have been slain by the latter between 994 and 997 A.D., and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasîmha and Someśvara I. with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacharitra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king

<sup>1</sup> I call him Vikramāditya I. and not Vikramāditya V. as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above. I shall call Vikramāditya Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya II., and so on.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* Dramila is another form of Dravida. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are चंद्रमिलाधिपति. Mr. Fleet takes चं as one word and चंद्रमिलाधिपति as another, but चं cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown. The first word must be चं, a mistake for some such word as न्यं, "down," "below," and the second *Dramilâdhipatim*.

<sup>5</sup> Bilhana's Vikramânka Charitra, I., 90; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Bhojacharitra, I., 50-56.

<sup>7</sup> My Report on the search for Mss. during 1882-83, p. 45.



of Mâlvâ formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Châlukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramâditya I., of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probably on that account that Jayasimha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the inscription dated 941 S'aka.

After some time Someśvara attacked Chedi or Dâhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karṇa.<sup>1</sup> King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karṇa had formed a confederacy with Bhîmadeva I. of Gujarât with a view to attack Mâlvâ from two sides, and sacked Dhârâ after his death.<sup>2</sup> Bilhana next represents the Châlukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast, probably the western. These he conquered, and having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula. In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Dravîdas or Cholas attacked him, but was defeated. Someśvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kâñchî, which he captured, and the Chola king had to flee away to save his life.<sup>3</sup> Ahavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Cholas are alluded to in an inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kânyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.<sup>4</sup>

Attack against  
Dâhala and the  
southern countries.

Âhavamalla or Someśvara founded the city of Kalyâna and made it his capital. Bilhana mentions the fact,<sup>5</sup> and the name of the city does not occur in any inscriptions of a date earlier than 975 S'aka, when Someśvara was reigning.<sup>6</sup> In the course of time three sons were born to Âhavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Someśvara, the second Vikramâditya, and the third Jayasimha.<sup>7</sup> The ablest of these was Vikramâditya, and Âhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of *yuvârâja* or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother; but Bilhana tells us he declined the honour.<sup>8</sup> Someśvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramâditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles. The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Cholas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Mâlvâ, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramâditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne.<sup>9</sup> Vikramâditya is said to have invaded the Gauḍa country

Sons of Âhavamalla.

Vikramâditya's mili-  
tary operations.

<sup>1</sup> Bilhana's Vikr., I., 102-103.

<sup>2</sup> Merutuṅga's Bhojaprabandha; Râsa Mâlâ VI., p. 69, new Ed.

<sup>3</sup> Vikr. Ch., I., 107-116.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., II., 1. The natural construction appears to be to take परार्थ्ये "most excellent" as an *attributive* adjective, not *predicative*, and take चकार as the predicate. The sense then will be: "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalyâna."

<sup>6</sup> See Mr. Fleet's remarks on the point, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 105. The word *Kalyâna* occurring in the Salotgi inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 210,) is also, like that in Kirtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Mr. Pandit and Dr. Bühler have done.

<sup>7</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., II., 57-58 and 85; III., I., 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, III., 26-32, 35-41, and 48-54.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, III., 55-67.

or Bengal and Kâmarûpa or Assam.<sup>1</sup> In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered.<sup>2</sup> The king of Simhal submitted to him at his approach,<sup>3</sup> then he took the city of Gaᅅga, kuᅅᅅa and proceeded to the country of the Cholas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramâditya then entered Kâñchî and plundered it; and thence directed his march to Veᅅgi, and to Chakrakoᅅa.<sup>4</sup>

Âhavamalla's death.

While Vikramâditya was so employed, Âhavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tuᅅgabhadrâ. He bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded, until the water reached his neck, and, in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself.<sup>5</sup> This event must have taken place in Saka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D.<sup>6</sup> Âhavamalla, according to Bilhana, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.<sup>7</sup> On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them.<sup>8</sup>

Someśvara proclaimed king.

Someśvara, the eldest son of Âhavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla. Vikramâditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Veᅅgi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramâditya made over to him all the spoils he had won in the course of his conquests, and for some time there was a good understanding between the brothers. But Someśvara was a weak and tyrannical prince. He oppressed his subjects and lost their affection. He would not be guided by the counsels of wiser and better men; and the kingdom of Kuntala lost a good deal of its importance and influence. Vikramâditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasimha and a large army.<sup>9</sup> Someśvara II. sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramâditya with great slaughter.<sup>10</sup> The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tuᅅgabhadrâ, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Cholas. On the way he stopped at Banavâsî, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Malaya. Jayakeśi is represented to have submitted to Vikramâditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies."<sup>11</sup> Jayakeśi appears thus to have been king of the Konkan, and was the same as the first king of that name, who in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Mr. Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Châlukya and Chola

Quarrels between the brothers.

Submission of Jayakeśi of Goa to Vikramâditya.

<sup>1</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., III., 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 2, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 20. <sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 21-30. For the situation of Veᅅgi, see *supra*, p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 46-68.

<sup>6</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., I., 97-99; IV., 52.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, I., 88.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 88-119; V., 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, V., 5-8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, V., 10, 18-25.

kings and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital. Vikramāditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahādevî in marriage to his grandson, who also was called Jayakeśi, and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Dekkan raised the dignity of the family.<sup>1</sup> The king of the Alupas<sup>2</sup> also rendered his obeisance to the Châlukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabâr, and turned towards the country of the Dravidas or Cholas. Being informed of this, the Chola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Chola he fell back on the Tuṅgabhadrâ, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance.<sup>3</sup>

Alliance with the Chola prince.

Some time after, the king of the Cholas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Châlukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kâñchî, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to suppress his enemies and render his position secure. A short time after his return to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, however, Râjiga, the king of Veṅgi, observing that the nobility of the Chola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramāditya and prevent his descent on Kâñchî, Râjiga incited his brother Someśvara II. to attack him from behind. Vikramāditya, however, marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Draviḍa forces, Someśvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped.<sup>4</sup> Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Someśvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulations, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow.<sup>5</sup> But Vikramāditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued, Vikramāditya proved victorious, the new king of the Dravidas fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner. The Châlukya prince then returned to the Tuṅgabhadrâ, and after some hesitation dethroned Someśvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasimha he assigned the province of Banavâsî.<sup>6</sup> These events took place in the cyclic year *Nala*, Śaka 998, or A.D. 1076.<sup>7</sup>

Revolution in the Chola kingdom.

Alliance between Râjiga and Someśvara II. against Vikramāditya.

Battle of Vikramāditya with his brother and Râjiga.

Coronation of Vikramāditya.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., pp. 242, 268, 279.      <sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 39, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., V. 26-29, 46, 56, 60, 73, 79-89.      <sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VI., 7-54.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, VI., 56-61.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, VI., 90-93, 98-99.

<sup>7</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 189. The current Śaka year was 999. Mr. Fleet thinks that the festival of his *Pattabandha* or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phâlguna in the Nala year, in an inscription at Vaḍageri, was the annual festival. But this is a mere assumption. One would expect in such a case the word *varshikotsava*. The *utsava* or festival spoken of must be that which followed the ceremony. The date in this inscription refers to the grant, and does not, in my opinion, show at all the day on which the coronation ceremony took place. All we can gather from this inscription and that at Aralesvara is that the *Nala* Samvatsara was the first year of his reign.

Reign of  
Vikramāditya II.

Vikramāditya II. then entered Kalyāna and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years.<sup>1</sup> He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Parmādirāya also. He abolished the Śaka era and established his own; but it fell into disuse not long after his death. Some time after his accession, he went to Karahāṭaka or Karhād and married the daughter of the Śilāhāra king who reigned at the place. Her name was Chandralekhā and she was a woman of rare beauty. Bilhāṇa represents her to have held a *svayamvara* where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Chālukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck. Whether the *svayamvara* was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide. Chandralekhā is spoken of in the inscriptions as Chandaladevī, and many other wives of Tribhuvaramalla are mentioned besides her. The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses.<sup>2</sup>

Rebellion of Jayasimha, Vikrama's brother.

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavāsī, began to meditate treason against him. He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Draviḍa king and other chiefs, and even endeavoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramāditya's troops. When the king heard of this, he made several attempts to dissuade his brother from his evil course, but they were of no avail; and in a short time Jayasimha came with his numerous allies and his large army and encamped on the banks of the Kṛishṇā. He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama.<sup>3</sup> The king then marched against him at the head of his forces. As he approached the river he was harassed by the enemy's skirmishers, but driving them away he encamped on the banks.<sup>4</sup> He surveyed his brother's army and found it to be very large and strong. Then a battle ensued. At first the elephants of the enemy advanced and spread confusion in the ranks of Vikrama. All his elephants, horses, and men turned backwards; but with remarkable bravery the king rushed forward on the back of his maddened elephant, dealing heavy blows right and left. The elephants of the enemy were driven back and the king killed a great many of his soldiers. The army was defeated and Jayasimha and his followers fled away. Vikrama did not pursue the enemy, but took the elephants, horses, women, and baggage left on the battle-field and returned to his capital. After a time Jayasimha was caught skulking in a forest and brought to Vikramāditya, who, however, is represented to have pardoned him.<sup>5</sup>

Invasion of Vikrama's dominions by Vishṇuvardhana.

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysaḷa branch of the Yādava family reigning at Dvārasamudra, the modern Halebīd in Maisur; and with him were associated the kings of the Pāṇḍya country, Goa, and Konkan. This

<sup>1</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 15, and Bilhāṇa's Vikr. Ch., VIII.—XI.

<sup>3</sup> Bilhāṇa's Vikr. Ch., XIV., 1-13, 18, 49-56.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, XIV., 57, 70, 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, XV., 23, 41-42, 55-71, 85-87.

Hoysala prince must have been Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballâla and the grandson of Vinayâditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence. For in the inscription of Vira Ballâla, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Vishnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital and Belvola and washed his horses with the waters of the Kṛishnâ-Veṇâ. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramâditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'"<sup>1</sup> Vikramâditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Âcha or Âchagi, whose territory lay to the south. Âcha, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Lakshma in war, valorously followed after Pândya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."<sup>2</sup> Âcha must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalinga, Vaṅga, Maru, Gûrjara, Mâlava, Chera, and Choḷa (subject) to his sovereign."<sup>3</sup> Vikramâditya himself had to take the field against the Chola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital.<sup>4</sup> Vikramâditya II. constructed a large temple of Vishnu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikramapura.<sup>5</sup> He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhana, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture."<sup>6</sup> That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kâśmirian Paṇḍit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyâpati or chief Paṇḍit. Vijñâneśvara, the author of the *Mitâksharâ*, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Marâthâ country, as the chief authority on matters of law and religion, flourished in the reign of Vikramâditya and lived at Kalyâṇa. At the end of most manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows<sup>7</sup> :—

Vikramâditya's  
patronage of  
learning.

Vijñâneśvara.

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyâṇa; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramârka seen or heard of; and,—what more?—

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300. Mr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated :— नृपेषु असाध्यतया होयसकमवधारय इति परमर्दिदेव-नृपतेः प्रत्युपचारं यः नियुक्तैः मुहुः स्मार्यते ।

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 244. Poysala and Hoysala are one and the same word.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., XVII., 43-68.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, XVII., 15, 22, 29, and Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., XVII., 6, 36-37.

<sup>7</sup> See Dr. Bühler's article on the subject in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 134.

Vijñāneśvara, the Pandit, does not bear comparison with any other<sup>1</sup> (person). May this triad which is like a celestial creeper<sup>2</sup> exist to the end of the Kalpa!

“May the Lord of wisdom<sup>3</sup> live as long as the sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which distil honey and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,<sup>4</sup> contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body.

“May the lord Vikramāditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are refulgent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the, Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves<sup>5</sup> of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean.”

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis and as mere conventionalities, still the language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler, and the

1 Dr. Bühler's reading of the last two lines is विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किंचान्यदस्योपमां कल्पस्थं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेव त्रयम् । The Doctor connects कल्पस्थं with किंचान्यत् and translates “nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñāneśvara.” To mean “nothing else,” किंचान्यत् must be किमन्यन्यत् and in this construction पण्डितो, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते. Again, it will not do to say “nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison,” &c., for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away the other half still remains, and what it will produce but has not yet produced cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्थम् or existing in the Kalpa. The only proper reading with a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किंचान्यदन्योपमामाकल्पं. Instead of वा, there must be च here. And this is the reading of a manuscript of the Mitāksharā, dated Śaṁva 1535 and Ś'aka 1401, purchased by me this year for the Bombay Government. The reading is to be translated as in the text.

2 Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires.

3 Dr. Bühler reads तत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative. The vocative does not look natural here. The Bombay lithographed edition and my manuscript have विज्ञाननाथः the nominative. Instead of तत्र the former has तज्ञ and the latter तत्त्वं I have adopted this last. The author has here taken the name Vijñāneśvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or “knowledge” the object तत्त्वं or “truth, the whole meaning “the lord of the knowledge of truth.”

4 Dr. Bühler's reading here is दातार्थानामतिशयगुणामर्थिसार्थार्थतायाः. Here अर्थताया cannot make any sense; it ought to be अर्थितायाः, which the lithographed edition and my manuscript have. The latter reads the whole line thus:—दातार्थानामतिशयगुणामर्थिसार्थार्थिता(ता)याः[.]. There is another ग्वा after this, which is redundant.

5 The reading of the epithet of the “Western Ocean” is corrupt in all the three I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चट्टलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिङ्गतरङ्गात् to चट्टलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिङ्गतरङ्गात् and of my manuscript to चट्टलतिमिकुलोत्तुङ्गरिङ्गतरङ्गात्. The root रिङ्ग

is used in connection with waves (see B. & R.'s Lexicon *sub voce*).

great Paṇḍit, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held a high office. From this and from the description given by Bilhana, as well as from Vikramāditya's inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Châlukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

Vikramāditya II. was succeeded in Śaka 1048 and in the cyclic year *Parābhava* (A.D. 1127) by his son Someśvara III., who assumed the title of Bhūlokamalla.<sup>1</sup> He had a short reign of about 11 years. He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, Nepāḷa; and to have been lauded by all learned men."<sup>2</sup> This last praise does not seem to be undeserved; for we have a work in Sanskrit written by Someśvara entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi*, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given. The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom; in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it; in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm; in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure; and in the fifth, sports or amusements. Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c. Under the second head are described what are called the seven *aṅgas*, i.e., the ideal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c. The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c. The diversions are—military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others. The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields, or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, and dogs, &c. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of *Sarvajñabhūpa*<sup>3</sup> or the "all-knowing king." In the *Mānasollāsa*, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the beginning of the month of Chaitra, one thousand and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being *Saumya*, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Châlukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śāstras,<sup>4</sup> and whose enemies were destroyed, was

Someśvara III. or  
Bhūlokamalla.

Someśvara's Abhilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi.

Date given in the  
Abhilashitārtha  
Chintāmaṇi.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15. The current Śaka year corresponding to *Parābhava* was 1049.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 259 and 268.

<sup>4</sup> That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean.

ruling over the sea-begirt earth."<sup>1</sup> This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

Jagadekamalla.  
Tailapa II.  
Ambitious designs  
of Vijjala.

Someśvara III. or Bhûlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year *Kâlayukti*,<sup>2</sup> Saka 1060 or A. D. 1138, by his son Jagadekamalla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II., Nurmadi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in Saka 1072, *Pramoda Samvatsara*.<sup>3</sup> During these two reigns the power of the Châlukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjana of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of Daṇḍanâyaka or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs. Vijjayârka, the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara of Kolhâpur, was one of those who assisted him,<sup>4</sup> and Prolarâja of the Kâkateya dynasty of Tailaṅgaṇa, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause.<sup>5</sup> He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Saka 1079 or A. D. 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyâṇa and fled to Annigeri in the Dhârvâḍ district, which now became the capital of his kingdom greatly reduced in extent. There is an inscription dated Saka 1079, in Vijjala's name, the cyclic year being *Îśvara*, and the next Samvatsara, *Bahudhânya*, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.<sup>6</sup> He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Saka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II., who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed

एकपञ्चाशदाधिके सहस्रे शरदां गते ।  
शकस्य सोमभूपाले सति चालुक्यमण्डने ॥  
समुद्ररसनांमुर्वी शासति क्षतत्रिद्विषि ।  
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वस्वपाथोधिकलशोद्धवे ॥  
सौम्यसंवत्सरे चैत्रमासादौ शुक्रवासरे ।  
परिशोधितसिद्धान्तलब्धाः स्युर्ध्रुवका इमे ॥

<sup>1</sup> The *Siddhârthin* Samvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding Kâlayukti (Saka 1060) must have been the first. The current Saka year was 1061. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 141. There are several inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Jayasimha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Jayasimha began to reign in Saka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II., and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

<sup>2</sup> For the *Yuva* Samvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Saka 1077. In *Pramoda*, 1073 was the current Saka year and 1072 years had expired; Pâli, Sans. and old Can. Ins. No. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Grant of Bhoja II. of Kolhâpur, Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc., Vol. III. See Section XV.

<sup>4</sup> He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Châlukya sovereign. Ins. of Rudradeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp. 12-13, lines 27-30.

<sup>5</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos. 219 and 182.



himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone farther south and established himself at Banavâsî.<sup>1</sup> The latest year of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being *Pârthiva*, which was current next after Śaka 1087.<sup>2</sup>

Assumption of  
supreme sovereignty  
by Vijjala.

For some time there was an interruption in the Châlukya power, and the Kalachuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty. But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Liṅgâyata creed and the assassination of Vijjala considerably weakened the power of the Kalachuris, and about the Śaka year 1104 Someśvara, the son of Nurmaḍi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one.<sup>3</sup> Bomma is represented in an inscription at Annigeri dated Śaka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalachuris and restored the Châlukyas to the throne.<sup>4</sup> But a short time after the Yâdavvas of the south rose under Vîra Ballâḷa and of the north under Bhillama. They both fought with Bomma; but success at first attended the arms of Vîra Ballâḷa, who subdued the Châlukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.<sup>5</sup> We lose trace of Vîra Soma or Someśvara IV. after Śaka 1111.

Someśvara IV.

Extinction of the  
Châlukya power.

The Châlukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs. One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1182, *Raudra* Samvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravaṇ, a village in the Râjâpur tâluka of the Ratnâgiri district.<sup>6</sup> The donor Keśava Mahâjani was the minister of a Mahâmaṇḍalesvara or chief of the name of Kâmvadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Châlukya race." He is also called *Kalyâṇapuravarâdhîsvara* or "lord of Kalyâṇa the best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs<sup>7</sup> simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyâṇa. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravâtaka, identified with Teravaṇ itself, from which it would appear that Kâmvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an inscription in the temple of Ambâbâi at Kolhâpur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Châlukya family and reigned at Saṅgameśvara, which is twelve *kos* to the north-east of Ratnâgiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of this last was Karṇadeva.<sup>8</sup> Probably the Kâmvadeva of the Teravaṇ grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Marâṭhâ families of the name of Châlke reduced to poverty in the Saṅgameśvara Tâluka or in the vicinity.

A branch of the  
Châlukya family in  
southern Konkan.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16; Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, l. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, ll. 29-30.

<sup>6</sup> Published in Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V., in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 105, and Memoir, Sâvantvâdi State, Govt. Rec. No. X.

<sup>7</sup> See *infra*, Section XVI.

<sup>8</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. II., p. 263.

## SECTION XIII.

## THE KALACHURIS.

Original seat of the Kalachuri or Haihaya family.

The earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Maṅgalīśa of the early Chālukya dynasty. Vinayāditya is represented in one of his inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas.<sup>1</sup> A family of this name with which, as we have seen, the later Kāshtrakūṭa princes were connected by marriage, ruled over Chedi or the country about Jabalpur. The Haihayas were also called Kalachuris or Kulachuris.<sup>2</sup> The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjala was *Kālañjarapuravarādhiśvara* "or Lord of the best city of Kālañjara."<sup>3</sup> Kālañjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Chedi<sup>4</sup> and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. Vijjala before his usurpation called himself only a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III.<sup>5</sup> The manner in which he drove away Taila III. from Kalyāṇa, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described. But soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyāṇa, and Vijjala and his family succumbed to it.

A religious revolution at Kalyāṇa.

Its leader.

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kānarese entitled *Basava Purāṇa* gives an account of Basava; but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him. The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical. On the other hand there is another work entitled *Vijjalarāya Charita*, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Liṅgāyatās were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies.

Basava.

Basava was the son of a Brāhmaṇ named Mādirāja, who lived at Bāgevaḍi in the Kalādgi district. Baḷadeva, the prime minister of Vijjala, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage.<sup>6</sup> After Baḷadeva's death the king appointed Basava his prime minister as being closely related to Baḷadeva.<sup>7</sup> The Jainas, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmāvatī, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress<sup>8</sup>; and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and became a man of influence. There must be some truth in this story; for the *Basava Purāṇa* narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nīlalochanā in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, Section, X., p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> See grant published in Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 330, No. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., XVIII., p. 93. Karṇa seems to be represented here to have conquered Kālañjara.

<sup>5</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *Basava Purāṇa*, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, p. 97. Sir W. Elliot's paper, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 20.

other, which was so derogatory to Basava.<sup>1</sup> Basava had another sister named Nāgalāmbikā, who had a son named Chenna-Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Śiva, in which the Liṅga and the Nandin or bull were prominent. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jaṅgamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jaṅgamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjala had another minister named Mañchanṇā, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of his rival's embezzlements.<sup>2</sup> In the course of time Vijjala was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him. But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjala advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalyāṇa and reinstated in his office.<sup>3</sup> There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated are thus stated in the Basava Purāṇa.

Basava's rebellion.

Basava plans the murder of the king.

At Kalyāṇa there were two pious Liṅgāyatas named Halleyaga and Madhuveyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava. Vijjala, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out. All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house. Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalyāṇa, and left the town. Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommaya, went straight to the palace of the king; and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors, and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjala. Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed. Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants; the race of Vijjala was extinct, Kalyāṇa was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced by Basava was verified. Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Saṅgameśvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhā with the Kṛishṇā, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body.<sup>4</sup>

Account of the event according to the Basava Purāṇa.

The account given by the Jainas is different. Vijjala had gone on an expedition to Kolhāpur to reduce the Śilāhāra chief Bhoja II. to subjection. In the course of his march back to the capital he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhîmā, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent to him a Jaṅgama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit. Vijjala, who is said to have been a

Jaina account.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 78 & 89.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 21; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 96; Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., pp. 309-310.

Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest; and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless. His son Immadi Vijjala and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose. Vijjala, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while, and, knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death. Immadi Vijjala gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jangamas, wherever found, executed.<sup>1</sup> On hearing of this, Basava fled, and being pursued went to the Malabâr coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi.<sup>2</sup> The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nilâmbâ put an end to her existence by drinking poison. When Vijjala's son was pacified, Chenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour.<sup>3</sup> He now became the sole leader of the Lingâyatas, but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava. The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect. In him the *Pranava* or sacred syllable *Om* is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vîra Sâiva faith to Basava,<sup>4</sup> and, according to the Chenna-Basava Purâna, "Chenna-Basava was S'iva; Basava, Vṛishabha (or S'iva's bull, the Nandin); Bijjala, the door-keeper; Kalyâna, Kailâsa; (and) S'iva worshippers (or Lingâyatas), the S'iva host (or the troops of S'iva's attendants.)"<sup>5</sup>

Chenna-Basava's  
leadership,

Vijjala's death took place in Sâka 1089 (1090 *current*), or A. D. 1167. He was succeeded by his son, who in the inscriptions is called Sovideva or Someśvara. He reigned till S'aka 1100 and was followed by his brother Saṁkama, whose inscriptions come down to the cyclic year *S'ubhakrit*. In an inscription at Baḷagâṁve the cyclic year *Vikârin* (S'. 1101) is called the third of his reign,<sup>6</sup> while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.<sup>7</sup> In other inscriptions we have two names Saṁkama and Âbavamalla and the cyclic years *S'drvarin* (S'. 1102) and *Plava* (S'. 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and *S'ubhakrit* (S'. 1104) as the eighth.<sup>8</sup> About S'aka 1104 the Châlukya prince Someśvara IV. wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalachuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yâdavas; so that about this time the Kalachuri dynasty became extinct.

Sovideva.

Saṁkama.

Extinction of the  
Kalachuri dynasty.

Religious and social  
condition of the  
people during the  
later Châlukya  
period.

Buddhism.

During the period occupied by the later Châlukya dynasty and the Kalachuris (S'aka 895-1110 or A.D. 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramâditya II., in the cyclic year *Yuvan*, and the nineteenth of his era (S'aka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhistic *vihâra* or monastery and temple at Dharmavoḷal, the

<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 127.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, No. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 311.

<sup>6</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 183.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, Nos. 190, 192 & 193.

modern Dambal in the Dhârvâd district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another *vihâra* at Lokkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakkunḍi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.<sup>1</sup> In Śaka 1032 the Śilâhâra chief of Kolhâpur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support.<sup>2</sup> Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Liṅgâyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brâhmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

Jainism.

The worship of the Purânic gods flourished; and during this period the endeavours of the Brâhman and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smṛitis and Purânas; and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. *Nibandhas* or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smṛitis. Bhoja of Dhârâ, who belongs to the first part of this period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhâreśvara he is referred to by Vijñâneśvara in his work. He was followed by Vijñâneśvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyâṇa in the reign of Vikramâditya II. Aparârka, another commentator on Yâjñavalkya, who calls his work a *nibandha* on the *Dharmaśâstra* or institutes of Yâjñavalkya, was a prince of the Śilâhâra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Śaka 1109 (A. D. 1187) and in the cyclic year *Parâbhava*.<sup>3</sup> Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemâdri, and by Sâyaṇa in the fourteenth.

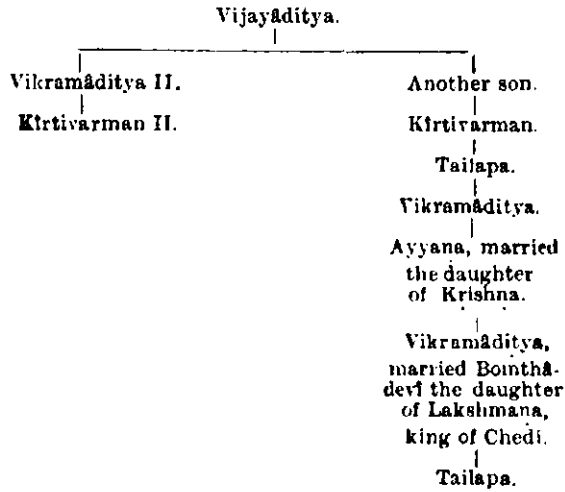
Purânic religion.  
Codification of the  
civil and religious  
law.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 185.

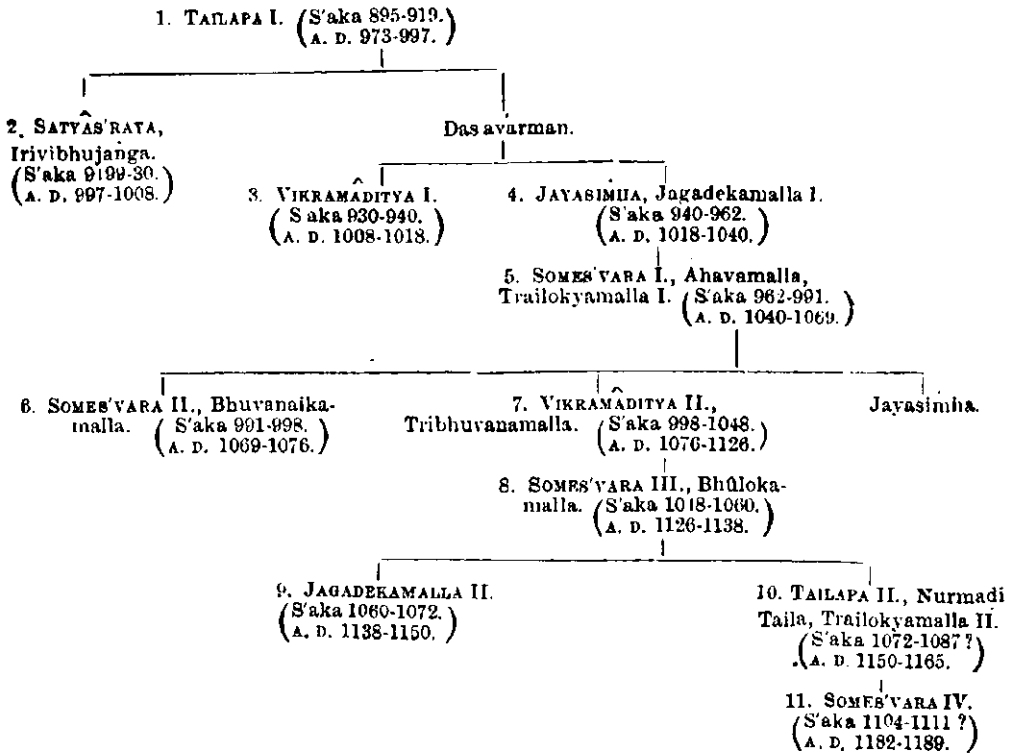
<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 4, and *infra*, Section XVI.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., pp. 334-335.

*Genealogy of the Châlukya family between Vijayâditya and Tailapa as given in the Miraj grant of Jayasimha dated Saka 946.*



*Genealogy of the later Châlukyas.*



## SECTION XIV.

## THE YÂDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

*Early History of the Family.*

The genealogy of the Yâdavās is given in the introduction to the *Vratākhaṇḍa* attributed to or composed by Hemâdri who was a minister of Mahâdeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others it begins with Bhillama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purânic or legendary ancestors to Mahâdeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhillama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâ Indraji.<sup>1</sup> He considered the Yâdava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri and called it "A New Yâdava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yâdavās. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the *Vratākhaṇḍa*<sup>2</sup> and on the grant published by the Paṇḍit. The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to Seunachandra II. who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A. D., and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes.

Authorities.

Subâhu who belonged to the Yâdava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Dridhaprahâra<sup>3</sup> became

Dridhaprahâra, the founder of the family.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 119 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> The edition of the *Vratākhaṇḍa* in the *Bibliotheca Indica* contains neither of these two very valuable and important *Praśastis*. I have therefore had recourse to manuscripts. There is one manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Dekkan College and that is No. 234 of Collection A. of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter *Praśasti* beginning with the reign of Bhillama. There is another copy in the collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer *Praśasti*. Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the manuscript are missing; and the second ends with Parammadeva the successor of Seunachandra II., while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemâdri and his works. The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4; but that is irretrievably lost. I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khâsgivâle's library. It contains the shorter *Praśasti* only. My learned friend Gaṅgâdhar Śâstri Dâtâr procured another. In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together. There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter and then the longer one begins; and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter. This is the only manuscript of the four now before me which contains the whole of the longer *Praśasti*, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the manuscript is extremely incorrect. I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nâsik, Kolhâpur, and Ahmedabad; but none was available at those places. I give the two *Praśastis* in Appendix C.

<sup>3</sup> He is called Dridhaprahâri (nom. sing.) in the MSS.; stanza 20, Appendix C. I.

king in the south or Dekkan. The Yādavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurâ, then from the time of Kṛishna they became sovereigns of Dvâravatî or Dvârakâ, and came to be rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subâhu, viz., Dṛiḍhaprahâra. His capital was Sṛinagara according to the Vratākhaṇḍa, while from the grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chandrâdityapura, which may have been the modern Châindor in the Nâsik district. He had a son of the name of Seunachandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called Seunadeśa<sup>1</sup> after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura. Seunadeśa was the name of the region extending from Nâsik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatâbâd, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadeśa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Daṇḍakâranya.<sup>2</sup> Seunachandra's son Dhâḍiyappa<sup>3</sup> became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama. After Bhillama, his son Sṛirâja according to the grant, or Râjagi according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded<sup>4</sup> by Vaddiga or Vâdugi who was probably the brother of his predecessor. Then came Dhâḍiyasa<sup>5</sup> who was the son of Vâdugi according to the Vratākhaṇḍa. The grant omits his name. Dhâḍiyasa was succeeded by his son Bhillama.<sup>6</sup> Bhillama married according to the grant

Seunachandra I.  
Seunadeśa.

Seunachandra's  
successors.

<sup>1</sup> Stanza 22, Appendix C. I.

<sup>2</sup> Stanza 19, Appendix C. II.

<sup>3</sup> Called Dhâḍiyasa in the MSS. ; Appendix C. I., stanza 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Pandit Bhagvānlâl translates the words *arvâk tasya* (see note 6 below) occurring in the Yādava grant as "before him," and placing Vaddiga before Sṛirâja, conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Sṛirâja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne; (Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, pp. 125a and 128b). But *arvâk tasya* can never mean "before him," and must mean "after him," and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a *preceding* prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as "*before him* so and so became king." By the occurrence of the word अजनिष्ठ in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C. I, it appears Râjagi was the son of Bhillama I.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix C. I. Stanza 24. If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhâḍiyappa.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Pandit Bhagvānlâl omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are :—

आर्वाक्तस्य वभूव भूतलहरिः श्रीवदिगाख्यो नृपः  
तस्मात्श्रीवरभिल्लमक्षितिपतेः प्रत्यक्षधर्माभवत् ॥

The Pandit translates this :—"Before him was the illustrious king Vaddiga, a Hari on earth; and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhillama in his actions." I have already remarked that instead of "before him," we should have "after him," here. The word तस्मात् is translated by "therefore." "Wherefore?"

I would ask. No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being *exactly like* Bhillama; and therefore, it will not do to translate तस्मात् by "therefore." Again, the Pandit's interpretation of प्रत्यक्षधर्मा as "exactly like in actions" is farfetched and unnatural. The thing is, the genitive or ablative क्षितिपते: cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Pandit himself. What is wanted here is the nominative क्षितिपतिः for क्षितिपते: and then the whole is appropriate, and तस्मात् will have its proper sense of "after him," or "from him."

The correct translation then is "After him was a king of the name of Vaddiga the prosperous, who was a Hari on earth, and after him or of him (i. e. Vaddiga), came the prosperous, great Bhillama in whom Virtue became incarnate." In this way, we have here another king Bhillama, as mentioned in the Praśasti in the Vratākhaṇḍa in the passage cited above.



Lasthiyavvâ<sup>1</sup> the daughter of Jhañjha who was probably the Silâhâra prince of Thâna of that name. Lasthiyavvâ sprang on her mother's side from the Râshtrakûta family, and through her son became "the upholder of the race of Yadu<sup>2</sup>;" so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The next king was Vesugi<sup>3</sup> called in the grant Tesuka which probably is a mistake or misreading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nâyaladevî, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Châlukya family,<sup>4</sup> and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thâna prince Jhañjha. The Râshtrakûtas must have been

<sup>1</sup> This lady, according to my translation becomes the wife of Bhillama who is the king mentioned immediately before and not of his grand-father Vaddiga as the Paṇḍit makes out.

<sup>2</sup> Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has in my opinion not succeeded in solving; and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far-reaching (p. 125a., Ind. Ant., Vol. XII). The stanza is:—

भार्या यस्य च श्रेष्ठराजतनया श्रीलस्थियव्वाहुया  
धर्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।  
या जाता नवबालनाजसभये यदन्वयाधारिता  
सप्तांगोद्यतराज्यभारधरणाद्रायत्रयाध्या ततः ॥

The Paṇḍit's translation is:—"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha, Lasthiyavvâ by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and hospitality, who was of the Râshtrakûta race, as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority), and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with its seven angas, was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms."

I agree with the Paṇḍit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायत्रय as राज्यत्रय, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines. But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable. The Paṇḍit reads राज from नाज and says that the य in यदन्वया० ought to be long for the metre but would make no sense. Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as "an object of reverence to the three kingdoms." Which are the three kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line; and secondly, that of the Râshtrakûtas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line. Now, we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line. The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yādavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यदन्वया० for यदन्वया० and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodially long in consequence of the following द्व. In the same manner I think बालनाज is a mistake for बालजान. The word जान the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word; or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद from मद्, नाद from नद्, मान from मन् &c. Or बालनाज may be considered as a mistake for बालजन्म, the sense being the same, viz. "birth of a child." The compound यदन्वयाधारिता is to be dissolved as आधारितः यदन्वयः यया । आधारित being made the second member according to Pāṇini II, 2, 37. The translation of the line, therefore, is "who became the upholder of the race of Yadu on the occasion of the birth of a new child," i. e., through her child she became the upholder of the Yādava race. In this manner, the supposition of her being adopted by the Râshtrakûtas during the young prince's minority becomes groundless. She must have belonged to the Râshtrakûta race on her mother's side.

<sup>3</sup> Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

<sup>4</sup> The expression चालुक्यान्वयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done. The Paṇḍit understands Gogirâj as belonging to the Châlukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

overthrown by the Châlukyās about the end of Jhañjha's reign and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Châlukyās.

Bhillama III.,  
son-in-law of  
Jayasiñha.

The Vratākhaṇḍa places Arjuna after Vesugi,<sup>1</sup> but the grant omits his name. The next king was Bhillama<sup>2</sup> who married Hāmmā, the daughter of Jayasiñha and sister of Âhavamalla, the Châlukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles.<sup>3</sup> The grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seuṇa, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhillama." This Bhillama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Âhavamalla since Seuṇa is spoken of not as the son of the latter or any such near relation but simply as "having sprung from his race". The Vratākhaṇḍa supplies the names of the intermediate princes. The elder Bhillama was succeeded by Vādugi,<sup>4</sup> his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words." After him Vesugi<sup>5</sup> became king, but how he was related to Vādugi we are not told. He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome. Then came Bhillama and after him Seuṇa<sup>6</sup> who issued the charter translated by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl. What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated. Seuṇa is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramāditya II., who is styled the "luminary of the Châlukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāṇa.<sup>7</sup> This appears to be a reference to the coalition between the Veṅgi prince and Vikramāditya's brother Someśvara. The Yādava prince Seuṇa was thus a close ally of the Châlukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact. Seuṇachandra's grant is dated Śaka 991 *Saunya Samvatsara*, while Vikramāditya II. got possession of the Châlukya throne in Śaka 998 *Nāla*. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yādava princes to the Châlukyās of Kalyāṇa, while the important service rendered by Seuṇachandra to Vikramāditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings." This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the Vratākhaṇḍa of Seuṇachandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramāditya became king in Śaka 998.

Seuṇachandra II.,  
the ally of Vikramā-  
ditya II.

Successors of  
Seuṇachandra II.

Seuṇachandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Siñhirāja.<sup>8</sup> Siñhirāja is probably a mislection for Siñharāja or "King Siñha", and the full name of the

<sup>1</sup> Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

<sup>2</sup> Stanza 26, *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> This appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 8 and not that he fought with Âhavamalla as Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl understands. I need not discuss the matter in detail.

<sup>4</sup> Stanza 26, Appendix C. I.

<sup>5</sup> Stanza 27, *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Stanza 28., *Ib.*

<sup>7</sup> Stanza 29, *Ib.*

<sup>8</sup> Stanzas 30 and 31, *Ib.*

prince may have been Sinhāna or Singhāna. How Sinhā was related to Paramma we do not know; probably he was his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpûratilaka from L(Tr)añjîpura.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by his son Mallugi who took a town of the name of Parnakheta from his enemies, and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa.<sup>2</sup> Then followed his son Amara-gângeya<sup>3</sup> whose name is mentioned in a copperplate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king.<sup>4</sup> After him came Govindarâja who was probably his son. Govindarâja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he, by Kâlîya Ballâla. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated. Ballâla's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yâdava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama<sup>5</sup> who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhillama being represented as the uncle of Ballâla must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above. He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Śaka 1109 and died in 1113. It was this Bhillama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Châlukyās.

Mallugi.

Bhillama V., the founder of the Yâdava Empire.

Paṇḍit Bhagvânâl has published a stone-inscription<sup>6</sup> existing in a ruined temple at Añjaneri near Nâsik, in which a chief of the Yâdava family named Seunadeva is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063 to a Jaina temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Seuna in the Yâdava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramâditya II., and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the Śaka era. The Seunadeva of the Añjaneri inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhanda. Besides Seunadeva calls himself pointedly a *Mahâ-sâmanta* or chief only; while about 1063 Śaka when the Châlukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yâdavas of Seunadeśa should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Seunadeva of Añjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yâdava family dependent on the main branch and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Añjaneri was the chief city.

Seunachandra of Añjaneri.

The number of princes who reigned from Dṛiḍhaprahâra to Bhillama V. inclusive is 23. There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as their predecessors and consequently these twenty-three do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 19 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Dṛiḍhaprahâra and the death of Bhillama V. is 437

Approximate date of the foundation of the Yâdava family.

1 Stanza 32, Appendix C. I. May Trañjîpura be the modern Tanjor?

2 Stanzas 33 and 34, *Ibid.*

3 Stanza 35, *Ibid.*

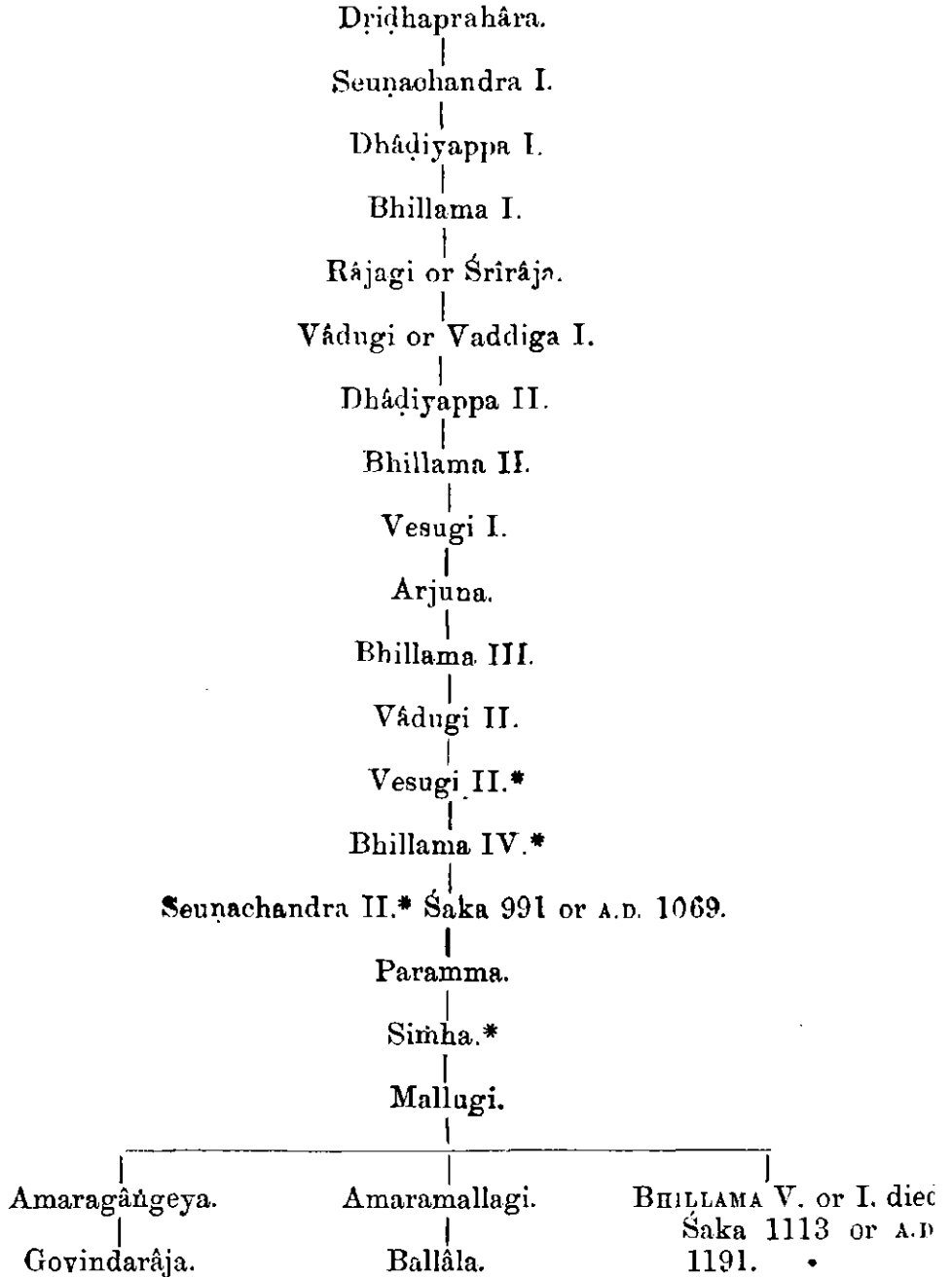
4 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., p. 386.

5 Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C. I.

6 Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 126.

years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 676 Śaka or 754 A.D., that is, about the time of the overthrow of the early Chālukyas by the Rāshtrakūṭas.

*Genealogy of the early Yādavas or the Yādavas of Seunadeśa.*



\* The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated.

## SECTION XV.

## THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

*Later History.*

We have seen that the Hoysala Yādavas of Halebid in Maisur were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II. and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan, and Vishṇuwardhana the reigning prince of the family at that period actually invaded the Chālukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Krishṇā-Veṇā. But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Chālukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient. But the state of things had now changed. Weaker princes had succeeded, the Chālukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalachuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Liṅgāyata sect. At this time the occupant of the Hoysala throne was Vīra Ballāḷa, the grandson of Vishṇuwardhana. He fought with Brahma or Bomma, the general of the last Chālukya prince Someśvara IV., and putting down his elephants by means of his horses defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjala.<sup>1</sup>

Ambitious projects  
of the Hoysala  
Yādavas.

Vīra Ballāḷa.

The Yādavas of the north were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. The reigning prince at that time must have been Ballāḷa the son of Amaramallagi. But the most enterprising member of the family was Bhillama his uncle. He captured a town of the name of Śrīvardhana from a king who is called Aṃsala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyāṇḍaka, put to death the ruler of Maṅgalaveshtaka, (Maṅgalvedhem), of the name of Vajrin, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāna, set at defiance the Hoysala Yādava.<sup>2</sup> When in this manner he made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Krishṇā, he founded the city of Devagiri<sup>3</sup> and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital. This took place about the S'aka year 1109.

Rise of Bhillama.

Foundation of  
Devagiri.

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vīra Ballāḷa, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards. It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined. Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lokkiguṇḍi, now Lakkunḍi, in the Dhārvāḍ District, in which Jaitrasinha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vīra Ballāḷa became sovereign of Kuntala. The inscription in which this is recorded bears the date S'aka 1114 or A.D. 1192;<sup>4</sup>

Contests between  
the rivals.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C. I stanza 38. As the only manuscript which is my guide here is bad, the names given in the text are open to correction. Maṅgalvedhem is near Pandharpur. It was probably the capital of a minor chief.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* st. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant. vol. II., p. 300.

and Vîra Ballâla who made the grant recorded in it was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lokkiguṇḍi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The northern Yâdavâs had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Marâthâ Country for a generation.

Jaitrapâla.

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śâka by his son Jaitrapâla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battles. "He assumed the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the ladles of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds."<sup>1</sup> The Rudra whom he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle was probably the Rudradeva of the Kâkateya dynasty whose inscription we have at Anamkoṇḍ near Woraṅgaḷ. In other places also his war with the king of the Andhras or Tailangas is alluded<sup>2</sup> to, and he is represented to have deprived the Andhra ladies of happiness.<sup>3</sup> Lakshmîdhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Bhâskarâcharya, was in the service of Jaitrapâla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Paṇḍits. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkaśâstra and Mîmânsâ.<sup>4</sup>

Sînghana.

Jaitrapâla's son and successor was Sînghana, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased. He ascended the throne in 1132 Śâka.<sup>5</sup> He defeated a king of the name of Jajjala and brought away his elephants. He deprived a monarch named Kakkûla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Mâlva, and made Bhoja a prisoner. "King Lakshmîdhara, the lion of Bhangârîga, was reduced, the ruler of Dhârâ was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballâla was taken. All this was but a child's play to King Sînghana."<sup>6</sup> The kings of Mathurâ and Kâsî were killed by him in battle and Hammîra was vanquished by but a boy-general of Sînghana.<sup>7</sup> In an inscription also at Tilivalli in the Dhârvaḍ District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballâla the Hoysala king, subdued Bhoja of Pauhâlâ, and humbled the sovereign of Mâlava.<sup>8</sup> He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Gûrjara king."<sup>9</sup> We have an inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Śâka, which shows that Vîra Ballâla must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time.<sup>10</sup> Sînghana is represented to be reigning at his capital Devagiri.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C. I. st. 41. Just as the fruit of a horse sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man-sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds, Jaitrapâla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice; and that is considered to be the reason, as it were, of his having obtained victories everywhere, i.e. in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XV. p. 386.      <sup>3</sup> Jour. R. A. S. Vol. I. N. S. p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 415.      <sup>5</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix C. I. st. 43 and 44.      <sup>7</sup> Jour. R. A. S. Vol. I. N. S. p. 414.

<sup>8</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 326.

<sup>9</sup> Major Graham's Report on Kolhâpur, Ins. No. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 297.

<sup>11</sup> Major Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10.

The Bhoja of Panhâlâ spoken of above was a prince of the Śilâhâra dynasty, and after his defeat the Kolhâpur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yâdavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as later on they did to another which ruled over Northern Konkan. From this time forward the Kolhâpur inscriptions contain the names of the Yâdava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district. An inscription of Singhana at Khedrâpur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Koppesvara in the year 1136 Saka.

Singhana seems to have invaded Gujarât several times. In an inscription at Âmbein a Brâhman chief of the name of Kholeśvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yâdava sovereign. He humbled the pride of the Gûrjara prince, crushed the Mâlava, destroyed the race of the king of the Âbhîras, and being like "wild fire to the enemies" of his master left nothing for Singhana to be anxious about. His son Râma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarât. Râma advanced up to the Narmadâ, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gûrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.<sup>1</sup> From this it would appear that Gujarât was invaded by Singhana on two occasions at least, if not more; and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities for the history of Gujarât. Somadeva, the author of the Kîrtikaumudî, which gives an account of the minister Vastupâla and his masters the princes of the Vâghelâ branch of the Chaulukya family, describes an invasion of Gujarât by Singhana in the time of Lavaṇaprasâda and his son Vîradhavalâ. "The capital of Gujarât trembled with fear when the advance of Singhana's army was reported. Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gûrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all were restless. Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a particular solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited removed farther and farther. When Lavaṇaprasâda heard of the rapid advance of the innumerable host of the Yâdava prince, he knit his brow in anger, and though he had but a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior. When the forces of Singhana arrived on the banks of the Tâpî he rapidly advanced to the Mahî. Seeing, on the one hand, the vast army of the enemy and, on the other, the indomitable prowess of the Chaulukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result. The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly. The Yâdavas overran the country about Bharoch while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields; but the king of Gujarât did not consider them unconquerable."<sup>2</sup> In the meanwhile, however, four kings of Mârvâd rose against Lavaṇaprasâda and his son Vîradhavalâ, and the chiefs

Singhana's invasions  
of Gujarât.

First invasion.

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Surv. of W. I., Vol. III., p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Kîrtikaumudî IV., Stanzas 43-53.

of Godhrâ and Lâta, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the Mârvâd princes. In these circumstances Lavaṇaprasâda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.<sup>1</sup> The Yâdava army, however, did not, according to Someśvara, advance farther; but he gives no reason whatever, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it."<sup>2</sup> But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as Someśvara himself represents and the army of Siṅghaṇa was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gûrjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay tribute or satisfied the Yâdava commander in some other way. In a manuscript recently discovered of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents &c., there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of Siṅghaṇa and Lavaṇaprasâda as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them.<sup>3</sup> The result of the expedition, therefore, was that Lavaṇaprasâda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Siṅghaṇa.

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.*, St. 55-60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, St. 63.

<sup>3</sup> This work is entitled *Lekhapañchâsikâ*, and the manuscript was purchased by me for Government last year. The first leaf is wanting and the colophon does not contain the name of the author. The manuscript, however, is more than four hundred years old, being transcribed in 1536 of the Vikrama Samvat. For the variable terms in the forms given by the author, he often uses the usual expression *amuka*, meaning "some one" or "such a one." This general expression, however, is not used to indicate the date and we have in all the forms one date, *viz.*, 15 Sudi of Vaiśākha, in the year of Vikrama 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd Sudi. This probably was the date when the author wrote. Similarly, when giving the form of a grant inscribed on copper-plates, the author in order probably to make the form clear, uses real and specific names. He gives the genealogy of the Chaulukya kings of Anahilapattana from Mûlarâja to Bhîma II. and then introduces Lavaṇaprasâda, whom he calls Lāvanyaprasâda and styles a Mahâmandalesvara, as the prince making the grant. Similarly, in giving the form of a treaty of alliance called *yamalapattra*, the persons who are introduced as parties to it are Siṅghaṇa and Lāvanyaprasâda, and the form runs thus:—

संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाख शुद्धि १५ सोमोऽद्य श्रीमद्विजयकटक महाराजाधिराजश्रीमत्सिंहणदेवस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च । संराज-  
(साम्राज्य or सम्राट्)कुलश्रीश्रीमत्सिंहणदेवेन महामण्डलेश्वरराणश्रीलाव-  
ण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वदृष्ट्यात्मीय २ (*i.e.* आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीयं । केनापि  
कस्यापि भूमी नाक्रमणीया,

"On this day the 15th Sudi of Vaiśākha, in the year Samvat \_\_\_\_\_ in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Siṅghaṇa and the Mahâmandalesvara Râna, the prosperous Lāvanyaprasâda. Siṅghaṇa whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahâmandalesvara Râna the prosperous Lāvanyaprasâda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country; neither should invade the country of the other." The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release; that if a prince from either country ran away into the other with some valuable thing, he should not be allowed quarter, &c. Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in his form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Siṅghaṇa is but another form of Siṅghaṇa, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the "victorious camp" which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someśvara.

In रहणीयं we have, I think, the vernacular root रह "to remain," "to live." For further details see my Report on the search for manuscripts during 1882-83, pp. 39 and 225.



This invasion of Gujarât must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Âmbem inscription, and Kholeśvara himself must have been the commander of the Yâdava army on the occasion. For Lavaṇaprasâda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhîma II. of Anahilapattana about the year 1276 Vikrama,<sup>1</sup> corresponding to 1141 S'aka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Siṅghaṇa's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs was composed in 1288 Vikrama, *i.e.* 1153 Śaka. But the expedition under the command of Râma, the son of Kholeśvara, must have been sent a short time before S'aka 1160, the date of the Âmbem inscription. For Râma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakshmî, who governed the principality in the name of the boy. Râma, therefore, had not died so many years before S'aka 1160 as to allow of his boy having attained his majority by that time. On the occasion of this expedition Vîsaladeva, the son of Vîradhavalâ, was the sovereign of Gujarât. For in an inscription of his he boasts of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Siṅghaṇa's army,"<sup>2</sup> and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to S'aka 1157.<sup>3</sup> The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Râma's having been killed in the battle. What the ultimate result was, however, the inscription does not inform us.

Second invasion.

Siṅghaṇa appointed one Bîchaṇa or Bîcha, the son of Chikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there. He fought with his master's enemies in the south as Kholeśvara did in the north and kept them in check. Bîchaṇa is represented to have humbled the Raṭṭas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, the Kadambas of Konkan, *i.e.* of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the south, the Pândyas, the Hoysaḷas, and the chiefs of other southern princes, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kâveri.<sup>4</sup> The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is S'aka 1160 or A. D. 1238.

Conquests in the South.

It thus appears that the Yâdava empire became in the time of Siṅghaṇa as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Siṅghaṇa in his inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (*Prithivîvallabha*)," and "king of kings." Since Kṛishṇa, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, is represented in the Purâṇas to have belonged to the Yâdava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishṇuvarṃśodbhava*<sup>5</sup>; and as Kṛishṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvârakâ, they assumed the title of *Dvâravatîpuravarâdhîśvara*, "the supreme

Siṅghaṇa's titles.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.      <sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pp. 191 and 212.

<sup>3</sup> Vîradhavalâ, it is said, died not long before Vastupâla. The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297. Vastupâla was minister to Vîsaladeva also at some time. We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., pp. 386-7, and Vol. XII., p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* "of the race of Vishnu."

lord of Dvâravatî, the best of cities.”<sup>1</sup> Chaṅgadeva the grandson of Bhâskarâchârya and son of Lakshmîdhara was chief astrologer to Siṅghaṇa.<sup>2</sup>

Jaitrapâla, Siṅgha-  
na's son, died  
before him,

Kriṣhṇa.

Siṅghaṇa's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapâla, who “was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it. He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights.”<sup>3</sup> But if he protected the earth at all he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as *Yuvarâja*, for the latest date of Siṅghaṇa is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Kriṣhṇa, Śaka 1175, *Pramâdi-Samvatsara*, is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Kriṣhṇa began to reign in Śaka 1169 corresponding to 1247 A. D.<sup>4</sup> And in the longer of the two historical introductions to the *Vratākhaṇḍa*, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Siṅghaṇa, we are told that his grandsons Kriṣhṇa and Mahâdeva came to the throne.<sup>5</sup> Kriṣhṇa's Prâkrit name was Kanhâra, Kanhara, or Kandhâra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Mâlava, Gujarât, and Konkan, to have “established the king of Teluṅga,” and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Chola king.<sup>6</sup> But nothing particular is mentioned about him in the *Vratākhaṇḍa*, and he is, in general terms, said to have “conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, to have reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra.”<sup>7</sup> Kriṣhṇa performed a great many sacrifices and thus “brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people.” In a copper-plate grant dated Śaka 1171, found in the Belgaum Tâluka, Malla or Mallisetṭi is spoken of as the elder brother of Bîcha or Bîchana, the viceroy of Siṅghaṇa in the south, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhuṇḍi. He lived at Mudgala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Kriṣhṇa his sovereign, lands in the village of Bâgevâḍi to thirty-two Brâhmanas of different Gotras.<sup>8</sup> Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahârâshṭra Brâhmanas, such as *Paṭavardhana* and *Ghaisâsa*, prevalent among Chitpâvanas, and *Ghalisâsa*, *Ghalisa*, and *Pâthaka*, among Deśasthas. The name *Trivâḍi* also occurs; but there is no trace of it among Marâṭhâ Brâhmanas, while it is borne by Brâhmanas in Gujarât and Upper Hindustan. In another grant, Chaunḍa the son of Bîchana, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Kriṣhṇa at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII., p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. R. A. S. Vol. I. N. S. p. 415. <sup>3</sup> Appendix C. II. st. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII., p. 42. <sup>5</sup> Appendix C. I. st. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII. p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> That is, “left this world,” “died” Appendix C. I. st. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol., XII., p. 27. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII. p. 304. Kuhuṇḍi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum district.

<sup>9</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XII., p. 43.

Kṛiṣhṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahâdeva in 1182 Śaka or 1260 A.D. "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailaṅga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gûrjara, he destroyed the king of Konkan with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karnâṭa and Lâṭa to mockery."<sup>1</sup> The king of Karnâṭa here mentioned was probably a Hoysala Yâdava of Halebîd. "King Mahâdeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him; knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne; and the king of Mâlava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions, practised false penance for a long time."<sup>2</sup> "Soma, the lord of Konkan, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was together with his forces drowned in the rivers formed by the humour trickling from the temples of Mahâdeva's maddened elephants." "Mahâdeva deprived Someśvara of his kingdom and his life."<sup>3</sup> We have seen that Kṛiṣhṇa fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly. His successor Mahâdeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants. Soma or Someśvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death,<sup>4</sup> probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Mahâdeva's prowess to be more unbearable.<sup>5</sup> Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yâdavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahâdeva's successor, as we find from the Thâna plates published by Mr. Wathen.<sup>6</sup> The Someśvara whom Mahâdeva subdued probably belonged to the Śilâhâra dynasty of Thâna that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period, though our present information with regard to it does not extend beyond Aparâditya, who reigned in 1109 Śaka.<sup>7</sup> Mahâdeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuṇa on the borders of Daṇḍakâranya. "It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the Mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuṇa country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."<sup>8</sup> At Paṇḍharpur there is an

Mahâdeva.

Conquest of  
Northern Konkan.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C. I. st. 48 and II. st. 13.    <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* II. st. 14 and 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* I. st. 50, and II. st. 17.    <sup>4</sup> *Ib.* I. st. 49.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* I. st. 51 and II. st. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Jour. R. A. S. (old series), Vol. V., p. 177.

<sup>7</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XIII, p. 13. Since the above was written, the Thâna volumes of the Bombay Gazetteer have been published. In vol. XIII, part II, p. 422, occurs a revised genealogical table of the Thâna Śilâhâras based on inscriptions which have recently been discovered but not yet published. The last king there mentioned is Someśvara and his dates are Śaka 1171 and 1182.

<sup>8</sup> Appendix C. II. st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himâlaya or Meru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods."

inscription dated 1192 Śaka, *Pramoda Samvatsara*, in which Mahâdeva is represented to have been reigning at the time. He is there called *Praudhupratâpa Chakravartin*, or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour." The inscription records the performance of an *Aptoryâma* sacrifice by a Brâhman chief of the name of Keśava belonging to the Kas'yapa Gotra.

Râmachandra or  
Râmadeva.

Mahâdeva was succeeded in the year 1193 Śaka or 1271 A.D. by his nephew Râmachandra, the son of Kṛishṇa. He is called Râmadeva or Râmarâja also. In the Thânâ copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mâlava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country.<sup>1</sup> Several other epithets, such as "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailaṅga king," occur in the grants; but they are given as mere *birudas* or titles which were inherited by Râmachandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign. His inscriptions are found as far to the south as the confines of Maisur, so that the empire he ruled over was as large as it ever was. There is in the Dekkan College Library a manuscript of the *Amarakośa* written in Konkani or Tâla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Śaka 1219 and A.D. 1297. His viceroy in Konkani in Śaka 1212 was a Brâhman named Kṛishṇa belonging to the Bhâradvâja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanâbha first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Singhana. One of the Thânâ grants was issued by him, and the other dated 1194 Śaka by Achyuta Nâyaka, who was also a Brâhman and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear.

Hemâdri, the  
minister of Mahâde-  
va and Râmadeva.

Hemâdri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmaśâstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahâdeva and Râmachandra and was minister to both. In the introduction to his works on Dharmaśâstra he is called Mahâdeva's *Srîkaraṇâdhipa* or *Srîkaraṇaprabhu*. In the Thânâ copper-plate of 1194 Śaka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *âdhipatya* or controllership of all *karana*. This office seems to have been that of chief secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the state record. Hemâdri is also called *Mantrin* or counsellor generally. In his other works and in the Thânâ plate Râmarâja instead of Mahâdeva is represented as his master. Mahâdeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma. Sometimes the former begins with Singhana, sometimes with Bhillama, while in the *Dânakhaṇḍa* the exploits of Mahâdeva alone are enumerated. The description of the several princes is often couched in general terms and consists of nothing but eulogy. But the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, which was the first work composed by Hemâdri, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning and by far the greater portion of it is undoubtedly historical.

Hemâdri's Works.

Hemâdri was a Brâhman of the Vatsa Gotra. His father's name was Kâmadeva, grandfather's, Vâsudeva, and great-grandfather's,

<sup>1</sup> Referred to above.

Vâmana.<sup>1</sup> He is described in terms of extravagant praise ; and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this. Hemâdri was very liberal to Brâhman and fed numbers of them every day. He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him. He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave. He evidently possessed a great deal of influence. Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned ; but the idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision.

His great work is called the *Chaturvarga Chintâmani*, which is divided into four parts, viz., (1) *Vratakhanda*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances ; (2) *Dânakhanda*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained ; (3) *Tirthakhanda*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places ; and (4) *Mokshakhanda*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth *Khanda* or part which is called *Pariśeshakhanda* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Srâddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prâyaścitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations. They are held in great estimation and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them. A commentary called *Âyurvedarasâyana* on Vâgbbhata's medical treatise and another on Bopadeva's *Muktâphala*, a work expounding Vaishnava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

Chaturvarga  
Chintâmani.

Other works.

This Bopadeva was one of Hemâdri's proteges and the author of the work mentioned above and of another entitled *Harilîlâ*, which contains an abstract of the *Bhâgavata*. Both of these were written at the request of Hemâdri as the author himself tells us.<sup>2</sup> Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as his teacher lived at a place called *Sârtha* situated on the banks of the *Varadâ*. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of *Berâr*. Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called *Mugdhabodha*, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us.

Bopadeva.

Hemâdri has not yet been forgotten in the *Marâthâ* country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemâdpant and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him.

Hemâdpant of the  
Marâthâs.

<sup>1</sup> *Pariśeshakhanda*, Ed. Bib. Ind., pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> विद्वद्भनेशशिष्येण भिषक्केशवसूनुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥  
श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥

He is said to have introduced the Modî or the current form of writing and is believed to have brought it from Lankâ or Ceylon. As chief secretary he had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and it is possible he may have introduced some improvements in the mode of writing.

Jñânesvara, the  
Marâthâ sâdhu.

The great Marâthâ *sâdhu* or saint Jñâncsvara or Dnyânesvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of Râmachandra. At the end of his Marâthî commentary on the Bhagavadgîtâ he tells us : " In the Kali age, in the country of Mahârâshtra and on the southern bank of the Godâvarî there is a sacred place five kos in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahâlayâ, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world. There, king Râmachandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there, a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gîtâ by Jñânadeva, the son of Nivrîttinâtha, sprung from the family of Maheśa."<sup>1</sup> The date of the completion of the work is given as Śaka 1212 or A. D. 1290, when we know Râmachandra was on the throne.

Conquest of the  
country by the  
Mussalmans.

Râmachandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Dekkan. The Mussalmans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Dekkan it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time. Alla-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king who had been appointed governor of Karra, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit. In the year 1294 A. D. or Śaka 1216 he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the south till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the west appeared in a short time before Devagiri. The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it. According to one account he was even absent from his capital. He hastily collected about 4000 troops and threw himself between the city and the invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it. The city was then taken by the Mahomedans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested. Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Dekkan. Râmachandra, therefore,

- 1 ऐसें युगीं परि कळीं । आणि महाराष्ट्रमंडळीं ।  
श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूळीं । दक्षिणलीं ॥ १ ॥  
त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशक्षेत्र ।  
जेथ जगाचें जीवनसूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥  
तेथ यदुवंशविलास । जो सकळकळानिवास ।  
न्यायाते पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥  
तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूते । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसुते ।  
केले ज्ञानदेवे गीते । देशीकार लेणे ॥ ४ ॥

despairing of a successful resistance, began to treat for peace. Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold. In the meantime, Râmachandra's son Śamkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege and proceeded with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Śamkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back; but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison joined them at this time, and Śamkara's followers thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus.

Râmachandra or Râmadeva then continued the negotiations, but Alla-ud-din raised his demands. The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Râmachandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt; and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace. It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi. On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince, Alla-ud-din retired.

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne. King Râmachandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour. Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A.D., or about the end of Śaka 1228. A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Râmadeva was taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup> According to another account, Malik Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself. Râmachandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour. Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans. In Śaka 1231 or A.D. 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan to subdue Tailaṅgaṇa. On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king.

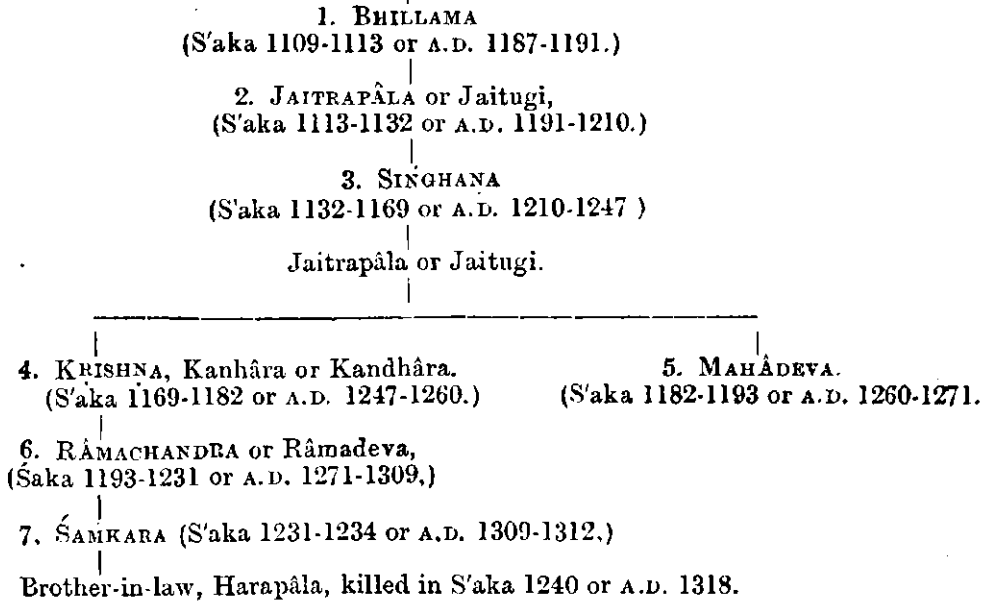
Râmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Śamkara. He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan in Śaka 1234 or A.D. 1312 to reduce him to submission. He put Śamkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. III., p. 77.

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over him, revolted. In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik. The opportunity was seized by Harapâla, the son-in-law of Râmachandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors. In 1240 S'aka or A.D. 1318 Mubarik marched to the Dekkan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapâla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive.

Thus ended the last Hindu or Marâthâ monarchy of the Dekkan and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire.

*Genealogy of the later Yâdavas or the Yâdavas of Devagiri.  
Mallugi.*



## SECTION XVI.

### THE ŚILÂHÂRAS OF KOLHÂPUR.

Three branches of the Śilâhâra family.

Three distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Silâra or Śilâhâra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jîmûtavâhana the son of Jîmûtaketu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyâdharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śamkhachûda by offering himself as a victim to Garuḍa in his place.<sup>1</sup> One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was *Tagarapuravarâdhîśvara* or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kâmvadeva, the donor of the Râjâpur grant, who was a Châlukya, called himself *Kalyânapuravarâdhîśvara* and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage and of the rulers of Goa was *Banavâśîpura varâdhîśvara*. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyâna

<sup>1</sup> This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play *Nâgânanda* attributed to S'ri-Harsha.



and Banavâsi, so does *Tagarapuravarâdhîs'vara* show that the Silâhâras who bore the title belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Silâhâra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Silâhâra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara."<sup>1</sup> As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Silâhâra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Andhra-bhṛitya period and the foundation of the Châlukya power.

Tagara, the original seat of the family.

The three Silâhâra dynasties of Mahâmaṇḍales'varas or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded in the times of the Râshtrakûtas. One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Purî, which probably was at one time the capital of the province. As represented in an inscription at Kânheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullasâkti by Amoghavarsha a few years before Sâka 775. Another Silâhâra family established itself in Southern Konkan. The founder or first chief named Sanaphulla enjoying the favour of Krishnarâja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.<sup>2</sup> There were three Râshtrakûta princes of the name of Krishnarâja, but the one meant here must be the first prince of that name who reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Sâka era or between 753 and 775 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The genealogy of this dynasty is given in the Khârepâtan grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Sâka 930 while the Châlukya king Satyâsraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Khârepâtan.

The North Konkan branch.

The South Konkan branch.

<sup>1</sup> Grant translated by Dr. Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III. शिलाहारस्ववंशोयं तगरेश्वरभूताम् ।

<sup>2</sup> Khârepâtan plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217. The name of the first chief is read "Jhallaphulla" by Bâl Gaṅgâdhara S'âstri; but the first letter looks like स though there is some difference. That difference, however, brings it nearer to श. The letter which was read by him as ह is clearly ण. For देशसंभावनो I find देशसंसाधनो on the plates.

<sup>3</sup> From Sanaphulla the first chief to Ratta the last there are ten generations. Somehow each succeeding chief in this line happens to be the son of the preceding. Though in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation of brother or uncle the average duration of each reign is from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world. Ratta was on the throne in Sâka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about  $27 \times 9$  years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Sâka 930. Subtracting  $27 \times 9 = 243$  from 930, we have Sâka 687 as the approximate date of Sanaphulla. If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date. In either case we are brought to the reign of Krishna I. The dates of Krishna II. range from Sâka 799 to 833 and of Krishna III. from Sâka 867 to 878, and therefore neither of these will do. Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case and subtract  $19 \times 9 = 171$  from 930, we get Sâka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Krishna II., whose earliest date is Sâka 799 while the latest of his predecessor is Sâka 795. The Khârepâtan family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Krishna I.

Bâl S'âstri read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu; but the second syllable of the name is certainly not ह the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the र in the word परमभदारक and आवदनानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

## EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

The Kolhâpur  
branch.

The third Śilâhâra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhâpur, Miraj, and Karhâd, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory. This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Râshtrakûta empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nâyimma or Nâyivarman. Nâyimma was followed by his son Chandrarâja, and Chandrarâja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhâlâ."<sup>1</sup> Jatiga's son and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Karahâta-Kunđi<sup>2</sup> and Mairiñja and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Gûvala, Kîrtirâja, and Chandrâditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Mârasimha the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Śaka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples; and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Kihiligili, which probably was another name of Panhâlâ in the Kolhâpur districts. Mârasimha was succeeded by his son Gûvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. Bhoja's two brothers Ballâla and Gaṇḍarâditya governed the principality after him in succession.

Jatiga, the founder.

An inscription at Kolhâpur mentions another brother named Gaṅgadeva and the order in which the brothers are spoken of is Gûvala, Gaṅga, Ballâla, Bhoja, and Gaṇḍarâditya.<sup>3</sup> But the grants of Gaṇḍarâditya and Bhoja II. agree in representing Bhoja as the elder and Ballâla as the younger brother, and in omitting Gaṅga.

Gaṇḍarâditya.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gaṇḍarâditya seems to have been the most famous. He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâl Indraji<sup>4</sup>, and in others recorded on stone at Kolhâpur and in the districts. His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, and 1058.<sup>5</sup> He ruled over the country of Miriñja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhâpur Śilâhâras before 1032. Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Gomka or soon after. From the grant of Bhoja II. it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Dekkan Śilâhâras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Khârepâtan grant,<sup>6</sup> wherefore it follows that the Śilâhâras of southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhâpur districts. Gaṇḍarâditya fed a hundred thousand Brâhmins at Prayâga, the modern Allahâbâd. He built a Jaina temple at Âjarem, a village in

<sup>1</sup> See the grant of Gaṇḍarâditya published in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 2, of Mârasimha in Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 280, and Arch. Surv. W. I., No. 10., p. 102, and of Bhoja II. in Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom., Vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> Mârasimha's grant. Kundi or Kuhnđi was some part of the Belgaum district; see note 8, p. 86. Mairiñja is Miraj.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 4, Major Graham's Report.

<sup>4</sup> In *loc. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Bhagvânâlâl's plates, and Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2 and 3, Major Graham's Report. The Śaka in Bhagvânâlâl's grant and No. 1 of Major Graham's inscriptions is the same, *i. e.*, 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but the cyclic years are different. As to this see Appendix B.

<sup>6</sup> For the village granted is Kafell, which is near Jaitâpur and Khârepâtan.

the Kolhâpur districts<sup>1</sup>, and constructed a large tank, called after him *Gaṇḍasamudra* or "the sea of Gaṇḍa," at Irukudî in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of Îśvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land. Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good and just government are extolled.<sup>2</sup> He first resided at a place called Tiravâḍa and afterwards at Valavâṭa, which has been identified with the present Valavdem.<sup>3</sup>

Gaṇḍarâditya was succeeded by his son Vijayârka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073.<sup>4</sup> He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thâṇâ to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky.<sup>5</sup> He assisted Vijjana<sup>6</sup> or Vijjala in his revolt against his masters, the Châlukyās of Kalyâṇa, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty. This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Śaka.

After Vijayârka, his son Bhoja II. became Mahâmandalêśvara and reigned in the fort of Panhâlâ. His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127.<sup>7</sup> He granted the village of Kaśeî in Konkan near Khârepâṭan on the application of his son Gaṇḍarâditya for feeding Brâhman regularly<sup>8</sup>; and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also. Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhâpur are called Karahâṭakas, which shows that the caste of Karhâde Brâhman had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of *Ghaisâsa*, which is now found among Chitpâvan Brâhman.<sup>9</sup> In the reign of Bhoja II, a Jaina Paṇḍit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled *S'abdarṇavachandrikâ*<sup>10</sup> on Pûjyapâda's Sanskrit Grammar. The Kolhâpur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. Vijjala, the new sovereign at Kalyâṇa, however, endeavoured probably to establish his authority over Bhoja. But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection Vijjala marched against Kolhâpur a little before his assassination in Śaka 1089.<sup>11</sup> On the establishment of the power of the Devagiri Yâdavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence; but Singhana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yâdava empire.<sup>12</sup>

Vijayârka.

Bhoja II.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., vol. x, p. 76, note.

<sup>2</sup> His grant in *loc. cit.* <sup>3</sup> Bhagvânâl's plates and Major Graham's Ins. No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ins. Nos. 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report. <sup>5</sup> Grant of Bhoja II. in *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> In the transcript of the inscription in Vol. IV. Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom., we have Vlkshana for Vijjana. There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the inscription or of the engraver. For the Kalachuri usurper at Kalyâṇa is called both Vijjala or Vijjana in his inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayârka obtained the position of a Chakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the inscription.

<sup>7</sup> Major Graham's Ins. Nos. 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind. Ant., vol. x., p. 76, note.

<sup>8</sup> There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given.

<sup>9</sup> Ins. No. 8, Major Graham's Report.

<sup>10</sup> Ind. Ant. vol. x, p. 76, note. The manuscript here mentioned is in the Dekkan College library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note.

<sup>11</sup> Vijalarâya Charitra in Wilson's Mackerle MSS., p. 320. <sup>12</sup> Sec. xv., pp. 82-83.

Approximate date  
of the foundation  
of the Kolhápúr  
branch

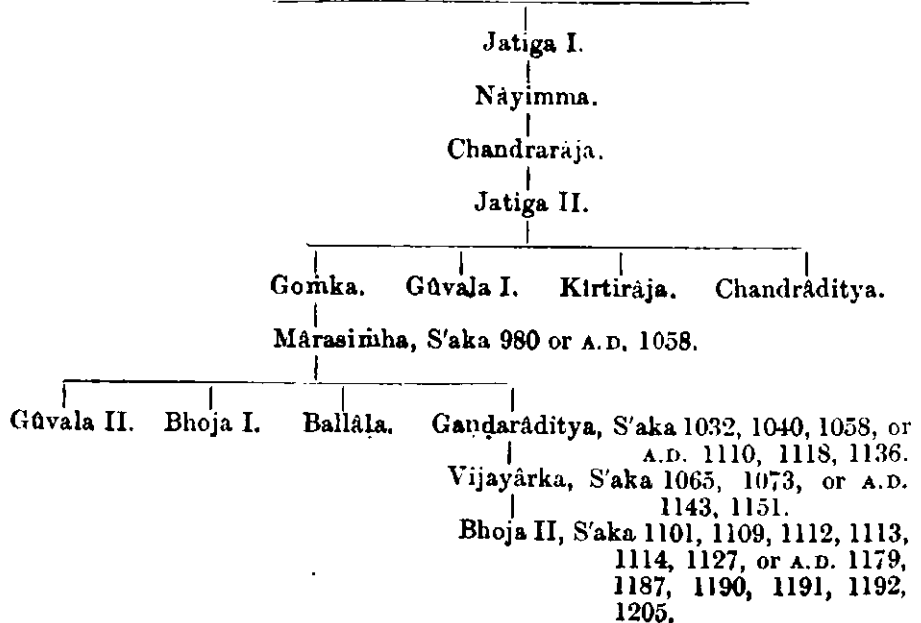
The number of generations from Jatiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gaṇḍarāditya is seven. The latest date of the latter is S'aka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayārka is 1065; so that if we suppose Gaṇḍarāditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at S'aka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family. At that time the reigning Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign was Kṛishṇā III., the uncle of Kakkala the last prince.

Religion of the  
Kolhápúr Śilāhāras.

One of the many titles used by the Śilāhāras was *Srīman-Mahālaksh-  
mī-labdha-vara-prasāda*, i. e., "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahālakshmi." Mahālakshmi was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purānic and Vedic religion; but they patronized both Brāhman and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact noticed above of Gaṇḍarāditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him.

There are at the present day many Marāṭhā families of the name of Selāra reduced to poverty, and the name Selāravādī of a station on the railway from Khaṇḍālā to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara.

Genealogy of the Śilāhāras of Kolhápúr.



## APPENDIX A.

*Note on the Gupta Era.*

In order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over western and northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Gujarât in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas. He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas.

Now in some of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs the dates are referred to *Guptakâla* or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true. This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, *viz.*, that the era was posterior to the Śaka by 241 years. But it has nothing whatever to do with it. Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the Śaka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true. On the other hand his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants. Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case. Albiruni was also informed that the Śaka era was the epoch of the defeat of the Śaka king by Vikramāditya. This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Sodhala, in his commentary on Bhâskarâchârya's *Karanakutûhala*, a manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government last year, tells us that "the epoch when Vikramāditya killed Mlechchhas of the name of Śakas is ordinarily known as the Śaka era." But we know that in Maṅgalîśa's inscription at Bâdâmi it is spoken of as the era of the "coronation of the Śaka king"; that Ravikîrti in the inscription at Aihole describes it as the era of the Śaka kings and that it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the Śaka era does his statement about the initial date of that era. The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, *viz.*, that the Guptas were exterminated in Śaka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era. If the inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Śaka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year. But if instead of that we declare that they ceased to reign in Śaka 242, we in effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous has been proved to be erroneous.

## EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhî era was the same seems to some not "at all probable." To my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence. We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it. So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty. Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthumous son. The dates, therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era. What, then, could have been the Valabhî era, if it was never used by the Valabhî princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced. The era used by the Valabhî princes must be the Valabhî era. One certainly would expect that it should be so. The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhîs in Surâshtra and used by them was called the Valabhî era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty; for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhî princes themselves. The era introduced and used by the Valabhîs was that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhî eras was the same is true. From an inscription at Somanâth discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Śaka 242 was the first year of the Valabhî era. Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Śaka, as stated by Albiruni.

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough. Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Śaka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further. The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date :—

1. The date of Budha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Āshâdha, in the Gupta year 165.
2. Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahâvaiśâkha.
3. Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahâśvayuja.
4. Râjâ Hastin's inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahâchaitra.
5. Râjâ Samkshobha's inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahâśvayuja.
6. An eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Morvi copperplate grant dated 5th Phâlguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era.

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241 years posterior to the Śaka. To convert a Śaka date into a Valabhî date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241. And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Śaka corresponds to 712 Valabhî or Gupta. We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the *past* year and in about a third of the instances, the *current* year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is

the past year. If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into the current Śaka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former; while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241.

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta 165 + 241 = 406 Śaka. If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Āshādha Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Keru Lakshman Chhatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it *was* a Thursday. Since our astronomical methods are based on the past Śaka year, and even our present Śaka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 *was* a past year, as well as Śaka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. Śaka 406 corresponds to 484 A.D. General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A.D., adding  $240 + 78 = 318$  to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Āshādha Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday." If, however, he had added  $241 + 78 = 319$  and taken 484 A.D. to correspond to Gupta 165, he would have arrived at the correct result.

Then as to the dates in years of the 12-year cycle, General Cunningham himself has placed before us the means of verifying them. In the tables published by him in Volume X. of the Archaeological Reports, the cyclic year corresponding to the *current* Christian year is given, and if we subtract 78 from the number representing the year, we shall arrive at the *current* Śaka year. Now, if we take the Gupta figured dates to represent the years that had elapsed before the cyclic year commenced, (and this way of marking the dates is, as remarked above, the one we usually find), then 173 Gupta, the third date in the above, corresponds to 414 Śaka *past* and 415 *current*, 241 being added in the first case, and 242 in the second. If we add 78 to 415 we shall get the *current* Christian year, which is 493. Now in General Cunningham's tables we do find the year *Mahāśvayuja* given as corresponding to 493 A.D. In the same way, 191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 433 Śaka *current*, + 78 = 511 A.D. *current*. In the tables we find 511 put down under *Mahāchaitra*. Similarly 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 Śaka *current*, + 78 = 529 A.D. *current* which was *Mahāśvayuja*.

Now, as to the first of the dates in the 12-year cycle, 156 Gupta + 242 + 78 is equal to 476 A.D., which however is Mahāchaitra instead of Mahāvaiśākha. Here there is a discrepancy of one year; but such discrepancies do sometimes occur even in Śaka dates and the years of the 60-years cycle given along with them, and some of them will be noticed in the note forming the next Appendix. They are probably due to the fact that the frequent use of the past or expired year and also of the current year led sometimes the *past* year to be mistaken for the *current* year, just as we *now* mistake the year 1805 Śaka for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157. Now 157 Gupta + 242 + 78 = 477 A.D., which is *Mahāvaiśākha*, according to the tables.

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaiśākha, Śaka 827. The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the *current* year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta *past*; for  $585 + 242 = 827$ . It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of Phālguna Sudi mentioned in the grant. For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in Vaiśākha and the deed executed in Phālguna.

I have thus shown that Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests. It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A.D. and 190 A.D. proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley respectively. But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds; for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them.

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albiruni. The date on a copper-plate grant by the last Ś'ilāditya of Valabhî hitherto known is 447. This Ś'ilāditya is also styled Dhrûbhata in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhata of Hwan Thsang who visited Valabhî in 640 A.D. The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added it, corresponds to 766 A.D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Ś'ilāditya or Dhrûbhata nearer to the date of Hwan Thsang's visit. But the identification of the last Ś'ilāditya with Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata cannot stand. In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of a *king* but of *kings*, and says they were nephews of Ś'ilāditya of Mālvā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mālvā they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Ś'ilāditya of Valabhî was his father, and among the kings of Valabhî we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period. There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena. They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhata. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhata*. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rāv are among us the Marāthās. Sena, Simha, and Bhata were the Valabhî honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasimha may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Thsang must have got the name. Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310 and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV. is 326. The first corresponds to 629 A.D. ( $310 + 241 + 78 = 629$ ), and the second to 645 ( $326 + 241 + 78 = 645$ ). It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A.D. at the time when Hwan Thsang visited Valabhî.

The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent. I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based as it must have been on contemporary evidence as his statements about the Śaka and Vikrama eras were. I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley are not. We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhîs were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence. Chandragupta II. must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 93. This corresponds to 260 A.D. and 283 A.D. on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A.D., and 190 A.D. respectively. Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 304. If the era to which it refers is the Śaka, it corresponds to 382 A.D., that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have



reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Chandragupta II. The S'aka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 248 A.D., which of course is consistent with Chandragupta's date 260 A.D. or 283 A.D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradâman's 72 must correspond to 16 A.D. Rudradâman's grandfather Chashtana will have to be placed about B.C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A.D., tells us that Ujjayini was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Chashtana. Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old. It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baithana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios." Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer *may* mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud." As to this I have to observe that the analogy does not hold good. A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India. A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place. It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance. For Baleucuros who according to him held power in Hippocura was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Pulumâyi and Gotamiputra Yajña S'ri, since as Vilivâyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kollhâpur coins. Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India and these from the natives of the country. And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two. But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him were. No ground whatever has however been adduced in support of such a supposition. In the Periplus which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned but Polemios and Tiastenes are not. On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided." If Tiastenes lived before him and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud, of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the Periplus to have noticed him, especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene. Tiastenes, Polemios, and Baleucuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been.

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates. Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ. Since, then, the use of no other era

at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the Śaka era. The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the Śakas who ruled over the country in every way probable. The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A.D., and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 Śaka or 320 A.D. as the initial date of the Gupta era; for his 93 *past* will then correspond to 412 A.D. And in this way Rudradâman's 72 will correspond to 150 A.D.; and Chashtana's date will be about 130 A.D., *i.e.*, anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years.

Pandit Bhagvânâlâl has recently published a facsimile, transcript, and translation of a grant by Śryâśraya Śilâditya, son of Jayasinhavarman the founder of the Gujarât branch of the early Châlukya dynasty. The date occurring in it is 421. The Pandit also mentions a grant by Vinayâditya Yuddhamalla, the brother of Śryâśraya the date of which is Śaka 653. What era the first date refers to is not stated, but it certainly cannot be the Śaka or the Vikrama. It must therefore be the Gupta which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujarât and which the Valabhî princes themselves are said to have used. If so, neither 167 A.D. nor 190 A.D. will do as the initial date of that era; for then 421 would correspond to 588 A.D. and 611 A.D. respectively, while Yuddhamalla's date is 731 A.D. The distance of time between the brothers would thus be 143 and 120 years which is impossible. The only initial date of the Gupta era, therefore, that will bring the brothers close together is that given by Albiruni *etc.*, 242 Śaka; for Śryâśraya's date thus becomes 662 Śaka, while his brother's is 653 Śaka. Those who believe that the Valabhî princes themselves did not use the Valabhî era can have little ground to suppose that any other rival dynasty did it, and that Śryâśraya's date refers to that era; but if it does, the Valabhî era is, as I have already observed, the same as the Gupta era. Pandit Bhagvânâlâl, however, in a paper recently published refers Śryâśraya's date to an unknown era with 250 A.D. as its initial date. But even thus the interval between the two brothers becomes sixty years, which unquestionably is too long. For Śryâśraya's 421 corresponds under the supposition to 671 A.D. and Vinayâditya's 653 Śaka to 731 A.D. The grounds adduced for the supposition of a new era appear to me to be very questionable. Dadda II. of the Gûrjara dynasty, whose date is 380, is spoken of in a grant to have protected a prince of Valabhî who had been hard pressed by Harshadeva. This Harshadeva is supposed by the Pandit to be Harshavardhana of Kanoj, the contemporary of Hwan Thsang and Pulakeśi II. of the Dekkan. But the Chinese traveller represents the king of Valabhî as the son-in-law of Harshavardhana's son and consequently a friend of the monarch rather than an enemy. Even granting for a time that the Umetâ and the Ilâo grants of Dadda II., the dates of which are 400 and 417 Śaka respectively, are forgeries, it is not, I think, too much to expect the forgers to be pretty accurate as regards the time when the prince in whose name they executed the forgeries lived. The dates 380 and 385 therefore of the Kherâ grants of Dadda refer not unlikely, to the Śaka era. And Dadda may have lived to Śaka 417 corresponding to 495 A.D. This brings us down to about the time of Harsha of Ujjayini who may have been the monarch from whom Dadda protected the Valabhî prince. The second ground on which the supposition of the existence of a new era is based is that in the opening passage of another grant of Śryâśraya, Vinayâditya Satyâśraya Vallabha is praised. This Vinayâditya the Pandit identifies with the sovereign of the Dekkan of that name. But I should think it to be more natural to understand him as the brother of Śryâśraya, the donor of the grant dated 653 Śaka. For this last is not called *Varanija* while Śryâśraya is, and from this it appears that the latter was his brother's

• associate in the administration and governed a province as his Viceroy. It is on this account that the brother's name is mentioned at the beginning of the grant. The title Satyâśraya Vallabha was promiscuously applied to all Châlukya rulers. The date Śaka 653 of Vinayâditya Yuddhamalla of Gujarât also does not harmonize with the supposition that his brother was the contemporary of Vinayâditya of the Dekkan. The two astronomical coincidences mentioned by Mr. Fleet in his note on the Paṇḍit's paper in themselves prove nothing, unless it is shown that the coincidences do not occur when the dates 456 and 486 of the Navsârî and Kâvî grants are understood as referring to any one of the well known eras. Besides, if this new era was in such extensive use in Gujarât, surely we must meet with some allusion to it in some Gujarât inscription or literary work from the earliest times to those of Albiruni. As the question however has no direct bearing on the point under discussion in this note, I need not go  
 • into it further.

Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming.



## APPENDIX B.

*Note on the Śaka dates and the years of the Bārhaspatya cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions.*

There are certain difficulties with reference to the Śaka dates and the cyclic years or *Samvatsaras* occurring in the inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current Śaka year (A.D. 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, *Subhānu*. In the southern provinces and the Madras Presidency the current Śaka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same. The first question then is, "Do the dates in the inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning?" and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year?" We have also to consider whether the Śaka dates in the inscriptions represent the number of years that have expired before the event recorded in them or the current year in which the event took place.

Mr. Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the Śaka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current Śaka year corresponding to that cyclic year is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against Śaka 855, the date of the Sāngalī grant of Govind IV. of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, we have in the third column the cyclic year *Vijaya* which shows that 855 years of the Śaka era had expired before the *Vijaya* year began, while the current Śaka year corresponding to *Vijaya* was that given in the next line, viz. 856. Mr. Sewell follows the Madras reckoning. If we interpret the tables according to the Bombay mode, the Śaka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current Śaka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year *Subhānu*, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the Śaka dates and cyclic years occurring in the inscriptions with those in the tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above.

In the analysis of Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kānarese inscriptions published by Mr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess there are 97 cases in which the Śaka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On comparing these with the Tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given Śaka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the inscription. These are :—

Nos. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102, 109, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 189, 201, 214, 215, 219, 229, 230 (first part), 240, 241, 243, 283, 286.

Thus in inscription No. 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the *Bahudhānya*, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables.

In 28 cases the Śaka date given in the inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs. These are :—

Nos. 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 89, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 194, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281.

In No. 19, for instance, the Śaka date is 1184 and the cyclic year *Durmāti*. In the tables, *Durmāti* occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and *Dundubhi* is the year marked against it.

Now on the supposition that the inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the Śaka date represents the number of Śaká years that *had expired* before the current cyclic year of the inscription, and in 28 it shows the *current* year of that era. If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current year and those in the next 28, the *future* year and not the *past*. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the inscriptions give the *past* Śaka year, there is a large number in which the *current* year is given and not the *past*.

I have also compared other dates with the tables, and the result I give below :—

	S'aka date.	Cyclic year.	What the S'aka date represents.
Kânarese grant of Govinda III.			
Râshtrakûta ... ..	726	Subhânu ...	Current year.
Râdhanpur grant of do. ...	730	Sarvajit ...	Do.
Krishna II or Akâlavarsha, comple- tion of the Jaina Purâna ...	820	Piṅgala ...	Do.
Do., in a Jaina temple by Chî- kârya ... ..	824	Dundubhi ...	Years elapsed.
Govind IV., Sâṅgali grant ...	855	Vijaya ...	Do.
Kakkala, Kardâ grant ... ..	894	Aṅgiras ...	Do.
Tailapa's accession ... ..	895	S'rimukha ...	Do.
Satyâsraya, Khârepâtan plates of Ratta ... ..	930	Kilaka ...	Do.
Jayasimha Jagadekamalla, Miraj grant ... ..	946	Raktâkshi ...	Do.
Mârasimha Śilâhâra of Kolhâpur, grant ... ..	980	Vilambin ...	Do.
Gaṇḍarâditya do., Kolhâpur Ins. No. 1 ... ..	1032	Vikṛiti ...	Do.
Do. do. grant trans- lated by Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâ... ..	1032	Virodhin ...	Current year.
Do. Kolhâpur Ins. No. 2 ...	1040	Vilambin ...	Years elapsed.
Vijayârka do. do. No. 4 ...	1065	Dundubhi ...	Current year.
Someśvara III. Bhûlokamalla, Abhi- lashita Chintâmani ... ..	1051	Saumya ...	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II., Kolhâpur Ins. No. 6...	1101	Vilambin ...	Current year.
Do. do. „ No. 8 ... ..	1112	Sâdhârâna ...	Years elapsed.
Do. Dr. Taylor's grant. ...	1113	Virodhin ...	Do.
Do. Kolhâpur Ins. No. 8. ...	1114	Paridhâvin ...	Do.
Singhana Yâdava, Khedrâpur Ins ...	1136	S'rimukha ...	Current year.
Kâmvadeva Châlukya ... ..	1182	Randra ...	Years elapsed.
Mahâdeva Yâdava, Pandharpur Ins.	1192	Pramoda ...	Do.
Râmachandra Yâdava, Thâna ...	1194	Aṅgiras ...	Do.
Do. do. do. ... ..	1212	Virodhin ...	Current year.

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, *viz.*, 1 to 2. In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others. The inscriptions of the early Châlukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake. We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as *gateshu*, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as *pravartamâne*, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped, and in the course of time, the sense, to express which they were used, was also forgotten and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year. There are a few dates in the inscriptions which indicate such a mistake as this. Thus in No. 86 of the Pâli, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions, Śaka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikriti. Now, according to the tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikriti was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that Śaka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911. The same is the case with Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the Śaka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them. In some cases the Śaka dates are in advance of the *Samvatsara* or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vani-Diṇḍori grant of Govinda III. the Śaka date is 730 and the *Samvatsara Vyaya*, and in the Kânheri inscription of Amoghavarsha we have Śaka 775 and the *Prajâpati Samvatsara*. Now the Śaka years immediately preceding Vyaya and *Prajâpati* were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. The dates in these inscriptions may be explained on the supposition that 730 and 775 were the current Śaka years, while instead of the current cyclic years *Sarvajit* and *Anḡiras*, the *past Samvatsaras Vyaya* and *Prajâpati* were given as the *past Śaka* years were given in so many cases; in other words the usual process was inverted in these two cases.

The date in No. 79 of the Pâli, Sanskrit, and old Kânarese inscriptions is three years behind the current *Samvatsara*, and that in No. 228, four years; No. 221 has 1113 for 1121; and No. 246, 1492 for 1485. These must be considered to be positive mistakes.

The Śaka dates given in the preceding pages represent in *most* cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned. Thus "in 855" means *after 855 years of the Śaka era had expired*.





## APPENDIX C.

Introduction to Hemâdri's Vratakhanda.

In the critical notes D. represents the Ms. in the Dekkan College Library, No. 234 of A. 1881-82; S. the Ms. belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No. 657; Kh. the Ms. belonging to Khâsgivâle, and G. the Ms. procured by Gaṅgâdhar Śāstrî Dâtâr. See Section XIV., p. 75, note 2.

\* श्रीगोपालमपारवैभवभवस्वच्छन्दलीलालयं  
सान्द्रस्निग्धतमालकोमलदलश्यामाभिरामाकृतिम् ।  
कूजत्कोकिलकामिनीकलरवप्रोलासिगोपाङ्गना-  
गीतस्फीतपवित्रचित्रचरितव्रातं नमस्कुर्महे ॥ १ ॥  
उन्मीलत्कमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विबुद्धप्रभं  
सारासारविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन संसेवितम् ।  
नित्यानन्दपरागसङ्गसुभगं वन्दारुवृन्दारक-  
श्रेणीभङ्गमनङ्गवैरिचरणाभोजद्वयं पातु वैः ॥ २ ॥

\*These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S., but they occur fully in D. and Kh. which contain the shorter Praśasti. In G. which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other.

१ सङ्ग for भङ्ग D. Kh. २ नः for वः D. Kh.

## Rājapraśasti I

जीयान्नूतनभूतसर्गसमयाविर्भावसंभावना-  
तुष्यत्तैल्यभुजङ्गपुङ्गवशिरःश्रेणीशतिर्वन्दितः ।  
कल्पान्तोपरमेषु नाभिकमले प्रोद्दामसामस्वर-  
स्वैरोच्चारणचारणायितविधिव्याधूतनिद्रो हरिः ॥ १ ॥  
अस्ति प्रशस्तं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शय्यागृहं क्षीरमयः पयोधिः ।  
यदीयपीयूषरसायनेन स्वर्लोकभाजामजरामरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥  
संतानचिन्तामणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमश्रीजननैकहेतोः ।  
सिन्धोरमुष्मादुदभूदमन्दानिस्यन्दमानामृतविन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥  
ततस्तनूजं विबुधप्रधानं बुध सुधादीधितिरप्यसूत ।  
बभूव तस्मादथ चक्रवर्ती पुरुवाः पुण्यपथानुवर्ती ॥ ४ ॥  
अभजत जनिसस्मादायुरायुः प्रजानां  
नघुषपदानिदानं ज्योतिरासीत्ततोपि ।

१. जायान्नू० S. जीवन्नू० G. २. जल्प० S. तुल्प. G. ३. ०मानो G. मानी S.  
४. प्रतापं for प्रधानं G. ५. स्वा० for पथा० S. ६. जन S. जाति G. for जनि.

नृपतिरथ ययातिः ख्यातिमानप्यमुष्माद-  
यमपि यदुमूर्तिं कीर्तिमाविश्वकार ॥ ५ ॥

यदोरदोषविशदैर्यशोभिरभिशोभितः

अन्ववायः स एवायमवाप यदुवंशताम् ॥ ६ ॥

ततः क्रोष्टा तस्मादजानि वृजिनीवानपि तृप-  
स्ततो जज्ञे राज्ञः क्षितिपतिरिह स्वाहित इति ।

नृशङ्कुस्तत्पुत्रः समभवदथो चित्ररथ इ-

त्यतो जातः ख्यातः स किल शशबिन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥

ततः पृथुश्रवा वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।

ततः सुयज्ञ उशनाः सितेयुरिति च क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥

सूनुस्तस्य मरुत्त इत्यनुपमः प्रोद्दामदोर्विक्रम-  
स्तस्मात्कम्बलबर्हिरुज्ज्वलयशाः प्रक्षालितक्षमातलः ।

एतस्मादुदियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्नृप-

स्तस्माद्भूरितुरंगमेधिसुकृती राजाजानि ज्यामयः ॥ ९ ॥

ततो विदर्भः क्रथकुन्तिवृष्णिनिवृत्तिसंज्ञाः परतो दशार्हः ।

व्योमौ च जीमूत इति क्रमेण जाता नरेन्द्रा विकृतिश्च वीरः ॥ १० ॥

तदनु भीमरथः पृथिवीपतिर्नवरथश्च ततो रथिनां वरः ।

दशरथः शकुनिश्च करम्भिरित्युपदिशन्ति पुराणपरायणाः ॥ ११ ॥

देवराजस्ततः श्रीमान्देवक्षेत्रस्ततो मधुः ।

ततः कुरुबलो राजा पुरुहोत्रः क्रमाद्भूत् ॥ १२ ॥

अथायुरासीदथ सात्वतोभूदथान्धकोस्माद्भुजमानसंज्ञः ।

विदूरथस्तत्परतोपिशूररैशिः प्रतिकेत्र इति क्षितीशः ॥ १३ ॥

बभूवाथ स्वयंभोजस्ततोपि हृदिकोभवत् ।

असूत सोपि धर्मात्मा राजानं देवमीदुषम् ॥ १४ ॥

निर्विशानिःशेषितवैरिपूरस्ततः क्षितिं पालयति स्म शूरः ।

ततोपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विश्वहेतोरपि हेतुरासीत् ॥ १५ ॥

वृन्दारवृन्दारकवृन्दमौलिमन्दारमालासुरभीकृताङ्घ्रिः ।

आसीदमुष्मादसुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा सुरारिः ॥ १६ ॥

१. मूर्तिः S. मूर्ति G. २. स्याहित S. स्ताहित G. ३. व्योमावृ S. व्योमाय G.  
४. नाम for राजा G. ५. ०न्धकस्मा० G. S. ६. So both Mss. But there must  
be a mistake. The name of Śūra's son शोणि is disguised as राशि. Perhaps the  
reading is शूरशोणी. ७. पुरा सुरारिः S.

बभूव प्रद्युम्नः किल कुसुमधन्वा मधुरिपोः  
 त्रिलोकीवीरोसौ तनयमनिरुद्धं प्रसुषुवे ।  
 ततो भूमृत्पक्षपणानिपुणेनैव महसा  
 परिस्फूर्जन्वृजः शतमखसखः प्रादुरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥  
 वज्रस्य सूनुः प्रतिबाहुरासीदासीकृतक्षमापतिचक्रवालः ।  
 ततोपि सम्राडभवत्सुबाहुः प्रासूत सोयं चतुरस्तनूजान् ॥ १८ ॥  
 तेन ते सार्वभौमेन तनया विनयान्विताः ।  
 विभज्य वसुधाचक्रं चाक्रिरे पृथिवीश्वराः ॥ १९ ॥  
 यथाविभागं वसुधामशेषां तेषां तदा पालयतां चतुर्णां ।  
 दृढप्रहारी दिशि दक्षिणस्यां प्रभुर्बभूव प्रथमान्(त्क?) कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥  
 सर्वेपि पूर्वं मथुराधिनाथाः कृष्णादितो द्वारवतीश्वरास्ते ।  
 सबाहुसूनोरनु दक्षिणाशाप्रशासिनो यादववंशबीराः ॥ २१ ॥  
 ततः स राजा निजराजधानीमधिष्ठितः श्रीनगरं गरीयः ।  
 लेभे सुतं सेउणचन्द्रसंज्ञं यत्संज्ञया सेउणदेशमाहुः ॥ २२ ॥  
 अथ धाडियसो महीपतिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव भिल्लमः ।  
 अजनिष्ट ततोपि राजगिस्तदनु प्रादुरभूत्स बाहुगिः ॥ २३ ॥  
 जज्ञे धाडियमस्ततः प्रतिभटक्षमापालकालानलः  
 तस्मादाविरभूत्प्रभूतविभवो भर्ता भुवो भिल्लमः ।  
 एतस्मान्महसां महानिधिर्सौ श्रीवेसुगिर्जाज्ञिवान्  
 हन्ता भीष्मभुजिज्ञेसामसहदां तस्मादभूदर्जुनः ॥ २४ ॥  
 अजस्रमाविष्कृतदानवारिः प्रभूतहस्तार्चितदानवारिः ।  
 ततः स राजा विरराज राजश्रियो विलसैर्जितराजराजः ॥ २५ ॥  
 आसीद्विलासी नृपतेरमुष्मात्स भिल्लमः पल्लवितोऽकीर्तिः ।  
 स बाहुगिः स्वाहुगिरां कवीनां स्तोत्रैर्कपर्त्त्रिं भवति स्म तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥  
 ततो महीं महीपालः पालयामास वेसुगिः ।

१. परिस्फूर्जन्वृजः S.; G. is totally incorrect and there is a lacuna.

२. The Purânic genealogy ends here. Subâhu, however, is there called Suchâ-

ru. ३. स बाहुगिः S. सुबाहुदुणः G. ४. This is the reading both of S. and G.

probably for धाडियस. But the name according to Paṇḍit Bhagvānlâl's grant  
was धाडियप्प. ५. This appears to be a mistake for भीष्मभुजौजसामसहदां. G.

has ०मसुहदाकस्मा० ६. पाव S. पावै G. for पात्रं. ७. The visarga is dropped in

both Mss.

संहतप्रोद्यदुदामधामसामन्तसंततिः ॥ २७ ॥  
 ततोपि नृपभिल्लमः समरसीमभीमक्रिया-  
 निरर्गलभुजार्गलायुगलकाललीलालयः ।  
 ततः समदमेदिनीपतिपतङ्गभङ्गव्रतः  
 प्रतापशिखिलिङ्घितत्रिजगदङ्गणः सेउणः ॥ २८ ॥  
 समुद्रृतो येन महाभुजेन द्विषां विमर्दीत्परमर्दिदेवः ।  
 आस्थापि चालुक्यकुलप्रदीपः कल्याणराज्येपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥  
 परम्भदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वधूनेत्रव्रताम्बुवृष्टी ।  
 परम्भदेनेव रुचां चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिर व्यराजि ॥ ३० ॥  
 तस्मादनन्तरमनन्तभुजप्रतापः<sup>१</sup> क्षोणीपतिः समभक्तस हि सिंहिरान्तः ।  
 तस्यानुभुवचलयं बलीयान् अत्रायत त्रिजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥  
 लज्जीपुरात्समानीय कर्पूरतिलकं गजम् ।  
 स कर्पूरव्रतं पूर्णमकरोत्परनन्दितः ॥ ३२ ॥  
 तस्मादप्रतिमल्लोभूत् मङ्गुगिर्वल्लभः क्षितेः ।  
 उदजंभूतजम्भारिभूरिर्दामदंडेचण्डिमाः ॥ ३३ ॥  
 आसाद्य सद्यः स निर्वासहेतोः श्रीपर्णखेटं नगरं रिपुभ्यः ।  
 अहारि येनोत्कलभूमिपालादुत्तुङ्गमातङ्गघटा हठेन ॥ ३४ ॥  
 तस्मादमरगाङ्गेयः संबभूव भुवः पातिः ।  
 अथाविन्दत गोविन्दराजः साम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

१. Both Mss. have लंघितः त्रिजग०

२. Here S. ends and the following is based on G. only, which, as I have already observed, is an extremely incorrect manuscript.

३. ०प्रतापं Ms. ४. Three syllables have dropped out here. चलयं is evidently वलयं. I read the line thus:— तस्यानुजस्तदनु भुवलयं बलीयान्. तस्य refers to the previous King Paramma whose brother Siuha appears to be. The copyist, after having written तस्यानु thought this नु to be the नु at the end of तदनु and so omitted जस्तद. What I read as अत्रायत looks in the Ms. like अशयत्, but there is little doubt अत्रायत is the word intended. ५. This may be त्रंजीपुरात्. ६. The Ms. has व्रत्रं for व्रतं. ७. The Ms. omits लो. ८. The Ms. has मूलगि०

९. This line is bad. I read it thus:—उदजृम्भत जम्भारिभूरिर्दोर्दण्डचण्डिमा.

१०. निवास is निवाह in the Ms. ११. In the Ms. अहारि is अहोरि and उत्कल is उत्काल which violates the metre. १२. उत्तुङ्ग is उत्तंग in the Ms.

ततो मल्लुगिपुत्रोभूद्रूपालोमरमल्लागिः

अथ कालीयबल्लालः पालयामास मेदिनीं ॥ ३६ ॥

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुरक्ता यदुवंशलक्ष्मीः ।

श्रीभिल्लमं सस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्यात्रराजद्भुजमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥

यः श्रीवैर्द्धनमाससाद नगरं क्षोणीपतेरंसला

यः प्रत्यंडकभूभृतं च समरे दुष्टं त्यज-क्षणात् ।

यो वा मङ्गलवैष्टिकं क्षितिपतिं श्रीवज्रिणं जघ्निवान्

कल्याणश्रियमप्यवाप्य विदधे यो होलसेयं वशे ॥ ३८ ॥

स दण्डिका मण्डलमण्डयित्रीमपंकसंपत्प्रभवैर्विलासैः ।

चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरीशप्रसादसंसादितदिव्यशक्तिः ॥ ३९ ॥

तदनु मदनमूर्तिः कार्तिकीचन्द्रसंद

द्युतिविशदयशोभिः शोभिताशावर्काशः ।

अभवदवनिपालो जैत्रपालः करालः

प्रहरणरणरङ्गुत्तुङ्गदुत्तुङ्गखड्गः ॥ ४० ॥

दीक्षित्वा रणरङ्गदेवयज्ञेने प्रोदस्तशस्त्रस्त्रुर्वः

१. The Ms. has this line thus:— ततो मल्लगिरिः पुत्रोभूतभूपालोमरमल्लागिः. २. मेदिनी is देहिनी in the Ms. ३. भीश्रमं Ms. ४. अव्यात्र is unintelligible. ५. For श्री we have स्त्री in the Ms. and the र्द्ध is curiously written. ६. What the exact name of the king was it is difficult to say; अंसला is ungrammatical, and may have been intended for अंसलात्. ७. What this word is cannot be said with any certainty. A form of the root यज् will not do; perhaps जिगाय was meant. ८. As is very usual in Mss. the वे of this is written as if it were चे. ९. होलसेयं is very likely होयसेल, i. e., the Hoysala Yādava of Halebid. What I have put as वशे is in the Ms. वसु. १०. दण्डिका is written as दहिका in the Ms. ११. What this word is, it is difficult to say. What is wanted is a word like अनन्त, अतर्क्य &c. Possibly, it is अकम्प. संपत् is written as संप and विलासैः as विलासे १२. In the Ms. we have प्रसादमासादितं १३. Perhaps संद is meant for संघ. १४. The Ms. has विकाशः for अवकाशः. १५. देवययल in the Ms. The ल must be due to the copyist having mistaken ल which was the old form of writing ने for that letter. १६. सुवः is क्रेवः in the Ms.

श्रेणीभिर्जगतीपतीन्हुतवता येन प्रतापानले ।

तैलिङ्गाधिपतेः पशोर्विशसनं रौद्रस्यै राद्राकृतेः

कृत्वा पूरुषमेधयज्ञविधिना लब्धस्त्रिलोकीजयः ॥ ४१ ॥

तस्माद्भूदाभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः

३.

— — — — — पदं सिङ्गणदेवभूपः ।

उद्दण्डदोर्युगलगवितवैरिवर्ग-

सीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभानुः ॥ ४२ ॥

येनानीयत मत्तवारणघटा यज्जलभूमिभृतः

ककूलादवनीपतेरपहता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ।

येन क्षोणीभृदर्जुनोपि बलिना नीतः कथाशेषतां

येनोद्दामभुजेन भोजनृपतिः काराकुटुम्बीकृतः ॥ ४३ ॥

यद्गङ्गारिगकेसरी विनिकृतो लक्ष्मीधरः क्षमापति

यद्द्वैहावलिभिः प्रसह्य रुरुधे धाराधराधीश्वरः ।

बह्वालक्षितिपाललालितभुवां सर्वापहारश्च यः

श्रीसिंहस्य महीपतेर्विजयते यद्द्वैललीलायितम् ॥ ४४ ॥

कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रतीतौ जातौ ततः सिंहनृपस्य पीत्रौ ।

तयोस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात्— — — — — ४५

यर्नाकालिविशात्वविलसच्चमूसंहारकालानले

हतोन्मूलितमूलराजसमरे निर्वािरमुर्वीतले ।

येनानेकमहाफलकृतुकता संवर्धमानोनिशं

१. तैलिङ्ग is तल्लिंग in the Ms.

२. रौद्रस्य ought to be रुद्रस्य, unless the son of Rudradeva is meant. ३. There is a lacuna here; but this stanza must be the same as the sixth in the smaller Prasasti, and therefore the second line should be कर्तिः पदं जगति सिङ्गणदेवभूपः. ४ वर्ग is वैव in the Ms. ५. This line is thus written in the Ms.:—सीमन्तिनी-  
दनकैरवचंद्रभासान् । ६ In the Ms. we have यज्जल, but it violates the metre. ७. यद्द्वैहावलिभिः in the Ms. ८. We should read तद् for यद् here. ९. There is a lacuna here. १०. In these two lines, अकालि ought to be अकारि, हतो०, हुत्वो०, and उर्वीतले, उर्वीतलं, and the general sense is clear; but it is difficult to restore the original thoroughly.

क्षीणे कालवशात्पुनस्तृणतां धर्मोपि संप्रापितः ॥ ४६ ॥

ततः कृष्णे राजन्यमरतरुणीचामरमह

त्तरङ्गैरुत्तुङ्गं दिवि किमपि तेजः श्रितवाति ।

परित्राता भूमेः समजानि जगज्जित्वरमहा

महादेवः सेवारसिकसकलक्षमाभृतमुर्तः ॥ ४७ ॥

तैल्लिङ्गक्षितिपालतूलनिचयप्रक्षेपचण्डानिलो

गर्जदूर्जरगर्भपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।

हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भव-

क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथ वर्ण्यते ॥ ४८ ॥

यो भोजदेवान्नृपतेः प्रतापी जग्राह बाहं मदमन्दसत्त्वं ।

सार्धं— — दौत्सहजीवितेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि जहार राज्यम् ॥ ४९ ॥

यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठयूतदानाम्बुतराङ्गिणीषु ।

सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कुणेशः ॥ ५० ॥

सीमोल्लङ्घनमेव यस्य जगतां संहार इत्युच्यते

कुङ्के वज्रधरेपि यः क्षितिभृतं मैनाकमत्रायतं ।

स्मारं स्मारममुष्य दुःसहर्भहःसंदोहदावानलं

तेनाम्भोनिधिनापि कुङ्कणपतिर्नाराक्षि कुक्षिस्थितः ॥ ५१ ॥

बाँहानामपि यस्य वैरिविषयेष्यातन्वतां धन्विनां

मातिलिङ्गनृपाङ्गनादमुदितं बाह्यादिलीलाभवत् ।

यस्तस्यैव चरणे जहार करिणस्तत्पञ्चशब्दादिकान्

यस्तन्याज्यवधूवधाटुपरतस्तद्गुजुद्ममाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

१. This महा is omitted in the Ms., since it is followed by another महा and the copyist mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगतो जित्वरं जगज्जित्वरम् । जगज्जित्वरं महो यस्य स जगज्जित्वरमहाः. २. मुतः is of course a mistake; but whether नुतः, वृतः or सुतः was the original word is doubtful. ३. This stanza is the same as stanza 13 of the second Prasasti; and, therefore, I have corrected the mistakes of the Ms. by comparing the two, keeping only such words as deserved to be considered as different readings. ४. मदमन्दसत्त्वं : as an epithet of Mahâdeva involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is, probably, मदमन्दसत्त्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva.

५. Two letters are wanting here. Perhaps the word meant is समृद्धा. ६.

सोमेश्वर is written as सौम्येश्वर in the Ms. ७. मैनाकमित्रायत Ms. ८.

०मदः संदोह. Ms. ९. कुङ्कणपतिनरीक्षिकुक्षि० Ms. १०. There are so many

bad mistakes in this that an endeavour at restoration must be fruitless.

वंशो हिमंशो जयति पश्चिमीं पश्चिम-स राजा यद्विराजति ॥ ३ ॥

वयं वारिभक्तविक्रमस्य क्षीणीपतिः प्रहृष्टः ॥ ४ ॥

विन्दुं नदीं वृत्तिर्भूयः परवृत्तिः कर्तुं पतिः ॥ ४ ॥

नदीमत्सकत्सराजसमाजसूक्ष्मात्मिकपट्टीविहितविवर्तपट्टः ।

उदामदधुपुत्रपुत्रवृत्तिः श्रीमच्छमदवनिपतिः क्षीणः ॥ ५ ॥

वत्सवत्सुपुत्रपुत्रवृत्तिः कर्तुं पतिः पदं जगति सिद्धवत्सुपुत्रः ।

उदामदधुपुत्रपुत्रवृत्तिः कर्तुं पतिः कर्तुं पतिः ॥ ६ ॥

उदामदधुपुत्रपुत्रवृत्तिः कर्तुं पतिः कर्तुं पतिः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ सक्तकलानामात्म्यः पालनयः शिवितलमवनीः पूजामसौक्ष्मिकीव ।

अथवदवनिपतिः जैवृत्तिनाम तस्यदसमसमरधरद्विभूयत्सकः ॥ ७ ॥

स भूमिपतिः जनयवर्षं कलं महोदयमद्विपतिं च ।

द्विपत्य लोकास्य यथा पृथिविभूय-नामणि कर्तुंभूमयुदरम् ॥ ८ ॥

जन-नरैर्येषु परिधेय-नीं ज्येष्ठतरैः किल कर्तुंकेन ।

कवतवती यद्विराजवन्दी प्रीत्या पुनस्तानि च रामकणौ ॥ ९ ॥

धर्मपुत्रिणं नो साक्षात्पत्य-नीं वसुधरम् ।

विश्वस्य लोकाः सस्यार राजानो रामदस्यौ ॥ १० ॥

दस्यदस्यवजिबराणक्षीणीषु जित्वा वदन्

दस्योक्त्य तथाररा-वदितवान-पान-रन्वैकसः ।

इत्यं पार्थिवराजराजिजितयत्स्यपारपरगत-

श्वकं शकजयय कलानपतिः सलोक्यावृत्तम् ॥ ११ ॥

अथ प्रयागतिशयेन लब्धं विमय्य लोकाहितयधिपत्यम् ।

विश्वस्य शोषति कलामपुं यत्र महोदयः पश्याति ॥ १२ ॥

नैतद्विभक्तिपत्यवृत्तिव्यपक्षपक्षक्षीणित्वा

गर्तुं कुर्यात्पुत्रवृत्तिमद-मालिनीकमः ।

हेतु-मूलितकौटिलिपतिः कर्तुंलताद्वैत-

क्षीणीपत्यवृत्तिः स हि महोदयः कथं वदति ॥ १३ ॥

अथ शिशुविश्वारण्यनामा देवता महोदयवृत्तं न जति ।

इत्यं विनिश्चय ततोविनिश्चयः पुर-धीं निहितं नृपते ॥ १४ ॥

१ युक्त Kp. २ चरमानः D. & Kp. चण्डमालः G. ३ यथा गतः Kp. ४ तद्विग Kp. & G. ५ पक्षिण Kp. क्षीण G. ६ चरानिती Kp. & G. ७ लताद्वैतवृत्तिः Kp. लताद्वैतः क्षीणी G. ८ इत्यं विनिश्चयवृत्तिं विनिश्चयः Kp. विनिश्चय D.



अत एव हि मालवेश्वरः शिशुमेव स्वपदे न्यवेशयत् ।  
 स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं तपस्यति ॥ १५ ॥  
 विषमसमरकर्तुः शत्रवो यस्य पाणौ<sup>३</sup>  
 प्रलयदहनश्रूमश्यामधामातिभीमम् ।  
 पृथुतरकरवालव्यालमालोकयन्तो  
 भव शरणमितीमं मन्त्रमुच्चारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥  
 यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठयूतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु ।  
 सोमः समुद्रप्लववेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कुणेशः ॥ १७ ॥  
 एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुराशेरौर्बेन्तरेप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि ।  
 चिरं विमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेश्वरो वाडवमेव यातः ॥ १८ ॥  
 आस्ते मण्डितदण्डकापरिसरः श्रीसे<sup>४</sup>णाल्यः परं  
 देशः पेशलवेशभूषणवचोमाधुर्यधुर्याकृतिः ।  
 तस्मिन्देवगिरिः पुरी विजयते त्रैलोक्यसारश्रियां  
 विश्रान्तिः सुरशालिशैलशिखरस्पधिष्णुसौधावलिः ॥ १९ ॥  
 जगत्त्रयीगीतगुणप्रशस्तिः शास्ता समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।  
 श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानीं सोयं महादेवनृपो विभर्ति ॥ २० ॥  
 कुर्बन्विभूतिविस्तरैरिलावृत्तसमश्रियम् ।  
 अधितिष्ठति हेमाद्रिरिमां विबुधवान्धवः ॥२१॥  
 सा संपत्तदिदं यशो बलमिदं सोयं प्रतापो महा-  
 नेकैकं पृथिवीभृतो भुवि महादेवस्य लोकोत्तरम् ।  
 यस्य श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमयं हेमाद्रिसूरिः पुरः  
 प्रौढप्रातिभवर्ष्यमानविलसद्वंशो भृश शोभते ॥ २२ ॥  
 इतिराजप्रशस्तिः ॥

१ हिमाचलेश्वरं G. २ न पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ३ पाणेः  
 Kb. ४ सोन्यैः G. ५ ०राशेरन्तः पुरोप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि D. प्रयासि  
 Kh. ६ शेवलाल्यः D. सेवणाल्यः Kh. The middle letter of the name in G,  
 looks somewhat like ठ but there is little question that the copyist had उ  
 before him and made it appear like ठ by producing the nether curve and  
 making its end touch the knot of उ. ७ स्पर्धाङ्गु D.



# SUPPLEMENT.

## SECTION XI.

### THE RĀSHTRAKŪTAS.

#### GOVINDA II.

At the end of a Purāna entitled Harivamśa of the Dīgambara Jainas, it is stated that the work was composed by Jinasena in the Śaka year 705 while Vallabha the son of Kṛishṇa was ruling over the south. Govinda II. is in the Kāvī grant called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva the second son of Kṛishṇa I. was Kalivalabha. Govinda II., therefore, must be the prince alluded to, and he appears thus to have been on the throne in the Śaka year 705, or A.D. 783.

The north was ruled over at the same time by a prince of the name of Indrāyudha, the east by the king of Avantī, and the west by the sovereign of the Vatsas. The last prince must have been the same as that whom Dhruva Nirupama is represented to have defeated. The ruler of the country of the Sauryas (Sauras) was Varāha who is spoken of as a victorious warrior.<sup>1</sup>

#### JAGATTUNGA.

The Kardā grant has been re-examined by Mr. Fleet and a new transcript and translation along with a facsimile have been published by him.<sup>2</sup> From the latter I see that Jagadrudra, as a name of Govind III. and of his great grandson, is a misreading; and that the correct name was Jagattunga as given in the other plates.

#### AMOGHAVARSHA I.

An inscription at Śirur in the Dhârvâd district published by Mr. Fleet is dated Śaka 787, *Vyaya*, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha I.<sup>3</sup> According to a

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१ शाकेष्वद्वशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषुत्तरां  
पातीन्द्रायुधनाग्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणाम् ।  
पूर्वा श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादि (धि) राजेऽपरां  
सौर्या(रा)णामधिमण्डले (ळ)जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Rājendralāl's Skr. Mss., Vol. VI., p. 80. There is a copy of this Purāna in the Government collections deposited in the library of the Dekkan College; but it has been sent to Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 263 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

Kânheri inscription that prince was, as we have seen, on the throne in 799 Śaka. This year must then have been the sixty-fourth of his reign. It is very improbable that a prince should reign for such a long period, and I think there must be some mistake somewhere. The cyclic year *Vyaya* corresponds to the Śaka year 788 *past* and 789 *current*.

#### PRABHÛTAVARSHA AND NITYAVARSHA.

Mr. Fleet has published an inscription dated Śaka 840, *Pramâthin*, in which year Prabhûtavarsha was the reigning prince.<sup>1</sup> This prince he identifies with Jagattuᅅga II. The very next inscription given by him is dated Śaka 838, *Dhâtu*, when Nityavarsha was on the throne.<sup>2</sup> Now Nityavarsha was a name of Indra III. who was the son of Jagattuᅅga II., since in the Sâᅅgalî grant Indra's son Govinda IV. is represented as meditating on the feet of Nityavarsha; and Mr. Fleet himself takes that to be another name of Indra III., though he calls him Indra IV. The father's date is thus Śaka 840 and the son's 838, which is impossible. I therefore think that the Prabhûtavarsha meant was Govinda IV. That was his name, though he was called Suvarᅅavarsha by people. For, it is stated in the Sâᅅgalî grant, that "though he was Prabhûtavarsha, he was called Suvarᅅavarsha ('one who rains down gold') by people, because raining down gold in streams (by his gifts), he made the whole earth solely golden"<sup>3</sup>. Mr. Fleet's statement that Jagattuᅅga II. was called Prabhûtavarsha is based upon a mere inference, while in this passage we are distinctly told that that was one of the names of Govinda IV. The latest date of Akâlarsha or Kᅅriᅅᅅa II. is 833 Śaka. Supposing him to have died in that year and Govinda IV. to have begun to reign in Śaka 840 which, by the way, is a mistake for 841, the reigns of Jagattuᅅga II., his son Indra III., and Amoghavarsha II. the eldest son of Indra occupied only about seven years. But since Jagattuᅅga is not mentioned after Akâlarsha in the Khârepâᅅan grant, but Indra, the grandson of Akâlarsha, I gather that Jagattuᅅga did not ascend the throne at all; and Amoghavarsha II. could have reigned but for a very short time, perhaps, a few months, as he was deposed by his brother Govinda IV.

Mr. Fleet mentions another inscription of Govinda IV. dated 851 Śaka.<sup>4</sup>

#### GOVINDÂMBÂ.

In the facsimile of the Kardâ grant published by Mr. Fleet, I find the stanza containing the name of Govindâmbâ exactly as it is

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> वर्ष-सुवर्णवर्षः प्रभूतवर्षोऽपि कनकधाराभिः ।

जगदखिलमेककाञ्चनमयमकरोदिति जनैरुक्तः ॥

Mr. Fleet's translation of this is :— "Raining down gifts, discharging showers of gold, and raining abundantly,—he is said by people to have caused the whole world to be made solely of gold by (*his*) showers of gold." (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., pp. 250—253). The whole point of the stanza is lost in this translation which, of course, is wrong. The word अपि has been altogether neglected.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 249.

given by Mr. Wathen, except that we have Jagattuṅga instead of Jagadrudra, and therefore the mistakes I speak of in note 4, page 53, are not due to Mr. Wathen, but to the engraver or the composer of the grant. That the Kardâ grant contains mistakes here of addition and omission is unquestionable. Those who take the text as it is, make out that Jagattuṅga II. married two sisters Lakshmî and Govindâmbâ, the daughters of Saṁkaragana of Chedi. If we so understand it, the result will be that the Kardâ grant makes no mention of Indra's wife Vijâmbâ<sup>1</sup> and of his sons Amoghavarsha and Govinda IV., the latter of whom reigned, as we have seen, for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sâṅgali grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattuṅga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindâmbâ. This name itself is, as I have observed, queer. And the line in the Kardâ grant *S'rîmân Amoghavarsho Govindâmbâbhidhânâyâm*, looks as if the intention of the writer of it was to set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsha and Govinda, and of their mother Ambâ or Vijâmbâ. And it appears to me that the following stanza in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV. who, as noticed above, was called Suvarṇavarsha by people, because he "rained down gold". The name of that prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The line which precedes that beginning with *S'rîmân* must thus have crept in through mistake; and probably a verse or two are omitted here as also after the next stanza when Krishṇarâja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

#### THE LATER PRINCES.

Kṛishṇa III. was on the throne in Śaka 873 according to an inscription<sup>2</sup> in the Dhârvâd District published by Mr. Fleet, and his younger brother Khotika was the reigning sovereign in Śaka 893, *prajāpati*, according to another.<sup>3</sup> Kṛishṇa's dates are thus 867, 873 and 878 Śaka.

Mr. Fleet adheres to Mr. Wathen's translation of the passage in note 2, p. 54, which makes out the Kṛishṇa there mentioned to be a son of Jagattuṅga II. I need not discuss the grammar further than I have done. He brings in, as before stated, another Kṛishṇa, whom he calls Kṛishṇa IV. and identifies him with Nirupama the younger brother of Khotika and the father of Kakkala the last Râshtrakûṭa prince, and with the Kṛishṇa whose dates range from 867 to 878 Śaka. But if Khotika was his elder brother it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Śaka, while Kṛishṇa should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Śaka, that is, before his elder brother. Kṛishṇa, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Khârepâṭar grant and Khotika the younger. Mr. Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates:—

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sâṅgali grant calls her Dvijâmbâ, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijâmbâ in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijâmbâ is Vidyâmbâ. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

“ Kottiga or Khoṭṭiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Kṛishṇa IV. ; *viz.*, there being no probability of Kottiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Kṛishṇa IV. was joined with him in the government and then the latter’s son Kakka III.”<sup>1</sup> This supposition is not supported by any circumstance; on the contrary it is utterly discountenanced by the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa which represent him to be the “ Supreme king of great kings,”<sup>2</sup> and to have been reigning at the time at Mānyakheta and governing the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as *Yuvarāja*.

Khoṭika is called Khoṭṭiga in the Kardā grant and not Khoṭviga.

In addition to these several new inscriptions we owe another to Mr. Fleet. It is dated Śaka 896 current, *Śrīmuṅḁia*, when the reigning prince was Kakkala.<sup>4</sup> This was the year in which the Rāshtrakūṭas were overthrown by Tailapa.

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### Section XIV., p. 76.

#### SEUNADEŚA.

This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khāndeś. In a foot-note on the opening page of the Khāndeś Volume, the Editor of the “ Bombay Gazetteer ” observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khān given to the Fāruki kings by Ahmed I. of Gujarāt. Seunadeśa, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khāndeś, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadesá. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khāndeś, since it included Devagiri or Daulatābād, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tāpī.

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### Section XV., p. 82.

#### JAJJALLA AND KAKKŪLA.

Jajjalla whose elephants Singhana is spoken of as having carried away must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Chedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chhattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty.<sup>5</sup> The name Kakkūla I would identify with Kokkala which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur.

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<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant. Vol. XII., p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 210.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII., p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> General Cunningham’s Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII., pp. 75, 76, & 79.