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Papers

Professor Lammor,  
Harvard,  
United States,  
America

With the author's kind regards.

Chronological tables at end  
of Cyāndweda's Bud. Kunst.



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THE BEQUEST OF

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PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT  
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EARLY

*Ch. Lamma  
from the author*

# HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

Down to the Mahomedan Conquest.

BY

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## PREFACE.

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IN this second edition of the "Early History of the Dekkan," I have embodied the results of fresh researches published by others and myself within the last ten years. Some of my own have, however, been laid before the public now for the first time in this book.

R. G. B.

*Poona, 10th January, 1895.*



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Karhâd grant of his having uprooted the Chola race and held the country by placing it under his dependents, and another in this and the Wardhâ grant that the Pallavas were destroyed by him. This latter event, however, took place before Śaka 862 the date of the Wardhâ grant, while the conquest of the Chola prince came on later. By the Karhâd charter which was issued on Wednesday the 13th of the dark half of Phâlguna when 880 years had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the cyclic year being *Kḍlayukta*, Kṛiṣṇa granted,—while encamped at Melpâti with his victorious army for the purpose of apportioning the southern provinces among his dependents, taking charge of all the possessions of Areṣvara, and constructing temples to be dedicated to certain gods,—the village of Kaṅkim in the district of Karahâta to the great Śaiva ascetic Gaganasiva who was the pupil of Ī-ānasiva and was conversant with the Śivasiddhāntas or sacred books of the Śaiva sect, for the benefit of the whole group of ascetics. It would appear from this that Śaivism flourished about the district of Karhâd at this period.

P. 78, to the dates under *Kṛiṣṇa III*, add 872, 880.

Page	6, line 18 from bottom	for	Brāhmana	read	Brāhmaṇa
"	14, lines 19 and 36 from top	"	Mysor	"	Maisur
"	line 21	"	Saliyaputta	"	Satiyaputta
"	25 " 31	"	Dakṣināpatha	"	Dakṣināpatha
"	28 " 14	"	Mahārāṣṭra	"	Mahārāṣṭra
"	" 33	"	Dakṣināpatha	"	Dakṣināpatha
"	42 " 6 from bottom	"	Kānara	"	Kānarā
"	46 " 11 " top	"	Rāsṅtrakūta	"	Riṣṅtrakūta
"	47 " 4 " bottom	"	Lāta here as elsewhere	"	Lāta
"	49 " 24 " "	"	Mangalīśa	"	Maṅgalīśa
"	56 " 16 " "	insert	date after latest		
"	" 7 from top	for	Tājika	read	Tājika
"	65, footnote 1	"	IV	"	III
"	68, line 16 from top	"	Mahāpurāna	"	Mahāpurāna
"	69 " 30 " "	"	Lāta	"	Lāta
"	70 " 10 " "	"	Akālavarsha	"	Akālavarsha
"	71 " 8 " "	"	-sāri	"	-sāri
"	73 " 13 " "	"	Sāhasāṅka	"	Sāhasāṅka
"	90 " 20 " "	"	Kākatēya	"	Kākatīya
"	94 " 20 from bottom	"	Liṅgāyata here as elsewhere.	"	Liṅgāyata
"	105 " 12 " "	"	Jahlān's	"	Jahlān's
"	107 " 1 " "	"	यजार्जुन	"	यजार्जुन

## EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

### ADDITIONS AND FURTHER CORRECTIONS.

P. 62, footnote 1, *add at the end*, Karhâd plates recently put into my possession and not yet published. a/

P. 63, line 35, *after Wardhâ, here as well as everywhere henceforward except in l. 14, p. 75, add and Karhâd and make the necessary grammatical changes.*

P. 67, line 30, *after death, add* The Karhâd charter represents the fire of his prowess to have burnt the Châlukya race.

P. 73, line 23, *after months, add* In the Bhadan grant<sup>1</sup> the latter is represented to have reigned for a year.

P. 75, lines 6 and 7, *for the sentence ending with dominions, substitute* He expelled the prince Rachehhyâmalla from the throne of the Gaṅga country and placed on it a person of the name of Bûtuga, or Bûtayya which name has been Sanskritized into Bhûtârya ; and destroyed the Pallavas to whose race the Dantiga killed by him probably belonged.

P. 75, line 20, *at the end add* The Karhâd charter was issued in 880 Sâka, *i. e.*, 18 years after the Wardhâ grant. It contains two stanzas more about Kṛishṇa III. than the latter ; and these must in consequence be regarded as alluding to events which occurred between Saka 862 and 880. As stated therein, to consolidate his power Kṛishṇa deprived some of his feudatories of their principalities, and granted them to others who were meritorious ; some were separated from each other and others joined together. " With the idea of conquering the south, he uprooted the Chola race, placed the territory ruled over by it under his own dependents, made the kings of the Chera, Pândya, and other countries along with Simhala or Ceylon his tributaries, and erected a triumphal column at Re(â)mesvara." In an inscription at Âtakûr in the Maisur territory, dated 872 Sâka, Kṛishṇarâja is represented to have fought with the Chola prince Râjâditya and killed him. In this last act he was assisted by Bûtuga, his Gaṅga feudatory mentioned above, and Bûtuga was rewarded for his services by being granted additional territory.<sup>2</sup> In a village in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency, which must have formed a part of the ancient kingdom of the Pallavas, there are two inscriptions dated in the seventeenth and nineteenth years of the reign of Kannaradeva, *i. e.* Krishnadeva, in which he is spoken of as the conqueror of Kachehi or Kâñchîpura the capital of the Pallavas and Tañjai identified with Tanjor (Tañjâvûr or Tañjâpura) which was the capital of the Chola princes. Another inscription at Vellore is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign ; and there are two more containing his name in South Arcot<sup>3</sup> which was probably included in the Chola kingdom. These facts bear out the statement in the

<sup>1</sup> Published by Prof. Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., pp. 172-74.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* Vol. III., pp. 282-85.

## CORRECTIONS.

Page	22, line	6 from bottom,	for Vasiṣṭīputra read VĀsiṣṭīputra
"	29 "	23 " "	" Śri & Sri, here " Śri <i>as elsewhere</i>
"	35 "	5 " "	" Yajna " Yajña
"	" "	18 " "	" paid " said
"	39 "	12 " top	" Guṇādhyā " Guṇādhyā
"	55 "	11 " bottom	" Gurjara " Gurjara
"	" "	22 " "	" Traikūṭaka " Traikūṭaka
"	57 "	27 " top	" Āśhadha " Āśhadha
"	58 "	11 " "	" Paṭṭaḍakal, here " Paṭṭeḍakal <i>as elsewhere.</i>
"	59 "	9 " "	" Vinayaditya " Vinayāditya
"	60 lines 6 & 11	" "	" Brahmaṇism " Brahmaṇism & Drahmaṇism
"	" line	7 " "	" in the Southern " in Southern
"	62 "	4 " "	" Yadd " Yadu
"	" "	8 " "	" Rāahrakūṭa " Rāahrakūṭa
"	65 "	6 " "	" Paṭṭhan, here as " Paṭṭhan <i>elsewhere.</i>
"	67, marginal note.		" Sarva " Śarva
"	" line 34 from top		" Nārāyana " Nārāyaṇa
"	68 "	5 " "	" Śīlāhāra " Śīlāhāra
"	69, marginal note.		" Krishna, here as " Kṛiṣṇa <i>elsewhere.</i>
"	74, line	17 from top	" Khārepaṭan, here " Khārepaṭan <i>as elsewhere.</i>
"	" "	22 " "	" doubt " doubt
"	75 "	10 " "	" Kālanjara " Kālanjara
"	79 "	4 " "	" Tailapā " Tailapa
"	86 "	5 " bottom	" Gaddaka, here as " Gaḍag <i>elsewhere</i>
"	103 "	13 " "	" Singhaṇa " Śiṅghaṇa
"	105 "	12 " "	" Śāktimuktavali " Śāktimuktāvali
"	106 "	12 " "	" Sukt-, here as " Śākt- <i>elsewhere.</i>



# EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

---

## INTRODUCTORY.

INDIA has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little.

Introductory.

I. We have a chronicle of Kásmir called the *Rājataranginī*, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence. Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories; and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected. But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered; and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century. The literature of the Jainas of the *Svetāmbara* sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujarát and other noted personages. There are also similar accounts of the princes of *Rājaputána*. In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given; and sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors. Lastly, the *Purānas* contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto.

II. But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre; and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light. And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information to which we shall now proceed. The invasion of Alexander the

Introductory.

Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus; and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time. The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purānas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification; and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events. In this manner the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Chandragupta has been determined to be about 322 B.C., and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained. The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history. Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century of the Christian era; and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims; and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China. The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history. The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian. Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available.

III. Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of inscriptions. Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates. These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras. It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor. The names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned. As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true. And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find, must be regarded simply as meaningless. But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harshavardhana by Pulakesi II. of the early Chālukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical; and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hwān Thsang does that of Pulakesi's exploit. Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical; though, however,

legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results. Introductory.

The stone-inscriptions are intended to commemorate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also. A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals; but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the date in the current era. When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors.

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep; but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the "Indian Antiquary" and the institution of the Archæological Survey. These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal. Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages.

IV. I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates. A study of these too has led to very important results.

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself. But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned; and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province. I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Āryan settlement of the Dekkan. The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are as follows:

I.—Bilhāna's *Vikramāṅkacharita*, Introduction to the *Vrata-khaṇḍa*, Introduction to Jahlāna's anthology, the Purāṇic genealogies; and scattered notices in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Hāla's *Saptaśatī*, *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, *Kavirahasya*, *Digambara Jaina works*—such as the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Uttara Purāṇa*, the *Yasastilaka*, the *Praśnot-tararatnamālikā* &c.—*Vijñāneśvara's Mitāksharā*, the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, the *Basava Purāṇa*, the *Lekhapañchāśikā*, the *Śabdārnava-chandrikā*, the *Jñāneśvarī*, and a few others.

II.—Ptolemy's geography, the *Periplus*, *Hwān Thsang's Itinerary*.

III.—Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India; *Rudra-dāman's inscription at Junāgaḍ*; stone inscriptions in the Southern Maratha Country; copperplate charters of the early *Chālukyas*, the

## .THE DEKKAN.

Introductory.

Rāshtrakūtas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number.

IV.—Coins of the S'atavāhanas found at Kolhāpur and in the lower Godāvari district,

Since the political history of the Dekkan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible. The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance, will, it is hoped, be excused. This does not pretend to be a literary production, but merely a congeries of facts.

## SECTION I.

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

THE word "Dakkhan" represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word Dakṣhiṇa, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadā. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is Dakṣhiṇāpatha 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 Dakkhinabades.<sup>1</sup> In the vernacular or Prākṛit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Dakṣhiṇāpatha must have become Dakkhiṇābadha or Dakkhiṇāvadhā 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 Dakṣhiṇa.

Dakṣhiṇāpatha or Dakṣhiṇa was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadā. Among the countries enumerated in the Mārkaṇḍeya,<sup>3</sup> Vāyu,<sup>4</sup> and Mātsya<sup>5</sup> Purāṇas as comprised in Dakṣhiṇāpatha are those of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of Tanjor, Madura, and Malabār. In the Mahābhārata, however, Sahadeva, the youngest of the Pāṇḍu princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to Dakṣhiṇāpatha after having conquered the king of the Pāṇḍyas.<sup>6</sup> This would show that the country of the Pāṇḍyas was not included in Dakṣhiṇāpatha. Again, the rivers Godāvarī and others springing from the Sahyādri are spoken of in the Vāyu Purāṇa as rivers of Dakṣhiṇāpatha<sup>7</sup>, while the Narmadā and the Tāpī are not so styled; whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in Dakṣhiṇāpatha. 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 Narmadā on the north and a variable line along the course of the Kṛishṇā to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical

### Section I.

Etymology  
of the word  
"Dekkan."

Denotation  
of the word  
Dekkan.

<sup>1</sup> Indian Antiquary, VIII. 143.

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

<sup>3</sup> Chap. 57 Verse 45, Edition Bibliotheca Indica. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, Pāṇḍyās cha Keralās chaiva Cholāḥ Kulyās tathaiḥ cha, as it is in the manuscript I have consulted.

<sup>4</sup> Chap. 45 Verse 124, Edition Bibliotheca Indica.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. 112 Verse 46, Poona Lithographed Edition.

<sup>6</sup> Sabhāparvan, Chap. 31 Verse 17, Bombay Edition.

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

**Section I.**

with the country called Mahārāshṭra or the region in which the Marāthī language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghāts and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadā and the Tāpī; and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Thus the word Dekkan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvari and that lying between that river and the Kṛishṇā. The name Mahārāshṭra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purāṇas<sup>1</sup> and other works, distinguished on the one hand from Aparānta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadā and the Tāpī inhabited by the Pulindas and S'abaras, as well as from Vidarbha on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakōśa,<sup>2</sup> Mahārāshṭra, Vaidarbha, Tāpī-tāṭa-deśa and Narmadā-tāṭa-deśa (*i. e.*, the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkan are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra in this the narrowest sense of the word forms the subject of the present notice.

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<sup>1</sup> See the chapters of the three Purāṇas referred to in the notes on page 1.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352.

## SECTION II.

## SETTLEMENT OF THE ÂRYAS IN THE DEKKAN.

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>1</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>2</sup> and even by Patañjali,<sup>3</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, crossed it and established an Âsrama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Âryan province in the southern country must have been the Vidarbhas 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 Sitâ and Râvaṇa her ravisher, he directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Richikas, and Mahishakas, and also to Daṇḍakâranya (the forest of Daṇḍakâ) and the river Godâvarî.<sup>4</sup> This shows that while the country about the Godâvarî, that is, the Dekkan or Mahârâshtra 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>5</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

**Section II.**

Settlement of the Âryas in the Dekkan.

Vidarbha, the first Âryan province in the South.

<sup>1</sup> Manu, II. 17.<sup>2</sup> Manu, II. 23.<sup>3</sup> Patañjali's Mahâbhâshya under Pânini, II. 4, 10.<sup>4</sup> Râmâyana, IV. Chap. 41, Bombay Edition.<sup>5</sup> Mahâbhârata, Bombay Edition, III. Chap. 96, 97.

**Section II.**

**Daṇḍakāraṇya,**  
the same as  
**Mahārāshṭra.**

**Pañchavaṭī.**

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

of the Godāvarī about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya.<sup>1</sup> That this Daṇḍakāraṇya was the modern Mahārāshṭra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godāvarī, 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 Brāhman in Mahārāshṭra do not utter the name Mahārāshṭra but Daṇḍakāraṇya with the word *deśa* or "country" attached to it. In the introduction to Hemādri's Vratakhanda, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatābād, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Daṇḍakāraṇya. Nāsik claims to be the Pañchavaṭī where Rāma lived. But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nāsik. The river Godāvarī must, from the description occurring in the Rāmāyaṇa as well as in Bhavabhūti's Uttara Rāmācharita, have been wide at Rāma's Pañchavaṭī. It could hardly have been so at Nāsik, which is very near its source. On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyādri through which flowed the river Godāvarī and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purāṇas represented as "the most charming on earth; and there, to please Rāma, the sage Bhāradvāja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and thus a lovely garden came into existence."<sup>2</sup> In the Mārkaṇḍeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town; but the Vāyu and the Mātsya 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 Nāsik; and thus the three Purāṇas must be understood as supporting the identification of Pañchavaṭī with Nāsik.

But though Mahārāshṭra 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 Marāṭhī language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of Northern India. The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Mahārāshṭrī, the Saurasenī, and the Māgadhī, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pāli—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 Prākṛit 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,

<sup>1</sup> Rāmāyaṇa, III. 13, 13 Bom. Ed.

<sup>2</sup> Mārkaṇḍeya, Chap. 57 Verses 34-35; Vāyu, Chap. 45 Verses 112-114; and Mātsya, Chap. 112 Verses 37-39. The passage, however, is corrupt. The three Purāṇas 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 Vāyu.

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 Prākṛit 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 Prākṛits, 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 with 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 Marāthā 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 Kanarese, 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 Rāmāyaṇa, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras (Telugu people), the Pāṇḍyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, in the south; and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pāṇḍyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as 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 Daṇḍakāranya, which is represented in the Rāmāyaṇa as a forest infested by Rākshasas or wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brāhman 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 Panjāb, the wild tribes they met with are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Rākshasas, and others.

**Section II.**  
**Prākṛit Dialects.**

The subjugation  
of the country  
farther South,  
partial.

<sup>1</sup> These points I have developed in my Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prākṛit languages derived from it; Jour. Bom. E. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. pp. 290-91.

## SECTION III.

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

## Section III.

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

WE will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Āryas settled in Daṇḍakāraṇya, 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 Viśvāmītra 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, Śābaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, and the descendants of Viśvāmītra 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 Rāmāyana, and the other three in the Purāṇas.<sup>2</sup> From the later literature, the Pulindas and Śābaras appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhya.<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadā. The Andhras, who in these days are identified with the Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godāvari 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.

Also in Pāṇini's  
time.

Pāṇini in his Sūtras 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 Panjāb and Afghanistan; but the names of countries situated in the eastern portion of Northern India also occur in the Sūtras. The countries farthest to the south mentioned by him are Kachchha (IV. 2, 133), Avanti (IV. 1, 176), Kosala (IV. 1, 171), Karūśa (IV. 1, 178)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18. Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> This name does not occur in the Sūtra, 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 Sūtras by using the first word in the list with *ādi*, 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 *Bhargādi* forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied.

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and Kalinga (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 Kalinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars. Kosala, Karûsa, and Avantî are mentioned in the Purânas 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  
likelihood in  
Pânini's time.

Kâtyâyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vârtikas is to explain and supplement Pânini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations. Pânini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for 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 a 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 their 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 names "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, Naḍvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies,

Southern India  
known to  
Kâtyâyana but  
unknown to  
Pânini.

<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> Pânḍor dyan, which is a Vârtika on Pây. IV. 1, 168.

<sup>3</sup> See the passages cited above.

<sup>4</sup> Pân. IV. 1, 175.

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Naḍas or reeds, and Vetās or canes, respectively.<sup>1</sup> Kātyāyana adds, "Mahishmat is so called because it contains Mahishas or buffaloes."

Now Mahishmat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purāṇas is associated with Mahārāshtra and is called Mahishakas. Māhishmatī on the banks of the Narmadā was probably its capital. Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstucker has done in many similar cases, that had Pāṇini known the Pāṇdyas, 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 Sūtras. Thus then the Āryas of the north were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pāṇini, but were so in the time of Kātyāyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nāsikya,<sup>2</sup> which is very likely the same as our modern Nāsik.

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 Dakshināpatha the word *Sarasī* is used to denote large lakes.<sup>3</sup> He mentions Māhishmatī,<sup>4</sup> Vaidarbha,<sup>5</sup> Kāñchīpura<sup>6</sup> the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala<sup>7</sup> or Malabār. Patañjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kātyāyana's Vārtikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhāradvājiyas, Saunāgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vārtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb *paṭhanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana 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 Kātyāyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years. Now, Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pāṇini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pāṇini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages,"<sup>8</sup> and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz., either that Pāṇini 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

Patañjali  
intimately  
acquainted  
with Southern  
India.

Chronological  
relations between  
Kātyāyana and  
Patañjali.

Between  
Kātyāyana  
and Pāṇini.

<sup>1</sup> Pāṇ. IV. 2, 87.

<sup>2</sup> Mahābhāshya on Pāṇ. I. 1, 19.

<sup>3</sup> IV. 1, fourth Āhnika.

<sup>4</sup> IV. 1, fourth Āhnika.

<sup>5</sup> In a Vārtika on Pāṇ. VI. 1, 63.

<sup>6</sup> On Pāṇ. III. 1, 26.

<sup>7</sup> IV. 2, second Āhnika.

<sup>8</sup> Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 273.

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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 Chhândasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kâtyâyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead.<sup>1</sup> Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pânini in his Sûtras in a sense which became obsolete in the 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 had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kalinga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berâr, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route; but in the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Daṇḍakâranya along the banks of the Godâvarî, that is, in Mahârâshtra 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.

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a Mahâbhârata existed before Pânini and Âsvalâyana, 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 itself 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 corrupt, 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 this 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. But

Chronological value of the Epics.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. Bom. B. E. A. S., Vol. XVI., pp. 269-71.

**Section III.**

Places in the  
Dekkan alluded  
to in the poems.

the date of the Rāmāyana is uncertain; the present Hindu belief based on the Purānas is that Rāma's incarnation is older than Krishna's, and consequently the Rāmāyana older than the Mahābhārata; but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vāsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhishtira in Pāṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahābhārata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rāma 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 Vishnu, gives a good many names derived from the Krishna incarnation; but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadra, the brother of Krishna, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached 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 Pāṇdyas, Draviḍas, Uḍras, Keralas, and Andhras,<sup>1</sup> and also to have visited Kishkindhā, which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampā lake or river, where Rāma met Sugrīva the monkey chief, though the country Kaishkindha is placed by the Purānas among those near the Vindhya. He went also to S'ūrparaka, the modern Supārā near Bassein, Daṇḍaka, the same as Daṇḍakāranya but not mentioned as a forest, Karahāṭaka the modern Karhāḍa on the confluence of the Krishna and the Koinā, and to others. The countries mentioned in the passage in the Rāmāyana, alluded to above, as lying to the south are Utkala, probably the modern Ganjam, Kalīnga, Daśārṇa, Avantī, Vidarbha, and others. The district near Bhilsā must have been called Daśārṇa in ancient times; for its capital was Vidiśā, which was situated, as stated by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta, on the Vetravatī or Betvā, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsā. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya or nearly in the same line with it farther east. But between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pāṇdyas, and Keralas, the Rāmāyana mentions no other place or country but Daṇḍakāranya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Āryan settlements in the Dekkan, while that represented by the Mahābhārata in the place indicated seems subsequent; and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Rāmāyana is the older of the two epics. The name Mahārāshṭra does not occur in either of them.

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

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka, the great king of the Maurya dynasty reigning at Pātaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnār in Kāthiāvāḍ on the west, Dhauli in Katak and Jaugaḍ in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himālaya, Shahbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and Mansehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion

<sup>1</sup> Śābhya, Chap. 31.

to the Râstikas and the Petenikas and to the Aparântas.<sup>1</sup> 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 Pratishtthâna, was in those days, as it now is, Pethana or Paithana, for both the author of the Periplus and Ptolemy call it Paithana or Baithana. The Râstikas, or, according to the Mansehra version, Rastrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Râshtrikas, were very likely the people of Mahârâshtra, for a tribe of the name of Raṭṭas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Dekkan. One branch of it assumed the name of Râshtrakûṭas 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, chieftains of the name of Raṭṭas governed Sugandhavarti or Saundatti in the Belgaum districts. In the thirteenth Edict in which the countries where Asoka's moral edicts were respected are enumerated, the Petenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Râstikas. Bhojas, we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berâr<sup>2</sup> and also in other parts of the Dekkan. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kudâ,<sup>3</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, Raṭṭis, Raṭṭhis, or Raṭṭhas called themselves Mahârâṭṭhis or Mahârâṭṭhas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Mahârâṭṭha, the Sanskrit of which is Mahârâshtra. In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the countries of the Cholas, Pândyas, Ketalaputras (Chera or Kerala), and the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Patânjali, 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 Raṭṭas and Bhojas.

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 Moggaliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation said to

Etymology of  
the name  
"Mahârâshtra."

The occurrence  
of the names  
"Mahârâṭṭhi,"  
"Mahârâṭṭha"  
and  
"Mahârâshtra"  
in books and  
inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> ये वाप्येऽपरांताः is the Sanskrit of the original Prâkrit. It might be translated as "and also those other called Aparântas," i.e. also that other country called Aparânta. If we take it in this way, Aparânta is clearly Northern Konkan; for that is the name of that part of the country found in Sanskrit and Pâli Literature from the remotest times. In the Mahâvaṃsa and Dîpavaṃsa quoted below, Mahârâshtra is associated with Aparântaka. It is possible to translate it as "and also other western countries" as M. Senart does. But the word "other" certainly refers to *Rastika-Petenikânâm* and not to the preceding Yonam Kambojam &c., as he takes it so as to make these last also western countries. (Inscriptions of Asoka, Vol. II., p. 84.)

<sup>2</sup> In the Daśakumâracharita, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

<sup>3</sup> Kudâ inscriptions Nos. 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Bedsâ No. 2; Arch. Surv. of West. Ind., No. 10.

## Section III.

have been held in the time of Aśoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahārāṭha, Aparāntaka, and Vanavāsi.<sup>1</sup> Whether the name Mahārāṭha or Mahārāshṭra 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 Bhājā, Bedsā, and Kārli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Mahārāṭhi and the female Mahārāṭhini, which names, as observed before, correspond to Mahābhoja and Mahābhojī and signify the great Rāṭhi (man and woman).<sup>2</sup> Similarly, in the large cave at Nānāghāṭ a Mahārāṭhi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prakṛits the principal one was called Mahārāshṭrī, because we are told it was the language of Mahārāshṭra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled Setubandha attributed to Kālidāsa and mentioned by Daṇḍin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Śālivāhana. It is the language of Prakṛit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays. Its grammar we have in Vararuchi's Prakṛit Prakāśa; but the date of this author is uncertain, though there is reason to believe that he was one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya and was thus a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa. Though the date of Kālidāsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined, still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bāna in his Harshacharita in the north,<sup>3</sup> and in an inscription at Aihole<sup>4</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. Kālidāsa 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>5</sup> The Mahārāshṭrī dialect, therefore, in which Kālidāsa wrote the Setubandha and the Prakṛit 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. Varāhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahārāshṭra as a southern country; and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above Mahārāshṭra is mentioned as comprising three

<sup>1</sup> Mahāvamsa, Turnour's Ed., pp. 71 and 72, and Dipavamsa, Oldenberg's Ed., p. 54. The latter however omits Vanavāsi.

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Surv. of West. Ind. No. 10; Bhājā No. 2; Bedsā No. 2; Kārli Nos. 2 and 14. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Mahārāṭhi to be equal to the Sk. Mahārāṭhi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Bedsā No. 2, a woman is called Mahārāṭhini 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. Mahārāṭhi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and is the same as our modern Marāṭhā. It will appear from this inscription that there were intermarriages between the Mahābhojas and the Mahārāṭhis, for the lady mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mahābhoja and a Mahārāṭhini or the wife of a Mahārāṭhi.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hall's Vāsavadattā, Preface, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII., p. 243.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. of Varāhamihira, Preface, p. 20.

countries and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Tshang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Châlukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahârâshtra. The occurrence of the name of Mahârâshtra in the Purânas has already been noticed.

## HISTORY OF SECTION IV.

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

#### Section IV.

Extent of the dominions of Chandragupta and Asoka.

No clue to the political history of Mahârâshtra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purânas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great; but clear traces of their occupation of 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 Kâthiâvâd, and his grandson Asoka, who reigned from B.C. 263 to B.C. 229, retained possession of the province.<sup>1</sup> The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kâthiâvâd in the west. But stray edicts have been discovered farther south; a fragment of the eighth being found at Supârâ and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysor. In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries" and mentions Chola, Pândya, Ketalaputta, and Saliyaputta down to Tambapanni or Ceylon as outlying provinces. These therefore did not own his sway. But in the fifth edict he mentions the Râstikas, Petenikas and Aparântas and a few more provinces as those for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers. If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named. Again he includes most of these in the thirteenth edict among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Chola, Pândya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes. It would thus appear that though the countries of the Râstikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, and Aparântas were not outlying provinces like those of the Cholas, the Pândyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence; and only owned allegiance to him as suzerain. The appearance of fragments of his inscriptions at Supârâ and on the confines of Mysor is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supârâ on the western coast and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysor, leaving the western countries of the Râstikas, the Bhojas, and Petenikas, and the southern coast in a state of semi-independence. And there is some positive evidence to that effect. Vidarbha, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the dramatic play of Mâlavikâgnimitra, the political events narrated in which may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Śūnga dynasty, who reigned in

Vidarbha, a separate kingdom in the time of Śūngas.

<sup>1</sup> See inscription of Budradâman; Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 260, line 8.

the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidiśá, which I have before identified with Bhilsá, probably as his father's viceroy. He had made proposals of marriage with Málaviká to her brother Mádhasena, the cousin of Yajñasena, king of Vidarbha. Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne. When Mádhasena was secretly on his way to Vidiśá, the general of Yajñasena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him. His counsellor Sumati and Málaviká escaped, but Mádhasena was kept in custody. Thereupon Agnimitra demanded of Yajñasena the surrender of Mádhasena. Yajñasena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Maurya king and had been imprisoned by Agnimitra or his father Pushyamitra, should be released. This enraged Agnimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajñasena and vanquished him. Mádhasena was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Varadâ.

Paithan also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time. In the inscriptions in the caves at Pitalkhorâ near Châlisgâmv, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratishtâna are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his son and daughter.<sup>1</sup> The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratishtâna or Paithan. No more particular information is available. On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top of the Sahyâdri throw a good deal of light. I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the inscriptions in the chronological order clearly determined by the forms of the characters.

An inscription<sup>2</sup> in a small cave at Nâsik mentions that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nâsik of king Krishna of the Sâtavâhana race. In a cave at Nânâghât there is another, which is much mutilated and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear. In that same cave figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them: 1, Râyâ Simuka Sâtavâhano, *i. e.*, king Simuka Sâtavâhana; 2, Devî Nâyanikâyâ rañño cha Sirî Sâtakanino, *i. e.*, of queen Nâyanikâ and king Sirî Sâtakarñi; 3, Kumâro Bhâyâ, *i. e.*, prince Bhâyâ; 4, Mahârâthiganakayiro, *i. e.*, the heroic Marâthâ leader or the hero of the Marâthâ tribe; 5, Kumâro Haku Sirî, *i. e.*, prince Haku Sirî; 6, Kumâro Sâtavâhano, *i. e.*, prince Sâtavâhana. Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen must have been the reigning prince, the first was an earlier king of the same

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Paithan, the capital of a kingdom.

Inscriptions of king Krishna and others of the Sâtavâhana race at Nâsik and Nânâghât.

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions, pp. 39, 41. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>2</sup> No. 6, Nâsik Inscriptions, Vol. VII., Jour. B. B. R. A. S., and p. 338, Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874.

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dynasty, the fourth was a local Marâthâ warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Sâtavâhana dynasty.

Ushavadâta's  
principal  
inscription at  
Nâsik.

In another Nâsik cave there are four inscriptions. In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Triraśmi in Govardhana or the Nâsik District by the benevolent Ushavadâta, the son-in-law of king Kshaharâta Nahapâna and son of Dînika. Ushavadâta gave away three hundred thousand cows; constructed flights of steps on the river Bârñâsâyâ; assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brâhman; fed a hundred thousand Brâhman every year; got eight Brâhman at Prabhâsa or Somanâth Paṭṭan married at his own expense; constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting places at Bharukachchha or Bharoch, Daśapura in Mâlvâ, Govardhana, and S'orpâraga, the modern Supârâ near Bassein; made gardens and sank wells and tanks; placed ferry boats over the Ibâ, Pârâdâ, Damanâ, Tâpî, Karabenâ, and Dâhanukâ, which were rivers along the coast between Thâñâ and Surat; constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers; and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nânaṅgola, for the Charanas and Parishads (Vedic schools of Brâhman) in Piṇḍitakâvaḍa, Govardhana, Suvarṇamukha, S'orpâraga, and Râmatîrtha. One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mâlâyas. At the sound of his martial music the Mâlâyas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras. Thence he went to Poshkarâni and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.<sup>1</sup>

Ushavadâta's  
other  
inscriptions.

In the second inscription Ushavadâta is spoken of as having, in the year 42, dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters. He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Kârshâpanas at an annual interest of one hundred Kârshâpanas. Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery. With another guild he deposited one thousand Kârshâpanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kârshâpanas. Out of this other things (Kusâna) were to be provided for the priests. The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and inscribed on the door of the monastery. In the years 41 and 40 he gave away a large sum of money<sup>2</sup> for gods and Brâhman. The third inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Ushavadâta's wife Dakhamitrâ.<sup>3</sup> The fourth is greatly mutilated but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Ushavadâta's.<sup>4</sup> In the cave-temple of Kârli there is an inscription

<sup>1</sup> No. 17. Nâsik Inscriptions, Vol. VII., Jour. B. B. R. A. S. and Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 326. <sup>2</sup>Nos. 18 and 16, *Ibid.*, which together form one inscription.

<sup>3</sup> First part of No. 16, *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> No. 14, *Ibid.*

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in which Ushavadāta is represented to have granted the village of Karjika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valūraka, as the hill or the country about it seems to have 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 Nāsik inscriptions. In an inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapāna the great Kshatrpa, 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 Brāhman, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra.

Next in order come the inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamīputra Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāyi are mentioned. In the longest of the four occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nāsik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Puḷumāyi, the son of Vāsishṭhī, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyanīya sect by Gotamī, the mother of king Sātakarṇi Gotamīputra. She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king." Gotamīputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Aśika, Aśmaka, Mūlaka,<sup>3</sup> Surāshṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Akarāvanti.<sup>4</sup> He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyaṅvat, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Kṛishnagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śreshṭhagiri, and Chakora. His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them. His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas. He protected 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 Brāhmanas. He conferred upon Brāhmanas the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes. His exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Śagara, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarīsha. 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 Kshatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagārāta, and re-established the glory of the Sātavāhana family. In the last line of the inscription mention

Inscriptions of  
Gotamīputra  
Sātakarṇi and  
Puḷumāyi  
at Nāsik.

<sup>1</sup> No. 13, Kārli 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 Purānas.

<sup>4</sup> Surāshṭra is Southern Kāthiāṅvād, Kukura, a portion of Rājputānā, and Aparānta, Northern Konkan. Anūpa is mentioned in the Purānas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhya. It was the country on the upper Narmadā with Māhishmati for its capital, according to the Raghuvamśa. Akarāvanti must be the eastern portion of Mālvā.

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is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple.<sup>1</sup>

Charter of  
Puṣumāyi.

In a later inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vāsishthīputra Śrī Puṣumavi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to his lieutenant in Govardhana, Sarvākshadalana. He calls his attention to the fact that the village granted by the "lord of Dhanakaṭa"<sup>2</sup> (Gotamīputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrāyanīyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter.

Charter of  
Gotamīputra.

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 Gotamīputra Śātakarni, lord of Dhanakaṭaka, to Vishṇupālita, 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 Ushabhadāta, 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 to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamīputra Śātakarni, 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, and 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>3</sup>

Of the wife of  
Gotamīputra.

Private inscriptions containing  
Puṣumāyi's name.

Besides these, there are two inscriptions at Nāsik recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh years of the reign of Siri (Śrī) Puṣumāyi, and two in the cave at Kārli,<sup>5</sup> dated in the seventh and twenty-fourth years of his reign.

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

Since Gotamī is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grandmother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamīputra Śātakarni is

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 26, Vol. VII. Jour. B. B. R. A. S. and Trans. Or. Congr. 1874, p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl and Dr. Bühler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nāsik inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression thus understood by me as धनकटसमिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटभ्रमणे. But what the Śramanas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakaṭa, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Kṛishṇā, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nāsik to the Bhadrāyanīya mendicants of the place it is impossible to conceive. The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिभिः or धनकटसामिभ्येहि corresponding to महासामिभ्येहि in the first part of No. 25, the Sanskrit of which is महास्वामिकैः. The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of

such forms as अत्तेनाहि for आत्माभिः and राजानोहि for राजभिः

<sup>3</sup> No. 25, *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 3 and 27, *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 14 and 20, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Śātakarni mentioned in these inscriptions is Puḷumāyi, it appears that this last was the grandson and son respectively of these two ladies. He was therefore the son and his mother Vāsishṭhī the wife of Gotamīputra Śātakarni. Śātakarni issued the charter contained in the second inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year of Puḷumāyi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nāsik and Kārli and not to that of Gotamīputra. Even the date of the large inscription noticed above in which Gotamīputra's great deeds are recorded is referred to Puḷumāyi's reign. And the grant of the village alluded to in that inscription and the one below appears to have been made by Gotamīputra, 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. Gotamī 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 Dharaṇikoṭ in the Gantur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamī'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.<sup>1</sup> Since the charter of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vāsishṭhī, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamīputra had died in the interval and Vāsishṭhī reigned as regent at the capital, while Puḷumāyi continued to govern the Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra. The years given in the charter must be those of Puḷumāyi, since even the large inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belonged to the Śātavāhana dynasty.

The names of other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kānheri near

<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 Gotamī'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. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times. If the son was 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 Gotamīputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated and Puḷumāyi 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 Puḷumāyi became king only after Gotamīputra, 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.

## Section IV.

Maḍharīputra.

Yajña Śrī.

Chatarapana.

Names of princes  
on the coins found  
at Kolhāpur.

Thānā, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Maḍharīputra Śakasena.<sup>1</sup> In two other inscriptions at the same place the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamīputa Śrī Yajña Sātakani (Gotamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarnī).<sup>2</sup> In one of these the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteenth of his reign. There is one inscription at Nāsik which is dated in the seventh year of that king.<sup>3</sup> Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has brought to light the name of another prince. There is according to him an inscription on the Nānāghāt in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vāsīthīputa Chatarapana Sātakani.

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 stūpa at Kolhāpur. 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>4</sup>:

Raṅño Vasiṭhīputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

Raṅño Gotamīputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

Raṅño Maḍharīputasa Sevalakurasa.

Here we have the same names as before; but the words Vilivāyakurasa 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 Kolhāpur.<sup>5</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 Dhanakataka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhāpur. 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. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter that the Vāsīthīputa of these coins who had Vilivāyakura for his viceroy can be no other than Vāsīshthīputra Puṣumāyi.

<sup>1</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 Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants. The Paṇḍit, therefore, reads the name as Sirisenasa for Śrisenasya, but the *t* 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 rock, and do not represent the vowel *i*. Dr. Bhāu Dāji also read the name as Sakasenasa. But the copy of the inscription given in Plate LL Vol. V. of the Archaeological Survey of Western India and marked No. 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point. The name there is distinctly *Sakasenasa*. Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on. It is therefore clearly a mistake to call the king *Sirisenasa*.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 4 and 44, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI.

<sup>3</sup> No. 4, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., and Trans. Or. Congr., 1874, p. 339.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 305, and Vol. XIV., p. 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above. They also were found at Kolhāpur. Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze.

<sup>5</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV., p. 154.

The Gotamîputa must be Gotamîputra Yajña Śātakarṇi of the inscriptions; for the father of Puṣumayi did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the inscriptions are dated in his reign though his exploits are described in the Nâsik Caves. Maḍharîputa must have come after Gotamîputa and not after Vâsithîputa, as is maintained by some scholars; for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the stûpa dug out at Supârâ, Paṇḍit Bhagvânâl found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend Rañño Gotamîputasa Siri Yañña Śātakanisa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamîputra Śrî Yajña Śāta, karṇi." This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse which though some of the letters are not distinct appears to be *Gotamîputa-Kumâru-Yañña-Sātakanî-Chaturapanasa* the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Chaturapana Yañña Śātakanî, prince of Gotamîputa."<sup>1</sup> The coin was thus like the Kolhâpur coins issued in the names of two persons; of whom Yajña Śrî Śātakarṇi was the reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Chaturapana who was his son represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which from the shape and get-up of the coin appears to have been once ruled over by the Kshatrapas of Ujjayinî or Kâthiâwâd.

There is an inscription at Kânheri which is in a mutilated condition, but which with the help of Mr. West's eye copy and an impression given in one of Dr. Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr. Bühler. Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Śate-raka who was the confidential counsellor of the Queen of Vâsishthî-putra Śātakarṇi, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas and was the daughter of a Mahâkshatrapa whose name is obliterated. The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father. From the letters in West's copy which look like *Sakarâdja* one might think the son meant was Śakasena; still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous.<sup>2</sup> The name of this Vâsishthî-

## Section IV.

Names of princes  
on the Supârâ  
coin.

Chaturapana  
in a Kânheri  
Inscription.

<sup>1</sup> The nether portions of the letters *chaturapanasa* only are impressed on the coin so that the reading is somewhat doubtful; but *panasa* is distinct enough. Paṇḍit Bhagvânâl puts *Chaturapanasa* at the beginning of the legend and reads *Chaturapanasa Gotamîputa Kumâru Yañña Sâtakanî* which he translates "Yajña Śātakarṇi, son of Gotamîputa, and prince of Chaturapana;" and states his belief that Chaturapana was the name of Yajña Śrî's father. But to connect Kumâru, which forms a part of a compound with the genitive, Chaturapanasa, is grammatically not allowable; while the genitive which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence Chaturapanasa is the last word and the whole is a compound, Kumâru is probably a mistake for Kumâra and Yañña Sâtakanî is the father's name placed before Chaturapanasa to show that he was his son. (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., pp. 305-6.)

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI. and Archæol. S. of W. I., Vol. V., Inscription No. 11; also p. 78 of the latter. There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍhari point to a connection with the Śakas whose representatives the Kshatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this inscription.

Section IV.

putra is Śātakarṇi, wherefore he was not Puḷumāyi, but very likely Chatushparṇa (Chatarapana) Śātakarṇi.

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

Krishnarāja.

Śātakarṇi.

Kshaharāta Nahapāna and his son-in-law Ushavadāta.

Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi.

Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi.

Gotamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi.

Vasishṭīputra Chatushparṇa (Chaturapana or Chatarapana) Śātakarṇi.

Madharīputra Śakasena.

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

## SECTION V.

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.—  
IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER WITH THE  
ANDHRABHRTIYAS 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 Kshaharāta Nahapāna is not Indian but foreign. The title Kshatrpa or Mahākshatrpa also used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian *Satrap*. From the statement in the inscription of Gotamīputra that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kshaharāta Nahapāna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a Śaka or Pahlava. Again, we are told that Gotamīputra left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta or Khakhārāta which name seems to be the same as Kshaharāta or Khaharāta as it is spelled in the Kārli and Junnar inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the Śakas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, and that they were driven out by Gotamīputra who, by thus recovering the provinces lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the inscription, the glory of the Śātavāhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

Now, in the Purānas 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 Purānas, 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 and was succeeded by the Kāṇva family which ruled for forty-five years. The Kāṇvas were overthrown by Sīpraka, Sindhuka, or Śisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purānas call the dynasty of the Andhrabhrtiyas, that is, Andhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Krishna according to all, the third was Śātakarṇi or Śrīśātakarṇi according to the Vāyu or Vishṇu, while the Bhāgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śāntakarṇa. The Mātsya interposes three more kings between Kṛishṇa and Śātakarṇi, while the Vishṇu has another Śātakarṇi to correspond with that of the Mātsya. Gotamīputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vāyu, fifteenth according to the Bhāgavata, seventeenth according to the Vishṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mātsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Pulomat was his successor

## Section V.

Nahapāna,  
a Śaka.

Śakas and  
Pahlavas  
overthrown by  
Gotamīputra.

Purānic  
dynasties.

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according to the Vishṇu, the Bhāgavata, or the Mātsya. These are so many mislections for the Pulumāyi of our inscriptions and coins. The Vāyu omits his name altogether. His successor was Śiva Śrī according to the Vishṇu and the Mātsya, while the Bhāgavata calls him Vedaśiras, and the Vāyu does not notice him. Yajña Śrī occurs in all, being placed after Śivaskandha, the successor of Śiva Śrī, by all except the Vāyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamīputra.

The Śātavāhanas of the inscriptions same as the Andhrabhṛityas of the Purānas.

Thus then, the names occurring in the inscriptions and on the coins as well as the order sufficiently agree with those given in the Purānas under the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Chatushparna Śātakarṇi unless we are to identify him with Chaṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi. The name Madharīputra Śakasena also does not occur in the Purānas; 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 Nānāghāt inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Śātakarṇi, the third in the Purānic list, must be the same as Śisuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanāgarī *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*; hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, Śisuka, or Śisuka, in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vāyu and the Sīpraka of the Vishṇu 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 Purānas is the same as the Śātavāhana dynasty of the inscriptions.

## SECTION VI.

## CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDHRABHŪITYAS OR ŚĀTĀVĀHANAS.

## Section VI.

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

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 Andhrabhūitya 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 in 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 those princes then known was 250, which referred to the Śaka era, is 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 concern in carrying the genealogy backward to Chashtāna and no further, and 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 Mahārāshtra for about three hundred years as it did over Kāthiāvād, we might reasonably expect to find in 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 Karādh<sup>2</sup> and no inscription whatever. (3)—Rudradāman in his Junāgad inscription calls a Śātakarni, 'lord of Dakshinapatha', 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 Purānic 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 to my former view, the interval between Nahapāna and Gotamīputra is about 200 years; but the difference in form between the characters in Ushavadāta's and Gotamīputra's inscriptions is not great enough for that period. Hence the two princes must be brought closer together.

<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. XI., p. 127.

**Section VI.**

Ptolemy's Siro  
Polemios the  
same as  
Siri Puḷumāyi  
and his  
Baleocuros  
the same as  
Viḷivāyakra.

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 Paithan, and the southern by Baleocuros who lived in Hippocura. Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Puḷumāvi or Puḷumāyi of the inscriptions corresponding to the Pulomat, or Puḷimat of the Purāṇas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamīputra, 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 Kolhāpur coins the name Viḷivāyakra is associated with that of Puḷumāyi and of Gotamīputra. Viḷivāyakura 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 Śātavāhana dynasty, and on Kolhāpur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godāvarī districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kolhāpur. This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Baleocuros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Puḷumāyi of the inscriptions and coins.

Puḷumāyi 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. Puḷumāyi, 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 Puḷumāyi's accession. Some of Ushavadāta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapāna 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 Gotamīputra, the country was subject to the inroads of 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 Rājputānā. 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 obtain-

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Oldenberg thinks Kanishka to be the founder of the era; but this view is, 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* as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. One has simply to compare Inscription No. 1 in Plate XIII. of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch. Reports with No. 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Kshatrapas and of Kanishka. The former belongs to the time of the Kshatrapa Śodāsa and the letters are almost like those we find in Ushavadāta's inscriptions at Nāsik; while those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth

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 successors 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 Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Puḷumâyi. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Chashtana. But according to the Junâgaḍ 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 good many of those provinces which, according to the Junâgaḍ inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradâman. The date 72 in the inscription seems to refer to the being swept away by a storm and excessive rain of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned and not to the cutting of the inscription on the rock. So that it is doubtful whether Rudradâman had conquered those

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year of Kanishka, are considerably later; and both the inscriptions exist in Mathurâ. (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 country. (4)—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, Hushka, 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.

<sup>1</sup> 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 Baleucuros, 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 Junâgaḍ inscription, a Pahlava of the name of Suvisâkha, who was the son of Kulâipa, 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, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

**Section VI.**

provinces before 72 or did so after 72 and before the incision of the inscription. Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi must correspond at least to the second or third year before A.D. 150, that is, Puḷumāyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A.D. 130. And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Puḷumāyi's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Chashtāna who was Puḷumāyi's contemporary and his grandson Rudradāman who was reigning in 150 A.D. will be considerably shortened. Nahapāna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamīputra or Puḷumāyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, viz. A.D. 124.

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this. Nahapāna was a Satrap ruling over Mahārāshṭra. 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 Saka or A. D. 124. Gotamīputra and Puḷumāyi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapāna'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 Gotamīputra's having been represented in the Nāsik inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta," and to have "regained the prestige of his family." Chashtāna founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayinī. In the Junāgad inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradāman 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 Akarāvanti, Anūpa, Surāshṭra, Aparānta and other provinces which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamīputra, and some more; and as having twice subdued Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakshināpatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of his connection<sup>3</sup> with him not being remote

Relations of  
Gotamīputra and  
his successors  
with Nahapāna,  
Chashtāna and  
Rudradāman.

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

<sup>2</sup> In Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's transcript in Vol. VII., Ind. Ant., the reading is भद्रराजप्रतिष्ठापकेन. But in a foot-note Dr. Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्ज्ये for राजे. In Dr. Bhāu Dāji's copy of the inscription the ज्य is distinct, p. 118, Vol. VII, Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Bhāu Dāji and Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl translate this 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 their thrones *deposed kings*," (p. 260 a, Vol. VII, Ind. Ant.) If राज्ज्ये were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्जे it is far-fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost *rājya* or kingdom re-established by Rudradāman was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is संबंधावदूरया. It is allowable to insert त् and take it as संबंधावदूरतया. But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context; as he could not have "acquired a good name," i.e. been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Dekkan on account of the remoteness of the connection. Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The व therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake; wherefore the true reading must be संबंधादूरतया.

and acquired a good name on that account. The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamîputra Śātakarnî, after having destroyed Nahapāna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinî. Or the Kshatrapa sovereign of Ujjayinî, Chashtana, or very probably his son Jayadāman, having observed the growing power of Gotamîputra or Puḷumāyi 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 Śālivāhana at Paiṭhaṅ and been defeated by him. Śālivāhana is but another mode of pronouncing Śātavāhana;<sup>1</sup> and Puḷumāyi or Gotamîputra was a Śātavāhana. The ruler of Ujjayinî was defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamîputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avantî, Anūpa, Surāshṭra and Aparānta, and dethroned Jayadāman. For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Chashtana, but subsequently Rudradāman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and driving away the Śātavāhanas, regained his lost kingdom and got himself crowned as Mahākshatrapa. But as appears from the Supārā coin of Yajña Śrî which bears such striking resemblance to the Kshatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhāpur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Chaturapana was his viceroy or representative, the Śātavāhanas retained possession of a part at least of the Kshatrapa territories up to the time of Yajña Śrî. They even entered into blood relationship with the Kshatrapas, as we learn from the Kānherî inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vās'ishṭhîputra Śātakarnî being the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa. But Rudradāman pursued his victories and according to his Junāgaḍ inscription twice conquered Śātakarnî the lord of Dakshināpatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote. Thus the lord of Dakshināpatha that he conquered was Yajña Śrî Śātakarnî. He could not have been his son Chaturapana; for the expression "non-remoteness of the connection" suits the former better than the latter, as Chaturapana's wife was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa, perhaps his own and the connection with him was positively close. The re-acquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradāman took place after the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi'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 from 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 Mātsya Purāna. Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Purānas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the

Dates of the  
Andhrabhṛityas  
as determined  
from the Purānic  
accounts.

<sup>1</sup> Hemachandra's Prākṛit Grammar.

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great discrepancy between it and the Mātsya and others. That there is very little agreement among them as regards the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Purāṇic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rishis 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 Purāṇas, 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 Purāṇas 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 Vāyu, and next to it the Mātsya. The Vishṇu is later, and the Bhāgavata, the latest. The text of the old Purāṇas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account. Now the four Purāṇas 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 Vāyu and the Mātsya give in addition the number of years for which each reigned. 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 MaxMüller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years. The number of reigning princes given by the Vāyu is nine, and by the rest, ten; but the names actually enumerated in the Vishṇu only are ten, while the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata give nine, and the Mātsya, only four. The total of the years assigned to each prince by the Vāyu 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 Purāṇa. Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the Mātsya 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 Śuṅga family must have occurred in the year B.C. 185. The Śuṅgas are generally stated in all the Purāṇas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the Bhāgavata is not "112 years," but "more than a hundred years." In the actual enumeration, the Mātsya omits two, and the Bhāgavata, one; and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the Vāyu 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 Kāṇvas or Kāṇvāyanas. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the Bhāgavata, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were

Duration of  
the Maurya  
dynasty.

Of the Ś'uṅgas.

Of the Kāṇvas.

followed by the Andhrabhṛityas. But here, there is a statement in the Vāyu and the Mātsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Andhrabhṛityas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purāna, and Sīsuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kānvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Śuṅgas."<sup>1</sup> And the Kānvas are pointedly spoken of as Ś'ūṅgabṛityas or "servants of the Śuṅgas."<sup>2</sup> It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śuṅga family became weak, the Kānvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brāhmanas and not Kshatriyas. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śuṅgas include the 45 assigned to the Kānvas. The Śuṅgas and the Kānvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the 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:—

Of the  
Andhrabhṛityas.

Vāyu.		Mātsya.		Vishnu.	Bhāgavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Sindhuka ...	23	Sīsuka ... ..	23	Sipraka ..	Namenot given; but mentioned as a Vrishala or Śādra.
Krishna ...	10	Krishna ... ..	18	Krishna ..	Krishna.
		Mallakarni ...	10 or 18	Sri Śātakarni.	Śāntakarna.
		Purpotsaṅga ...	18	Pūrṇotsaṅga...	Paurṇamāsa.
		Skandhastambhi.	18		
Śātakarni ...	56	Śātakarni ...	56	Śātakarni.	
		Lambodara ...	18	Lambodara ...	Lambodara.

<sup>1</sup> काण्वायनस्त (नंत) तो अयः सुशर्मणं प्रसन्न तम् । शुङ्गानां चैव यच्छेषं क्षययित्वा बलं तदा॥

सिन्धुको अन्ध्रजातीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुंधराम् ॥ Vāyu. "A servant of the race of the Andhras having destroyed Susarman of the Kānva family with main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Śuṅgas, will obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Mātsya is similar.

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

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Vāyu.		Mātsya.		Vishnu.	Bhāgavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Apilava ...	12	Apītaka ...	12	Ivīlaka ...	Hivīlaka.
		Meghasvāti ...	18	Meghasvāti ...	Meghasvāti.
		Svāti ...	18		
		Skandasvāti ...	7		
		Mrigendrasvāti- karna.	3		
		Kuntalāsvāti ...	8		
		Svātikarṇa ...	1		
Paṭimāvi ...	24	Pulomāvi ...	36	Paṭumat ...	Ātamāna.
Nemikriṣṇa ...	25	Gaurakriṣṇa or Naurikriṣṇa.	25	Ariṣṭakarman.	Aniṣṭakarman Hāleya.
Hāla ...	1	Hāla ...	5	Hāla.	
Septaka or Mandalaka.	5	Mandulaka ...	5	Patalaka ...	Talaka.
Purīkashēṇa ...	21	Purindrasena ...	5	Pravillasena...	Purīshabhīru.
Sātakarṇi ...	1	Sundara Svāti- karṇa.	1	Sundara ...	Sunandana.
Chakora Sāta- karṇi.	1	Chakora Svāti- karṇa.	1	Chakora ...	Chakora.
Sivasvāti ...	28	Sivasvāti ...	28	Sivasvāti ...	Sivasvāti.
Gautamīputra	21	Gautamīputra ...	21	Gomatīputra...	Gomatīputra.
		Pulomat ...	28	Pulimat ...	Purimān(mat).
		Sivasrī ...	7	Sivasrī ...	Medasīras.
		Sivaskanda ...	7	Sivaskandha ...	Sivaskanda.
Yajñasrī Sāta- karṇi.	29	Yajñasrī Sāta- karṇi.	29, 9 or 20	Yajñasrī ...	Yajñasrī.
Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya ...	Vijaya.
Dandaśrī Sāta- karṇi.	3	Chandaśrī Sāta- karṇi.	10	Chandraśrī ...	Chandravijña.
Pulomavi ...	7	Pulomavit ...	7	Pulomārchis...	Sulomadhi.

Thus, the Vāyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; and the Mātsya, thirty and 448 and a half. The Vishnu gives twenty-four names and the Bhāgavata, twenty-two. This last Purāna has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hāla with the Ariṣṭakarman of the Vishnu, whom it names Aniṣṭakarman Hāleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Vishnu Purāna. The details given in the Mātsya 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 Vāyu 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 Vāyu Purāna, 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 Bhāgavata by which the Kānvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years. The original account, which the author of this Purāna must have

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

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

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seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kānvas and three hundred to the next or Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, *vis.* 456 years, he connected the "the three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kānvāyana 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 Paithaṇ 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 Paithaṇ princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakaṭaka. From an inscription found at Banavāsi by Dr. Burgess it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kānarā. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vāyu Purāṇa refer probably to the main branch. The Mātsya 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 Vāyu 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 Vāyu and the Mātsya Purāṇas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Vishṇu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vāyu. 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 Bhāgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown.

The lower period refers to the main branch of the family.

If then we take the account in the Vāyu Purāṇa to refer to the main branch of the dynasty and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the S'ātavāhanas or Andhrabhṛityas and the end of the reign of Sivasvāti is 206 years.<sup>1</sup> The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in B.C. 78, wherefore the end of Sivasvāti's reign and the accession of Gotamīputra must be placed in A.D. 133. We have seen that Puḷumāyi, 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, Gotamīputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamīputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purāṇas, wherefore he must have died in 154 A.D. He was alive, as stated before, in the eighteenth year of Puḷumāyi, *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

Date of the accession and death of Gotamīputra.

<sup>1</sup> By adding up the numbers in the table.

## HISTORY OF

## Section VII.

mentioned before. Ptolemy's mention of Puḷumāyi I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamīputra's and Puḷumāyi's inscriptions at Nāsik and Rudradāman's at Junāgaḍ on the supposition that the era used in this last is the S'aka, as well as those derived from the Purāṇas 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 :

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

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

S'atakarni (third in the Vāyu P.) began in B.C. 40 and ceased in A.D. 16.

Nahapāna Kahaharāta.

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

Of the other  
princes  
mentioned in  
the inscriptions.

## Of Puḷumāyi.

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Puḷumāyi in the Mātsya Purāṇa are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamīputra'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 Nāsik and Kārli 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 S'ivaśrī, whose coin found in the Tailaṅga districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 64. He appears to have been Puḷumāyi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vāsithīputa, *i. e.*, Vāsishthīputra, or the son of Vāsishthī. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A.D. 165. S'ivaskanda 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 S'rī, occurs frequently as we have seen in inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Puḷumāyi's immediate successor at Paithaṇ. His full name was Gotamīputra Yajña S'rī S'atakarni, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamīputra of the Kolhāpur coins. Some copies of the Mātsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vāyu, twenty-nine; while the Brahmāṇḍa allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahārāshṭra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakaṭaka since, according to our supposition, the Vāyu Purāṇa gives an account of the Dhanakaṭaka branch and his coins are found in Tailaṅga. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Puḷumāyi reigned at Dhanakaṭaka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, *i. e.*, for eighteen years, Yajña S'rī 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 S'rī are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the

Puḷumāyi's  
successors.

Yajña S'rī.

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 Puḷmāyi, by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Śirīsenā for Sakasena; but I have shown that the reading is incorrect. Mr. Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amrāvati near Dharaṇīkoṭ, the legend on which he reads as *Sakasakasa*, but it is not unlikely *Sakasena*, "of Sakasena." Besides, Maḍharīputa Śakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Puḷmāyi for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhāpur coins figured by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī 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 same manner, as observed before, Chaturapana Śātakarṇi's name does not appear in the Purāṇas. But the Purāṇas cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the Mātsya Purāṇa another Andhra 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 new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Andhrabhṛitya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line. And we can very well understand from the points already made out how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yajña Śrī's ceasing to reign. Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi whom I have identified with Chaturapana married a Kshatrapa lady. The Kshatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Śakas who had become Hindus. Maḍharīputa was not unlikely the son of that lady. And thus he and his father Chaturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Chaturapana appears to have succeeded Yajña Śrī; and Maḍharīputa to have reigned after Chaturapana. The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corre-

## Section VI.

Maḍharīputa  
Sakasena.

Chaturapana.

<sup>1</sup> अत्रागां संस्थिता (तेः) राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वये तृपाः । सप्तैवान्धा भविष्यन्ति-

## HISTORY OF

**Section VI.**

Dates of the  
later  
Śātavāhanas.

ponds to 185 A.D. and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Śātavāhanas are therefore these :

*In Mahārāshtra.*

Puṣumāyi ... ..	... ..	A.D. 130—A.D. 154.
Yajña Śrī ... ..	... ..	A.D. 154—A.D. 172.
Chatusparṇa or Chaturapana ... ..	... ..	A.D. 172—was reigning in A. D. 185.
Maḍhariputra ... ..	... ..	About A.D. 190—was reigning in about A.D. 197.

*In Tāilāṅga.*

Puṣumāyi ... ..	... ..	A.D. 154—A.D. 158.
Siva Śrī ... ..	... ..	A.D. 158—A.D. 165.
Sivaskanda ... ..	... ..	A.D. 165—A.D. 172.
Yajña Śrī ... ..	... ..	A.D. 172—A.D. 202.
Vijaya ... ..	... ..	A.D. 202—A.D. 208.
Chandra Śrī... ..	... ..	A.D. 208—A.D. 211.
Pulomavi ... ..	... ..	A.D. 211—A.D. 218.

Thus then, the Andhrabhṛityas or Śātavāhanas 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 Nahapāna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi, six or seven years after Nahapāna'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 ŚĀTAVĀHANAS  
OR ŚĀLIVĀHANAS.

THE period during which the Śātavāhanas or Andhrabhṛityas ruled over Mahārāshṭra 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 Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemachandra in his *Deśikosa* gives Śālivāhana, Śālana, Hāla, 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 Śālivāhanas. In his grammar he gives Śālivāhana as a Prakrit corruption of Śātavāhana. In modern times the Śaka era is called the Śālivāhana era or an era founded by Śālivāhana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century speak of the era as Śakanṛpakāla, i.e., the era of the Śaka king, or Śakakāla, i.e., the era of the Śaka, and in an inscription at Bādāmi it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Śaka king." Subsequently, the simple expression "Śāke, in the year of the Śaka," was used, and thereafter Śāke 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 Godāvāri 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 Ujjayinī, 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

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Śālivāhana  
Śaka.Legend about  
Śālivāhana.

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

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Vikramāditya, and defeated him. This descent of a king of Ujjayin on Paithan I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain. The Śālivāhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Puṣumāyi who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Śakas and fought with Chashtana or Jayadāman and Rudradāman whose capital appears to have been Ujjayinī. It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Puṣumāyi Śālivāhana's relations with the Śakas and their Satrap kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries.

Śātavāhana's  
name in  
connection  
with the  
Bṛihatkāthā.

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana. A work of the name of Bṛihatkāthā written in that form of the Prākṛit which is called the Paisācī or the language of goblins is mentioned by Daṇḍin in his work the Kāvya-darsa.<sup>1</sup> Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and Kshemendra, the author of another Bṛihatkāthā, profess to have derived their stories from this Paisācī Bṛihatkāthā. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Guṇādhyā, who for some time had been minister to Śātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kāṇabhūti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Guṇādhyā offered them to king Śātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Guṇādhyā burnt six of them. Some time after, king Śātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Guṇādhyā and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.<sup>2</sup>

Composition  
of the Kātantra  
Grammar.

It is narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara that while Śātavāhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them. As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words *modakair̥ paritdāya mām*. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, *mā* "do not" and *udakair̥* "with waters," but taking it to be one word meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought and began to throw pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her. There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense; but he was not. Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Guṇādhyā and Śarvavarman, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause; and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve. Śarvavarman, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted; but as it was not possible to do so, Śarvavarman propitiated the god Kārtikeya or Skanda by his self-

<sup>1</sup>भूतभाषामयी प्राहुरनुतायी बृहत्कथाम्.

<sup>2</sup> Kathāsaritsāgara, II. 8.

mortifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sūtra of a new grammar *Siddho Varnasamāndyah*. Thereupon Śarvavarman repeated the other Sūtras, when Kārtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty and allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pāṇini's; but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—*Kātantra*, and would also be called *Kālapaka* after the tail of his peacock. This new grammar Śarvavarman taught to the king.<sup>1</sup> The same story is told by Tārānātha in his "History of Buddhism",<sup>2</sup> but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Śarvavarman, Saptavarman; while the competitor of Śarvavarman is represented by him to be Vararuchi instead of Guṇādhyā. But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Southern India and Śātavāhana in the form of Śāntivāhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuchi lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Śātavāhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the south, though the usual Udayana is a northern prince. It will thus appear that the *Kātantra* grammar was composed by Śarvavarman at the request of a prince of the Śātavāhana family. And this same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pāṇini and others, "lately a Brāhmaṇ of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them further to 2,500 ślokas. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice."<sup>3</sup>

There is a work written in the old Mahārāshṭrī dialect called *Saptaśatī*, which is of the nature of an anthology consisting of Gāthās or stanzas in the Āryā metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is in the third verse mentioned as Hāla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as S'ālivāhana. Bāṇa speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his *Harshacharita* as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by S'ālivāhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpaka*, in the *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharana*, and in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Andhrabhṛitya princes, one of the name of Hāla, 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 Prākṛits or spoken languages, especially the Mahārāshṭrī, were probably for the first time used for literary purposes. In Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* or *Institutes of Love*, Kuntala S'ātakarṇi S'ātavāhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavati, who is called

Hāla's  
Saptaśatī.

Kuntala  
S'ātakarṇi.

<sup>1</sup> Kathāsaritāgāra, VI. 108 & ff.

<sup>2</sup> Schiefner's Translation, p. 73 & ff.

<sup>3</sup> Life of Hwan Thsang, Beal's Trans., p. 122.

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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 Purâna.

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<sup>1</sup> कर्तार्या कुन्तलः शातकार्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवी मलयवती [जघान] Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf. Cat., p. 217 b., does not contain the name मलयवती, and he supplies गणिका from the preceding clause ; but a Ganikâ or courtesan cannot be called Mahâdevî.

## SECTION VIII.

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MAHĀRĀSHTRA  
UNDER THE ANDHRABHĪTYAS OR SĀTAVĀHANAS.

DURING this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahābhojas and Mahārāṭhis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvarṇakāras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhānyakāśreṇis), druggists (Gāndhikas), and ordinary householders (Grihasthas) 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, S'akas, and Pahlavas. 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 S'akas and Yavanas. But some and especially the S'akas seem to have adopted Brāhmanism. The Buddhist 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 S'rāvāṇa 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 deposited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with directions 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 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 Dharmasālās or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplūṇ, Mahād, and Kuḍem situated respectively on the Dābhol, the Bānkoṭ, and the Rājapuri creeks. For those who landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghodbandar, there were the Kāuheri caves.

Brāhmanism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the inscription at Nāsik in which Ushavadāta 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 Brāhman. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Ushavadāta fed a hundred thousand Brāhman as the Mahārāj Sindia did about thirty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brāhman married at one's expense then as now. Gotamīputra also, in the same inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brāhman, and as having like Ushavadāta

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Founders of  
Benefactions.Wandering  
Buddhist  
mendicants.Brāhmaṇism  
equally with  
Buddhism in  
a flourishing  
condition.

**Section VIII.**

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  
Commerce.**

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 Bharukachchha, 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 S'ilâhâra 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 the Nizâm's territory as the site of the ancient city. The other sea-port towns mentioned in the *Periplus* are Souppara, the modern Supâreim or Supârâ near Bassein and the Sôrparaka of the inscriptions and the Purânas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr. Campbell and Pañdit Bhagvânâlâ; 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 were merchants residing in Kalyân;<sup>2</sup> Semulla identified with Chembur by some and with Chaul by others; Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Mândâd, originally Mandagaḍa, situated on the Râjapuri creek near Kudem 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 recognized as Jayagaḍ and which must be identified with that place whatever the first part Meli may mean; Buzantion, and others. Buzantion is probably the Vaijayantî<sup>3</sup> of the inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified it is difficult to say. Vaijayantî is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates translated by Mr. Telang,<sup>4</sup> and was most probably some place in North Kânara.

**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., W. India, No. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Kârli No. 1, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 318 and 321.

In a grant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, Mâdhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantîpura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital.<sup>1</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>2</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 could 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 Paithan and Tagara there was Nâsik, which is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Beḍsâ. 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, Jârnanagara, or Jîrnanagara, 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. Puḷumâyi, 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 Paithan 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 Puḷumâyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapâna's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Puḷumâyi widened the old town of Paithan and called the new extension Navanara. What town existed near 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>3</sup> and the district in which it was situated is called Mâmalâhâra,<sup>4</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>5</sup> and also in the Mahâbhârata.<sup>6</sup> Kolhâpur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhistic stûpa containing the coins

Inland towns.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. XXXI, vv. 69 and 70, Bom. Ed. The Vanavâsinaḥ at the end of v. 69 refers to the town or country of Banavâsî and ought properly to appear as Vanavâsîkâḥ. In the Purânas, too, Vanavâsîkâḥ is given as the name of a people.

<sup>3</sup> No. 14, Kârli. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* No. 19.

<sup>5</sup> No. 20, Kuḍâ Caves. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

<sup>6</sup> In the place above referred to.

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we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhād or Kolhāpur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros whom we have identified with the Viḷivāyakra of the Kolhāpur coins.

**Trade-guilds.**

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes. The great *chaitya* cave at Kārli was caused to be constructed by a Seth (Śreshṭhin) of Vaijayantī, and in other places also, especially at Kānheri, 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 *nigamasabhā* or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadāta's Nāsik 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 *kārshāpaṇas* deposited by Ushavadāta was 100 *kārshāpaṇas*, and in another case that on 1000 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 political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

**Rate of interest.****Communication between different parts of the country.**

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing in Vaijayantī or Banavāsī, and Śorparaka or Supārā, are recorded in the cave at Kārli; of a Nāsik merchant at Beḍsā; of some inhabitants of Bharukachchha and Kalyāṇ at Junnar; of natives of Northern India and Dāttāmitrī, which I have elsewhere shown was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nāsik; and of an iron-monger of Karahākāda or Karhād at Kuḍem. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nāsik and Karhād are recorded on the stūpa at Bharhut which lies midway between Jabalpur and Allahābād.<sup>1</sup> Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

## SECTION IX.

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE EXTINCTION OF  
THE ANDHRABHŪITYAS AND THE RISE OF THE CHĀLUKYAS.

FOR about three centuries after the extinction of the Andhrabhūityas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mātsya and the Vāyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabhūityas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madharīputra 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 Karhād 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 Śātavāhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sāha<sup>1</sup> (or Sena) whose date is 144<sup>2</sup> which, if the era is that of the Śāka kings, corresponds to A. D. 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Śātavāhanas is about A. D. 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhād is Viśva Sāha (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 Ābhīras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Purānas. In the Nāsik caves there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Virasena Ābhīra, the son of Damarī and of Śivadatta Ābhīra.<sup>4</sup> The characters in the inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the inscriptions of the later Andhrabhūitya 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 Pāli, or the Pāli became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts; and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Aśoka to the extinction of the Andhrabhūityas, the language used was mostly the Pāli, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prākṛits of the period. The Ābhīras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vāyu Purāna. Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Purānas as having ruled over the country. 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 put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

## Section IX.

Ābhīras.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. 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> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., No. 15, and Trans. Inter. Con. 1874, p. 341.

**Section IX.**  
**Rāshtrakūṭas.**

We have seen from the cave inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Raṭṭhis or Rāshtrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra these called themselves "the Great Raṭṭhis or Mahārāṭhis, the ancient Marāṭhās," but in other places the name in use must have been Raṭṭhis or Raṭṭhas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Marāṭhā Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Raṭṭha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kūṭa) and called themselves Raṭṭhakūḍa, and later on Rāṭhōḍa, the Sanskrit original of which is Rāshtrakūṭa. Or the Rāshtrakūṭa family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Raṭṭhas that had spread over the whole country. 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 Ābhīras 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 Nāsik and Khāndeś districts. The Rāshtrakūṭas probably rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīras. Hence 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 Jaysinha, the founder of the Chālukya dynasty in the Dekkan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. The Chālukya 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 Rāshtrakūṭa family.

**Traikūṭakas.**

An inscription on copper-plates found in the *chaitya* of one of the caves at Kānheri is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakūṭaka.<sup>2</sup> But the published copy of the inscription was made in the time of Dr. Bird and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination. This Strakūṭaka may be a mislection for Rāshtrakūṭa. But it is not unlikely Traikūṭaka, as the late Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl contended. He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikūṭakas by a prince of the name of Darhase-na<sup>3</sup> in the year 207. Traikūṭaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it. And the Kānheri inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own. From the form of the characters in the inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era; so that the Traikūṭaka dynasty was founded about the middle of

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

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 16, of the copies of the Kānheri inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 346.

the third century, *i. e.* after the extinction of the Śātavāhanas. But further information about the dynasty is not available ; and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled. But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Chedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalachuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A. D. and held sway over a part of the Dekkan including the western coast up to the country of Lāt. They were afterwards driven away by some other race and had to confine themselves to Chedi. The resemblance between the names Tripura the capital of the dynasty and Trikūṭa is perhaps not fortuitous.

## SECTION X.

## THE EARLY CHĀLUKYAS.

Section X.Legendary  
origin.

WE will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Chalikyā, Chalukya, or Chālukya.<sup>1</sup> 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 Vikramānkadevacharita, or life of Vikramāditya a prince of the later or restored Chālukya 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 looked 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 Chālukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hārīta and Mānavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhyā, 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 Chālukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mānavya and were the descendants of Hārīti. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kārtikeya. They obtained from Nārāyaṇa 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 Ayodhyā 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

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fleet draws a distinction between Chalukya and Chālukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Taila II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions." But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early inscriptions. The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or चा is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakeably. The inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose; we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Rāshtrakūṭas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them. In the Rādhanpur grant of Govinda III. (Ind. ant., Vol. VI., p. 65), we have यश्चालुक्यकुलाद्-  
नून &c., in verse 3. In the Navasāri grant edited by me (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII., p. 257), we have चालुक्यवंशजलघेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीः &c. In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr. Hultzsch we have चालुक्यानां कुलम् (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I., pp. 44, 47 & 57). The form चालुक्य is also frequently used. The distinction between च and चा and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr. Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pāṇini and of the Brāhmanas; but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prākṛit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language. Chalukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritized into the various forms we actually find.

distinction in the south was Jayasimha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, those belonging to the Râshtrakûta family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Ranarâga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person. He was succeeded by his son Pulakesi, who performed a great *Âsvamedha* or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next. He made Vâtâpipura, which has been identified with Bâdâmi 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 Satyâsraya Sri Pulakesi Vallabha Mahârâja. Of these words, *Vallabha* appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases, *Vallabha* had *Prithvi* prefixed to it, so that the expression meant "the Lover or Husband of the Earth." *Satyâsraya* or "the Support of Truth" was inherited by some of the later princes. Pulakesi'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 we do not know. He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an inscription at Aihole<sup>1</sup> upon which this account is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan, and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavâsi in North Kânarâ.

Kîrtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died. His brother Maṅgalîsa therefore came to the throne after him. Maṅgalîsa vanquished the Kalachuris, a family of princes ruling over the country of Chedi, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur near Jabalpur. Buddha son of S'ainkaragana, whom he is represented in one grant<sup>2</sup> to have conquered and put to flight must have been a Kalachuri prince, as the name Saṅkaragana frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty. Maṅgalîsa 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 Revatidvipa, or the Island of Revatî. A copper-plate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa,<sup>3</sup> from which it would appear that Revatî was very probably the old name of Redî<sup>4</sup> situated a few miles to the south of Vengurlem. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Bâdâmi, it is stated that the temple<sup>5</sup> was caused to be excavated by Maṅgalîsa. He there placed an idol of Vishnu, 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 Brâhmanas 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 Saka era had elapsed. The reign in the

## Section X.

Jayasimha, the first prince.

Ranarâga.

Pulakesi I.

Kîrtivarman.

Maṅgalîsa.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 241.<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 161. See also Vol. XIX., p. 17.<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. A. S., Vol. X., pp. 365-6.<sup>4</sup> Revatî should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Bevadî or Re-a-dî and then to Redî.<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. III., p. 305.

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twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated is taken to be the reign of Maṅgalīśa. On this supposition Maṅgalīśa began to reign in 489 Śaka; but I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Maṅgalīśa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism<sup>2</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 Kīrtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Śaka, Kīrtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 Śaka corresponding to A.D. 567. In that inscription Maṅgalīśa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Āditya 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 Revatī, 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 Maṅgalīśa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Chālukya family. He could not have been Kīrtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Maṅgalīśa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 533 Śaka. He must therefore have been Maṅgalīśa himself, and if Śaka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Śaka.<sup>3</sup> Kīrtivarman thus reigned from 489 Śaka or A.D. 567 to 513 Śaka or A.D. 591, that is, for twenty-four years.

Death of  
Maṅgalīśa.

In the latter years of his reign Maṅgalīśa 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 neutralized all the advantage that Maṅgalīśa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Maṅgalīśa lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakeśi II.

Pulakeśi, the son of Kīrtivarman, succeeded. His full title was Satyāśraya Śrī Prithvī-Vallabha Mahārāja. From a copper-plate<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV., pp. 23—25.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., 57-58.

<sup>3</sup> See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above. In a recently published article Dr. Fleet places the accession of Maṅgalīśa in 521 Śaka current, being led to it by the occurrence in an inscription of that prince of the words राज्य पञ्चमश्री वर्षे प्रवर्त्तमाने सिद्धार्थे. I have carefully examined the facsimile of the inscription given in the article; and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. राज्य and प्रवर्त्तमाने are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word श्री also. But पञ्चम is highly doubtful; the letter which Dr. Fleet reads म is exactly like that which he reads ञ्च; and there is some vacant space after ञ्च and म in which something like another letter appears. Similarly the सि of सिद्धार्थे is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are also doubtful. Besides in no other inscription of the early Chālukyas does the cyclic year appear. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX., p. 9 and ff.)

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 73.

grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 S'aka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 S'aka or A.D. 611. After 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 Rāshtrakūṭa 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 Banavāst, 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 Gūrjara were conquered and became his dependents. About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harshavaradhana. 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 Paramesvara 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 reigned in peace. The date of the inscription from which the greater

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 242, line 8 of the inscription. From the words *cha*, *ekena* and *aparena* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr. Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake; and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 363, and Vol. VII., p. 168.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabār Coast.

<sup>4</sup> 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.

<sup>5</sup> For the position of these countries, see Sec. III. para. 2.

## Section X.

Hwan Thsang's  
account.

portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Saka, corresponding to A.D. 634, so that Pulakesi'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 through the country he visited Mahārāshtra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-cha*. He saw Pulakesi, 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 Pulakesi'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 Śīlāditya (Harshavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west; he subdues distant peoples 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 Mahārāshtra 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 Mahārāshtra 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, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met upon the road the law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 290.<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 291.

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, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms."

Pulakeśi II. appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty; and his fame reached even foreign countries. He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an 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 Chálukyas was established over a very large extent of country. His younger brother Vishṇuvaradhana, otherwise called Vishamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Sâtârá and Paṇḍharpur districts, since a copper-plate inscription of his found at Sâtârá records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhímâ.<sup>2</sup> Vishṇuvaradhana afterwards obtained the province of Veṅgi between the lower Krisbñâ and the Godâvari, where he founded another flourishing branch of the Chálukya dynasty. Pulakeśi's second brother Jayasimha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Násik. For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpurî táluka of the district, Nágavardhana, the son of Jayasimha, assigns the village of Balegrâma, which has been identified with the modern Belgâm Tarhâlâ about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpurî, for the worship of the god Kâpâlikeśvara.<sup>3</sup> The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparâshṭra. Similarly, Pulakeśi's eldest son Chandráditya ruled over the province which contained the Sâvantvâdî district. In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhattârikâ, the queen of Chandráditya, who is styled Prithivîallabha and Mahârâja 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 *svardjya* 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. Chandráditya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as *svardjya* 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

## Section X.

Vishṇuvaradhana.

Jayasimha.

Chandráditya.

<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 Śâstri and then by me (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV.), and last of all by Dr. Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 123).

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by women as much as by men ; and hence a woman like Vijaya-bhattārikā might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field. The fact 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 monarch at that time. Another son of Pulakeśi named Ādityavarman seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Krishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrá,<sup>1</sup> as a copper-plate grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was found in the Karnul District. An undated grant of Pulakeśi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan has recently been published. In it he sanctions the grant of the village of Āmravātaka made by his maternal uncle Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja "the ornament" of the Sendraka race.<sup>2</sup> This appears to be a family of minor chiefs with whom the Chālukyas were connected. A similar grant was made by the next king at the request of the Sendraka chief Devaśakti.<sup>3</sup> Inscriptions of Sendrakas are found in Gujarāt also, where probably they went when the power of the Chālukyas was established in that province. The name Sendraka is probably preserved in the modern Marāthā name Sinde.

Ādityavarman.

Sendraka race.

Vikramāditya I.

Pulakeśi was succeeded by his second son Vikramāditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśi's *priyatanaya* or favourite son ; so that it appears that Pulakeśi had arranged that Vikramāditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had 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 Kāñchī or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled. Vikramāditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Cholas, Pāṇdyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kāñchī, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Chitrankaṇṭha 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."<sup>4</sup>

During the reign of Vikramāditya I. a branch of the Chālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujarāt or the country called Lāṭa in ancient times. Vikramāditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasimhavarman Dharāśraya,

A branch of the Chālukya dynasty established in southern Gujarāt.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 244, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 223.

<sup>2</sup> Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 228. See also below.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., pp. 86, 89, 92 ; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203 ; and Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127, 130-131.

who thus was another son of Pulakesi II.<sup>1</sup> Śryāśraya Śilāditya son of Jayasimha made a grant of land while residing at Navasāri in the year 421,<sup>2</sup> and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumesvara with his victorious army.<sup>3</sup> In both of these Śryāśraya is called Yuvarāja or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasimha named Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja issued a similar charter in the Śaka year 653.<sup>4</sup> Pulakesi, who represents himself as the younger brother of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāsarāja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490.<sup>5</sup> Both are styled kings. From all this it appears that Jayasimhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujarāt did not rule over the province himself but made his son Śryāśraya his regent. He held that position for more than twenty-two years; and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakesi's grant. Pulakesi, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother. Śryāśraya died before his father; Jayāśraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakesi. The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively; while Jayāśraya's 653 Śaka is 731 A.D. But Vinayāditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A.D.;<sup>6</sup> and Jayasimha whose Yuvarāja was Śryāśraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A.D. *i.e.* 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramāditya; while the interval between Pulakesi and his immediate predecessor Jayāśraya will become 77 years, as Śaka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A.D. The Gupta era will, therefore, not do; and we must with the late Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl refer the dates to the Traikūṭaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances. Thus Śryāśraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A.D., of Jayāśraya 731 A.D. and of Pulakesi 739 A.D., and there will be no incongruity. But the original dates themselves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between Śryāśraya and Pulakesi to be 69 years; and if we take the later date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years. Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasimha Dharāśraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years. In Pulakesi's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tājikas which had destroyed the Saindhava<sup>7</sup>, Kachchhella<sup>8</sup>, Saurāshtra, Chāvotaka,<sup>9</sup> Maurya,<sup>10</sup> Gurjara<sup>11</sup> and other kings, and on its way to Dakṣiṇāpatha to conquer the southern kings had come to Navasāri to reduce that country first. Thereupon Valla-

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Transactions VII. Or. Congr., p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Transactions VII. Or. Congr., p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> King of Sindh.

<sup>9</sup> King of Anahilpattan of the Chāpotkaṭa race.

<sup>10</sup> King of the Maurya race; probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujarāt.

<sup>11</sup> King of the Gurjara race; ruled over the Broach District.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 2 & 3.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> See below.

<sup>8</sup> Very likely king of Kachchha.

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bhanarendra, who must have been Vijayāditya or Vikramāditya II. the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha" (Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra), "Ornament of the family of Chaluka" (Chalukakulālakāra), "Beloved of the earth" (Prithivīvallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakani-vartayitri) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanijanāśraya). As "Tājika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tajika" of a branch of astrology borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A.D. and 750 A.D. by Mahammad Kasim and his successors.<sup>1</sup> Navasāri was the capital of the Chālukyas of Lāta or southern Gujarāt.

A spurious  
Chālukya grant.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujarāt Chālukyas found at Kherā and translated by Prof. Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz., Jayasimharāja, Buddhavarmanrāja, and Vijayarāja.<sup>2</sup> Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasimha the founder of the Chālukya dynasty of the Dekkan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasimhavarman, 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, appears to me to be a forgery.<sup>3</sup> The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasimhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarāja must have ruled over another part of Gujarāt. If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era.

Vinayāditya.

After Vikramāditya I. his son Vinayāditya came to the throne. One of his grants is dated Śaka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,<sup>4</sup> another in 613 Śaka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year.<sup>5</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>6</sup> From these it appears that Vinayāditya came to the throne in 602 Śaka corresponding to A.D. 680, in which year his father Vikramāditya must have ceased to reign. His latest 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, Vinayāditya 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, i.e. Chola, Pāṇḍya, and Kerala, and tranquilizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A.D. 692—A.D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas,

<sup>1</sup> Elphinstone's Hist. of India.

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

<sup>3</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 Bbar 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 *rāja*, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Chālukya grants. (5) None of the three princes has a title or *Biruda* as all Chālukya princes from Fulakeśi I. downwards had.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 86.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 92.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

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Kalambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mâlavas, Cholas, Pândyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Châlukya crown as the Gânga family of Chera and the Alupas whose loyalty was for the first time secured by Pulakeśi II.<sup>1</sup> The kings of Kâvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pârasikas, 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 successors.<sup>2</sup> A chief of the name of Malârâja Pogilli of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his in the south about Maisur.<sup>3</sup>

Vinayâditya was succeeded by his son Vijayâditya. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the southern kings and his father in the expedition into the north. At one 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 bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty. There is an inscription at Bâdâmi in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmâ, Viṣṇu, and Mahēśvara were put up at Vâtâpipura in Śaka 621 and the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in Śaka 622 on the full-moon day of Āṣadha and in the fourth year of his reign, another in Śaka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Śaka 651 on the full-moon day of Phâlguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.<sup>4</sup> On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 Śaka after the full-moon day of Āṣadha corresponding to A.D. 696. The first two of these grants, and another which bears no date, were found at Nerur in the Sâvantvâdî state.<sup>5</sup> Vijayâditya had a long reign of thirty-six years.

Vijayâditya.

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>6</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,

Vikramâditya II.

<sup>1</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>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127 and 131.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX., p. 143.

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

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127 and 131; and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 203, *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 107.

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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 Brâhmins and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Râjasimhêśvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king. He then fought with the Cholas, the Pândyas, the Keralas, and the Kaḷabhras, and reduced them.<sup>1</sup> Vikramâditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas. The elder of these was called Lokamahâdevî and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokeśvara, at Paṭṭadakal in the Kalâdgi district. The younger's name was Trailokyamahâdevî, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyêśvara. The latter was the mother of Kîrtivarman the next king.<sup>2</sup> Vikramâditya reigned for fourteen years.

**Kirtivarman II.**

His son Kîrtivarman II. began to reign in 669 Śaka or A.D. 747, since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka.<sup>3</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 the country passed from their hands into those of the Râshtrakûṭa 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 copper-plate grants issued by the Châlukyas; but Râshtrakûṭa plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Râdhanpur in Northern Gujarât to Sâmangaḍ near Kolhâpur and Nâgpur in the Central Provinces. The grant of Kîrtivarman 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 the greater portion of his kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant. The name of the Râshtrakûṭa monarch who first humbled the Châlukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Krishṇa. 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>4</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 sovereign power in the reign of Kîrtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Châlukyas.

**Overthrow of  
the Châlukyas.**<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 26<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 165. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 5,<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 27.<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 375.

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Châlukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence. Ravikîrti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakesi II. Vijayâditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapaṇḍita or Niravadyapaṇḍita, the house pupil of Śrîpûjyapâda, who belonged to the Devagana sect of the Mûlasaṅgha, *i. e.* of the Digambara Jainas. Niravadyapaṇḍita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayâditya's<sup>1</sup> father, *i. e.* Vinayaditya. Vikramâditya II. repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapaṇḍita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant.<sup>2</sup> But Jainism in those days, as at present, probably flourished in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country only. If the Pûjyapâda who was the preceptor of Niravadyapaṇḍita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Śaka, the date of Vinayâditya's death, *i. e.* about 600 Śaka or 678 A.D. All that is known about Pûjyapâda and his relations to other Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date. But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pûjyapâda.

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. With the decline of Buddhism came the revival of Brâhmanism and especially of the sacrificial religion. The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit; but we now see them rising into importance. Pulakesi I. is mentioned in all the inscriptions in which his name occurs as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the Aśvamedha. I have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> remarked that the names of most of the famous Brâhmanical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of *Sodamin* attached to them; and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore. The period of the early Châlukyas appears to be that period. Amongst the Brâhman grantees of these princes we have Nandisvâmin, Lohasvâmin, and Bhallasvâmin;<sup>4</sup> Dâsasvâmin the son of Jannasvâmin and grandson of Revâsvâmi-Dikshita;<sup>5</sup> Devasvâmin, Karkasvâmin, Yajñasvâmin, Nâgammasvâmin, another Devasvâmin, Gargasvâmin, Rudrasvâmin,<sup>6</sup> Prabhâkarasvâmin, Keśavasvâmin,<sup>7</sup> &c. There are others whose names have not this title attached to them. Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial sûttras and rites, *viz.* Karkasvâmin, Devasvâmin, and Keśavasvâmin.

Section X.  
Jainism under  
the Châlukyas.

Buddhism.

Revival of  
Brâhmanism.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> Report on MSS. for 1884, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., 128.

<sup>7</sup> B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., pp. 237, 239.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 131.

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Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Chálukyas reigned in Mahá:áshtra; and probably flourished in the Dekkan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries. For the revival of Brahmañism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India. The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Rishis.

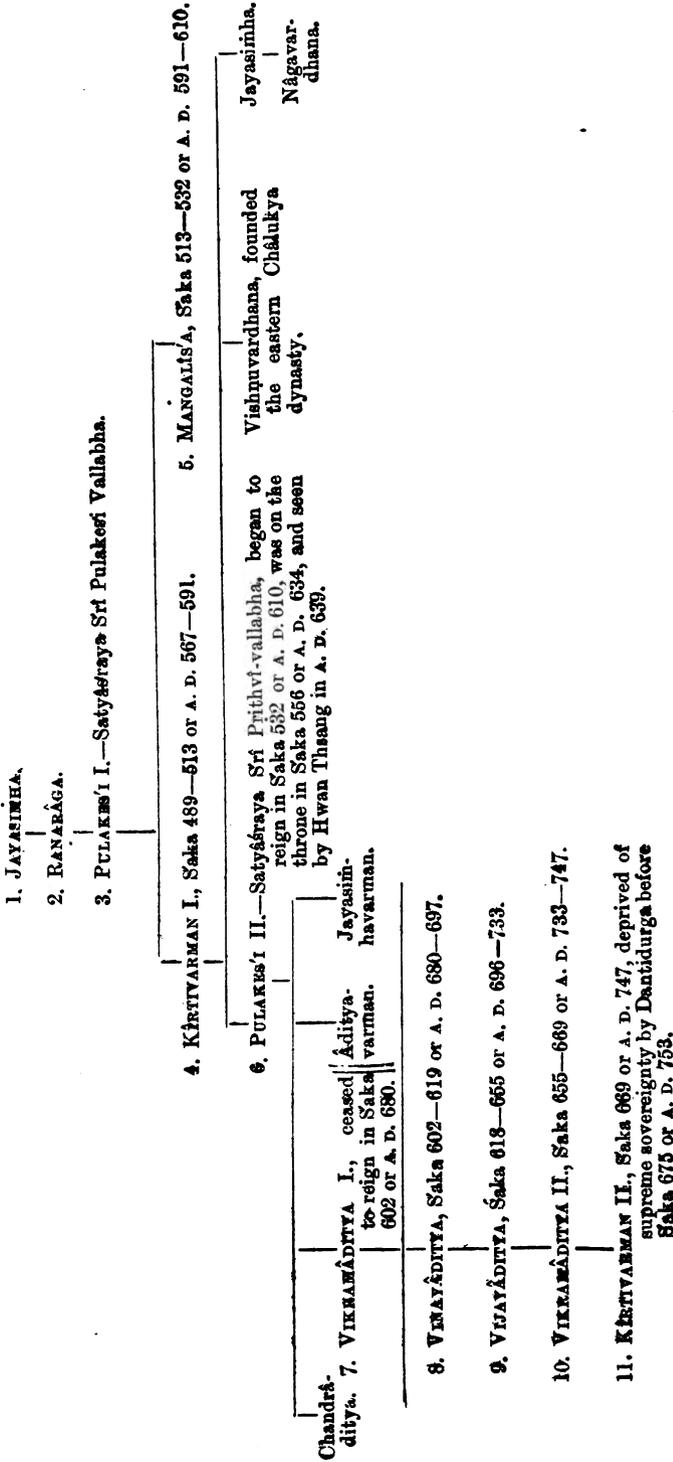
**Puranic gods.**

And the Puranic side of Brahmañism also received a great development during this period. Temples in honour of the Puranic triad, Brahmá, Vishñu, 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 Násik grant of Nágavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kápálikeśvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show.

**Cave architecture.**

Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Puranic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave-temple at Bádámí dedicated to the worship of Vishñu by Mañgalíśa. The Chálukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

*Genealogy of the early Chálukyas.*



## SECTION XI.

## THE RĀSHTRAKŪTAS.

Section XI.

THE Rāshtrakūtas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadū.<sup>1</sup> According to the Wardhā plates they were members of the Sātyaki branch of the race; and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Raṭṭa. He had a son of the name of Rāshtrakūṭa after whom the family was so called. These are clearly imaginary persons; and as remarked before, the Rāshtrakūṭa family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kshatriyas named Raṭṭhas who gave their name to the country of Mahārāshtra, and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya. The Rāshtrakūṭas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Śātavāhanas and the Chālukyas who established themselves in the Dekkan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated. The earliest prince of the 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>2</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 Brāhmanas 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 Rāshtrakūṭas 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 Pāndyas, and of Śriharsha, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajraṭa<sup>3</sup>; and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II. with ease. He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the south.<sup>4</sup> He also subdued the kings of Kāñchī, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Śrī-Sāila,<sup>5</sup> Mālava, Lāṭa, and

Govinda I.

Karka I.

Indra II.

Dantidurga.

<sup>1</sup> Khārepātan plate, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217; Sāngali plates, B. B. R. A., Vol. IV., p. 111.; Navasārī plates and Wardhā plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII. p. 239 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10, pp. 92—96.

<sup>3</sup> The army of Karnāṭaka was thus the army of the Chālukyas.

<sup>4</sup> Sāmangā grant, p. 375, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II.

<sup>5</sup> This must have been the country about Śrī-Sāila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikārjuna and which is situated on the lower Kṛishṇa in the Karnul district, Madras Presidency.

Tanka. At Ujjayinî he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity.<sup>1</sup> A grant of Dantidurga found at Sâ mangaḍ in the Kolhâpur district bears the date 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A.D. 753.<sup>2</sup>

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Karḍâ,<sup>3</sup> and his paternal uncle Krishnarâja succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at Baroda<sup>4</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 Krishnarâja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself 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 Krishnarâja 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 Kâvî, and another found in the Navasârî district, Krishna is represented to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death.<sup>5</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 Karḍâ plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Krishnarâja, otherwise called Śubhatuṅga and also Akâlavarsha, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Châlukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants<sup>6</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>7</sup>—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drawn out from it the Lakshmi<sup>8</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. Who<sup>9</sup> this person was we have not the means of determining. In the Wardhâ plates he is represented to have constructed many temples of Śiva,

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## Krishnarâja.

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

<sup>1</sup> Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10. *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Referred to above.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III.

<sup>4</sup> Published in Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., pp. 292—303.

<sup>5</sup> See stanza 11 (p. 146, Ind. Ant., Vol. V.,) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्दिवं [गते] remains; and lines 15 and 16, Jour. B. E. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 257, ll. 14, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Vanî-Dindorî, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V., and Râdhanpur, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 65.

<sup>7</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>8</sup> Vishṇu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakshmi from it, whom he married.

<sup>9</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 132, l. 13.

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which resembled the Kailāsa mountain.<sup>1</sup> In the Baroda grant it is stated that Kṛishṇarāja "caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elāpura. 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 regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Kṛishṇa with his own hands again decorated Sambhu (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 Gaṅgā, 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 Simhapura, Indur for Indrapura, S'irur for S'rīpura, &c. The Elāpura 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 Kailāsa itself.<sup>2</sup> Thus it appears that it was Kṛishṇarāja that caused the Kailāsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Kṛishṇarāja must have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Ś'aka era, *i.e.*, between 753 and 775 A.D.

## Govinda II.

Kṛishṇarāja was succeeded by his son Govinda II.<sup>3</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 Rādhanpur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bühler in his paper in Vol. VI, Ind. Ant., simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Kṛishṇarāja) with the hill at Elāpur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Ś'iva." He has not identified Elāpura 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. Dr. Fleet has 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 "a hill fort" (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 124), and now thinks Elāpura is in the passage meant to be represented as Kṛishṇarāja's "encampments." He identifies Elāpura with Yellāpur in the North Kānarā districts. But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elāpura, and Elurā from Elāpuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elurā is meant to be spoken of; and actually the existence of a Bāshtrakūṭa 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>3</sup> The name of this prince is omitted in the Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī and Rādhanpur 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.

Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. The Wardhā grant states that he gave himself up to sensual pleasures, and left the cares of the kingdom to his younger brother Nirupama; and thus allowed the sovereignty to drop away from his hands. But subsequently he seems from the Paiṭhan<sup>1</sup> grant to have endeavoured to regain his power with the assistance of the neighbouring princes, when Dhruva vanquished him in a battle and formally assumed the insignia of supreme sovereignty. At the end of a Purāna entitled Harivaiṃśa of the Digambara Jains, 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 and Paiṭhan grants called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva, the second son of Kṛishṇa I., was Kalivallabha. 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.<sup>2</sup>

Dhruva was an able and warlike prince. His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dhārāvarsha. He humbled the Pallava king of Kāñchī 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 Kauśāmbī the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown haughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauda country. He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Mārvād and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gauda king.<sup>3</sup> The Jaina Harivaiṃśa represents a Vatsa prince as ruling over the west in Śaka 705. He must have been the same as that vanquished by Nirupama. According to the Navasārī grant Nirupama took away the umbrella of the king of Kosala also; and in the Wardhā plates he is represented as having three white umbrellas. A stone inscription at Pattadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama. There he is styled Dhārāvarsha and Kalivallabha.<sup>4</sup> The last name occurs also in the Wardhā grant and the first in that found at Paiṭhan. This prince does not appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Śaka 705 and his son in Śaka 716, the year in which the Paiṭhan charter was issued.

Dhruva Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Rādhanpur and Vaṇi-Diṇḍorī grants were issued by him in the Śaka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808<sup>5</sup> while he was at

Govinda III. or  
Jagattunga I.

<sup>1</sup> Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV., p. 107.

शाकेष्वदशतेषु सप्तम दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषुत्तरां  
पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवङ्गभे दक्षिणाम् ।  
पूर्वा श्रीमद्वन्तिभूयति नृपे वत्सादि (धि) राजेऽपरां  
सौर्या (रा)गामधिमण्डले (लं) जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Rājendralal's Skr. MSS., Vol. VI., p. 80, and MSS. in the Deccan College collections.

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

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> The Samvatsara 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.

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Mayātrakaṇḍī. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nāsik territory of the name of Morkhaṇḍ. Whether Mayātrakaṇḍī 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 Rāshtrakūta princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rāshtrakūtas became invincible, as the Yādavas of Purāṇic history did when under the guidance of Krishṇa, 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 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 Rāshtrakūtas. But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Gāṅga 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 Gūrjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Mālvā, 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 Mārāsarva, 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 S'ribhavana, which has not been identified. When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tuṅgabhadrā, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kāñchī under a more complete subjection than before. Thence he sent a message to the king of Vengi, or the country between the lower Krishṇā and the Godāvāri, who probably belonged to the eastern Chālukya 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 Kānarese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III.) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñchī, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā," he allotted some lands to one Śivadhāri at a holy place named Rāmes'vara.<sup>3</sup> His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after

<sup>1</sup> The Kāvī 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> Vani-Dindorf and Rādhanpur plates. <sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp. 126-7.

Śaka 716 *past*, or 794 A.D., since the Paiṭhan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them.

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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 Mālvā in the north to Kāñchīpura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadā and the Tuṅgabhadrā. The Vani-Diṇḍorī plates convey a village situated in the Nāsik district, while those found in the Kānārese country assign some land near the Tuṅgabhadrā. The province of Lāṭa, situated between the Mahī and the lower Tāpī, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,<sup>1</sup> who 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 Prabhūtavarsha or "Raining profusely," Prithivīvallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śrī-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below. The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lāṭa, in Śaka 734 or A.D. 812, and the Kāvī 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 Gujarāt than of the Dekkan.

In several of the grants belonging to this dynasty, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattuṅga. 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, the son of Nirupama, must, therefore, 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 Chālukyas of Veṅgi and put several of the princes to death.<sup>3</sup> In the Navasārī grant Amoghavarsha is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled *Rājardja* or king of kings and also Vīra-Nārāyaṇa. This last title is justified by the poetic writer of the grant by saying that as the God Nārāyaṇa brought out the earth which was immersed in the ocean, so did Vallabha bring the goddess of sovereignty out of the ocean in the shape of the Chālukyas in which it had sunk. He is also represented to have "burnt" the Chālukyas. These also must be allusions to Amoghavarsha's wars with the Chālukyas of Veṅgi; and he probably conquered some territory belonging to them. In the Kardā grant the city of Mānyakheṭa 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 from that grant, as the reading given by Mr Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardhā plates are clear on the point. In them the successor of Jagattuṅga is called Nripattuṅga; and he is represented to have founded the city of Mānyakheṭa, which "put the

Śarva or  
Amoghavarsha I.

<sup>1</sup> Kāvī plate, Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 29; Baroda grant, Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 296, v. 21, in which तृदा ought to be तृत्त as in the Kāvī.

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

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

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city of the gods" to shame. Mānyakheta has been properly identified with Mālkhed in the Nizam's territory. In the Kānheri caves there are three inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsha. In one of them Pullasakti of the Silāhāra 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>1</sup> An inscription at Sirur in the Dhārvād district published by Dr. Fleet is dated Śaka 788, *vyaya*, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha;<sup>2</sup> so that the year 799 Śaka of the Kānheri inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign. The cyclic year *vyaya* corresponds to the Śaka year 788 *past* and 789 *current*. This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past*. In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurāna, or the latter half of the Mahāpurāna, 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 Ādipurāna or the first part of the same work.<sup>3</sup> Jinasena himself at the end of his poem the Pārsvābhyudaya gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarsha may reign for a long time. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas entitled Jayadhavalā is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, in the reign of Amoghavarsha. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled Śārasaṅgraha by Virāchārya, Amoghavarsha is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Syādvāda).<sup>4</sup> He is mentioned there also by his other name Nṛpatuṅga. The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnottara-ratnamālikā, which has been claimed for Śaṅkarāchārya and one Śaṅkaraguru by the Brāhmaṇs, and for Vimala by the Śvetāmbaras, is attributed

<sup>1</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 *Prajāpati*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which, however, was 774. Prof. Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 expired, *i. e.* 774 current.

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Several copies of this Purāna have been purchased by me for Government. The stanza in which Amoghavarsha is alluded to is this :—

यस्य प्रांशुनसांशुजालविसरद्धारान्तराविर्भव-  
त्पादाम्भोजरजःपिशङ्गमुकृत्प्रत्यमरत्नद्युतिः ।  
संस्मर्ता स्वममोषवर्षेन्द्रपतिः 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>4</sup> This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr. K. B. Pathak.

to king Amoghavarsha by the Digambara Jainas. At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarsha composed the Ratnamâlikâ after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit<sup>1</sup> in him. There is another Amoghavarsha in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jainas. There is a translation of the work in the Thibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarsha, who is represented as a great king. The Thibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner; but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarsha.<sup>2</sup> From all this it appears that of all the Râshtrakûta princes, Amoghavarsha was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jainas; and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akâlarvarsha. He married the daughter of Kokkala, king of Chedi, who belonged to the Haihaya race, and by her had a son named Jagattuṅga. Akâlarvarsha's proper name was Krishna as is evident from the Navasâri grant and also from the Wardhâ and the Karḍâ plates. He is the Krishna-râja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Prithvî-râma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Śaka year 797 at Saundatti.<sup>3</sup> Another Jaina temple was built by a Vaisya or Bania named Chikârya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Mulgunda in the Dhârvâd district, and in the inscription which records this fact he is styled Krishna Vallabha.<sup>4</sup> Krishna or Akâlarvarsha appears to have been a powerful prince. He is represented as having frightened the Gârjara, humbled the pride of the Lâta, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Andhra, Kalînga, Gânga, and Magadha.<sup>5</sup>

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purâna noticed above was consecrated in Śaka 820, the cyclic year being Piṅgala,<sup>6</sup> by Loka-

Krishna II. or  
Akâlarvarsha.

<sup>1</sup> See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1888-84; Notes, &c., p. ii. The stanza is

विवेकान्त्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।  
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधियां सदलंकृतिः ॥

<sup>2</sup> Weber's Indische Streifen, Vol. I., p. 210.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 200. The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to Śaka 797 *past*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, p. 192. The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

<sup>5</sup> Wardhâ and Navasâri plates. Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII pp. 239-269.

<sup>6</sup> अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयत्यखिलामिलाम् ।

तस्मिन्निध्वस्तानिःशेषद्विषि वीध्रयशोच्चषि ॥  
धर्मं च. l.

शकचक्रवर्तिनाभ्यन्तरविशत्यधिकाष्टशतमिताब्दान्ते ।  
भङ्गलमहार्थकारिणि पिङ्गलनामानि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥

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sena the pupil of Guṇabhadra, who was the author of the second part. In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants of Akālavarsha" 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 Kaumāra 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 Śaka has also been assigned to Akālavarsha.<sup>2</sup> It will have been seen that an inscription at Saundatti represents Kṛishṇarāja to have been the reigning prince in Śaka 797, while one in the Kānheri caves speaks of his father Amoghavarsha as being on the throne two years later, *i.e.*, in 799. This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratnamālikā that the latter had abdicated the throne in his old age. The real reigning prince therefore in Śaka 797 and 799 must have been Akālavarsha his son; but the writer of the Kānheri inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarsha's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes.

Jagattuṅga.

Akālavarsha's son was Jagattuṅga. But he did not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Khārepātan grant, after Akālavarsha, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akālavarsha's grandson, while Jagattuṅga is mentioned in another connection below. And in the Navasāri grant Indra is represented as "meditating on the feet" of Akālavarsha, and not of Jagattuṅga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akālavarsha. But the Wardhā grant is explicit. It tells us that Jagattuṅga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having

निष्ठितं मन्व्यवयैः

प्रापेज्यं शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुराणम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purāna, the essence of the Sāstras 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 Akālavarsha, 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 Saka current.

यसोत्तुङ्गमतगजा निजमदस्रोतस्विनोसंगमा-

दाङ्कं वारि कलङ्कितं कट्टं मुहुः पीत्वाप्यगच्छन्तृषः ।  
गं गं

कौमारं घनचन्दनं वनमपांपत्युस्तरंगानिलै-

र्मन्दान्दोलितमस्तभास्करकरञ्जयं समाशिशियन् ॥

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

ascended the throne. Jagattuṅga married Lakshmi, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Raṇavigraha in the Sāṅgalī and Navasāri grants, and Sāmkaragaṇa in the Kardā plates. But it will be presently shown that the Kardā plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty. From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather. His title was Nityavarsha according to the Navasāri grant; and his son Govinda IV. is in the Sāṅgalī grant spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of Nityavarsha, which also shows that that was Indra's title. Nityavarsha is the donor in the Navasāri grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mānyakheta, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kaḍoda on the banks of the Tāpī, for his Pattabandhotsava. This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings. He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity after having weighed himself against gold. The village conveyed by the Navasāri grant is Tenna situated in the Lāṭ country. It has been identified with Tenā in the Navasāri division of the Baroda State. The grant was issued in S'aka 836; so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year. Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasāri district records the grant of the village of Gumra identified with the modern Bagumra by the same prince. The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents *mutatis mutandis* are exactly the same.<sup>1</sup> From these grants of villages in the Navasāri district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lāta, and from the statement in the Wardhā plates that Kṛishṇa or Akālarsha humbled the pride of the Lāta prince, it appears that the main branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas reigning at Mānyakheta must have in Akālarsha's time supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujārāt, which had been founded in the time of Jagattuṅga or Govinda III. Indra was the reigning monarch in Saka 838, the cyclic year being *Dhātu*, as appears from an inscription published by Dr. Fleet.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Kardā plates. The Sāṅgalī grant, however, is clear. Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Chedi again. Her name was Vijāmbā;<sup>3</sup> 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 Sāṅgalī grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Khāre-pāṭaṅ grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 261 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sāṅgalī grant calls her Dvijāmbā, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijāmbā in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijāmbā is Vidyāmbā. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 250.

## Section XI.

## Amoghavarsha II.

Amoghavarsha.<sup>1</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 Kardā plates also. Amoghavarsha and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Ambā, who is the same as the Vijāmbā of the Sāngali plate. But in the text of the grant Govinda and Ambā form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the lady Govindāmbā, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop king Govinda altogether.<sup>2</sup> But the Wardhā grant is explicit on the point. From it we learn that Amoghavarsha was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if "out of love for him", and then Govinda came to the throne. The Sāngali grant of Govinda IV., as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarsha by name; but 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 Sāhasānka by his matchless enterprise and liberality." What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say. But probably Govinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death, and the other accusations referred to were whispered against him; and this is

## Govinda IV.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. 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 Khārepiṭan grant, and also in that of Kardā, if properly understood.

<sup>2</sup> The 14th stanza, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is चैवा मातुलशंकरणात्मजायामभूज्जगत्तुङ्गात् । श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्दांबाभिधानायाम् ।

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 Ambā a wife of Jagattuṅga along with Lakshmi, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Lakshmi's sister, the father of both being Saṅkaragana. But Ambā or Vijāmbā is in the Sāngali grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Aṅgapadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Raṇavigraha, the father of Lakshmi; that is, Ambā was the daughter of Lakshmi's first cousin. She is also distinctly represented as the wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV. Again, if we take the lines as they are, the result will be that the Kardā grant makes no mention of Indra's wife Vijāmbā and of his sons Amoghavarsha and Govinda IV., the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see, for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sāngali grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattuṅga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindāmbā. And the second line श्रीमानमोघवर्षो गोविन्दांबाभिधानायाम् । 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 Ambā or Vijāmbā. And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV, who, as noticed in the text below, was called Suvartavarsha by people, because he "rained down gold." The name of that prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake. If it 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 Sāngali grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read रदो for र्दो and then Ambā would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible. There must be other mistakes also in the Kardā grant. Very probably a verse or two are omitted here, as also after the next stanza, where Krishnarāja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

intended as a defence. The Khârepâtan and Wardhâ grants agree in representing Govinda as a prince addicted to sensual pleasures. The former says that he was "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and was always surrounded by crowds of beautiful women," and the latter that he was "the source of the sportive pleasures of Love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and his health being undermined, he met with an untimely death." The words used have double senses from which it would appear that the affairs of the state also fell into confusion and hastened his destruction. But the Sângali grant which was issued by him has of course nothing but praise for him. Govinda's other names were Prabhûtarsha and Suvarṇavarsha (raining gold) and probably Sâhâsanka also. The grant was issued in S'aka 855, or A.D. 933, in the Vijaya<sup>1</sup> year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Mânyakheta. Govinda IV. was on the throne in S'aka 841, as appears from an inscription published by Dr. Fleet, in which under the name of Prabhûtarsha he is represented as the reigning sovereign.<sup>2</sup> The inscription, however, is dated 840 S'aka; but from the cyclic year Pramâthin, which is also given, it must be understood that the year meant is 841 S'aka. It will appear from this that Indra or Nityavarsha, who succeeded his grandfather in S'aka 836, had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amoghavarsha, could have been on the throne only for a few months. Govinda IV. like Amoghavarsha I. was at war with the Châlukyās of Veṅgi.<sup>3</sup> Another inscription represents Govinda IV. as the reigning monarch in S'aka 851.<sup>4</sup>

From the Khârepâtan plates it appears that Govinda IV. was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagattuṅga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage. He was succeeded by his son Krishnarâja, 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 Khârepâtan. It states: "When the elder brother Krishnarâjadeva went to heaven, Khottigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Kandakadevî, the daughter of Yuvarâja, became king."<sup>5</sup> Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khottigadeva and not to the preceding king,<sup>6</sup> whoever he may have been. Khotika therefore was, even

Baddiga or Amoghavarsha III.

Krishna III. and Khotika.

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

<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 222. Dr. Fleet, however, identifies this Prabhûtarsha with Jagattuṅga the son of Akâlavarsha or Krishna II, and father of Nityavarsha. But as we have seen Nityavarsha was on the throne in S'aka 836 and 838, wherefore his father could not have been the reigning prince in S'aka 840 or 841. Besides, as I have shown, Jagattuṅga did not ascend the throne at all.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS. for 1883-84, p. 48.

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

<sup>5</sup> ऐन्द्रपदजिगीषयेव स्वर्गमधिरूढे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कृष्णराजदेवे  
युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकदेव्याममोषवर्षन्त्या-  
ज्जातः खोद्विगदेवो नृपतिरभूद्वनविख्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

<sup>6</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 Khottigadeva. See the passage in the last note.

Section XI.

according to the Kardâ grant, the younger brother of Kṛishnarâja. But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsha, while Kṛishnarâja is spoken of in the Khârepâtan plates as the son of Baddiga. In an inscription at Salotgi, Kṛishnarâja, the son of Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been reigning at Mânyakheta in 867 Saka,<sup>1</sup> that is, twelve years after the Sângalî grant of Govinda IV. was issued. He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining. For the Kṛishna 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 Kṛishna came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant; and there is no other Kṛishna mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Saka. If, then, the Kṛishna of the grants is the same as the Kṛishna of the Salotgi inscription, here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsha; so that the Baddiga of the Khârepâtan plates was the same as the Amoghavarsha of the Kardâ plates. Kṛishnarâja 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>

And these points have been placed beyond the possibility of doubt by the Wardhâ grant. After Govinda's death, we are told, the feudatory chiefs entreated Amoghavarsha the son of Jagattuṅga, who was

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 205, *et seq.* The cyclic year given is Plavaṅga, which followed next after Saka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870. According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Plavaṅga in a part of the year 867 Saka *expired*.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet, following Mr. Wathen's translation, makes Kṛishna, whom he calls Kṛishna III., the elder brother of Amoghavarsha and thus a son of Jagattuṅga. But in the Khârepâtan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattuṅga, and in the Wardhâ plates as the son of Amoghavarsha, the son of Jagattuṅga, and was thus a grandson of Jagattuṅga. 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 Khotika and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâtan. 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. Dr. Fleet brings in another Kṛishna and makes him the younger brother of Khotika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below) and with the Kṛishna whose dates range from Saka 867 to 878. What his authority is I do not know. But the Khârepâtan grant mentions one Kṛishna 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 Khârepâtan plates. The Kṛishna whose dates range from 867 to 878 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 this Kṛishna, because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khotika was called Kṛishna, and he too could not have been called by the same name. Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Kardâ plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Kakkâ, who was a reigning prince; and in the Khârepâtan grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Kakkâ is said to be the son of the brother of Khotika. Kṛishna, on the other hand, was on the throne from 867 to 878 Saka according to the stone inscriptions. Again if Khotika was the elder brother of this Nirupama-Kṛishna it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Saka, while Kṛishna should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Saka, that is, before his elder brother. Kṛishna, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Khârepâtan grant, and Khotika the younger. Dr.

"first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power. He was assisted in the government by his son Kṛishṇa, who though but a crown-prince wielded very great power. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished; he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Gāṅga prince; and planted what appears to be a colony of the Āryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the south, the Gūrjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa in the north, had to give up the enterprize. All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himālaya and Sīmhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him. After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne. The Wardhā plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nāgpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Krishṇarāja, who is also called Akālarsha, in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga to a Brāhmaṇ of the Kāṇva school of the White Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha in Śaka 862, corresponding to 940 A.D., the cyclic year being Ś'arvari. This prince is called Sri-Vallabha also in the grant.

Krishṇarāja was the reigning monarch in Śaka 873 and 878.<sup>1</sup> At the end of a Jaina work called Yasastilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Chaitra when 881 years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhārthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Krishṇarājadeva. Krishṇarājadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pāṇdyas, Sīmhala, the Cholas, the Cheras and others.<sup>2</sup> Khoṭika, his brother, was on the throne in Śaka 893 *Prajāpati*.<sup>3</sup>

Khoṭika was succeeded, according to the Khārepātan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama according to the Karḍā grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Chālukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed from the hands of the Rāshṭrakūṭas once more

Kakkala or  
Karka II.

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Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates:—"Kotṭiga 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 Kotṭiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Kṛishṇa IV. was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Kakka III."—(Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 255.) 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," (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 258,) and to have been reigning at the time at Mānyaketa and governing the kingdom (Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 210.) Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as *Yuvarāja*. Thus there were not two Kṛishṇas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarsha, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Wardhā grant, i.e., 862 Śaka and the latest 881 that of the Yasastilaka. He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Salotgi and other stone inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873, and 878 Śaka. Khoṭiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 257, and Vol. XI., p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Peterson's Report, *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 255.

**Section XI.**Overthrow of the  
Râshtrakûtas.

into those of the Châlukyas. The Kardâ grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated S'aka 894 or A.D. 972. And another inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896 *current*,<sup>1</sup> the cyclic year being *S'rimukha*. But in this year or S'aka 895 *past* Tailapa attained sovereign powers.<sup>2</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.

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 Purânîc 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 S'iva and Vishnu. 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, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to 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. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

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 Krishnas 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>3</sup> Prof. Westergaard, however, thought

Krishna of the  
Râshtrakûta race,  
the hero of the  
*Kavirahasya*.<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.<sup>2</sup> The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates is Aûgîras the current S'aka year corresponding to which was 895.

अस्यगस्त्यमुनिज्योत्स्नापवित्रे दक्षिणापथे ।

कृष्णराज इति स्यात्तो 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."

him to be the Krishnarāya 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 Rāshtrakūṭa race,"<sup>1</sup> and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar race,"<sup>2</sup> which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagar prince.

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharās who ruled at a place called Mānkir. The name of the city would show that the Rāshtrakūṭas, whose capital was Mānyakhēṭa 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 Rāshtrakūṭas. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Rāshtrakūṭas appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the Chālukyas. We have seen that Govinda II. is called *Vallabha* in two grants, Amoghavarsha I. in a third, and Krishṇa III. in a fourth. In an inscription on a stone tablet at Lakshmeśvar, Govinda III. is called *Sri-Vallabha*,<sup>3</sup> while in the Rādhanpur plates he is spoken of as *Vallabha-narendra*. In the Sāngalī and Karḍā grants also the reigning king is styled *Vallabha-narendra*, while in other inscriptions we find the title *Prithivivallabha* 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 Prakṛit or vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallaha-rāy*, *Ballaha-rāy*, or *Balha-rāy*. This last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabs.

## Section XI.

Balharās  
identified  
with the  
Rāshtrakūṭas.

<sup>1</sup> तोलयत्यतुलं शक्त्या यो भारं भुवनेश्वरः ।  
कस्तं तुलयति स्थान्ना राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवम् ॥

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

<sup>2</sup> सोमं स्रुनोति यज्ञेषु सोमवंशविभूषणः

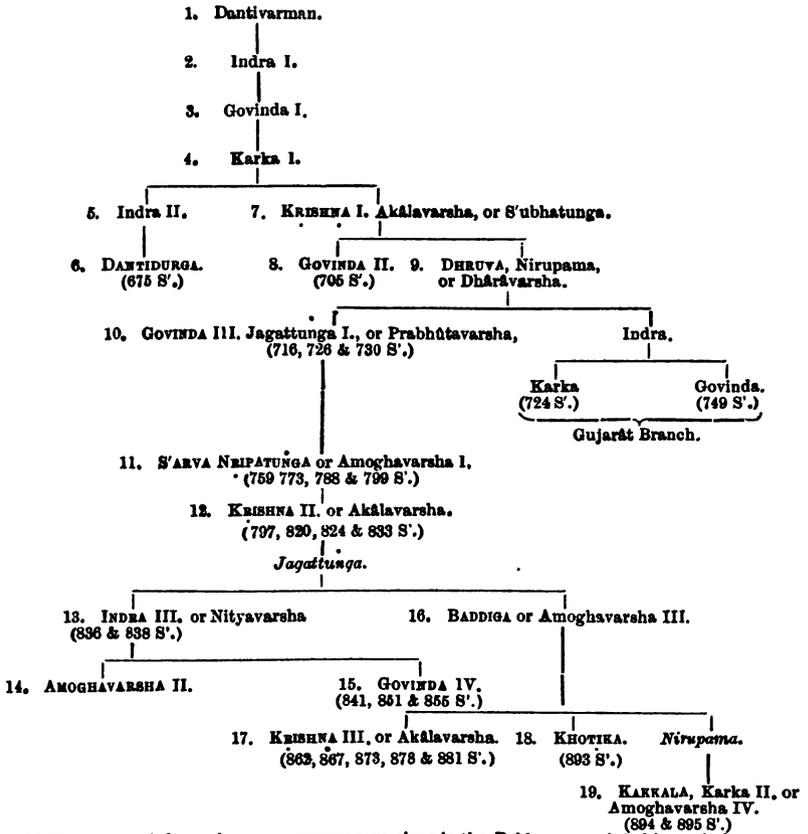
"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices."

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 156.

HISTORY OF

Section XI.

The genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭas 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 names of those who did not ascend the throne at all, have been printed in Italics.

## SECTION XII.

## THE LATER CHÂLUKYAS.

WE left the history of the kings of the Châlukya race at Kirtivarman II. Between him and Tailapâ, who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan from Kakkala, the last of the Râshtrakûta kings, the Miraj copperplate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings. Kirtivarman ascended the throne in S'aka 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 S'aka.<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 Châlukyias 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 command, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kirtivarman II. and Tailapa. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Châlukyias assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them. In a copper-plate grant dated S'aka 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. Another independent offshoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dhârvâd. In the Kanarese Bhârata

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

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

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

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written in 863 S'aka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arike-sarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows:—

Yuddhamalla  
|  
Arikesarin  
|  
Narasimha  
|  
Dugdhamalla  
|  
Baddiga  
|  
Yuddhamalla,  
|  
Narasimha  
|  
Arikesarin

A Chálukya prince mentioned in a Vedántic work.

At the end of a work entitled *Saṁkshepasārīraka*, the author Sarvajñātman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Saṁkarāchārya, states that he composed it while “the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Āditya (sun) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth.”<sup>1</sup> This description would apply with propriety to such a king as Ādityavarman, Vikramāditya I., Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, or Vikramāditya II. of the early Chálukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were “Ādityas of the race of Manu.” For the Mánavya race to which they belonged may be understood as “the race of Manu.” But Saṁkarāchārya is said to have lived between S'aka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramāditya II., the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 S'aka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Saṁkarāchārya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñātman must be one of those placed by the Miraj grant between Kirtivarman II. and Tailapa. He may be Vikramāditya, the third prince after Kirtivarman II.,<sup>2</sup> but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Saṁkarāchārya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Chálukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa's expeditions.

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Cholas<sup>3</sup> and humbled the king of Chedi.<sup>4</sup> He despatched an expedition into Gujarāt, under a general of the name of Bārāpa, against Mularāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahilapattana,

1 श्रद्धेश्वरपादपङ्कजरजःसंपर्कपूताशयः  
सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवरः संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।  
चक्रे सज्जनमुद्दिदवर्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे  
श्रीमत्यश्वतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

The Devesvara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Saṁkarāchārya.

<sup>2</sup> See the genealogy at the end of this Section.

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

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 15.

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who for some time was hard pressed; but according to the Gujarât chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter.<sup>1</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>2</sup> Tailapa invaded Mâlva 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 Godâvari 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>3</sup> This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years.<sup>5</sup> One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saundatti<sup>6</sup> in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 S'aka or A.D. 980.

Tailapa married Jâkabbâ, the daughter of the last Râshtrakûta king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyâśraya and Daśavarman.<sup>7</sup> The former succeeded him in 919 S'aka 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 S'aka 930 by a dependent chief of the S'ilâhâra family which ruled over southern Konkan.<sup>8</sup>

Satyâśraya.

Satyâśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramâditya I.<sup>9</sup> the son of his younger brother Daśavarman by his wife Bhagavatî. The earliest of his inscriptions is dated S'aka 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>10</sup> He was succeeded by his brother Jayasinhha or Jagadekamalla, who in an inscription dated 941 S'aka, *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>11</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 S'aka 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

Vikramâditya I.

Jayasinhha.

<sup>1</sup> Râsa Mâlâ, Chap. IV, p. 38, new Ed.<sup>2</sup> Kîrtikaumudî, II. 3.<sup>3</sup> Merutuṅga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacharitra by Râjavallabha.<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 12, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., p. 168.<sup>5</sup> Jour. R. S. Vol. IV., p. 4.<sup>6</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 210.<sup>7</sup> Miraj plates; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., pp. 15-17.<sup>8</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 209.<sup>9</sup> I call him Vikramâditya I. and not Vikramâditya V., as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above. I shall call Vikramâditya Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramâditya II, and so on.<sup>10</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.<sup>11</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 17.

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Kolhâpur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them."<sup>1</sup> The latest date of this prince is S'aka 962.<sup>2</sup>

Somesvara or  
Âhavamalla.

Jayasimha ceased to reign in 962 S'aka, or 1040 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Somesvara 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>3</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>4</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>5</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 Jayasimha and Somesvara 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 of Mâlva 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.

Attack against  
Dâhala and the  
southern countries.

After some time Somesvara attacked Chedi or Dâhala, the capital of which was Tevur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karṇa.<sup>6</sup> King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karṇa had formed a confederacy with Bhimadeva I. of Gujarât with a view to attack Mâlva from two sides, and sacked Dhârâ after his death.<sup>7</sup> Bilhana next represents the Châlukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast,

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* Dranila is another form of Dravida. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are *चंद्रमिलाधिपति*. Dr. Fleet takes *च* as one word and *चंद्रमिलाधिपति* as another, but *च* cannot be construed and Chandramila is unknown. The first word must be *चंद्र*, a mistake for some such word as *चंद्र*, "down," "below," and the second *Dramilâdhipatim*. <sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX., p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Bilhana's *Vikramânka* Charitra, I., 90; *Jour. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV., p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Bhojacharitra, I., 50-56.

<sup>5</sup> My Report on the search for MSS. during 1882-83, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Bilhana's *Vikr.*, I., 102-103.

<sup>7</sup> Merutuṅga's *Bhojaparabandha*; *Râsa Mâla*, VI., p. 69, new Ed.

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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 Dravīdas or Cholas attacked him, but was defeated. Someśvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kāñchī, which he captured, and the Chola king had to flee away to save his life.<sup>1</sup> Āhavamalla'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 Kānyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.<sup>2</sup>

Āhavamalla or Someśvara founded the city of Kalyāna and made it his capital. Bilhana mentions the fact,<sup>3</sup> and the name of the city does not occur in any inscription of a date earlier than 975 Śaka, when Someśvara was reigning.<sup>4</sup> In the course of time three sons were born to Āhavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Someśvara, the second Vikramāditya, and the third Jayasīmha.<sup>5</sup> The ablest of these was Vikramāditya, and Āhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of *Yuvarāja* or prince-regent in supersession of his elder brother; but Bilhana tells us he declined the honour.<sup>6</sup> Someśvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramāditya, 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 Mālvā, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramāditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne.<sup>7</sup> Vikramāditya is said to have invaded the Gauḍa country or Bengal and Kāmarūpa or Assam.<sup>8</sup> In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered.<sup>9</sup> The king of Siṃhala submitted to him at his approach;<sup>10</sup> then he took the city of Gaṅgākunḍa and proceeded to the country of the Cholas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramāditya then entered Kāñchī and plundered it; and thence directed his march to Veṅgi, and to Chakrakota.<sup>11</sup>

Sons of  
Āhavamalla.Vikramāditya's  
military  
operations.

While Vikramāditya was so employed, Āhavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. He

Āhavamalla's  
death.<sup>1</sup> Vikr. Ch., I., 107-116.<sup>2</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 19.<sup>3</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., II., 1. The natural construction appears to be to take प्रत्न्य "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 Kalyāna."<sup>4</sup> See Dr. Fleet's remarks on the point, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 105. The word *Kalyāna* 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. Pāṇḍit and Dr. Bühler have done.<sup>5</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., II., 57-58 and 86; III., 1, 25.<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, III., 26-32, 35-41, and 48-51. <sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, III., 55-67.<sup>8</sup> *Ib.*, III., 74. <sup>9</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 2, 18.<sup>10</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 20.<sup>11</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 21-30. For the situation of Veṅgi, see *supra*, p. 53.

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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>1</sup> This event must have taken place in Saka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Āhavamalla, according to Bilhana, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.<sup>3</sup> On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them.<sup>4</sup>

Someśvara proclaimed king.

Someśvara, the eldest son of Āhavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanaikamalla. Vikramāditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Veṅgi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramāditya 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. Vikramāditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasinha and a large army.<sup>5</sup> Someśvara II. sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramāditya with great slaughter.<sup>6</sup> The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tūṅgābhadra, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Cholas. On the way he stopped at Banavāsi, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Malaya. Jayakeśi is represented to have submitted to Vikramāditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkan ladies."<sup>7</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 Dr. Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Chālukya and Chola kings and made Gopakapattana or Goa his capital. Vikramāditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahādevī 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>8</sup> The king of the Alupas<sup>9</sup> also rendered his obeisance to the Chālukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabār, and turned towards the country of the Dravīdas or Cholas. Being informed of this, the Chola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering

Quarrels between the brothers.

Submission of Jayakeśi of Goa to Vikramāditya.

Alliance with the Chola prince.

<sup>1</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., IV., 46-68. This mode of death is known by the name of *Jatasandāhi*. <sup>2</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4. <sup>3</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., I., 97-99; IV., 52. <sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, I., 83. <sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, IV., 88-119; V., 1. <sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, V., 5-8. <sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, V., 10, 18-25. <sup>8</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., pp. 242, 268, 279. <sup>9</sup> See *supra*, p. 51, note 3.

his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Chola he fell back on the Tungabhadrá, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance.<sup>1</sup>

Some time after, the king of the Cholas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Chálukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kāñchí, 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 Tungabhadrá, however, Rájiga, the king of Veñgi, 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 Kāñchí, Rájiga 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>2</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>3</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 Draviḍas fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner. The Chálukya prince then returned to the Tungabhadrá, and after some hesitation dethroned Someśvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasimha he assigned the province of Banavási.<sup>4</sup> These events took place in the cyclic year *Nala*, Saka 998, or A.D. 1076.<sup>5</sup>

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Revolution in the Chola kingdom.

Alliance between Rájiga and Someśvara II. against Vikramāditya.

Battle of Vikramāditya with his brother and Rájiga.  
Coronation of Vikramāditya.

Reign of Vikramāditya II.

Vikramāditya II. then entered Kalyāna and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years.<sup>6</sup> He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Parmādirāya also. He abolished the S'aka era and established his own; but it fell into disuse not long after his death. Some time after his accession, he went to Karahātaka or Karhād and married the daughter of the Śilāhāra king who reigned at the place. Her

<sup>1</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., V. 26-29, 46, 56, 60, 73, 79-89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, VI., 7-54.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, VI., 56-61.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, VI., 90-93, 98-99.

<sup>5</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 189. The current Saka year was 999. Dr. Fleet thinks that the festival of his *Paṭṭabanāha* or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna 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 *vārshikotsava*. 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 Araleśvara is that the *Nala* Samvatsara was the first year of his reign.

<sup>6</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 14.

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name was Chandralekhâ and she was a woman of rare beauty. Bilhana represents her to have held a *svayamvara* where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Châlukya 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. Chandralekhâ is spoken of in the inscriptions as Chandaladevi, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her. The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses.<sup>1</sup>

Rebellion of Jayasimha, Vikrama's brother.

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavâsi, began to meditate treason against him. He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Dravida king and other chiefs, and even endeavoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramaditya'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 Krishnâ. He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners, and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama.<sup>2</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>3</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 Vikramaditya, who, however, is represented to have pardoned him.<sup>4</sup>

Invasion of Vikrama's dominions by Vishnuvardhana.

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yâdava family reigning at Dvârasamudra, the modern Halebid in Maisur; and with him were associated the kings of the Pândya country, Goa, and Konkan. This Hoysala prince must have been Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballâla and the grandson of Vinayaditya, 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

<sup>1</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15, and Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., VIII.—XI.

<sup>2</sup> Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., XIV., l. 13, 18, 49-56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, XIV., 57, 70, 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, XV., 23, 41-42, 55-71, 85-87.

and Belyoḷa and washed his horses with the waters of the Kṛishnā-Veṇā. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramāditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'"<sup>1</sup> Vikramāditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Ācha or Āchagi, whose territory lay to the south. Ācha, 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 Pāndya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."<sup>2</sup> Ācha must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalinga, Vaṅga, Maru, Gūrjara, Mālava, Chēra, and Choḷa (subject) to his sovereign."<sup>3</sup> Vikramāditya 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> Vikramāditya II. constructed a large temple of Vishṇu 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 Kāśmīrian Paṇḍit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyāpati or chief Paṇḍit. Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitāksharā, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Marāṭhā country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya and lived at Kalyāna. At the end of most manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows<sup>7</sup>:

Vikramāditya's  
patronage of  
learning.

Vijñāneśvara.

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyāna; never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramārka seen or heard of; and—what more?—Vijñāneśvara, the Paṇḍit, does not bear comparison with any other<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300. Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated:—*श्रुपेषु असाध्यतया होयसळम् अवधारय इति परमर्दिदेव-  
नृपतेः प्रत्युपचारं यः नियुक्तैः घृहः 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. B. B. 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.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. Bühler's reading of the last two lines is *विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किं चान्यद-  
स्थोपमां कल्पस्थं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकल्पं तदेव त्रयम् ।* The Doctor connects कल्पस्थं with

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(person). May this triad which is like a celestial creeper<sup>1</sup> exist to the end of the Kalpa!

“May the Lord of wisdom<sup>2</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>3</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>4</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

किं चान्यत् and translates “nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijñānesvara.” To mean “nothing else,” किं चान्यत् must be किमप्यन्यत् ; 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 कल्पस्यम् 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 किंवान्यदन्योपमामाकल्पं. Instead of वा, there must be च here. And this is the reading of a manuscript of the Mitāksharā, dated Śaṃvat 1535 and Ś'aka 1401, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government. The reading is to be translated as in the text.

<sup>1</sup> Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires.

<sup>2</sup> 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 तन्न and the latter तस्व. I have adopted this last. The author has here taken the name Vijñānesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or “knowledge” the object तस्व or “truth,” the whole meaning “the lord of the knowledge of truth.”

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Bühler's reading here is दातार्थानामतिशययुजामर्थिसार्थार्थतायाः. Here अर्थतायाः cannot make any sense; it ought to be अर्थितायाः, which the lithographed edition and my manuscript have. The latter reads the whole line thus :—दातार्थानामतिशययुजामर्थिसार्थार्थिता(ता)याः. There is another या after this, which is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> 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 चट्टलतिमिडुलेत्तुङ्गर्गितरंगात् to चट्टलतिमिडुलेत्तुङ्गरङ्गरङ्गत् and of my manuscript to तुङ्गवृत्तरङ्गत्. The root रिङ् is used in connection with waves (see B. & R.'s Lexicon *sub voce*).

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 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 Chālukya 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, Nepāla; 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,

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1048  
1126  
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.

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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 Chālukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śāstras,<sup>1</sup> and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth.<sup>2</sup> This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

Jagadekamalla.

Someśvara III. or Bhūlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year *Kālayukti*,<sup>3</sup> Śaka 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., Nurmāḍi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in Śaka 1072, *Pramoda* Saṁvatsara.<sup>4</sup> During these two reigns the power of the Chālukyās rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjaṅga of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of Daṇḍanāyaka 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. Vijayārka, the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara of Kolhāpur, was one of those who assisted him,<sup>5</sup> and Prolarāja of the Kākatēya dynasty of Tailāṅga, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause.<sup>6</sup> He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Śaka 1079 or A.D. 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyāṇa and fled to Annigeri in the Dhārvād district, which now became the capital of his kingdom greatly reduced in extent. There is an inscription dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjaṅga's name, the cyclic

Tailapa II.

Ambitious designs  
of Vijjala.

<sup>1</sup> That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean.

2

एकपञ्चाशदधिके सहस्रे शरदां गते ।  
शकस्य सोमभूपाले सति चालुक्यमण्डने ॥  
समुद्ररत्नानामुर्वी शासति क्षतविद्विषि ।  
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वस्वपाथोधिकलशोद्धवे ॥  
सौम्यसंवत्सरे चैत्रमासादौ शुक्रवासरे ।  
परिशोधितसिद्धान्तलब्धाः स्युर्भुवका इमे ॥

<sup>3</sup> The *Siddhārthin* Saṁvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding *Kālayukti* (Śaka 1060) must have been the first. The current Śaka 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 Śaka 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>4</sup> For the *Yuva* Saṁvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Śaka 1077. In *Pramoda*, 1073 was the current Śaka year and 1072 years had expired; Pālī, Sans. and old Can. Ins. No. 181.

<sup>5</sup> Grant of Bhoja II. of Kolhāpur, Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc., Vol. III. See Section XVI.

<sup>6</sup> He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Chālukya sovereign. Ins. of Rudradeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp., 12-13, lines 27-30.

year being *Ísvara*; and the next *Saṁvatsara*, *Bahudhānya*, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.<sup>1</sup> He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Śaka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II., who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and established himself at Banavāsī.<sup>2</sup> The latest year of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is the fifteenth, the *Saṁvatsara* or cyclic year being *Pārthiva*, which was current next after Śaka 1087.<sup>3</sup>

For some time there was an interruption in the Chālukya 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 Liṅgāyata creed and the assassination of Vijjaṇa considerably weakened the power of the Kalachuris, and about the Śaka year 1104 Someśvara, the son of Nurmadi 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>4</sup> Bomma is represented in an inscription at Annigeri dated Śaka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalachuris and restored the Chālukyas to the throne.<sup>5</sup> But a short time after, the Yādavas of the south rose under Vīra Ballāla and of the north under Bhillama. They both fought with Bomma; but success at first attended the arms of Vīra Ballāla, who subdued the Chālukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.<sup>6</sup> We lose trace of Vīra Soma or Someśvara IV. after Śaka 1111.

The Chālukya 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* *Saṁvatsara*, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravaṇ, a village in the Rājāpur tāluka of the Ratnāgiri district.<sup>7</sup> The donor Keśava Mahājani was the minister of a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara or chief of the name of Kāṁvadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Chālukya race." He is also called *Kalyāṇapuravarādhdhīśvara* or "lord of Kalyāṇa the best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs<sup>8</sup> simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyāṇa. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravātaka, identified with Teravaṇ itself, from which it would appear that Kāṁvadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an inscription in the temple

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Assumption  
of supreme  
sovereignty by  
Vijjala.

Someśvara IV.

Extinction of the  
Chālukya power.

A branch of the  
Chālukya family in  
Southern Konkan.

<sup>1</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos. 219 and 182.

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

<sup>3</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16; Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, l. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16. <sup>6</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, ll. 29-30.

<sup>7</sup> Published in Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V., in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 105, and Memoir, Śāvantvādi State, Govt. Rec. No. X.

<sup>8</sup> See *infra*, Section XVI.

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of Ambábái at Kolhápura in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Chálukya family and reigned at Saṅgameśvara, which is twelve *kos* to the north-east of Ratnágiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetugideva and the father of the last was Karnadeva.<sup>1</sup> Probably the Kámvadeva of the Teravaṅ grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Maráṭhā families of the name of Chálke reduced to poverty in the Saṅgameśvara Táluka or in the vicinity.

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<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 263.

## SECTION XIII.

## THE KALACHURIS.

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 and Vikramāditya II. married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family.<sup>1</sup> The later Rāshṭrakūṭa princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas. This family known also by the name of Kalachuri or Kulachuri<sup>2</sup> ruled over Chedi or the country about Jabalpur. The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjana 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. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyāṇa branch of the Kalachuris with the Chedi family. This branch was founded by Krishṇa, who in the Belgaum grant<sup>5</sup> is spoken of as "another Krishṇa," the incarnation of Viṣṇu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood." He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and Jogama by his son Paramardin. Paramardin was the father of Vijjana. Vijjana before his usurpation called himself only a Mahāmaṇḍalesvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III.<sup>6</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 Vijjana and his family succumbed to it.

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kanarese 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 *Vijjalarāyacharita*, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Liṅgāyatas were chiefly directed against the Jains, and these were their enemies.

Basava was the son of a Brāhman named Mādīrāja, who lived at Bāgevaḍi in the Kalāḍgi district. Baḷadeva, the prime minister of Vijjana, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage.<sup>7</sup> After Baḷadeva's death the king appointed Basava his

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Original seat of the Kalachuri or Haihaya family.

A religious revolution at Kalyāṇa,

Its leader.

Basava.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 270.

<sup>6</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 119.

<sup>7</sup> *Basava Purāṇa*, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 67.

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prime minister as being closely related to Baḷadeva.<sup>1</sup> The Jains, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmāvati, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress<sup>2</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 other which was so derogatory to Basava.<sup>3</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 Jāngamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jāngamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjana had another minister named Mañchanṇā, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of his rival's embezzlements.<sup>4</sup> In the course of time Vijjana 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 Vijjana 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 Kalyāna and reinstated in his office.<sup>5</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.

Account of the event according to the Basava Purāṇa.

At Kalyāna there were two pious Liṅgāyatas named Halleyaga and Madhuvēyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava. Vijjana, 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 Kalyāna, 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 Vijjana. 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 Vijjana was extinct, Kalyāna was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 69.<sup>2</sup> *Ib.*, p. 97. Sir W. Elliot's paper, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 20.<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 70.<sup>4</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 78 & 89.<sup>5</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 21; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 89.

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by Basava was verified. Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Saṅgameśvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhā with the Kṛishnā, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body.<sup>1</sup>

The account given by the Jainas is different. Vijjana 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. Vijjaṇa, who is said to have been a 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 Vijjaṇa and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose. Vijjaṇa, 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 Vijjaṇa gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jaṅgamas, wherever found, executed.<sup>2</sup> On hearing of this, Basava fled; and being pursued went to the Malabār coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi.<sup>3</sup> The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nîlāmbā put an end to her existence by drinking poison. When Vijjaṇa's son was pacified, Chenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour.<sup>4</sup> He now became the sole leader of the Liṅgāyatas; 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 Śaiva faith to Basava,<sup>5</sup> and, according to the Chenna-Basava Purāna, "Chenna-Basava was Śiva; Basava, Vṛishabha (or Śiva's bull, the Nandin); Bijjala, the door-keeper; Kalyāṇa, Kailāsa; (and) Ś'iva worshippers (or Liṅgāyatas), the Ś'iva host (or the troops of Ś'iva's attendants)."<sup>6</sup>

Jaina account.

Chenna-Basava's leadership.

Vijjana's death took place in Ś'aka 1089 (1090 *current*), or A.D. 1167. He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or Someśvara. The Belgaum copper-plate charter was issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika in Ś'aka 1096, the cyclic year being *Jaya*, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brāhmanas and the god Someśvara made by one of his queens named Bāvaladevî. The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall. Soma reigned till Ś'aka 1100 and was followed by his brother Saṅkama, whose inscriptions come down to the cyclic year *Subhakrit*. In an

Sovideva.

Saṅkama.

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 96; Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., pp. 309-310.

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

<sup>3</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.*, p. 311.

<sup>6</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 127.

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inscription at Balagāmve the cyclic year *Vikārin* (S. 1101) is called the third of his reign,<sup>1</sup> while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.<sup>2</sup> In other inscriptions we have two names Saṅkama and Āhavamalla and the cyclic years *Sārvarin* (S. 1102) and *Plava* (S. 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and *Subhakrit* (S. 1104) as the eighth.<sup>3</sup> About Saka 1104 the Chālukya 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 Yādavas; so that about this time the Kalachuri dynasty became extinct.

Extinction of the Kalachuri dynasty.

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

Buddhism.

During the period occupied by the later Chālukya dynasty and the Kalachuris (Saka 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 Vikramāditya II., in the cyclic year *Yuvan*, and the nineteenth of his era (Saka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhistic *vihāra* or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dhārvād district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another *vihāra* at Lokkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.<sup>4</sup> In Saka 1032 the Siṅghāra chief of Kolhāpur 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>5</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 Liṅgāyata 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 Brāhmanic 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.

Purānic religion. Codification of the civil and religious law.

The worship of the Purānic gods flourished; and as in the times of the early Chālukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brāhmanas and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary 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 Smritis and Purānas; 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 Smritis. Bhoja of Dhāra, who belongs to the first part of this

<sup>1</sup> P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 183.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* No. 189.

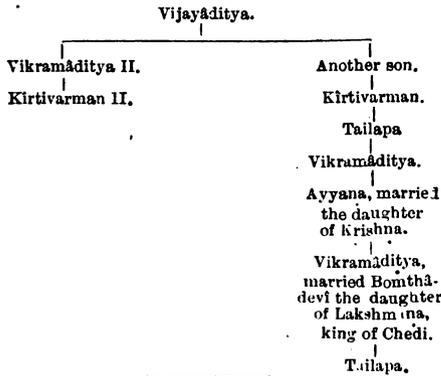
<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* Nos. 190, 192 and 193.

<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 185.

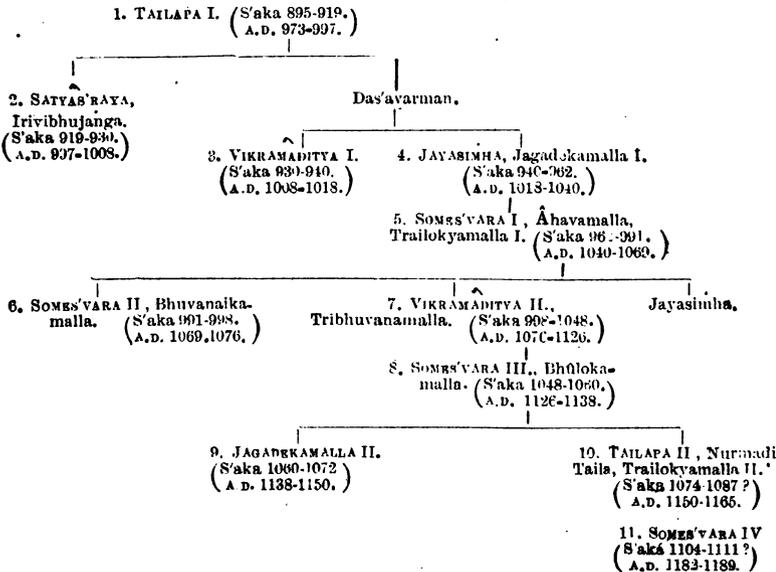
<sup>5</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 4, and *infra*, Section XVI.

period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhâresvara he is referred to by Vijñânesvara in his work. He was followed by Vijñânesvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyâna in the reign of Vikramâditya II. Aparârka, another commentator on Yâjñavalkya, who calls his work a *nibandha* on the *Dharmasâstra* or institutes of Yâjñavalkya, was a prince of the Śilâhâra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in S'aka 1109 (A.D. 1187) and in the cyclic year *Parâbhava*.<sup>1</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.

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



*Genealogy of the later Châlukyas.*



<sup>1</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., pp. 334-335.

## SECTION XIV.

## THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

*Early History of the Family.*Section XIV.  
Authorities.

THE genealogy of the Yādavas is given in the introduction to the *Vratakhanda* attributed to or composed by Hemādri who was a minister of Mahādeva, 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 Purānic or legendary ancestors to Mahādeva. 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 Bhagvānlāl Indrajī.<sup>1</sup> He considered the Yādava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri and called it "A New Yādava 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 Yādavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the *Vratakhanda*<sup>2</sup> and on the grant published by the Paṇḍit. The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to

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

<sup>2</sup> The edition of the *Vratakhanda* in the Bibliotheca Indica contains neither of these two very valuable and important *Prasastis*. 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 *Prasasti* 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 *Prasasti*. 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 Hemādri 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 Khāsgivāle's library. It contains the shorter *Prasasti* only. My learned friend Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī Dātār 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 *Prasasti*, 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 Nāsik, Kolhāpur, and Ahmedabad; but none was available at those places. I give the two *Prasastis* in Appendix C. [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the *Vratakhanda* for the Government collections. The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this section and the *Prasasti* in Appendix C.]

Seunachandra II. who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A.D., and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes. Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Saṅgamner and Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates<sup>1</sup> have been recently published, and these also have been compared.

Subāhu who belonged to the Yādava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Dṛidhprahāra<sup>2</sup> became king in the south or Dekkan. The Yādavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurā; then from the time of Kṛishṇa they became sovereigns of Dvāravatī or Dvārakā; and came to be rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subāhu, viz. Dṛidhprahāra. His capital was Śrīnagara according to the Vratakhanda, while from the grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chandrādityapura, which may have been the modern Chāmdor in the Nāsik district. He had a son of the name of Seunachandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called Seunadesa<sup>3</sup> after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura. Seunadesa was the name of the region extending from Nāsik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatābād, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadesa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Daṇḍakāraṇya.<sup>4</sup> This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khāndes. In a footnote on the opening page of the Khāndes 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. Seunadesa, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khāndes, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadesa. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khāndes, since it included Devagiri or Daulatābād, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tāpī.

Seunachandra's son Dhāliyappa<sup>5</sup> became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama. After Bhillama, his son Śrīrāja according to the grants, or Rājugi according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded<sup>6</sup> by his son Vaddiga or Vādugi. Vaddiga is in the Saṅgamner grant represented as a follower of Kṛishnarāja who was probably Kṛishṇa III. of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty, and to have married Voddiyavvā, daughter of a

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Dṛidhprahāra,  
the founder of  
the family.

Seunachandra I.  
Seunadesa.

Seunachandra's  
successors.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cousen's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., p. 212 *et seq.*, and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition. I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof. Kielhorn and not noticed by me. The second grant is published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII., p. 120, *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> He is called Dṛidhprahāri (nom. sing.) in the MSS.; stanza 20, Appendix C. I.

<sup>3</sup> Stanza 22, Appendix C. I.

<sup>4</sup> Stanza 19, Appendix C. II.

<sup>5</sup> Called Dhādiyasa in the MSS.; Appendix C. I., stanza 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Pandit Bhagvanlāl translates the words *arvāk tasya* (see note 6 below) occurring in the Yādava grant as "before him," and placing Vaddiga before Śrīrāja, conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Śrīrāja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne; (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII., pp. 125a and 128b). But *arvāk tasya* can never

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## Bhillama II.

prince of the name of Dhorappa. Then came Dhâdiyasa,<sup>1</sup> who was the son of Vâdugi according to the Vratakhanda. Two of the grants omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line, and the third has a line or two missing here. Dhâdiyasa was succeeded by Bhillama, who was the son of Vaddiga or Vâdugi and consequently his brother.<sup>2</sup> Bhillama married according to the grants Lakshmi or Lachchiyavvâ,<sup>3</sup> the daughter of Jhañjha, who was probably the Silahâra prince of Thâna of that name. Lachchiyavvâ sprang on her mother's side from the Râshtrakûta family, and through her son became "the upholder of the race of Yadu;"<sup>4</sup> so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Saṅgamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhillama in the Śaka year 922, i. e. 1000 A.D., and the prince mentioned in

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 Rājagi was the son of Bhillama I.

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C. I. stanza 24. If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhâdiyappa.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are:—

आर्वाक्तस्य बभूव भूतलहरिः श्रिविद्दिगारुख्यो नृपः  
तस्मात्श्रीवरभिद्धमक्षितिपतेः प्रत्यक्षधर्माभवत् ॥

The Paṇḍit 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 Paṇḍit's interpretation of प्रत्यक्षधर्मा as "exactly like in actions" is farfetched and unnatural. The thing is, the genitive or ablative क्षितिपतेः 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 Paṇḍit himself. What is wanted here is the nominative क्षितिपतिः for क्षितिपतेः 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 Prasasti in the Vratakhanda in the passage cited above.

<sup>3</sup> This lady, according to my translation, becomes the wife of Bhillama, who is the king mentioned immediately before, and not of his father Vaddiga as the Paṇḍit makes out.

<sup>4</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:—

भार्यी यस्य च क्षत्रराजतनया श्रीलक्ष्मिष्वाह्वया  
धर्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसगुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।  
या जाता नवबालनाजसमये यदन्वयाधारिता  
सप्तगोद्यतराज्यभारधरणाद्रायत्रयार्थ्या ततः ॥

The Paṇḍit's translation is:—"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha Lashthyavvâ by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and

the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja and rendered the sovereign authority of Rāparaṅgabhīma firm seems also to be he himself. Rāparaṅgabhīma was probably Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yādava prince Bhīllama II. assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja which we have already noticed. Vaddiga was a follower of Krishṇa, III. of the Rāshtrakūta family, whose latest known date is 881 Śaka, and Bhīllama II. of Tailapa. The date 922 Śaka of Bhīllama's grant is consistent with these facts. The Yādavas appear thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon as it rose to power. The next king was Vesugi<sup>1</sup> called in Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl's grant Tesuka, which is a mistake or misreading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nāyaladevī, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Chālukya family,<sup>2</sup> and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thānā prince Jhañjha. The Rāshtrakūtas must have been overthrown by the Chālukyas about the end of Jhañjha's reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Chālukyas.

hospitality, who was of the Rāshtrakūta 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 aṅgas, was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms.*"

I agree with the Paṇḍit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायत्रय as रायत्रय, 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 राज and says that the य in यदन्वया<sup>o</sup> 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 Rāshtrakūtas 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 यदन्वया<sup>o</sup> for यदन्वया<sup>o</sup> 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 in 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. Or, the line may be read as या याता नवबालजन्मसमये यदन्वयाधारिता, the dot over ता being omitted by mistake, and याता written as जाता in consequence of the usual confusion between य and ज. 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 Rāshtrakūtas during the young prince's minority becomes groundless. She must have belonged to the Rāshtrakūta race on her mother's side.

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

<sup>2</sup> The expression चालुक्यान्वयमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मण्डलीक being a mistake for माण्डलिक. The Paṇḍit understands Gogirāja as belonging to the Chālukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

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

The Vratakhanda places Arjuna after Vesugi,<sup>1</sup> but the two grants omit his name; and perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yâdava prince, but Arjuna the Pândava, meaning to compare Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhishma. The next king was Bhillama<sup>2</sup> who according to the Kalas-Budruk grant was Vesugi's son. He married Hammâ, the daughter of Jayasimha and sister of Ahavamalla, the Châlukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles.<sup>3</sup> The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Śaka. The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Śaka must have been the current year, corresponding to 1025 A.D. Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâl's 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 Ahavamalla, 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 Vratakhanda supplies the names of the intermediate princes. The elder Bhillama was succeeded by Vâdugi,<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 Vâdugi 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 Bhagvânâlâl. What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated. Seuṇa is represented to have saved Paramardideva, that is, Vikramâditya 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 Kalyâṇa.<sup>7</sup> This appears to be a reference to the coalition between the Veṅgi prince and Vikramâditya's brother Someśvara. The Yâdava 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 *Saumya Saṃvatsara*, while Vikramâditya II. got possession of the Châlukya throne in Śaka 998 *Nala*. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yâdava princes to the Châlukyias of Kalyâṇa, while the important service rendered by Seuṇachandra to Vikramâditya 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 Vratakhanda 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 Vikramâditya became king in Śaka 998.

Seuṇachandra II.,  
the ally of  
Vikramâditya II.

<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 Ahavamalla as Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâl 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.*

Seunachandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Simharāja<sup>1</sup> or "King Simha," whose full name was Singhara<sup>2</sup> and who appears to have been his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpūratilaka from Lañjīpura and thus did a piece of service to Paramardin, who appears to be Vikramāditya II. of the Chālukya dynasty.<sup>3</sup> He was succeeded by his son Mallugi, who took a town of the name of Parnakheṭa from his enemies, and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa.<sup>4</sup> Then followed his son Amaragāngeya<sup>5</sup> whose name is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king.<sup>6</sup> After him came Govindarāja who was probably his son. Govindarāja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he by Kāliya Ballāla. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated. Ballāla's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yādava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhillama,<sup>7</sup> who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhillama being represented as the uncle of Ballāla must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above.<sup>8</sup> 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 Chālukyas.

Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl has published a stone-inscription<sup>9</sup> existing in a ruined temple at Añjaneri near Nāsik, in which a chief of the Yādava family, named Seunadeva, is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063<sup>10</sup> 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 Yādava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramāditya II., and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the Śaka

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Successors of  
Seunachandra II.

Bhillama V.,  
the founder  
of the Yādava  
Empire.

Seunachandra  
of Añjaneri.

<sup>1</sup> Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C. I.

<sup>2</sup> Stanza 32, Appendix C. I.

<sup>3</sup> Stanza 35, *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C. I.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> Stanzas 33 and 34, *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., p. 386.

<sup>8</sup> In an inscription at Gadag published by Dr. Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 219) Bhillama is represented as the son of Karṇa, who is said to be a brother of Amaragāngeya. In the many inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty and in the Prāsastis given in several books the name Karṇa does not occur even once. The Gadag inscription makes Mallugi the son of Seunadeva, while in the Vratakhanda and the Paithan plates he is represented as the son of Singhaṇa, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Seunachandra and was probably his younger son. The inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other. Hence this must be a mistake; and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake. These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gadag inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them. Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gadag grant published by Dr. Kielhorn is a forgery.

<sup>9</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 126.

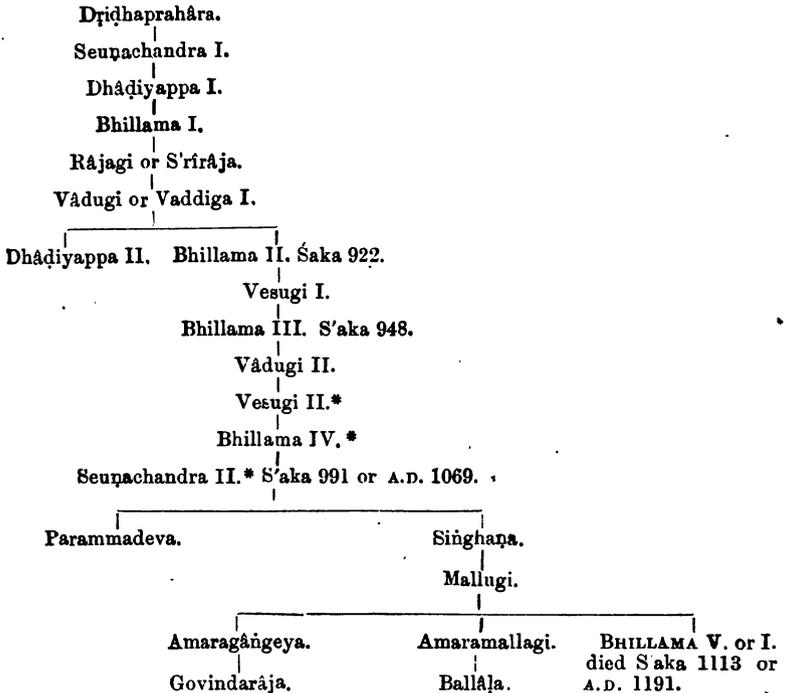
<sup>10</sup> The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX., p. 422.

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era. The Seunadeva of the Añjaneri inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhaṇḍa. Besides Seunadeva calls himself pointedly a *Mahāsāmanta* or chief only; while about 1063 S'aka, when the Chālukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yādavas of Seunadesa should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Seunadeva of Añjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Añjaneri was the chief city.

Approximate date  
of the foundation  
of the Yādava  
family.

The number of princes who reigned from Dṛiḍhaprahāra to Bhillama V. inclusive is 22. There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as their predecessors and consequently these twenty-two do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Dṛiḍhaprahāra and the death of Bhillama V. is 396 years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 717 Saka or 795 A.D., that is, about the time of Govind III. of the Rāshtrakūṭa race. Possibly considering that Vaddiga I. was contemporary of Krishna III., one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarsha I.

*Genealogy of the early Yādavas or the Yādavas of Seunades'a.*

\*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 Vishṇuvardhana, 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 Vira Ballāḷa, the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana. He fought with Brāhma or Bomma, the general of the last Chālukya prince Somesvara IV., and putting down his elephants by means of his horses defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjaṇa.<sup>1</sup>

The Yādavas of the north were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. Mallugi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjaṇa. A person of the name of Dādā was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalachuri prince. He had four sons of the names of Mahīdhara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gaṅgādhara. Of these Mahīdhara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjaṇa.<sup>2</sup> But the acquisition of the empire of the Chālukyas was

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Ambitious  
projects of the  
Hoysala Yādavas.

Vira Ballāḷa.

Rise of Bhīllama.

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

<sup>2</sup> Introduction to Jahlaṅ's Śāktimuktavali, now brought to notice for the first time :

तस्यान्वयेऽभूत्करिवृन्दनाथो दादाः सदादाननिदानभूतः ।

यस्येक्षणद्विज्जणभूपसैन्यं दैन्यं मतं संयति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥

चत्वारस्तस्य संजातास्तनया नयशालिनः ।

भुजा इव हरेः शश्वद्विक्रमश्रीविभूषिताः ॥ ६ ॥

चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभुः ।

ख्याता महीधरो जल्हः साम्बो गङ्गाधरस्तथा ॥ ७ ॥

उपायैरिव तैः काले चतुर्भिः सुप्रयोजितैः ।

मे (मै) लुगिक्षोणिपालस्य राज्यं जातं सदोजनतम् ॥ ८ ॥

विज्जणबलजलराशिं विमध्य भुजमन्दरेण यः कृतवान् ।

वीरश्रियमङ्कस्थां स न कस्य महीधरः स्तुत्यः ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction will be published elsewhere.

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completed by Mallugi's son Bhillama. He captured a town of the name of Śrīvardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyāṇḍaka, put to death the ruler of Maṅgalaveshṭaka, (Maṅgaḷvedhem), of the name of Villāṇa, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa, put to death the lord of Hosala who was probably the Hoysala Yādava Narasiṃha, the father of Vīra Ballāla.<sup>1</sup> The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahīdhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhillama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gārjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muñja and Anna.<sup>2</sup> When in this manner Bhillama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Kṛishṇā, he founded the city of Devagiri<sup>3</sup> and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital. This took place about the Śaka year 1109.

Foundation of  
Devagiri.

Contests between  
the rivals.

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vīra Ballāla, 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 Lökkigunḍi, now Lakkunḍi, in the Dhārvāḍ District, in which Jaitrasīṃha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vīra Ballāla became sovereign of Kuntala. The inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Śaka 1114 or A.D. 1192;<sup>4</sup> and Vīra Ballāla who made the grant recorded in it was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lökkigunḍi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The northern Yādavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Marāṭhā Country for a generation.

Jaitrapāla.

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śaka by his son Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battles. "He assumed

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C. I., stanza 38. Maṅgaḷvedhem is near Paṇḍharpur. It was probably the capital of a minor chief.

<sup>2</sup> Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :—

विजित्य विज्जणं याते सुरलोकं महीधरे ।

निनाय भिद्धमं जह्मो राजतां क्षयवजिताम् ॥ ११ ॥

गूर्जरभृत्कटकके कण्टकविषमेऽतिदुर्गमे येन ।

भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगजः स्वेच्छया नीतः ॥ १२ ॥

मह्यः पङ्कवितोरुभीतिरभितस्त्रस्यद्वलो मैलुगि-

र्मुञ्जः पिण्डितविक्रमस्त्रिभुवनब्रह्मा किल ब्राह्मणः ।

अज्ञो नृजपराक्रमो विद्युत्भूर्भ्रूणप्राङ्गणे

येनाकारि सुपरिविक्रमश्रुता किं किं न तस्योजितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugi mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhillama. He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix C. I., st. 39.

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

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 Tailāngas, and vanquished the three worlds."<sup>1</sup> This same fact is alluded to in the Paithān grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikalingas in battle. He is there spoken of also as having released Gaṇapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne.<sup>2</sup> The Rudra therefore whom he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kākatīya dynasty whose inscription we have at Anamkoṇḍ near Worāṅgal, and the Gaṇapati, his nephew<sup>3</sup> who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva. In other places also his war with the king of the Andhras or Tailāngas and his having raised Gaṇapati to the throne are alluded<sup>4</sup> to, and he is represented to have deprived the Andhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living.<sup>5</sup> Lakshmidhara, the son of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Bhāskaraśharya, was in the service of Jaitrapāla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Paṇḍits. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkaśāstra and Mīmāṃsā.<sup>6</sup>

Jaitrapāla's son and successor was Siṅghaṇa, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased. He ascended the throne in 1132 Śaka.<sup>7</sup> He defeated a king of the name of Jajjala and brought away his elephants. He deprived a monarch named Kakkūla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Mālvā, and made Bhoja a prisoner. Janārdana, the son of Gaṅgādharma, who was Jahla's brother, is said to have taught Siṅghaṇa the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna.<sup>8</sup> He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jahla and after him by Gaṅgādharma. "King Laksh-

Siṅghaṇa.

<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. Jaitrapāla 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> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., p. 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., N. S., p. 414.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* p. 415.

<sup>7</sup> Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :-

आसीद्गङ्गाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गङ्गाधरोपमः ।

एकान्वबन्ध यो व्यालान्मुमोचैकान्यदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥

तस्याभवत्सुतुरनूनसत्त्वो जनार्दनाहः करिवाहिनीशः ।

समुद्रवद्यो भुवनं बभार सह श्रिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥

सिंहोऽप्यभ्यापितस्तेन गजशिक्षां तदद्भुतम् ।

यजार्जुनं लसत्पत्रं समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

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midhara, the lion of Bhambhâgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhârâ was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballâja was taken. All this was but a child's play to King Singhana."<sup>1</sup> Jajjalla 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>2</sup> The name Kakkûla 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. The kings of Mathurâ and Kâsî were killed by him in battle, and Hammîra was vanquished by but a boy-general of Singhana.<sup>3</sup> In an inscription also at Tîlivalî in the Dhârvâd District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballâla the Hoysala king, subdued Bhoja of Panhâlâ, and humbled the sovereign of Mâlava.<sup>4</sup> He is also spoken of as "the goad of the elephant in the shape of the Gûrjara king."<sup>5</sup> We have an inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Saka, which shows that Vîra Ballâla must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time.<sup>6</sup> Singhana is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri.<sup>7</sup>

The Bhoja of Panhâlâ spoken of above was a prince of the Silâhâra 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 Koppeśvara in the year 1136 Saka.

Singhana's  
invasions of  
Gujarât.

Singhana seems to have invaded Gujarât several times. In an inscription at Âmbem a Brâhmaṇ 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>8</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

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C. I., st. 43 and 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> General Cunningham's Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII., pp. 75, 76 and 79.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. A. S., Vol. I., N. S., p. 414.

<sup>4</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 326.

<sup>5</sup> Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur, Ins. No. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 297.

<sup>7</sup> Major Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10.

<sup>8</sup> Arch. Surv. of W. I., Vol. III., p. 85.

for the history of Gujarât. Somadeva, the author of the *Kirttikaumudî*, 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 *Lavanaprasâda* 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 *Lavanaprasâda* 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>1</sup> In the mean while, however, four kings of *Mârvâd* rose against *Lavanaprasâda* and his son *Vîradhavalâ*, and the chiefs of *Godhrâ* and *Lâta*, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the *Mârvâd* princes. In these circumstances *Lavanaprasâda* suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.<sup>2</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>3</sup> But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as *Someśvara* himself represents, and the army of *Singhana* 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 a tribute or satisfied the *Yâdava* commander in some other way. In a manuscript discovered some years ago of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents, &c., there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of *Singhana* and *Lavanaprasâda* as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them.<sup>4</sup> The result of the expedition,

<sup>1</sup> *Kirttikaumudî* IV., stanzas 43-53.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, st. 55-60.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.*, st. 63.

<sup>4</sup> This work is entitled *Lekhapachāsikâ*, and the manuscript was purchased by me for Government in 1883. 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

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therefore, was that Lavaṅaprasāda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Siṅghaṇa.

## Second Invasion.

This invasion of Gujarāt must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Āmberṁ inscription, and Kholeśvara himself must have been the commander of the Yādava army on the occasion. For Lavaṅaprasāda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhīma II. of Anahilapattana about the year 1276 Vikrama,<sup>1</sup> corresponding to 1141 Śaka, 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 Rāma, the son of Kholeśvara, must have been sent a short time before Śaka 1160, the date of the Āmberṁ inscription. For Rāma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakshmi, who governed the principality in the name of the boy. Rāma, therefore, had not died so many years before Śaka 1160 as to allow of his boy having attained his majority by that time. On the occasion of this expedition Viśaladeva, the son of Vīradhavaḷa, was the sovereign of Gujarāt. For in an inscription of his he boasts

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 Mūlarāja to Bhīma II. and then introduces Lavaṅaprasāda, whom he calls Lāvanyaprasāda and styles a Mahāmaṇḍalesvara, 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 Lāvanyaprasāda and the form runs thus :—

संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाखशुदि १५ सोमेऽद्ये श्रीमद्विजयकटके महाराजाधिराजश्री-  
मत्सिंहणदेवस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराजकश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च । संराज(साम्राज्य or  
सम्राट्) कुलश्रीश्रीमत्सिंहणदेवेन महामण्डलेश्वरराजश्रीलावण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वैक्यात्मीय  
२ (i.e., आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीयं । केनापि कस्यापि भूमी नाक्रमणीया ।

"On this day the 15th Sudi of Vaiśākha, in the year Saṁvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Siṅghaṇa and the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Rāpaka, the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda. Siṅghaṇa whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Rāpaka the prosperous Lāvanyaprasāda 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 things, 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 रह् "to remain," "to live." For further details see my Report on the search for manuscripts during 1882-83, pp. 39 and 225.

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 190.

of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhana's army,"<sup>1</sup> and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Śaka 1157,<sup>2</sup> though he obtained possession of the throne at Anahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Śaka 1167 and 1246 A.D. 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.

Singhana appointed one Bîchana 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 Kholesvara did in the north and kept them in check. Bîchana is represented to have humbled the Rattas 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 Hoysalas, and the chiefs of other southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kâveri.<sup>3</sup> The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Śaka 1160 or A.D. 1238.

It thus appears that the Yâdava empire became in the time of Singhana as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhana 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 Vishṇu, is represented in the Purâṇas to have belonged to the Yâdava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishṇuvamśodbhava*;<sup>4</sup> and as Kṛishṇa and his immediate descendants reigned at Dvârakâ, they assumed the title of *Dvâravatîpuravarddhîśvara*, "the supreme lord of Dvâravatî, the best of cities."<sup>5</sup> In the reign of Singhana as well as of his two predecessors the office of chief secretary or *Srîkaraṇḍhipa*, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemâdri, was held by a man of the name of Soḍhala. He was the son of Bhâskara, a native of Kaśmîr who had settled in the Dekkan. Soḍhala's son S'ârṅgadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled *Samgîtaratnâkara* which is extant.<sup>6</sup> There is a commentary

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Conquests in the South.

Singhana's titles.

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

<sup>2</sup> Viradhavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupâla. The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297. Vastupâla was minister to Visaladeva also for some time. We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., pp. 386-7, and Vol. XII., p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *i. e.* "of the race of Vishnu."

<sup>5</sup> Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> तस्याभूत्तनयः प्रभूतविनयः श्रीसोदरः प्रौढधीर्येन श्रीकरणपवृद्धविभवं भूवृद्धमं भिद्धमम् । आराध्याखिललोकशोकशमनी कीर्त्तिः समासादिता जैत्रे जैत्रपदं न्यधायि महती श्रितिरुणे श्रीरवि ॥ Then follows one verse in praise of Singhana and two in praise of

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on this work attributed to a king of the name of Singa who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Singa appears in all likelihood to be Singhana; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case.<sup>1</sup> Chāṅgadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarāchārya and son of Lakshmidhara, was chief astrologer to Singhana; and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhāskarāchārya's brother Śrīpati and son of Gaṇapati. Chāṅgadeva founded a Maṭha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhāntasīromani and other works at Pātṇā in the Chālisgaṃv division of the Khāndes district, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same division and dedicated it to Bhavānī on the 1st of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1144 *expired*.<sup>2</sup>

Jaitrapāla,  
Singhana's son,  
died before him.

Singhana's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, 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 *Yuvarāja*, for the latest date of Singhana is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Kṛishṇa, Śaka 1175, *Pramādi-Samvatsara*, is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Kṛishṇa 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 *Vratakhanda*, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Singhana, we are told that his grandsons Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva came to the throne, of whom the elder Kṛishṇa reigned first.<sup>5</sup> Kṛishṇa's Prākṛit name was Kanhāra, Kanhara, or Kandhāra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Mālava, Gujarāt, 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> In the *Vratakhanda* also he is said to have destroyed the army of Visala, who we know was sovereign of Gujarāt at this time and who had been at war with Singhana, and, in general terms, to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, 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> Laksh-

Kṛishṇa.

Soḍhala in which he is represented to have pleased Singhana by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired; and then we have तस्माद्गुग्गुधुधेर्जातः शार्ङ्गदेवः सुधाकरः । उपर्युपरि सर्वान्यः सदोदारः स्फुरत्करः ॥ Introduction to *Samgitaratnākara*, No. 979, Collection of 1887--91, Dekk. Coll. इति श्रीमदनविनोदश्रीकरणाधिपतिश्रीसोदरलनन्दननिःशङ्कश्रीशार्ङ्गदेवविरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे प्रकीर्णिकाध्यायस्तुतियः समाप्तः fol. 122a.

<sup>1</sup> My Report on MSS. for 1882-83, pp. 37, 38 and 222.

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. A. S., Vol. I., N.S., p. 415, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 113.

<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. II., st. 11.

mīdeva, son of Janārdana, is represented by his wise counsels to have helped Kṛishṇa to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies.<sup>1</sup> Kṛishṇa 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 Tāluka, Malla or Malliseṭṭi is spoken of as the elder brother of Bīcha or Bīchana, the viceroy of Sīnghana 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 Kṛishṇa, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bāgevādi to thirty-two Brāhmanas of different Gotras.<sup>2</sup> Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahārāshtra Brāhmanas, such as *Paṭavardhana* and *Ghaisḍsa*, prevalent among Chitpāvanas, and *Ghalisḍsa*, *Ghalisa*, and *Pāthaka*, among Deśasthas. The name *Trivḍḍi* also occurs; but there is no trace of it among Marāṭhā Brāhmanas, while it is borne by Brāhmanas in Gujarāt and Upper Hindustan. In another grant, Chaunḍa the son of Bīchana, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Kṛishṇa at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein.<sup>3</sup> Jahlana, son of Lakshmiḍeva who had succeeded his father, assisted Kṛishṇa diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother. He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Kṛishṇa's enemies. He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called *Sūktimuktāvali*, which is extant.<sup>4</sup> The *Vedāntakalpataru*, which is a commentary on Vāchaspatimīśra's *Bhāmati*

<sup>1</sup> Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :—

विश्वत्राणपरायणः स्फुरदुहस्वर्णोचितार्थिन्नज-  
स्तस्मादद्भुतविक्रमः समभवच्छीलक्ष्मिदेवः सुधीः ।

मन्त्रैर्निर्जितदेवमन्त्रिषिषणैर्जाग्रन्नयप्रक्रमे

राज्यं कृष्णमहीपतेरविकलं दत्त्वा स्थिरं योऽव्यधात् ॥ २१ ॥

अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिर्न्यञ्चितशक्तिभृद्भौ ।

चित्रं सोप्यकरोन्नृत्यत्कबन्धसमरार्णवम् ॥ २२ ॥

<sup>2</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 27. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., 304. Kuhuṇḍi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum district.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :—

तस्यास्ते तनयो नयोदधिविधुर्बन्धुर्बुधानां सुधीः

सारासारविचारणासु चतुरः श्रीजह्णणाख्यः श्रितौ ॥ २६ ॥

मत्पित्रा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतबलवद्दुषि सर्गोपसर्गं

राज्यं प्राज्यप्रभावप्रथितशुणभृता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।

तन्निर्वाह्यं मयेति द्विशुणितधिषणाशक्तिभक्तिर्विधत्ते

सर्वे यः स्वाधि (मि)कार्यं हितमनयदता भावुकेनानुजेन ॥ २७ ॥

ध्रुवं यस्यास्ति हस्ताब्जे मदान्धा करिवाहिनी ।

दानोदकप्रवाहोत्र दश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥

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which itself is a commentary on Śaṅkarāchārya's Vedāntasūtra-bhāṣya, was written by Amalānanda in the reign of Kriṣṇa.<sup>1</sup>

## Mahādeva.

Kriṣṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva 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 Tailāṅga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gārjara, he destroyed the king of Konkan with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karṇāta and Lāṭa to mockery."<sup>2</sup> The Gārjara here mentioned must be Viśaladeva noticed above, as Mahādeva is represented in the Paiṭhaṅ grant to have vanquished him;<sup>3</sup> and the king of Karṇāta was probably a Hoysala Yādava of Halebid. "King Mahādeva 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 Mālava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions practised false penance for a long time. He took away in battle the elephants and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tailāṅga, but left the ruler Rudramā as he refrained from killing a woman."<sup>4</sup> In a work on Poetics called Pratāparudrīya by Vidyānatha there occurs a specimen of a dramatic play in which Gaṇapati of the Kākatiya dynasty, the same prince who is represented in the Paiṭhaṅ grant to have been released from confinement by Jaitugi, is mentioned as having left his throne to his daughter, whom, however, he called his son and named Rudra, and who is spoken of as "a king" and not queen. She adopted Pratāparudra, the son of her daughter, as her heir. This, therefore, was the woman spoken of above as Rudramā and as having been placed on the throne by the Andhras.<sup>5</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 Mahādeva's maddened elephants." "Mahādeva deprived Someśvara of his kingdom and his life."<sup>6</sup> We have seen that Kriṣṇa fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly. His successor Mahādeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants.

Conquest  
of Northern  
Konkan.

तेनेयं क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्सुभाषितसमहान् ।  
सूक्तिमुक्तावलीकण्ठकन्दलीभूषणं सताम् ॥ ३८ ॥

<sup>1</sup> Transactions Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I., p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix C. I., st. 48, and II., st. 13. <sup>3</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p., 316.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix C. I., st. 52, and II., st. 14 and 15.

<sup>5</sup> एवमेतत् । अन्यथा कथमीश्वरप्रसादादते निरङ्कुशं स्वव्यक्तिविशेषस्य लोकाधिपत्यम् । एवं

मानुषशम्भुना गणपतिमहाराजेनाभ्यन्तरस्यानुभावस्य सदृशमत्र पुत्र इति व्यवहारः कृतस्तदनुगुणा  
श्च हद्र इत्याख्या । Poona lithographed edition of Śaka 1771, fol. 29. See also Dr.

Hultzsch's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., pp. 198, 199.

<sup>6</sup> Appendix C. I., st. 49, 50, and II., st. 17.

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>1</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 Mahādeva's prowess to be more unbearable.<sup>2</sup> Konkan was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yādavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahādeva's successor, as we find from the Thānā plates published by Mr. Wathen.<sup>3</sup> The Someśvara whom Mahādeva subdued belonged to the Śilāhāra dynasty of Thānā that had been ruling over that part of Konkan for a considerable period. He is the last prince of the dynasty whose inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are Śaka 1171 and 1182.<sup>4</sup> Mahādeva 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 Seuna on the borders of Daṇḍakāraṇya. "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 Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."<sup>5</sup> At Paṇḍharpur there is an inscription dated 1192 Śaka, *Pramoda Saṁvatsara*, in which Mahādeva is represented to have been reigning at the time. He is there called *Praṇḍhapratāpa Chakravartin*, or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour." The inscription records the performance of an *Aptoryāma* sacrifice by a Brāhmaṇ chief of the name of Keśava belonging to the Kaśyapa Gotra.

The immediate successor of Mahādeva was Āmaṇa<sup>6</sup> who appears to have been his son; but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Rāmachandra, son of Kṛishṇa, who ascended the throne in 1193 Śaka or 1271 A.D. He is called Rāmadeva or Rāmarāja also. In the Thānā copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mālava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country. He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailāṅga king." This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratāparudra the successor of Rudramā, which are mentioned in the work noticed above. Several other epithets occur in the grants; but they are given as mere *birudas* or titles which were inherited by Rāmachandra 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

Rāmachandra  
or Rāmadeva.

OP.  
विरट

<sup>1</sup> Appendix C. I., st. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* I., st. 51, and II., st. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Jour. B. A. S. (old series), Vol. V., p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII., Part II., p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix C. II., st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himalaya or Meru. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods."

<sup>6</sup> Paṭṭhaṇ grant, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 317.

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he ruled over was as large as it ever was. There is in the Dekkan College Library a manuscript of the Amarakosa written in Konkani on Tâla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Saka 1219 and A.D. 1297. His viceroy in Konkani in Saka 1212 was a Brâhman named Krishna belonging to the Bhâradvâja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanâbha first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Singhana. One of the Thâna grants was issued by him, and the other dated 1194 Saka 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. By the Paithan copper-plate charter, which was issued in Saka 1193, Râmachandra assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brâhman on conditions some of which are rather interesting. The Brâhman and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds.<sup>1</sup>

Hemâdri,  
the minister of  
Mahâdeva and  
Râmadeva.

Hemâdri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmasâstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahâdeva and Râmachandra and was minister to both. In the introduction to his works on Dharmasâstra he is called Mahâdeva's *Srikaranddhya* or *Srikaranaprabhu*. In the Thâna copper-plate of 1194 Saka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *adhipatya* 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 Thâna plate Râmârâja 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, Vâmana.<sup>2</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

<sup>1</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Pariseshakhaṇḍa, Ed. Bib. Ind., pp. 4-5.

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 Chintāmaṇi*, which is divided into four parts, viz., (1) *Vratākhaṇḍa*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances; (2) *Dānakhaṇḍa*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained; (3) *Tīrthākhaṇḍa*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places; and (4) *Mokshākhaṇḍa*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth *Khaṇḍa* or part which is called *Parīśeshākhaṇḍa* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Śrāddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prāyaścitta* 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 *Āyurvedārasāyana* on a medical treatise by Vāgbhata and another on Bopadeva's *Muktāphala*, a work expounding Vaishṇava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

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Chaturvarga  
Chintāmaṇi.

Other works.

Bopadeva.

This Bopadeva was one of Hemādri's proteges and the author of the work mentioned above and of another entitled *Harilīlā*, which contains an abstract of the *Bhāgavata*. Both of these were written at the request of Hemādri as the author himself tells us.<sup>1</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 *Sārtha* situated on the banks of the *Varadā*. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of *Berār*. 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.

Hemādri has not yet been forgotten in the *Marāṭhā* country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemādpant and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him. He is said to have introduced the *Modi* or the current form of writing and is believed to have brought it from *Laṅkā* 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.

Hemādpant of  
the *Marāṭhās*.

The great *Marāṭhā sādhu* or saint *Jñāneśvara* or *Dnyāneśvara* as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of

Jñāneśvara, the  
*Marāṭhā sādhu*.

<sup>1</sup> विद्वद्भनेशशिष्येण भिषकेशवसूनुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥  
श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥  
Dr. Rājendralāl's notices of *Skr. MSS.*, Vol. II., pp. 48 and 200.

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**Rāmachandra.** At the end of his Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā he tells us: "In the Kali age, in the country of Mahārāshṭra and on the southern bank of the Godāvāri, there is a sacred place five kos in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahālayā, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world. There, king Rāmachandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gītā by Jñānadeva, the son of Nivṛittinātha, 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 Rāmachandra was on the throne.

Conquest of the  
country by the  
Mussalmans.

Rāmachandra 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. Rāmachandra, therefore, 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, Rāmachandra's son Saṁkara 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

1

ऐसें युगीं परि कर्ळीं । आणि महाराष्ट्रमंडळीं ।

श्रीगोदावरीच्या कूर्ळीं । दक्षिणर्ळीं ॥ १ ॥

त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशक्षेत्र ।

जेय जगाचें जीवनसूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥

तेथ यदुवंशविलास । जो सकळकळनिवास ।

न्यायातें पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥

तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूतें । श्रीनिवृत्तिनाथसूतें ।

केलें ज्ञानदेवें गीते । देशीकार लेणें ॥ ४ ॥

with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Śaṁkara'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 Śaṁkara'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.

Rāmachandra or Rāmādeva 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 Rāmachandra 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 Rāmachandra 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 Rāmādeva 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. Rāmachandra 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 Tailāṅga. On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king.

Rāmādeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Śaṁkara. 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 Śaṁkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

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

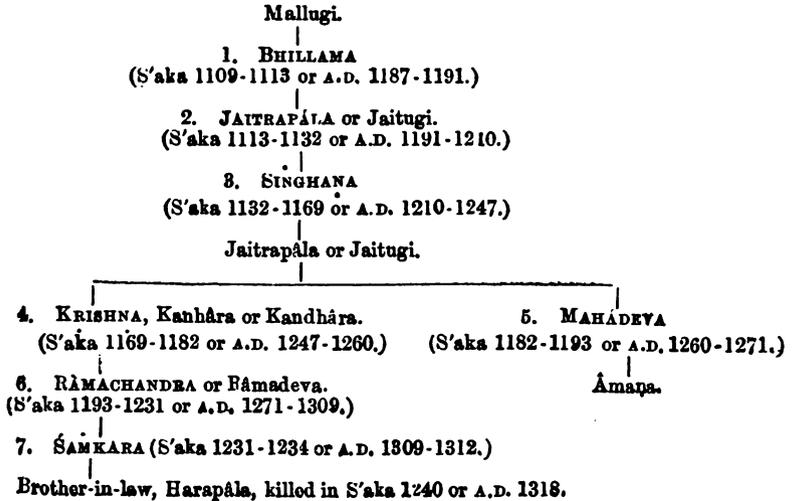
<sup>1</sup> Elliot's History of India, Vol. III., p. 77,

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by Harapála, the son-in-law of Rámachandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors. In 1240 Śaka or A.D. 1318 Mubarik marched to the Dekkan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapála prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive.

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

*Genealogy of the later Yádavas or the Yádavas of Devagiri.*



## SECTION XVI.

## THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHĀPUR.

THREE distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Śilāra or Śilāhāra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jīmūtavāhana the son of Jīmūtakeṭu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādharas, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śāṅkhachūḍa 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 *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara* or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kāṁvadeva, the donor of the Rājāpur grant who was a Chālukya, called himself *Kalyānapuravarādhīśvara*, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage and of the rulers of Goa was *Banavāsipuravarādhīśvara*. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyāna and Banavāsi, so does *Tagarapuravarādhīśvara* show that the Śilāhāras who bore the title belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Śilāhāra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Śilāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara."<sup>2</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 Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Andhra-bhṛitya period and the foundation of the Chālukya power.

## Section XVI.

Three branches of the Śilāhāra family.

Tagara, the original seat of the family.

The North Konkan branch.

The South Konkan branch.

The three Śilāhāra dynasties of Mahāmaṇḍalesvaras or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded in the times of the Rāshtrakūtas. One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Purī, which probably was at one time the capital of the province. As represented in an inscription at Kānheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullaśakti by Amoghavarsha a few years before Śaka 775. Another Śilāhāra family established itself in Southern Konkan. The founder or first chief named S'ānaphulla enjoying the favour of Kṛishṇarāja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.<sup>3</sup> There were three Rāshtrakūta princes of the name of Kṛishṇarāja 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 Ś'aka era

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

<sup>2</sup> Grant translated by Dr. Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III. शिलाहाराख्यवंशोयं तगरेश्वरभूयताम् ।

<sup>3</sup> Khārepātan plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217. The name of the first chief is read "Jhallaphulla" by Bāl Gangādhara Ś'āstri; but the first letter looks like ष though there is some difference. That difference, however, brings it nearer to श. The letter which was read by him as ष is clearly ण. For देशसंभावने I find देशसंसावने on the plates.

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or between 753 and 775 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The genealogy of this dynasty is given in the Khârepâṭaṅ grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Ś'aka 930 while the Châlukya king Satyâśraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Khârepâṭaṅ.

The Kolhâpur  
branch.

Jatiga,  
the founder.

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 Kâshṭrakûṭa 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>2</sup> Jatiga's son and successor was Goṃka, otherwise called Goṃkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Kara-hâṭa-Kuṇḍi<sup>3</sup> and Mairiṅja and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Gûvala, Kirtirâja, and Chandrâditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Mârasimha the son of Goṃka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Ś'aka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples; and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khilî-gilî, 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.

An inscription at Kolhâpur mentions another brother named Gaṅgadeva and the order in which the brothers are spoken of is Gûvala

<sup>1</sup> From Śanaphulla the first chief to Raṭṭa 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. Raṭṭa was on the throne in Ś'aka 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 Ś'aka 930. Subtracting  $27 \times 9 = 243$  from 930, we have Ś'aka 687 as the approximate date of Śanaphulla. 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 Ś'aka 797 to 833 and of Krishna III. from Ś'aka 862 to 881, 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 Ś'aka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Krishna II. whose earliest date is Ś'aka 797. The Khârepâṭaṅ family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Krishna I.

Bâl Śâstri read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu; but the second syllable of the name is certainly not र् the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the र् in the word परमपदार्क and आवदनानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

<sup>2</sup> See the grant of Gaṇḍarâditya published by Paṇḍit Bhagvânâlâl Mdrâji 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>3</sup> Mârasimha's grant. Kuṇḍi or Kuhuṇḍi was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before. Mairiṅja is Miraj.

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Gaṅga, Ballāla, Bhoja, and Gaṇḍarāditya.<sup>1</sup> But the grants of Gaṇḍarāditya and Bhoja II. agree in representing Bhoja as the elder and Ballāla as the younger brother, and in omitting Gaṅga.

Gaṇḍarāditya.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have been the most famous. He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī,<sup>2</sup> and in others recorded on stone at Kolhāpur and in the districts. His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058.<sup>3</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 Kolhāpur Ś'ilāhāras before 1032. Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Goṃka or soon after. From the grant of Bhoja II. it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Dekkan Ś'ilāhāras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Khārepāṭaṇ grant,<sup>4</sup> wherefore it follows that the Ś'ilāhāras of southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhāpur districts. Gaṇḍarāditya fed a hundred thousand Brāhmins at Prayāga. This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhāpur; and not the modern Allahābād. He built a Jaina temple at Ājareṃ, a village in the Kolhāpur districts,<sup>5</sup> and constructed a large tank, called after him *Gaṇḍasamudra* or "the sea of Gaṇḍa," at Irukudi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of Īsvara 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>6</sup> He first resided at a place called Tiravāda and afterwards at Valavāṭa, which has been identified with the present Valavdeṃ.<sup>7</sup>

Gaṇḍarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayārka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073.<sup>8</sup> He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thānā 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>9</sup> He assisted Vijjaṇa<sup>10</sup> in his revolt against his masters, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty. This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Ś'aka.

Vijayārka.

<sup>1</sup> Inscription No. 4, Major Graham's Report.

<sup>2</sup> In *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Bhagvānlāl's plates, and Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report. The Ś'aka in Bhagvānlāl'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>4</sup> For the village granted is Kaseṭi, which is near Jaitāpur and Khārepāṭaṇ.

<sup>5</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note.

<sup>6</sup> His grant in *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Bhagvānlāl's plates and Major Graham's Ins. No. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ins. Nos. 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report.

<sup>9</sup> Grant of Bhoja II. in *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> In the transcript of the inscription in Vol. IV. Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom. we have Vtkshaṇa for Vijjaṇa. There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the inscription or of the engraver. For the Kalachuri usurper at Kalyāṇa is called both Vijjala or Vijjaṇa in his inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayārka obtained the position of a Chakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the inscription.

**Section XVI.**  
**Bhoja II.**

After Vijayârka, his son Bhoja II. became Mahâmandaleśvara and reigned in the fort of Panhâlâ. His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127.<sup>1</sup> He granted the village of Kaśeli in Konkan near Khârepâṭaṇ on the application of his son Gaṇḍarâditya for feeding Brâhman̄s regularly<sup>2</sup>; and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also. Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhâpur are called Karahâtakas, which shows that the caste of Karhâde Brâhman̄s had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of *Ghaisâsa*, which is now found among Chitpâvan Brâhman̄s.<sup>3</sup> In the reign of Bhoja II. a Jaina Paṇḍit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled *S'abdârnavachandrikâ*<sup>4</sup> on Pûjyapâda's Sanskrit Grammar. The Kolhâpur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. Vijjaṇa, the new sovereign at Kalyâna, 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 Vijjaṇa marched against Kolhâpur a little before his assassination in Śaka 1089.<sup>5</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>6</sup>

Approximate date of the foundation of the Kolhâpur branch.

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

Religion of the Kolhâpur S'ilâhâras.

One of the many titles used by the S'ilâhâras was *Srîman-Mahâ-lakshmi-labdha-vara-prasâda*, i. e. "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahâlakshmi." Mahâlakshmi was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purânic and Vedic religion; but they patronized both Brâhman̄s and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact noticed above of Gaṇḍarâditya'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 Marâṭhâ families of the name of Selâra reduced to poverty, and the name Selâravâdi of a station

<sup>1</sup> Major Graham's Ins. Nos. 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note.

<sup>2</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>3</sup> Ins. No. 8, Major Graham's Report.

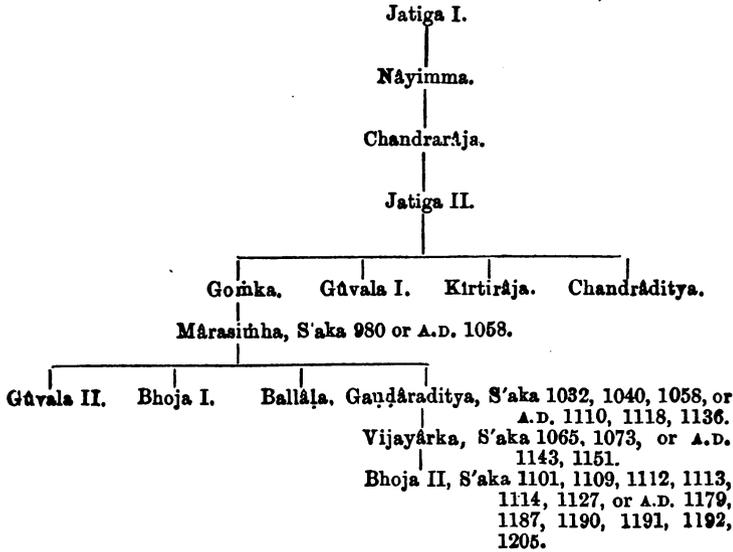
<sup>4</sup> Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note. The manuscript here mentioned is in the Dekkan College library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note.

<sup>5</sup> Vijalarâya Charitra in Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> Sec. XV.

on the railway from Khandāla to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara. Section XVI.

*Genealogy of the S'ildhāras of Kolhāpur.*



## APPENDIX A.

*Note on the Gupta Era.***Appendix A.**

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 S'aka 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 S'aka 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 S'aka 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 S'aka era was the epoch of the defeat of the S'aka king by Vikramâditya. 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 *Karâṇa-kutûhala*, a manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government during 1882-83, tells us that "the epoch when Vikramâditya killed Mlechchhas of the name of Śakas is ordinarily known as the S'aka era." But we know that in Maṅgalis'a's inscription at Bâdâmi it is spoken of as the era of the "coronation of the S'aka king"; that Ravikirti 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 S'aka 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.

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 S'aka, 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 S'aka 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 Āshāḍha, in the Gupta year 165.
2. Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahāvaiśāka.
3. Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāsvayuja.
4. Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāchaitra.
5. Rājā Samkshobha's inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāsvayuja.
6. An eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 5th Phālguna 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 S'aka 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

Appendix A.

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 S'aka. 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 S'aka year, and even our present S'aka 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 S'aka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. S'aka 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 Archæological 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* S'aka 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 S'aka *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 S'aka *current*, + 78 = 511 A.D. *current*. In the tables we find 511 put down under *Mahāchaitra*. Similarly 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 451 S'aka *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 S'aka 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.\*

\* Though by using General Cunningham's table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 78 to the past S'aka, while I have added 79; i.e., the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a past year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a past year. And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute (1894).

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaisākha, 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 Vaisākha 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 Valabhī hitherto known is 447. This Ś'ilāditya is also styled Dhruvabhāta in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhāta of Hwan Thsang who visited Valabhī 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 Dhruvabhāta nearer to the date of Hwan Thsang's visit. But the identification of the last Ś'ilāditya with Hwan Thsang's Dhruvabhāta 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 Dhruvabhāta 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 Valabhī was his father, and among the kings of Valabhī 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 Dhruvabhāta. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhāta*. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rāv are among us the Marāthās. Sena, Simha, and Bhāta were the Valabhī honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhāta 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 Valabhī.

\* There was an eclipse also in Ś'aka 826 on the new-moon day of Kārttika; so that Gupta 585 *past* + 241 = 826 Śaka. This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question see my paper on the epoch of the Gupta era, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII, p. 80.

Appendix A.

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 S'aka 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 Valabhis 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 S'aka, 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, Rudradāman's 72 must correspond to 16 A.D. Rudradāman'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 Baleocuros who according to him held power in Hippocura was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Puḷumāyi and Gotamīputra Yajña Śrī, since as Viḷivāyakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhāpur 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 Baleocuros 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 S'aka era. The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the S'akas 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 S'aka *current* or 319-320 A.D. as the first *current* year of the Gupta era; for his 93 *past* will then correspond to 412-413 A.D. And in this way Rudradâman's 72 will correspond to 150 A.D.; and Chashâna's date will be about 130 A.D., i.e. anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years.

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

*Note on the S'aka dates and the years of the Bārhaspatya cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions.*

Appendix B.

THERE are certain difficulties with reference to the S'aka dates and the cyclic years or *Samvatsaras* occurring in the inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current S'aka 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 S'aka 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 S'aka 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 S'aka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current S'aka year corresponding to that cyclic year is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against S'aka 855, the date of the Sāngali grant of Govind IV. of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, we have in the third column the cyclic year *Vijaya* which shows that 855 years of the S'aka era *had expired* before the *Vijaya* year began, while the *current* S'aka 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 S'aka 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 S'aka 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 S'aka 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 Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess there are 97 cases in which the S'aka 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 S'aka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the inscription. These are :—

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\* It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that Saka 1805 was the current year in 1883-84. I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so. But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 S'aka was not *current* in 1883-84 A.D. but *past*, and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct. In the previous note also I have stated that "we now mistake the year 1805 S'aka for the *current* year" (in 1883-84); so that there is no possibility whatever of anybody misunderstanding my meaning.

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 *Bahudhanya*, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables.

In 28 cases the S'aka 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 S'aka date is 1184 and the cyclic year *Durmati*. In the tables, *Durmati* 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 S'aka date represents the number of S'aka 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* S'aka 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.
Kanarese grant of Govinda III.			
Rashtrakuta ... ..	726	Subhann ...	Current year.
Radhampur grant of do. ...	730	Sarvajit ...	Do.
Krishna II or Akalavarsha, completion of the Jaina Purana ...	830	Pingala ...	Do.
Do., in a Jaina temple by Chikarya ... ..	824	Dundubhi ...	Years elapsed.
Govind IV., Sangal grant ... ..	855	Vijaya ...	Do.
Kakkala, Kardā grant ... ..	894	Angiras ...	Do.
Tailapa's accession ... ..	895	Srimukha ...	Do.
Satyashraya, Kharepatan plates of Ratna ... ..	930	Kilaka ...	Do.
Jayasinha Jagadekamalla, Miraj grant ... ..	946	Raktakshi ...	Do.
Marasinha Silahara of Kolhapur, grant ... ..	980	Vilambin ...	Do.

## Appendix B.

	S'aka date	Cyclic year.	What the S'aka date represents.
Gaṇḍarāditya Silāhāra of Kolhāpur, Ina. No. 1.	1032	Vikṛiti ...	Years elapsed.
Do. do. grant trans-lated by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl ...	1032	Virodhin ...	Current year.
Do. Kolhāpur Ina. No. 2 ...	1040	Vilambin ...	Years elapsed.
Vijayārka do. do. No. 4 ...	1065	Dundubhi ...	Current year.
Someśvara III. Bhūlokamalla, Abhilaṣita Chintāmaṇi ...	1051	Saumya ...	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II., Kolhāpur Ina. No. 6...	1101	Vilambin ...	Current year.
Do. do. „ No. 8...	1112	Śādhāraṇa ...	Years elapsed.
Do. Dr. Taylor's grant...	1113	Virodhin ...	Do.
Do. Kolhāpur Ina. No. 8.	1114	Paṛidhāvin ...	Do.
Siṅghana Yādava, Khedrāpur Ina. ...	1136	Śrīmukha ...	Current year.
Kāmvadeva Chālukya ...	1182	Raudra ...	Years elapsed.
Mahādeva Yādava, Paṇḍharpur Ina.	1192	Pramoda ...	Do.
Ramachandra Yādava, Thānā ...	1194	Āṅgiras ...	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 Chālukyas 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 *pravartamāne*, "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. So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the *past* or *expired* year without knowing that it is the *past* year. And there are in the inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real *past* year came to be regarded as the current year. Thus in No. 86 of the Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kānarese inscriptions, S'aka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikṛiti. Now, according to the tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikṛiti was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that S'aka 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 S'aka 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 S'aka dates are in advance of the *Samvatsara* or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vaṇi-Diṇḍori grant of Govinda III. the S'aka date is 730 and the *Samvatsara Vyaya*, and in the Kānheri inscription of Amoghavarsha we have S'aka 775 and the *Prajāpati Sam-*

vatsara. Now the S'aka years immediately preceding Vyaya and Prajāpati were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the *current* years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be *past* years and the writers of the documents desirous of giving the *current* years added 1 and put them down as 730 and 775. The date in No. 79 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kānarese 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 mistakes.

The S'aka 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 S'aka era had expired.*

## Introduction to Hemādri's Vratakhanda.

## Appendix C.

In the critical notes D. represents the MS. in the Dekkan College Library, No. 234 of A. 1881-82; D 2. another recently added to the collection; S. the MS. belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No. 657; Kh. the MS. belonging to Khâsivâle, and G. the MS. procured by Gaᅅgâdhar Śâstri Dâtâr. See Section XIV., first page, note 2.

• श्रीगोपालमपारवैभवभवस्वच्छन्दलीलालयं  
सान्द्रस्निग्धतमालकोमलदलश्यामाभिरमाकृतिम् ।  
कूजत्कोकिलकामिनीकलरवप्रोक्तासिगोपाङ्गना-  
गीतस्फीतपवित्रचित्रचरितश्रातं नमस्कुर्महे ॥ १ ॥  
उन्मीलत्कमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विबुद्धप्रभं  
सारसारविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन संसेवितम् ।  
नित्यानन्दपरागसङ्गुभगं वन्दारवृन्दारक-  
श्रेणीभङ्गमनङ्गवैरिचरणाम्भोजद्वयं पातु वः ॥ २ ॥

\* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S. and D 2, 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 सङ्गु for भङ्गु D. Kh. २ नः for वः D. Kh.

## Râjapraśasti I.

जीयान्मृतनभृतसर्गसमयाविर्भावसंभावना-  
तुष्यत्तल्पभुजङ्गपुङ्गवशिरःश्रेणीशतैर्वन्दितः ।  
कल्पान्तोपरमेषु नाभिकमले प्रोहामसामस्वर-  
स्वैरोच्चारणचारणायितविधिव्याधूतानिद्रो हरिः ॥ १ ॥  
अस्ति प्रशस्तं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शय्यागृहं क्षीरमयः पयोधिः ।  
यदीयपीयूषरसायनेन स्वलोकभाजामजरामरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥  
संतानचिन्तामणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमश्रीजननैकहेतोः ।  
सिन्धोरमुष्माद्भुदभूदमन्दनिसन्दमानामृतविन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥  
ततस्तनूजं विबुधप्रधानं बुधं सुधादीधितिप्यसूत ।  
बभूव तस्मादथ चक्रवर्ती पुरुषवाः पुण्यपथाञ्जवर्ती ॥ ४ ॥  
अभजत जनिमस्मादायुरायुः प्रजानां  
नघुषपदनिदानं ज्योतिरासीत्ततोपि ।

१ जायान्मृ० S. जीवन्मृ० G. २ ञ्जल्प० S. तुल्प. G. ३ ञ्मानो G. मानी S. ४ प्रतापं  
for प्रधानं G. ५ र वा० for पथा० S. D 2. ६ जन S. D 2. जसि G. for जनि.

नृपतिरथ ययातिः ख्यातिमानव्यमुष्मा-  
 दयमपि यदुमूर्तिं कीर्तिमाविशकार ॥ ५ ॥  
 यदोरदोषविशदर्थशोभिरभिशोभितः  
 भन्ववायः स एवायमवाप यदुवंशताम् ॥ ६ ॥  
 ततः क्रोधा तस्माद्जनि वृजिनीवानपि नृप-  
 स्ततो जज्ञे राघ्नः क्षितिपतिरिह स्वाहित इति ।  
 नृशक्तस्तत्पुत्रः समभवदथो चित्ररथ इ-  
 त्यतो जातः ख्यातः स किल शशबिन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥  
 ततः पृथुश्रवा वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।  
 ततः सुयज्ञ उशनाः सितियुरिति च क्रमात् ॥ ८ ॥  
 स्रुस्तस्य मरुत्त इत्यनुपमः प्रोहामदोर्विक्रम-  
 स्तस्मात्कम्बलवर्हिरुज्ज्वलयशःप्रक्षालितक्ष्मातलः ।  
 एतस्माद्दुदियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्टप-  
 स्तस्माद्भूरितुरंगमेधसुकृती राजाजनि ज्यामयः ॥ ९ ॥  
 ततो विदर्भः क्रथकुन्तिवृष्णिनिवृत्तिसंज्ञाः परतो दशार्हः ।  
 व्योमा च जीमूत इति क्रमेण जाता नरेन्द्रा विकृतिश्च वीरः ॥ १० ॥  
 तदनु भामरथः पृथिवीपतिर्नवरथश्च ततो रथिनां वरः ।  
 दशरथः शकुनिश्च कर्मभरित्युपादेशान्ति पुराणपरायणाः ॥ ११ ॥  
 देवराजस्ततः श्रीमान्देवक्षेत्रस्ततो मधुः ।  
 ततः कुरुबलो राजा पुरुहोत्रः क्रमादभूत् ॥ १२ ॥  
 अथापुरासीदथ सान्वतोभूदथान्धकोस्माद्भजमानसंज्ञः ।  
 विदूरथस्तत्परतोपि शूरराशिः प्रतिक्षत्र इति क्षितीशः ॥ १३ ॥  
 बभूवाश्च स्वयंभोजस्ततोपि हृदिको भवत् ।  
 असूत सोपि धर्मात्मा राजानं देवमीदृषम् ॥ १४ ॥  
 निस्त्रिज्ञानिःशेषितवैरिपुरस्ततः क्षिति पालयति स्म शूरः ।  
 ततोपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विश्वहेतोःपि हेतुरासीत् ॥ १५ ॥  
 वृन्दारवृन्दारकवृन्दमालिमन्दारमालासुरभीकृताङ्घ्रिः ।  
 आसीदमुष्मादसुरपवतारभारापहाणय पुरा सुरारिः ॥ १६ ॥

१ मूर्तिः S. D 2. मूर्ति G. २ स्वाहित S. स्ताहित G. ३ यशः S. G. ४ मेधि S. G.  
 ५ व्योमाश्च S. व्योमाश्च G. व्योमाश्च D 2. ६ देवरातः D 2. ७ नाम for राजा G. ८ सत्वतो D 2.  
 ९ अन्धकस्मात् G. S. १० So both MSS., also D 2. But there must be a mistake. The name  
 of Śūra's son शोणि is disguised as राशि. Perhaps the reading is शूरशोणि. ११ पुरा सुरारिः  
 S. पुरारिः D 2.

## Appendix C.

बभूव प्रद्युम्नः किल कुसुमधन्वा मधुरिपो-  
 स्त्रिलोकीवीरोसौ तनयमनिरुद्धं प्रसुषुवे ।  
 ततो भूभृत्पञ्चश्रपणनिपुणेनैव महसा  
 परिस्फूर्जन्वन्मः शतमस्वससः प्रादुरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥  
 बन्मस्य सूनुः प्रतिबाहुपसीदासीञ्छतक्षमापतिषकवालः ।  
 ततोपि सन्नाहभवत्सुबाहुः प्रासूत सोयं चतुरस्तनूषान् ॥ १८ ॥  
 तेन ते सार्वभौमेन तनया विनयान्विताः ।  
 विभज्य वसुधाचक्रं चकिरे पृथिवीभ्रराः ॥ १९ ॥  
 यथाविभागं वसुधामशेषां तेषां तदा पालयतां चतुर्णां ।  
 दृढप्रहारी दिशि दक्षिणस्यां प्रभुर्बभूव प्रथमात्कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥  
 सर्वेपि पूर्वं मथुराधिनाथाः कृष्णादितो द्वारवतीश्वरास्ते ।  
 सुत्राहुसूनोरनु दक्षिणाशाप्रशासिनो यादववंशवीराः ॥ २१ ॥  
 ततः स राजा निजराजधानीमधिष्ठितः श्रीनगरं नरीयः ।  
 छेभे सुतं सेजणचन्द्रसंज्ञं यत्संज्ञया सेजणदेशमाहुः ॥ २२ ॥  
 अथ धाडियसो महीपतिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव भिष्ठमः ।  
 अजनिष्ट ततोपि राजगिस्तदनु प्रादुरभूत्स बाहुगिः ॥ २३ ॥  
 जज्ञे धाडियमस्ततः प्रतिभटक्ष्मापालकालानल-  
 स्तस्मादाविरभूत्प्रभूतविभवो भर्ता शुचो भिष्ठमः ।  
 एतस्मान्महसां महानिधिरसौ श्रीविसुगिर्जज्ञिवान्  
 इन्ता भीष्मभुजो जसामसुहदां तस्माद्भूदूर्ध्वनः ॥ २४ ॥  
 अजलमाविष्कृतदानवारिः प्रभूतहस्ताचितदानवारिः ।  
 ततः स राजा विरराज राजश्रियो विलासैर्जितराजराजः ॥ २५ ॥  
 आसीद्विलासी नृपतेरमुष्मात्स भिष्ठमः पञ्चवितोरकीर्तिः ।  
 स बाहुगिः स्वाहुगिरां कवीनां स्तोत्रैकपात्रं भवति स्य तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥  
 ततो महीं महीपालः पालयामास वेसुगिः ।  
 संहतप्रोद्यदुद्दामधामसामन्तसंततिः ॥ २७ ॥  
 ततोपि नृपभिष्ठमः समरसीमभीमक्रिया-  
 निरर्गलभुजार्गलायुमलकाललीलालयः ।

१ स्व for एव D 2. २ परिस्फूर्जन्वन्मः S.; G. totally incorrect and there is a lacuna.  
 D 2. has वज्युः for वज्यु of S. 3. The Purānic genealogy ends here. Subāhu, however,  
 is there called Suchāru. ४ दायवतां D 2. ५ राजगिस्तदनु D 2. ६ स बाहुगिः S. सुबाहुदुगः  
 G. ७ This is the reading of S., D 2 and G. probably for धाडियस. But the name  
 according to Pāṇḍit Bhagvānāl's grant was धाडियप्प. ८ S. and G. have a wrong and  
 unintelligible reading here. ९ पाव S. पावै G. for पात्रं. १० The visarga is dropped in  
 S. and G. ११ संहत D 2.

ततः समदमेदिनीपतिपतङ्गभङ्गत्रतः

प्रतापशिखिलङ्घितत्रिजगदङ्गणः सेउणः ॥ २८ ॥

समुद्रतो येन महाभुजेन द्विषां विमर्दात्परमर्दिदेवः ।  
आस्थापि चालुक्यकुलप्रदीपः कल्याणराज्येपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥

परम्मदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वधूनेत्रघनाम्बुवृष्टौ ।

प(रे) रम्मदेनेव रुचां चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिरं व्यराजि ॥ ३० ॥

तस्मादनन्तरमनन्तभुजप्रतापः क्षोणीपतिः समभवत्स ह सिंहराजः ।

तस्यानुजस्तदनु भूवल्यं बलीयानत्रायत त्रिजगतीविजयी स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥

लञ्जीपुरात्समानीय कर्पूरतिलकं गजम् ।

स कर्पूरव्रतं पूर्णमकरोत्परमर्दिनः ॥ ३२ ॥

तस्मादप्रतिमङ्घोभून्मङ्घविर्वङ्गमः क्षितेः ।

उदजृम्भत जम्भारिभूरिदोर्दण्डचण्डिमा ॥ ३३ ॥

आसाद्य सद्यः स्वनिवासहेतोः श्रीपर्णखेटं नगरं रिपुभ्यः ।

आहारि येनोत्कलभूमिपालादनुत्तुङ्गमातङ्गघटा हठेन ॥ ३४ ॥

तस्मादमरगाङ्गेयः संबभूव भुवः पतिः ।

अथाविन्दत गोविन्दराजः साम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

ततो मङ्गलिपुत्रोभूद्दपालोमरमङ्गलिः ।

अथ कालीयबङ्गालः पालयामास मेदिनीम् ॥ ३६ ॥

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् गुणानुरक्त्य यद्वंशलक्ष्मीः ।

श्रीबिह्वमं तस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्याजराजद्वुजमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥

यः श्रीवर्धनमाससाद नगरं क्षोणीपतेरंतलात्

यः प्रत्यण्डकभूश्रुतं च समरे दुष्टं व्यजेष्ट क्षणात् ।

यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टकं क्षितिपार्ति श्रीबिह्वणं जग्निवान्

कल्याणाश्रियमप्यवाप्य विदधे यो होसलेशं व्यसुं ॥ ३८ ॥

१ S. G. have लंघितः त्रिजगं २ समुद्रतो D 2. ३ व्रता for घना S. G. ४ Here S. ends, and the following is based on G. and D 2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect manuscript. ५ ० प्रतापं G. ६ साहि सिहि G. ७ This word in G. must be some mistake as it has no significance here. D 2. has नुयामु which also is a mistake. ८ नन्दितः for मर्दिनः G. ९ G. has मुच्छयि १० स्वनिवास is सनिवाह in G. ११ आहारि D 2. १२ मुच्छायि D 2. १३ लोपर D 2. १४ स D 2. for यः १५ रंतलात् for रंतलात् G. १६ वज्रिणं for बिह्वणं G. १७ G. has त्रसु and D 2. व्यसं for व्यसुं.

## Appendix C.

स दण्डिकामण्डलमण्डयित्रीमकम्पसंपत्तमवैविलासैः ।

चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरिशप्रसादसंसादितदिव्यशक्तिः ॥ ३९ ॥

तदनु मदनमूर्तिः कार्तिकीचन्द्रसान्द्र-

द्युतिविशदयशोभिः शोभिताशावकाशः ।

अभवदुवनिपालो जैत्रपालः करालः

प्रहरणरणरङ्गनुङ्गदुनुङ्गसङ्गः ॥ ४० ॥

दाक्षित्वा रणरङ्गदेवयजने प्रोदस्तशत्रुखुवः

श्रेणीभिर्जगतीपतीन्दुतवता येन प्रतापानले ।

तिष्ठन्नाधिपतेः पशोर्विशसनं रौद्रस्य रौद्राकृतेः

कृत्वा पूरुषमेधयज्ञविधिना लब्धस्त्रिलोकीजयः ॥ ४१ ॥

तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः

कीर्तिः पदं स किल सिद्धुण्णदेवभूपः ।

उदण्डदोर्युगलर्गवितवैरिवीर-

सीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभातुः ॥ ४२ ॥

येनार्नायत मत्तवारणघटा जज्जङ्गभूमिभृतः

कङ्कलादवनीपतेरपहता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ।

येन क्षोणीभृदर्जुनोपि बलिना नीतः कथाशेषतां

येनोहामभुजेन भोजनृपतिः क्यारकुटुम्बीकृतः ॥ ४३ ॥

यद्रम्भागिरिकेसरी विनिहृतो लक्ष्मीधरः क्षमापति-

र्यद्वाहावलिभिः प्रसह्य हरुधे धाराधराधीश्वरः ।

बङ्गालक्षितिपालपालितभुवां सर्वोपहारश्च यः

श्रीसिंहस्य महीपतेर्विजयते तद्बाललीलायितम् ॥ ४४ ॥

कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रताती जाती ततः सिंहनृपस्य पौत्रौ ।

तयोस्तु पूर्वप्रभवः पुरस्तात् कृष्णोतिविख्यातमतिर्नृपोभूत् ॥ ४५ ॥

येनाकारि विशालवीसलचमूसंहारकालानले

हेलोन्मूलितमूलराजसमरे निर्वीरघुर्वीतलम् ।

येनानेकमहाफलक्रतुकृता संवर्ध्यमानोनिशं

क्षीणः कालवशात्पुनस्तरणतां धर्मोपि संप्रापितः ॥ ४६ ॥

१ In the MSS. we have प्रसादमासादित०. २ G. has विकासः for अवकाशः. ३ रणरं-  
गस्तुंगदुत्तंग. D 2. ४ तद्विग in G. ५ रौद्रस्य ought to be रुद्रस्य, unless the son of Rudradeva  
is meant. ६ कीर्तिः for मूर्तिः D. 2. ७ This line is thus written in G. सीमन्तिनीवदनकै-  
रवचन्द्रभासान्द्र; also in D 2. except त् for last न्. ८ यद्भगारि G. ९ विनिहृतो G. १०  
लालित for पालित G. ११. यद्बाल० G. १२ क्षीणे G.

ततः कृष्णे राजन्यमरतदृणीचामरमह-  
चरुहृत्तुङ्गं दिधि किमपि तेजः श्रितवति ।

परित्राता भूमिः समजनि जगज्जित्वरमहा<sup>१</sup>  
महादेवः सेवारसिकसकलक्षमाश्रिततुतः ॥ ४७ ॥

तिष्ठङ्गक्षितिपालतूलनिचयप्रक्षेपचण्डानिलो<sup>२</sup>

गर्जदूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोषिक्रमः ।

हेलोनमूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भट-

क्षोणीपालाविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ ४८ ॥

यो भोजदेवान्द्रपतेः प्रतापी जग्राह वाहं मदमन्दसत्त्वः<sup>३</sup> ।

सार्धं जनन्या सहजीवितेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि जहार राज्यम् ॥ ४९ ॥

यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठयूतदानाम्बुतरङ्गिणीषु ।

सोमः समुद्रप्लवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कणेशः ॥ ५० ॥

सीमोच्छ्रुनमेव यस्य जगतां संहार इत्युच्यते

कुङ्के वज्रधरेपि यः क्षितिभृतं मैनाकमत्रायत ।

स्मारं स्मारममुष्य दुःसहमहःसंदोहदावानलं

तेनाम्भोनिधिनापि कुङ्कणपतिनिराक्षि कुक्षिस्थितः ॥ ५१ ॥

बाहानामपि यस्य वैरिविषयेष्वातन्वतां धन्विना (ता?)

मातिष्ठिङ्गचूपाङ्गणादनुदिनं वाद्यादिलीलाभवत् ।

यस्तस्यैव रणे जहार करिणस्तत्पञ्चशब्दादिकान्

यस्तत्याज वधूवधाडुपरतस्तद्भुजं रुद्रमाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

### Rājaprasāsti II.

वंशो हिमांशोर्जयति प्रसिद्धो यस्मिन्स राजा यदुराविरासीत् ।

बभूव यस्मिन्नसुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा मुरारिः ॥ ३ ॥

वंशे तस्मिन्कंसविध्वंसनस्य क्षोणीपालो भिष्ठमः प्रादुरासीत् ।

निन्ये नाशं वैरिभूश्रुत्पतङ्गान्यस्यानेकद्वीपदीपः प्रतापः ॥ ४ ॥

१ This महा is omitted in the MSS. since it is followed by another महा, and the copyists mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगतो जित्वरं जगज्जित्वरम् । जगज्जित्वरं महो यस्य स जगज्जित्वरमहाः. २ चूल for तूल D 2. ३ मदमन्दसत्त्वः which is also the reading of D. 2, as an epithet of Mahādeva, involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is, probably, मदमन्दसत्त्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva. 4 After this follow stanzas 14 and 19 of the next Prasāsti in D 2.

## Appendix C.

नन्वीभवत्सकलराजसमाजमौलीमाणिक्यदीधितिबिबोधितपादपद्मः ।  
उरामदर्परिपुसर्पाविहङ्गराजः श्रीभिष्ममाहवनिपोजनि जैत्रपालः ॥ ५ ॥

तस्मादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः कीर्तेः पदं जगति सिद्धगुणदेवभूपः ।

उहण्डदोर्धुगुलर्गवितवैरिवर्गसीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभानुः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ सकलकलानामालयः पालनाय क्षितितलमवतीर्णः पीर्णमासीशश्रीव ।  
अभवदवनिपालो जैतुगिर्नाम तस्मादसमसमरभीरुद्वेषिभूपालकालः ॥ ७ ॥

स भूमिपालो जनयांबभूव कृष्ण महादेवमहीपतिं च ।

हिताय लोकस्य यथा पयोधिभिन्तामणिं कौस्तुभमप्युदारम् ॥ ८ ॥

अन्मान्तरोत्थं परिवर्तयन्ती ज्येश्ठावरत्वं क्लिष्ट कौतुकेन  
कृतावतारौ यदुराजवंशे प्रीत्या पुनस्ताविव रामकृष्णी ॥ ९ ॥

धर्मार्थविव तौ साक्षात्पालयन्ती वसुंधराम् ।

विभोक्त्य लोकः सस्मार राजानौ रामलक्ष्मणी ॥ १० ॥

दृष्यदारुणवाजिवारणरणक्षोणीषु जित्वा बहून्  
दासीकृत्य तथापरान्विहितवानन्यानरण्यीकसः ।

इत्थं पार्थिवराजराजिविजयव्यापारपारंगत-

शक्रे शक्रजयाय कृष्णनृपतिः स्वर्लोक्यात्रागतम् ॥ ११ ॥

अथ प्रभावातिशयेन लब्धं विभज्य लोकद्वितयाधिपत्यम् ।

भिविष्टपं शासति कृष्णभूपे भुवं महादेवनृपः प्रशास्ति ॥ १२ ॥

तैलङ्गक्षितिपालतूलनिचयप्रक्षेपसञ्ज्ञानिलो

गर्जद्गूर्जरगर्वपर्वतभिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।

हेलोन्मूलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्भव-

क्षोणीपालविहम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ १३ ॥

अयं शिशुस्त्रीशरणागतानां हन्ता महादेवनृपो न जातु ।

इत्थं विनिश्चित्य ततोतिभीतीरन्ध्रैः पुरन्ध्री निहिता नृपत्वे ॥ १४ ॥

अत एव हि मालवेश्वरः शिशुमेव स्वपदे न्यवेशयत् ।

स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं तपस्यति ॥ १५ ॥

विषमसमरकर्तुः शत्रवो यस्य पाणी

प्रलयदहनधूमश्यामधामातिभीमम् ।

पृथुतरकरवालव्यालमालोकयन्तो

भव शरणमितीमं मन्त्रमुच्चारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥

१ गुमल Kh. २ चन्द्रभानुः D. & Kh. चण्डभातः G. ३ यात्रां गतः Kh. ४ तस्मिन् Kh. & G. ५ मोक्षेप Kh. क्षोक्षेप G. ६ चंडानिलो Kh. & G. ७ लाटोद्भवक्षोणी Kh. लाटोद्भवः क्षोणी G. ८ इत्थं विनिश्चित्यतो विभीतीरन्ध्रैः Kh. विनिश्चित्य D. ९ हिमाचलेश्वरं G. १० न पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ११ पाणैः Kh.

यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठचूतदानाम्बुतराङ्गिणीषु

सोमः समुद्रप्रवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कुणेशः ॥ १७ ॥

एतत्प्रतापो वहिरम्बुराशेरौर्वोन्तरेप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि ।  
चिरं विमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेश्वरो वाडवमेव यातः ॥ १८ ॥

आस्ते मण्डितदण्डकापरिसरः श्रीसेउणाख्यः परं  
देशः पेशलवेशमूषणवचोमाधुर्ययुर्याकृतः ।  
तस्मिन्देवगिरिः पुरी विजयते त्रैलोक्यसारश्रियां  
विभ्रान्तिः सुरशालिशैलशिखरस्पर्धिष्णुसौधावलिः ॥ १९ ॥

जगत्प्रयीगीतशुणप्रशस्तिः शास्ता समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।  
श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानीं सोयं महादेवन्टपो विभर्ति ॥ २० ॥

कुर्वन्विभूतिविस्तारैरिलावृत्तसमश्रियम् ।  
अधितिष्ठति हेमाद्रिरिमां विबुधवान्धवः ॥ २१ ॥

सा संपत्तदिदं यशो बलमिदं सोयं प्रतापो महा-  
नैकेकं पृथिवीभृतो भुवि महादेवस्य लोकौत्तरम् ।

यस्य श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमयं हेमाद्रिसूरिः पुरः  
प्रौढप्रातिभवपर्यमानविलसद्द्रंशो भृशं शोभते ॥ २२ ॥

इतिराजप्रशस्तिः ॥

१ सैन्यैः G. २ ०राशेरन्तः पुरोप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि D. प्रयासि Kh. ३ सेवलाख्यः D. सेवणाख्यः Kh. The middle letter of the name in G. looks somewhat like ङ, but there is little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like ङ by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ. ४ स्पर्धाडु D. ५ तस्य D 2. ६ अइ for अयं D 2.



A

# History of the Deccan.

BY

*Jan 21 Sunday 13/2/1902*  
J. D. B. GRIBBLE.

1462 I. 5293



**T**

HE Deccan may be roughly described as that portion of Southern India situated between the Vin-dhya Mountains and the River Godavery to the North, and the Tungabudhra and Kristna Rivers to the South, the Ghats seacoast or mountain ranges being the Eastern and Western limits on either side. It comprises an area very nearly equal in extent to that of Great Britain and Ireland.

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Herodotus, p 117.





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