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Political History of Gūjarat

~~C.A.D.~~
~~ca.~~ 750 - 950 ~~A.D.~~

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Abstract

In this research we have endeavoured to fit some pieces in the jig-saw puzzle of Gujarat during the years of confusion between the decline of the Maitrakas and rise of the Caulukyās.

In the first Chapter we have given a Chronological Table of the whole period, and we have given cross references to the pages in the Chapters.

The Second Chapter opens with the Maitrakas where we give an account of the slow decline of this dynasty, the rivalry between the Gūrjara Pratihāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Western Cālukyās.

In the Third Chapter we have given the history of the Saindhava dynasty which ruled the North-Western tip of Saurāṣṭra. They have been neglected hitherto, but they emerge to be a very successful dynasty.

The Fourth Chapter gives the history of the Cāpa or the Cāpotkaṭa dynasty of Gujarat.

In the Fifth Chapter we have given an account of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa, as well as short sketches of their various branches.

The Sixth and the final Chapter deals with the rise of the Caulukya dynasty. We have included 5 maps and a detailed genealogical table.

It will be noticed that we have not included in detail the origin of the Gūrjaras as a whole. We feel that this subject is very complex and we would not have been able to do it full justice.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Society.
A.R.	Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times. A.S. Alteker.
A.O.G.	Archaeology of Gujarat. H.D. Sankalia.
A.S.I.	Archaeological Survey of India.
A.S.W.R.	Archaeological Survey of Western Circle. Reports.
A.S.W.I.	Archaeological Survey of Western India.
B.B.M.	Bulletin of the Baroda Museum.
B.I.	Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta.
B.P.O.W.	Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.
B.S.O.A.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
B.S.S	Bombay Sanskrit Series.
B.V.	Bhāratīya Vidyā.
B.G.	Bombay Gazetteer.
C.O.G. ca.	Chalukyas of Gujarat. A.K. Majumdar. circa.
C.I.I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
C.P.	Copper-plate.
D.H.N.I.	Dynastic History of Northern India.
D.K.D.	Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
D.V.	Dvyāśrayakāvya by Hemacandra.
Ed.	Edited by.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.

G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series. Baroda.
H.I.E.D.	History of India as told by its own Historians. Ed. by H.M.Elliott of Dowson.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
I.C.	Indian Culture.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.D.L.	Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.
J.N.S.	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J.O.I.	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
J.U.B.	Journal of the University of Bombay.
K.M.	Kāvyaṃālā Sanskrit Series.
M.A.S.I.	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
NS.	Navasāhasāṅkacarita.
O.Y.C.	On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India.
P.O.C.	Proceeding of the All-Indian Oriental Conference.
P.B.C.	Prabandhacintāmaṇi, trans. by C.H. Tawney.
R.S.M.	Rās-Mātā. trans. by A.K.Forbes.
R.M.	Ratnamātā.
S.J.S.	Singhi Jaina Series.

- Tod. Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan by J.Tod.
VS. Vicārasreṇi of Merutaṅga.
Virji. Ancient History of Saurāstra by K.J.Virji.
ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft.

Chapter I

The Sources

In the preparation for this research we have studied numerous sources of various types. They can be grouped under three headings: Epigraphic, Literary and Bardic. As far as numismatics are concerned, they are non-existent for the period of our study. Later, after ca. 1000 A.D. the Caulukyias and the Cāhamāhas issued an extensive range of coinage.

In the course of our work we have referred to or read over 160 inscriptions. They are not confined to the period 750 -1000 A.D. but refer to the period beyond both dates. This vast number includes,

eighteen inscriptions issued by the Maitraka dynasty, *Eighteen* main line of the Caulukya dynasty, *12* by the Gujarat branch of the Rāstrakūṭas, as well as those of the Imperial line, *24* of the Paramāra branches, *5* of the Vāghela dynasty which succeeded the Caulukyias, 10 of the Gūrjara dynasty of Broach, *17* of the Gūrjara-Pralihāras of Kanauj and other branches: 8 inscriptions issued by the Saindhava dynasty ruling at Okhā Maṇḍala, 6 plates of the Kalacuri Kings, 16 issued by the Candellas, 2 plates issued by the Gārulakas, one grant issued by the Cāpa King Dharaṇivarāha of Wadhvan; as well as the inscriptions of Cāhamāhas which pass the number of *20*.

Every dynasty under study has issued inscriptions with the notable exception of the Cāpas and the Cūḍāsamās of Junagadh. The latter did issue some grants later, but there is not one grant or other inscription of the Cāpas available as yet. The Cāpa King Dharaṇivarāha did issue a grant as a feudatory of the Gūrjara Pratihāras of Kanauj, but he does not seem to have been related to the main branch in any way. This failure of the Cāpas to issue grants is a very puzzling problem indeed. They do not seem to have followed the pattern of a typical Hindu kingdom wherein the Praśasti writers were only too eager to write about their patrons. That they did not issue any grants donating religious offerings, or villages to temples is even more surprising. They are mentioned in the inscriptions wherever Agnikula myth is described. They are also referred to in the plates of the Saēdhavas and the Navasāri plates of the Western Cālukyan King Pulakeśin II. They are vividly portrayed by the bardic chroniclers, although they do not give any details as far as their religion is concerned. That they were not a dynasty produced by the mere phantasy of the chroniclers is attested by their mention in the various contemporary epigraphic records. As with other dynasties of non-hindu origin they might be expected to have issued inscriptions if, as implied by the legend of their Agnikula origin, they had been recently accepted by the Hindu religion. The other dynasties went out of their way to show their

origin and trace their ancestry to the various incarnations of Viṣṇu or to the Sun or Moon. There must have been a specific reason or purpose in the Cāpas failing to issue inscriptions; but it is impossible to show precisely their reasons. The language of the inscriptions in almost every case is Sanskrit and the lipī used is Devanāgarī. There is present the tendency of eulogizing the ruler which we find in all periods. The plates of the Saindhavas are a typical example of good poetic language. The dates used in these inscriptions from Gujarat almost always in the Vikrama Saṁvat, with the notable exception of the Kalacuri as well as those of the Gurjaras of Broach. In some cases there are irregularities in the usages of the Eras which we will mention while discussing inscriptions concerned.¹ It is not necessary to stress how important the epigraphic sources are in the reconstruction of a period that is shrouded with the clouds of bardic legends and vast literary compositions. When compared with these the inscriptions, however panegyri- cal, give much reliable factual information.

The literary sources for this period are mainly Jaina, which are numerous but unfortunately not very reliable. They are either collections of stories describing the merits of Jainism, or they eulogize profusely the reigning monarch. One

1. The inscriptions will be referred to and the references given in the respective footnotes.

should not rely too much on the historical information given by the chroniclers, unless it can be corroborated by reliable sources, such as inscriptions. These sources were not written as history but as 'dharma kathās' or religious stories. Whatever historical or other information they gave is incidental. In the case of 'Caritas' or biographies of a particular ruler, such as 'Kumārapālacarita' or 'Navasāhasāṅkacarita' the poet was writing about his patron, the ruler of that particular Kingdom, therefore, one has to expect exaggeration. Nevertheless, these chronicles are of tremendous importance to the student of the history, political, social or economic of Gujarat from the 10th to the 15th century.

We have followed the plan of Dr. A.K. Majumdar,¹ who gives good concise information about the chronicles. He has divided them under six headings. General history which includes the Dvyāśvayakāvya by Hemacandra,² and the Prabandhacintāmaṇi by Merutuṅga.³

Under the heading

Biographies of Kumārapāla and Hemacandra there are nine chronicles:

-
1. The Caulukyās of Gujarat. Chapter XVII.
 2. Finished writing in 1304 A.D.
 3. His dates are ca. 1089-1173 A.D.

1. Prākrt Dvyāśraya by Hemacandra (also known as Kumārapālacarita).
2. Mahāvīracarita by Hemacandra.
3. Kumārapālapratibodha by Semaprabha, written in about 1185 A.D.
4. Moharājaparājaya by Yaśahpāta written between ca. 1173-1176.
5. Hema-sūri - Prabandha in the Prabhāvakacarita by Prabhācandra, completed in ca. 1178 A.D.
6. Kumārapālabhūpālacarita by Jayasimha Sūri, completed in 1366 A.D.
7. Kumārapālaprabandha by Jina maṇḍana, completed in 1436 A.D.
8. Kumārapālacarita by Caritrasundara.
9. Hema - Sūri - Prabandha in Prabandhakośa by Rājaśekhara, completed in 1349 A.D.

The third section consists of works on Vastupāla and Tejapāla, the two brothers who were able ministers in the times of the Vāghelā ruler Vīradhavalā. They are:-

1. Kīrtikaumudī by Someśvara written in about 1253 A.D.
2. Hammīra - mada - mardana by Jayasimha Sūri written between 1220-30 A.D.
3. Vasantavilāsa by Bālacandra Sūri.

4. Sukrtakirtikallolinī by Vdayaprabha written between
1220-30 A.D.
5. Sukrtasankīrtana by Arisimha, completed in
ca. 1229 A.D.
6. Vastupāla - Tejāhpāla Prabandha in the Prabandhakośa
by Rājaśekhara, completed in
ca. 1349 A.D.
7. Vastupālacarita by Harṣa Gaṇi.

The unclassified works of this period are:-

1. Surathotsava by Someśvara (canto XII).
2. Mudrita Kumuda Candra by Yaśaḥcandra.
3. Rathamālā by Kṛṣṇaji.¹
4. Jagaducarita² by Sarvāhanda.
5. Prologue of Dūtāṅgada by Subhaṭa.
6. Karnsundari by Bilhaṇa, ca. 1066-1094 A.D.

Miscellaneous works include the Lekhapaddhati, which is a collection of documents. Then there are several genealogical lists of Kings, especially the Caulukyias, of which the most

-
1. Nothing known of the Author. Narrative down to the reign of Bhīma II, it is most likely that it was written during that time. (1179-1242 A.D.).
 2. Date not known. Buhler suggests the 2nd half of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. C.O.G. p. 420.

important is Vicāraśreni by Merutuṅga which is also known as Therāvali. This work seems to have been completed in or after 1315 A.D. for it records an incident of that year.

These are the Chronicles mainly of the Caulukya dynasty, that is they were written for the purpose of eulogizing that dynasty. At the same time they also give incidental information about other contemporary Gujarat dynasties.

The Paramāra dynasty was glorified by Padmagupta, also known as Parimala in his biography of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja, which he called the Navasāhasāṅkacarita.¹

These chroniclers, as we see from their dates, were not always contemporaries of the Kings whom they describe. Kings such as Vanarāja, the Cāpa ruler of the late 8th century, or King Mūlarāja, the founder of the Caulukya dynasty, were probably too occupied with warfare to worry about patronizing court poets. It was left to the poets who worked for their successors to write about them and glorify them. This resulted in the chroniclers' writing about the ancestors of their patrons without any significant factual knowledge. Oral tradition seems to have been their only source. Therefore, in all these chronicles we do not get much information about the early rulers of a dynasty, except

1. Padmagupta was contemporary of the Paramāta Kings Muñja and his son Siddharāja. H.P.D. p.1.

in the Dvyāśrayakāvya where Hemacandra devotes three cantos to Mūlarāja I's war with Grāharipu, most probably a Cūḍāsamā ruler of Junagadh, and Lakṣa of Kacch. Even then we do not get any historical details about the Caulukyās, the reason in Hemacandra's case being that he was first and foremost a grammarian. He chose words and characters to illustrate a grammatical point. To illustrate this we may take the following example:- Hemacandra makes the ambassador of Bhīma boast in the court of Lakṣmīkarṇa of a large number of Bhīma's allies who had the names Yanti, Ranti, Ganti, Hanti, Manti, Vanti and Tanti;¹ these names were undoubtedly used to illustrate the rule that the vowel 'i' should not be long in certain cases.² There is no corroborative evidence to show that Bhīma II had allies bearing the names mentioned above. There are many other examples which go to show that Hemacandra's main purpose was to illustrate grammatical rules, but we will not go into any further details.

Hemacandra's works are very useful as far as social customs are concerned, but his historical information is written to illustrate grammatical aphorisms, and therefore is not very reliable. This is indeed a great misfortune for the students of history of Gujarat. Hemacandra, being a contemporary of the Caulukyās could have supplied the details as nobody else

1. DV. Sarga. IX. verse 36.

2. Siddha Hema Śabdānuśāsana. IV. ii. 59. (na tikidīrghaśca).

could have done. However, he was not concerned about history but grammar and Jainistic propaganda.

Most of the historical details in the Dvyāśrayakāvya are supplied by the commentator Abhayatilaka Gani. Without his commentary Hemacandra's work would have been impossible to understand. According to Majumdar this commentary was completed in 1256 A.D. at Palhanpur.¹

The other major work which can qualify as 'history' is Merutuṅga's Prabandha cintāmaṇi. This work gives the details of the general history of Gujarat A.D. The author says that he went through the works of his predecessors and relied on oral traditions as well. He gives genealogical tables of the Kings of the Cāpa and Caulukya dynasties. But Merutuṅga seems to have been much puzzled by the Chronology, and his dates are wrong by a few months or years. We shall notice the discrepancies in the appropriate chapter. Nevertheless, it is evident that Merutuṅga thought that dates of the accession of a king were important. His dates are much more reliable in Vicāraśreṇi wherein he just gives a chronological and genealogical table. In the Prabandhacintāmaṇi he gives many interesting anecdotes about various rulers, which add much colour to the picture he presents. He finished writing Prabandhacintāmaṇi in 1304 A.D. but he ended his narrative on Gujarat with Kumārapālaś death in

1. C.O.G. page. 410.

1173 A.D. and does not give any information on the period thereafter. One fact of major importance is that he gives the history of the Caulukyās and the Paramāras, side by side, probably realizing that he could not write the history of the Caulukyās without taking into account the part that the Paramāras were playing in Malwa, the neighbouring Kingdom. There are various Mss. of the Prabandhacintāmaṇi which give different dates of the kings. This much complicates the process of establishing exact dates.

Of the other chroniclers the important is Jayasimha Sūri who composed the Kumārapālabhupālacarita. He gives in his first canto a completely different version of Caulukya Mūlarāja I's origin, which will be discussed later. The rest of the chroniclers give incidental historical information, and it will be best to discuss them in the appropriate context. Mention may be made here of a work by Arisimha called the Sukrtasankīrtana which was completed in ca. 1229 A.D. The first canto describes the history of the Cāpas and second of the Caulukyās. These cantos are of great importance because with the Vicārasreṇi, they give, what seems to be, the most accurate chronology and genealogy of the period, and especially of the Capa dynasty.

In his biography of Hemacandra Dr. Buhler explains the value of Jaina Prabandha or Carita literature. He says that the motives with which they were written are to edify the congregations, to convince them of the magnificence and the might of the Jaina faith, and to supply the monks with material for their sermons, or when the subject is purely of worldly interest, to provide the public with pleasant entertainment. As the authors start out with such a point before them, they make their works collections of interesting stories rather than actual biographies or exact accounts of the past events. They move always by leaps and bounds and leave many important points in darkness. Other circumstances which make it more difficult to ascertain their historic value are the uncertainty of their original sources which for the major part consist of the oral tradition of a school of monks or bards. Every author like Merutuṅga, probably gave his own interpretation of a certain fact. Merutuṅga says that "Even if the tales which the wise tell according to their understanding necessarily become different in character, clever people should, however, not criticize this work (P.B.C.) maliciously as it rests on good tradition".¹ In the previous verse he, Merutuṅga, says that "the old tales do not delight the hearts of the shrewd so much, for they have heard

1. P.B.C. Introduction. Verse 7.

the same very often." And he confesses that he writes to entertain his readers.

These confessions and the fact that, besides obvious absurdities, a large number of anachronisms, omissions and other errors occur in all parts of the Prabandhas which can be controlled by the accounts of authentic sources, make it essential to take the greatest precaution when using them. But the accounts therein should not be rejected completely, since they do contain much that is well corroborated by inscriptions and other sources. The persons appearing in all the Prabandhas seem all historical. However often a character is placed too early or too late, in no case one can say that a particular person was the creation of author's imagination.

We agree with what Bühler says about the Prabandha literature and ~~therefore~~ have quoted freely from these sources. Many discrepancies can be enumerated, but they will be discussed in their proper context.

Next, we come to the Ratuamālā, which has been translated by A.K.Forbes. It was composed by Kṛṣṇaji, and is said to have been originally consisted of 108 cantos, out of which only eight have survived. A.K.Forbes, in writing his Rās Mālā relied to a great deal on this work, as well as on the oral traditions current in the 19th century.

The Muslim historians have left a great number of historical records of Gujarat. But they are mainly concerned with the later period. For our period those which give information are the geographers, the merchant Sulaiman, Abu Zaid, Ibn Khurdadba, Al Maśúdi, Al Idrisi, Al Kazwini and Rashidu-d-Din who quotes from Al Biruni. The latter in his vast observations about the India of his times, also gives invaluable information. Much knowledge of this period is gathered from the Arab histories of Sind. They are Mujmalu-Ī-Tawarikh whose author's name is not known. The author says of the portion with which we are concerned that he borrowed from an older work and adds: "I have here introduced the [account of the] origin of the Kings and I have copied it because it is not to be found anywhere else - but God knows."¹ Al Biladuri also gives information about Arab raids in Sindh and Gujarat. The Chach Nama gives incidental references to Gujarat while describing the Arab conquest of Sindh. The Tarikh-l-M'Asumi is also quite informative about the period under study. On the whole the Arab historians are more reliable in the information they give than the Jaina Chroniclers, although in both types of sources corroborative evidence of inscriptions is necessary for any certainty as to dates and other details.

1. I.P. 100-101.

Next we come to the secondary works. Main works under this heading are Col. J. Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan and A.K.Forbes' Rās Mālā. Although these two works are referred to as secondary works, they are, in a manner of speaking, primary sources. The reason for this is that both Tod and Forbes collected Bardic legends and oral traditions and put them / on paper. At this point, it would not be inappropriate to say a little about them.

Col. J. Tod's volumes on the traditions and legends of Rajasthan contain a mine of information. Tod¹ was very much interested in the legends and spared no effort in collecting them. As he himself says "for a period of ten years I was employed, with the aid of a learned Jain, in ransacking every work which could contribute, any facts or incidents to the history of Rajputs or diffuse any light upon their manner or character." According to the Editor of the Annals,³ Tod put undue confidence in the epics and ballads composed by the poet Chand and other tribal bards. It is believed that more than one of these poems have disappeared since his times, and these materials have been only in part edited and translated. It is well known that in the society of Rajputs there is much rivalry, both personal and tribal. Thus the bards had a

1. 1782-1835.

2. Tod. Vol.I. page lxii.

3. William Crooke.

great incentive to colour their history considerably, and this they appear to have done regularly. We cannot, however, look on them as conscious frauds, for their purposes and ideas were not those of contemporary historians, and they probably believed in their own stories. They seem to have been very muddled about the dates and names of their characters and places. In fact, Bardic literature is often useful, not as an historical source but as an indication of the habits and beliefs current in the age of the writer.

A.K.Forbes, founder and for a short time President of the Gujarati Sabha,¹ accomplished for Gujarat what Tod did for Rajasthan. He compiled various legends and traditions of Gujarat in the form of a book called the Rās-Mālā. He undertook considerable research, meeting Indian scholars and obtaining their assistance. He met the contemporary ruling princes of the Vāghelā, Jhālā and Guhilot clans. Thus he had excellent opportunities of collecting verbal material from first hand sources. In his own words "my researches, pursued, as they necessarily were, in the hour of relaxation from tolerably heavy official duties, were not confined to the Jaina and Bardic Chroniclers; I availed myself also of every opportunity of observing Hindoo popular customs, more especially such as were alluded in the writings and traditions which I collected; I procured copies of inscriptions on

1. 1821-1864. He was elected the President in 1864 but died five months later.

temples, wells and tombstones, and I examined every remnant of Hindoo architecture which I found myself able to visit."¹

As history Rās Mālā has its defects. The author was no archaeologist, and had little or nothing to say about the early history of Gujarat. When dealing with the material provided by Tod and Forbes one has to exercise great caution. As far as historical information is concerned, the tales and traditions should not be disregarded, but though their stories do seem to have originated from fact, unless there is corroborative evidence, preferably epigraphic, one should not believe them completely.

In reviewing the secondary works, we found the section on the Early History of Gujarat by Indrajī and Jackson in the Bombay Gazetteer most helpful. Although it was published in 1896 and since then the knowledge of the period has been greatly helped by new discoveries of sources; the Chapters in the B.G. are of the greatest importance. It is the only work where every dynasty of Gujarat about which the authors knew at that time has been accounted for.

It is very unfortunate that after the Bombay Gazetteer there is a lack of a comprehensive history of this particular period, of Gujarat history. There are books such as K.M.Munshi's "Glory that was Gūnjaradeśa" and various attempts to write continuous history of this period in

1. R.M. I, xxi-xxii.

Gujarati. But they do not appear to add any new information, mainly relying on legendary sources. They are more or less 'Bird's eye view' histories of Gujarat. On the other hand there are various very scholarly monographs of dynasties of Gujarat. Before mentioning them, however, we should acknowledge here the two very valuable and informative volumes by H.C.Ray which are called the "Dynastic History of Northern India". In these two very helpful volumes Dr. Ray has given separate monographs of various Gujarati ruling families.

The separate monographs on the dynasties under discussion are; A.S.Altekar's "The Rāṣṭrakūtas and their Times," published in 1934, in which there is a section on the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūtas. On the Paramāras D.C. Ganguly wrote "The History of the Paramāra Dynasty" published in 1933. In the last decade two interesting monographs have been published. "The Caulukyias of Gujarat" of Dr. A.K.Majumdar was published in 1956 and in 1957 "The History of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras" by Dr. B.N.Puri was published. We consulted a thesis entitled "The History of the Western Cālukyias" by G. Raychaudhari which has not yet been published. A volume entitled "The Origin of the Cālukyias" by R.S.Satyāśraya was published in 1937. Dr. K.J. Virji's volume on "The Ancient History of Saurāstra" was published in 1952. And in 1960

M. R. Majumdar edited a very valuable and interesting volume for detailed reference called "Historical and

Cultural Chronology of Gujarat from Earliest Times to
942 A.D."

Apart from these monographs there is very little secondary material as far as history of Gujarat is concerned. There is a volume on "The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts" which is a part of the Bombay Gazetteer. Much important knowledge on the Southern dynasties and their relationship with the Northern Kings was gathered from this work.

We have consulted almost every historical Journal and referred to every article that had even a slight bearing on our subject. We have given a list of all the important articles consulted, in the Bibliography.

There is a good deal of material for the archaeology and architecture of Gujarat; the most recent one being H.D.Sankalia's "The Archaeology of Gujarat", published in 1941. In the last century and the early years of this century keen interest was taken in this subject by James Burgess who wrote seven volumes on it; the list of which is given in the Bibliography. In recent years archaeological work is being carried out in Gujarat and Saurashtra and with new epigraphic and numismatic discoveries the historians' task will become much easier.

Thus, we have surveyed the various sources at our disposal. In our attempt to write the history of Gujarat in the period between the fall of the Maitrakas and the rise of

the Caulukyias, approximately 250 years, we have considered either fully or in their relevant parts the sources mentioned above. It has been difficult but at the same time very interesting to reconstruct the history of those 250 years. All the problems are by no means solved, but we have made an attempt to synchronize the various events that appear to have taken place: and to portray the ambitions of the dynasties which were endeavouring to become masters of Gujarat.

Chronology.

- 590-615. Śīlāditya I ruling the Maitraka Kingdom. 60
- ca. 600 Dadda I of the Gūrjara dynasty founded a new Kingdom at Nāndīpurī in Gujarat. (P. 270)
- 606-12. Known dates of Maitraka Śīlāditya I.
610. Gūrjara King Jayabhāṭa I, alias Vītarāga succeeded his father Dadda I. 273
608. Vadner Grant of Kalacuri Buddharāja. 277
- 616-7. The word "Saurāṣṭra" is found used in the Valabhī grants for the first time. The usual word for the whole country is 'Surāṣṭra' being used only twice.¹
- ca. 620 Viridi Plates of Kharagraha I. Maitraka. 62.
Gūrjara King Dadda II, alias Praśāntarāga succeeded Jayabhāṭa I.
623. Bhavnagar cps. of Dhavasena III - Maitraka. 62.
625. Gūrjara King Dadda II² gave protection to the Valabhī ruler Dhruvabhāṭa I, alias Bālāditya against Emperor Harṣa of Kanauj. 274
- 626-7. Death of Śaśāṅka King of Gauda. 62.
628. Cāpa King Vyāghramukha. Patron of Brahmagupta.³ 80. 108. 111 144.
629. The Gūrjara King Dadda II, Praśāntarāga issued a grant from Nāndīpurī.⁴ 277.
Dhruvasena II ruling at Valabhī. 63.

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1. IBU. III. Pt. I. p. 78. fn. 4. EI. XVII. 109.
 2. Navasari Plates of Jayabhāṭa III. 706 A.D. C.I.I. IV. 85, line 4.
 3. Author of Brahmasphutasiddhānta.
 4. The Kaira Plates. C.I.I. IV. Nos. 16, 17.
(1) denotes Imperial and (2) Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

634. King Dadda II issued another set of plates from Nāndipurī. 277.
634. Kings of Lāṭa, Mālva and Gurjara succumbed to Pulakeśin II¹ of the southern Cālukyan dynasty. 271
- ca. 636. 'Usmān Ibn Āsī Saqāfī, Governor of Bahrain and 'Uman, under the Khalifah Umar, appointed his brother Hakīm to Bahrain, and proceeding himself to 'Uman sent an expedition to pillage the coasts of India. About the same time Hakim sent a force against Broach, and despatched his brother Mughirak Ābu-l-Āsī to Dibal where he defeated the enemy. The Chachnāmā represents him as being slain.²
- ^{640-1.} Hiuen-Tsang came to Bhinmal. 80. ^{last date}
640. Maitraka King Dhruvasena II's ~~comes to power.~~
642. Gūrjara King Dadda II issued two grants of land from Nāndipurī.³ 277.
- 646-650 Known dates of Maitraka Dharensena IV. ^{Pulakeśin II defeated by the Pallavas}
648. Maitraka ruler Dharasena IV issued two land grants from the victorious camp at Broach.⁴ 277.
- 651-56. Maitraka Dhruvasena III came to throne.
- ca. ^{645.} ~~650.~~ Gūrjara King Dadda II was succeeded by his son Jayabhaṭa II at about this time. 278.

1. IA. VIII. 242. Aihole Praśasti of Cālukyan Pulakeśin II.
 2. HIED. I. 415-16.
 3. Saṅkheḍā Plates. C.I.I. IV. Nos. 19-20.
 4. IA. XV. 335. IA. VII. 73.

- ca. 650. Maheśvaradāman founded the Cāhamāna power in south Gujarat.¹ 291.
654. The Seṅdraka Nikuṁbhalla-śakti son of Āditya-śakti was reigning in the neighbourhood of Bagumrā (southern Gujarat).²
- After the overthrow of the Kalacuris Pulakeśin II divided their extensive kingdom amongst his relatives and trusted chiefs. Southern Gujarat extending from the Kīm in the North to the Damagaṅgā in the South was placed in the charge of a Seṅdraka chief. The Sendrakas ruled over this country for three generations.
- ca. ⁶⁵⁸670. *Śīlāditya II ruling at Valabhī. 66.* The Cāhamāna ruler Maheśvaradāman was succeeded by his son Bhīmadāman.³ 291.
- 662-684. Maitraka ruler Śīlāditya III.
- ca. 670. The Gūrjara ruler Jayabhaṭa II was succeeded by his son Dadda III, alias 'Bāhusahāya.' 277.
676. Gūrjara King Dadda III issued a grant from Broach.⁴ 277.
- Grant of Śīlāditya III (Maitraka). 286

1. MG. 306, 310.

2. Bagumrā Plates. IA. XVIII. 265 ff.

3. Hansot Plates of Bhastrvādha II. EI. XII. 197 ff.

4. C.I.I. IV. nos. 21-24.

685. According to a western Cālukyan record Dharās-
raya-Jayasimha,¹ a son of Pulakeśin II
defeated and exterminated the whole army of
Vajjada of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, in the
country between Māhi and Narmadā. Vajjada was
probably the Valabhī King Śilāditya III who
had occupied this Gūrjara territory.² 279.
684. Catsu Inscription of Guhilot King Dhanika.
- ca. 690. The Cāhamāna King Bhartr̥v̥aḍḍha I succeeded
his father Bhīmadāman. 291.
The Gūrjara King Dadda III was succeeded by
his son Jayabhata III.
- ca. 692. Cāpas of Pañcāsara attacked by Bhīvadā³. 117.
- ca. 696. Birth of Cāpa King Vanarāja according to PBC. 124.
- ca. 699. Birth of Vanarāja according to RM.
- ca. 710. The Cāhamāna Bhaṣṭrv̥aḍḍha I was succeeded by
his son Haradāman. 291.
7068740. Navasari Plates of Jayabhata III. 282.
Gūrjara King Jayabhata III was succeeded by
his son Ahirola. 282.
- ca. 715. Birth of Cāpa King Vanarāja according to the
Vic. 125.
- ca. 725. Cālukyas temporarily occupy Khetaka in
Gujarat.

1. Nasik Plates of Dharāsraya Jayasimha. C.I.I. IV. no.28
lines 9-10.
2. Classical Age. 149.
3. Ratnamātā.

724. Junaid ibn' Abdu-r-Rahman of Al Marri, who had succeeded 'Amru in the command of the Indian frontier under 'Umar' governor of 'Iraq' and was confirmed by the Khalifah Hasim, sent expeditions against Broach, Ujjain and other places,¹ and attacked Kacch from Sindh.²
- ca. 730. The Cāhamāna ruler Dhrubhaṭa succeeded his father Haraḍāman. 291.
The Gūrjara ruler Ahirola was succeeded by his son Jayabhaṭa IV. 283.
733. Accession of the Rāṣṭrakūta Dantidurga.
- ca. 733. The Gūrjara King Jayabhaṭa IV inflicted a defeat on the Tājikas (Arabs) who had caused immense suffering to numerous people, in the city of the lord of Valabhī.¹ But there is no mention of this event in the Valabhī records. 284.
- ca. 734. King Puṣyeṇa, alias Puṣyadeva of the Saindhava family, son of Ahivarman who claimed descent from Jayadratha founded a kingdom at Bhūtāmbilikā-Ghumli- in Western Saurāṣṭra.²
He is identified with Puṣyeṇa, mentioned in a clay seal which was found in Valabhī.³ 288.

1. C.I.I. IV. no. 24. line.
2. EI. XXVI. 185 ff.
3. IA. XII.

736. Gūrjara King Jayabhaṭa IV issued two sets of Kāvī plates.¹ 7283.
- ca. 736. The only period during the interval from 720-735 when the Arabs followed a vigorous policy was that of the Governorship of Junaid. Al Bilāduri² tells us that after defeating Jaishiya and storming Kiraj, Junaid sent his officers against Masrād, Māṇḍal Dahanaj and Barūs. He also sent forces against Ujjain, Māliba and Baharīmad and conquered Bailaiman and Jurz. During one of these raids, his forces must have attacked Valabhī. Jayabhaṭa IV, realizing the common danger, seems to have gone to help the King of Valabhī and defeated the Arabs. Now Junaid was appointed Governor of Sindh by Umar and confirmed by Khalif Hasham (724-743 A.D.). As he was succeeded in about 726 A.D. by Taḥim, the raid of Valabhī can be placed in ca. 725 A.D. The contemporary King of Valabhī who was thus saved by Jayabhaṭa IV was probably Śīlāditya V who was ruling in 722-23 A.D.³ But the Arabs were

1. C.I.I. IV. No. P.96

2. HIED. I. 126.

3. C.I.I. III. 186

not completely vanquished. Before long they overran the kingdom of Jayabhaṭa himself alongside others, and pressed forward as far as Navasāri, at which point their advance was checked by Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin who inflicted a crushing defeat on them, sometime before 739-40 A.D. the date of the Navasāri Plates.¹ 119.

738. Dhiniki grant of Jāikadeva, the Saindhava ruler, issued from Ghumli.² 89.
739. The Navasāri grant of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśivallabha of the Western Cālukyan Branch of Gujarat. The Tājikas or Arabs, having overrun Sindh, Kacch, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvotaka, the Maurya and Gūrjara Kingdoms, seem to have invaded the Navasāri district and to have been defeated by Pulakeśin.^{73.}
740. *Silāditya V. ruler of Valabhi. 68.*
746. The Cāpa dynasty is said to have been established in Gujarat by Vanarāja, son of Jayaśekhara of Pañcāsara in 746 according to the PBC. Vanarāja established the city of Aṇahillapura. 80. 121.

1. C.I.I. IV. No. 30.

2. IA. XII. 151 ff. and which has been shown to be a forgery. For further details see ~~Chapter~~ App. (i) p.

750. Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govindarāja son of Dhruvarāja and grandson of Kakkarāja I assumed power in South Gujarat shortly after Dantidurga's conquest of Lāṭa. 73.
750. The Cāhamāna King Dhruvhaṭa was succeeded by his son Bhartrvādḍha II.²⁹¹
- ca. 752. Dantidurga⁽¹⁾ overthrows Cālukya emperor Kīrtivaśman II.⁵
754. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantidurga, son of Indrarāja, led an expedition across the Revā (Narmadā) and Mahī¹ and conquered Lāṭa and Mālava.² He subjugated Kings of Gurjara and of other Kingdoms and celebrated the Hiranyagarbha ceremony, when he weighed himself against gold and distributed the same among the Brāhmaṇas.³ This appears to be the earliest extension of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power over South Gujarat.⁷³
- ca. 754. About this time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dantivaśman II, who had succeeded his father Indrarāja, overthrew the Western Cālukya Kīrtivaśman II. and became paramount in the Deccan. He is said to have conquered Kāñcī, Kośala, Kalinga,

1. Samangadh Plates of 754 A.D. IA. XI. iii.
 2. Elura Cave Inscription. BAS. 10. 92 ff.
 3. Sanjan Plates. EI. XVIII. 243 ff.
 4. AR. 33 fn.
 5. AR. 38.

Śri Śaila, Lāṭa and Ṭaṅka. He was followed by his uncle Kṛṣṇarāja I, the son of Kakkarāja I, who is recorded to have defeated a King named Rāhappa.

ca. 754. Puṣyadeva was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarāja I in the Saindhava Kingdom.

756. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kakkarāja II, son of Govindarāja succeeded his father in South Gujarat. He probably attempted in vain to usurp the power of Kṛṣṇarāja,⁽¹⁾ the uncle and successor of Dantidurga.¹⁽¹⁾

756. King Bhartrvādha II of the Cāhamāna family, a feudatory of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa issued a grant from Broach.² 67.

The power of this Cāhamāna dynasty cannot be traced further.

757. The Antroli-Charoli plates³ of Kakkarāja II (G) the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King of Gujarat. This grant says that Kakkarāja II of the first Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and whose immediate predecessor was Govindarāja, who had married a daughter of Nāgavarman, [his grandfather

1. AR. 41 ff. (1) denotes the Imperial and (G) the Gujarat branch.
 2. Hansot Plate of Cāhamāna Bhartrvādha. EI. XII. 197 ff.
 3. EI. III. 54.

being Dhruvarāja and great-grandfather Kakkarāja I].

ca. 760. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa I⁽⁶⁾, with the biruḍas Vallabha, Śubhatuṅga and Akālavaraṣa, uncle and successor of Daṅṭidurga, is stated in various grants to have reduced the Cālukyas and

conquered Rāhappa.¹

ca. 760. Arab Invasion of Saurāṣṭra . 69. 70.
The Pratihāra King Devaśakti with whom begins the dynasty of the Pratihāras of Kanauj, lived

about this time.

765. Founding of Anahilwad according to Vic. 124.
776. Saurāṣṭra was again invaded by the Tajjikas

(Arabs) this time with great force, so that the township of Bardā easily fell to them.²

The Mleccha armies under Hammīra invaded and destroyed Valabhī, and in consequence, the Hindu and the Jaina statuary had to be removed from Śrīmāla (Bhinmāl)³. The exact date of the sack of Valabhī is still undetermined. In the Jaina authorities it is variously stated to have taken place in V.S. 375. (319 A.D.)⁴ in V.S. 475 (419 A.D.)⁵ and in 845 V.S. (789 A.D.)⁶

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1. IA. XII. 228; B.G. I. 390. Kṛṣṇa I seems to have completed the
 2. HIED. II. p.245. destruction of Cālukyas started by Daṅṭidurga.
 3. Vividhatīrthakalpa by Jinaprabhasūri.
 4. Purātanaprabandha saṅgraha. Jinavijayaji.
 5. PBC.
 6. op.cit. fn. 2.

The last date is closer to the truth, but is by no means certain. This event seems to have brought the Maitraka dynasty to an end.

778. Accession of the Pratihāra Vatsarāja.
778. Under orders from Khalīfa Makidī, the successor of Khalīfa Mansūr, the Governor of Sindh, Abd'ul Malik attacked Gujarat again, and conquered Bārbūt near Broach. This was, however, followed by an epidemic in the Arab army which compelled them to retire.¹
- ca. 779. The Saindhava King Agguka succeeded his father Kṛṣṇarāja.
779. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indrarāja of the Gujarat branch appointed his younger brother as a Provincial Governor.
780. Accession of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva. 74.
- ca. 780. The Gūrjara-Pratihāra King Vatsarāja conquered Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra and became the suzerain of most of the Kingdoms of Northern India. It was during his reign that Uddyotana Sūri wrote his Kuvalayamālā at Jhālar and Jinasena wrote the Harivariśa Purāna at Waḥhwān.

1. Sir William Muir, the Caliphate. Its Rise, Decline and Fall. Edinburgh 1924. p:471.
S.S. Nadwi. op.cit. p. 5. fn. 2. (p.16).

- 783-84. A passage from Jinasena's Harivariśa informs us that it was completed in Śaka Samvat 705 (expired) that is A.D. 783-4 when the following Kings were ruling in various parts, determined with reference to Vardhamānapura (Wadhwan in Jhālāvāḍ Division of Saurāstra); in the North Indrāyudha (tentatively identified with Indrarāja, the brother of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhruva, whom he had left in charge of Lāṭeśvara maṇḍala, with presumably Gujarat and other Rāṣṭrakūṭa possessions in the North)¹. In the South Śrīvallabha, in the East Vatsarāja, King of Avanti, and in the West Varāha or Jayavarāha in the territory of the Sauras i.e. the Southern part of the Saurāṣṭra peninsula .
788. Karkarāja II, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King of South Gujarat, extended his sway over Central and North Gujarat and shifted his capital to Kheṭaka (modern Kaira) as implied by references in the Hilol Plates of Mahāsāmanta Candrāditya.² This must have been facilitated by the sudden fall of the Maitraka power at Valabhī.³

1. IDL. X. p.37. fn. 2. For alternative identification as King of Kanauj see *Puri*.
 2. Buddhiprakash XCIX. 294 ff.
 3. Rise of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rule in Gujarat. H.G.Shastri XVIIth session. IHC. 1954.

788. Mahāsāmanta Candrāditya, who ruled over Harsapura (Harsol) Viṣaya under the supremacy of Paramarājadhirāja Kakka II, issued a grant of land which was situated at Hilohila (Hilol in Ahmedabad Dist.).¹
789. According to a Jaina tradition, Hammīra, a ruler of Gajjana (Gazni) destroyed the city of Valabhī in V.S. 845.² The tradition seems, however, to have arisen from Mahmūd's Gujarat expedition, thrown back over 220 years too early.
- ca. 794. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda III⁽¹⁾ (Prabhūtavarṣa I, Jagattuṅga I, Vallabhanarendra son and successor of Dhruva) attacked the Gūrjara King; [and sometime before 812 A.D. conquered the province of Lāṭa (central and southern Gujarat), which he made over to his brother Indra who founded there the second branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Gujarat. Mālava next submitted to him, and advancing to the Vindhya, he received the submission of a King Māraśarva.]³74.

1. Hilol Plates. Buddhi Prakash. XCIX. 294 ff.

2. Vividhatīrthakalpa XVII. p.29.

3. Radhanpur Copper plate of 794 A.D. IA. VI. 59 ff.

794. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govindarāja III (G) (Jagattuṅga I) was reigning in succession to his father Dhruvarāja. He defeated a league of twelve prince, reduced the Gūrjaras and also the provinces of Lāṭa (Central and Southern Gujarat) and Mālava.
- ca. 794. The Saindhava King Rāṇaka succeeded his father Agguka I.¹ 91.
800. Kalla, describes as a great King (Mahāmahāpati) founded a Cālukya dynasty in Saurāṣṭra.²
- ca. 800. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govindarāja III,^(G) successor of Dhruvarāja, vanquished King Dharmapāla of Gauḍa, as well as King Nāgabhaṭa II of Mālava who had conquered Turuṣka, Ānarta, Mālava etc.³ He passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana (Sarbhāṇ near Āmod) and entrusted the territory of Lāṭa to his younger brother, Indvārāja, who became the founder of the 'Gujarat Branch' of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.⁴ 74
- ca. 800. The Gujarat Branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas commences with Indra II the younger brother of Govinda III, who put Indra in complete charge of

1. EI. XXVI. p.192.

2. EI. IX. 2 ff.

3. AR. 64 ff.

4. ibid. 68 ff.

- Southern Gujarat. [The Surat Plates describe this event in the words Lāṭīyam maṇḍalam yas Tapana iva nija-svāmī-dattain rarakśa.]⁷⁴
- ca. ~~800~~⁹⁰⁰. Upendra-rāja (Kṛṣṇarāja), with whom begins the pedigree of the Paramāras of Mālava, lived at about this time. He was followed by his son Vairisiṃha I, his son Sīyaka, his son Vākpatirāja I, his son Vairisiṃha II (Vajraṭa) and his son Sīyaka etc.¹ 79.
- ca. ~~800~~⁸⁵⁰. Jejja Rāṣṭrakūṭa was reigning in Central India. His elder brother defeated Karṇāṭa armies and became King of Lāṭa.²
- ca. ~~803~~⁸⁰⁶. Accession of Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II. 96. Yogarāja, the Cāpa King of Anhilvad is said to have succeeded his father Vanarāja.³ 125.
- About this time the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja III acquired Lāṭa from the ~~Cāpas~~^{Pratihāras}, and made his brother Indrarāja its viceroy.⁴
807. Bagumrā Copper Plate Inscription of Dhruvarāja⁵ of the second Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa line.
808. Rādhanpur Copper Plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III.⁶

1. E.I. 222. Udaipur Prasasti
 2. Pathari Pillar inscription of King Parabala. of 861 A.D. E.I. IX 248
 3. PBC.
 4. AR. 62.
 5. IA. XII. 170. AR. 81.
 6. EI. VI. 239.

- ca. 808. About this time the Gūrjara-Pratihāra power suffered a severe blow from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The Pratihāra King Nāgabhaṭa II was defeated by Govinda III.¹ Their rivals, the Pālas took advantage of this, to establish their supremacy in Northern India.² 74.
808. During the stay of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Govinda¹ at Śrībhavana (modern Sarbhan in Broach Dist.,) when he was welcomed by King Māraśarva, his son Amoghavarṣa was born in the monsoon of 808 A.D.³
- ca. 811. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indrarāja¹ was succeeded by his son Karkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa², who was tributary⁴ to Govindarāja III, of the main line. This power was shared by his brother Govindarāja Prabhūtavarṣa.^{3a}
- 812-813. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy Karkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa of Lāṭa issued from Siddhaśamī the grant of Vaṭapadraka grāma situated within the 'Ankotta-ka 'Eighty-four'. Vaṭapadraka is modern Baroda and Ankoṭṭaka is village of Ākoṭā lying to its west.⁴ Karkkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa was ruling in

1. Sanjan Plates of EI. XVIII. V. 23

2. 1

3. Sanjan Plates EI. XVIII, p. 246. 3a. AR. 72.

4. Baroda Through the Ages, B. Subbarad. Univ. of Baroda 1952. Baroda Plates IA. XII. 156 ff.

Suvarṇavarṣa was regent for Amoghavarṣa, gathered from Gujarāt Rāṣṭrakūṭa records which gives the credit of Amoghavarṣa's restoration to Suvarṇavarṣa. 812-817 as Rāṣṭrakūṭa Viceroy of Gujarāt in

succession to his father Indrarāja. Karkarāja's brother Govindarāja was co-viceroy in 813-817.⁴

Govinda III,⁽⁶⁾ the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, attacked the Gūrjara King and sometime before 812 A.D.

conquered the province of Lāṭa, which he made over to his brother; and founded there another branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

813.
ca. 814.

Accession of Amoghavarṣa I. Only son of Govinda III I. Kṛṣṇarāja, the successor to his father Raṇaka

of the Saindhava dynasty, came to the throne at about this time.

815. The Gūrjara -Pratihāra King Nāgabhaṭa succeeded his father Vatsarāja in Bhinmāl.¹ Later he conquered Cakrāyudha of Kanauj and established himself in his capital. [He was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadra and he in turn by his son Bhojadeva I.]

Gūvaka I of the Śākambharī branch of the Cāhamānas was reigning at about this time as a feudatory of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa.²

816. The Dabhoi Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja.³

1. Sivar Inscription of Amoghavarṣa I. EI. VII. 203.

2. Harra Inscription of Gūvaka I. GA XLII. 66ff.

3. AR. 32.

4. Probably when Karka was in Malkhed as Regent to Amoghavarṣa I.

817. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Karkarāja of Lāṭa issued a grant from Kheṭaka his capital.¹
- ca. 820. The Cāpa King Vikramāditya was ruling at Vardhamāna in about 820 A.D. His son was Aḍḍaka, his son Pulakeśin, his son Dhruvabhaṭa and Dharaṇivarāha.² The relationship between this Cāpa dynasty and that ruling at Anahilwad is not known.
821. Surat Plates of Karka Suvaṇṇavarṣa, a ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.³
822. Accession of Cāpa Ratnāditya according to PBC.
- ca. 824. Kṛṣṇarāja II of the Saindhava dynasty was succeeded by his son, who was a minor.⁴
824. The Brāhmaṇapallī Plates of Karka Suvaṇṇavarṣa.⁵
825. Accession of Cāpa Yogarāja according to Vic.
827. The Kāvī Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Prabhūtavarṣa Govindarāja.⁶ co-vice-roy of Karkka. see page 43.
- ca. 830. Dhruva, succeeded Karkka.
832. Ghumli Plate of Mahāsāmanta Jāika I of the Saindhava family, issued during the reign of his nephew Agguka II.⁷
833. Accession of the Pratihāra Rāmabhadra. 96.

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1. Navasari Plates of Karkarāja 817 A.D. JBBRAS. XX. 131 ff.
 2. The Haḍḍala Plates of Cāpa Dharaṇivarāha.
 3. Surat Plates^{El} XXI. 133. Amoghavarṣa I restored to the Imperial throne.
 4. EI. XXVI. 193.
 5. EI. XXII. 27.
 6. IA. V. 144. ff.
 7. EI. XXVI. 197 ff.

834. Jāika I, the step uncle of Agguka II, completed his plans of usurping the throne of his nephew, who was a minor. In a later grant which is undated, he mentions himself as the ruling king, and omits all reference to his elder brother and his son in the genealogy. This grant was issued from Ghumli.¹
835. Accession of Cāpa Ratnāditya according to the Vic.
835. Dhruvarāja II, younger brother of Karkarāja and Govindarāja, was ruling as Rāṣṭrakūṭa viceroy in Gujarat, in succession to the latter. He was ~~after~~ succeeded by his son Akāla-varṣa Śubhatuṅga.² 74
835. Baroda Plates of Dhruvarāja II, issued from near Kheṭaka.³ 74
837. Bāuka, a descendant of Haricandra the Gūrjara Pratihāra, was ruling over Gurjaratrā or Gūrjara-bhūmi from Maṇḍer near Jodhpur. This information comes to us from the Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka.⁴

1. EI. XXVI. 203 ff.
 2. Baroda Grant of Dhruva II. 9A. XIV. 197. recognizes Amoghavarasa I
 3. IA. XIV. 196. as his feudal lord.
 4. EI. IX. 120.

838. Accession of Cāpa Vairisimha successor of Ratnāditya according to the Vic.
841. Accession of yoḡarāja according to PBC. 94.
842. Accession of Kṣemarāja, the successor of Cāpa Ratnāditya. According to the PBC.
843. Ajmer Museum Plate of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra King Bhojadeva I in which he is mentioned as granting a village in Deṇḍavānaka Viṣaya which it is stated, formed part of the 'Gūrjaratrābhūmi'. Deṇḍavānaka is the town of Didwana in the old Jodhpur State. It follows that the territory round Jodhpur in Rajasthan was known in the 8th century as the 'land of the Gūrjaras.'¹
- 845-46. The Partābgarh inscription of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra King Mahendrapāla II² shows that the Pratihāras had recovered possession of Mālava including Maṇḍu and Ujjain; however, their hold over Gujarat and Saurāṣṭra weakened. They could not effectively resist the Northern incursions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.³
849. The Kingdom of the Saindhava Jāika I seems to have been divided between his two sons, Cāmuṇḍarāja and Agguka.⁴ 103

1. EI. V. 211 ff.

2. EI. XIV. 182. 66

3. DHNI. II. 582-83, 585-87.

4. EI. XXVI. 193 ff.

849. Accession of the Cāpa King Kṣemarāja, successor of Vairisimha, according to Vic.
- ca. 850. The Cāpa ruler Vikramārka was succeeded by his son Addaka.
856. Avanivarman I succeeded his father Bāhukadhavala.⁷²
- ca. 859. Agguka II, the Saindhava, who possibly continued to rule as his uncle's feudatory for about 25 years, after his supercession in ca. 834 A.D. was succeeded by his son Rāṇaka.¹ 74. 100.
859. In the Ghaṭiyāla inscription² of Kakkuka Gurjaratrā is mentioned along with Travaṇi, Mada, Arya, Lāṭa and Pravara in the ordinary sense of the "settlement of the Gūrjaras.
861. The Sañjān plates of Amoghavarṣa.³
867. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Daṇṭivarman, of the Gujarat Branch himself a Hindu, donated a village to a Buddhist Vihāra.

Dhruva II of the second Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch claims to have subdued Vallabha,⁴ of the Gūrjaras, and a King named Mihira.^{74. 153.}

Bagumra Plates of Dhruva II. 153.

1. EI. XXVI. 193 ff.

2. EI. IX. 210.

3. EI. XVIII. 235

4. Vallabha has to be identified with a Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the Imperial line. Probably Amoghavarṣa I. Mihira was probably the Brahāra Mihira Bhoja I.

869. The Sāindhava King Mahāsāmanta Rāṇaka, son of Agguka issued a grant from Ghumli. The concluding portion of the first plate contains some reference to Queen Kṣemeśvarī, who was very probably, a daughter of King Kṣemarāja of the Cāpa dynasty.¹

The Saindhava King Agguka, son of Jāika I, abdicated the throne in favour of his son Rāṇaka and participated in his coronation himself. This may probably be due to Agguka's fears that his elder brother might resume his principality after his death.¹

870. Aḍḍaka (Cāpa ruler of Wadhwan) was succeeded by his son Pulakeśi.

~~871~~⁸⁷¹ 871 Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa I issued from his capital of Mānyakheta. 66 .75.

ca. 873. A fragmentary inscription² mentions the name (Va)rāha which reminds one of "Ādivarāha" the birunda of Bhojadeva, the Pratihāra ruler. It also mentions the hasty retreat of Kṣṣnarāja to his country, who may be identified with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Akālavarṣa Kṣṣna II (875-911 A.D.)

1. Ghumli Plates. EI. XXVI. 180 ff.

2. EI. XIX. 175.

a contemporary of Bhoja.

874. The Saindhava King Cāmuṇḍarāja was succeeded by his son Agguka III.¹ 101.

874-5. Grant of the Saindhava Mahāsāmanta Rāṇaka Prince Jāika officiated as the Dūtaka of the edict, which was composed by Vakula, the scribe.² 101.102.

876. Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman I was succeeded by his son Balavarman. 291.

Gwalior inscription of the time of Ādivarāha (Pratihāra) Bhojadeva.³

877. Gwalior inscription of the time of the Pratihāra Parameśvara Bhojadeva⁴.

877. Deoli Grant of Kṛṣṇa III.⁵ This grant describes him as having put an end to the arrogance of Lāṭa.

880. The Unā inscription of the Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Avanivarman II, feudatory of the Pratihāra ruler Bhojadeva mentions that Balavarman, father of Avanivarman had defeated a certain Visadha, and, by slaying Jajjapa and other

1. Ghumli Plates. EI. XXVI. 195.

2. *ibid.* 212.

3. EI. I. 156.

4. *ibid.* 159.

5. IA. III. 41.

Kings, "freed the earth from the Hūṇa race."¹
 This suggests clearly that the Hūṇas were
 still looked down upon as a barbarous race.⁷⁴

884. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvarāja
 issued a grant from his camp at Kheṭaka.²

886. Grant C of Saindhava Mahāsāmanta
 Agguka III - composed by Jojjha³. 101.102.

888. The Bagumra Plates⁴ were issued by the
 Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa Akāla-varṣa of An̄klesvara.¹
 He was a prince of the second Branch of the
 Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty of Gujarat, a successor of
 Dhruva II, and possibly the son of his brother
 Dantivarman. Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa is the latest
 known ruler of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Between
 886-912 A.D. Gujarat seems to have been
 recovered by the main line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas
 under Kṛṣṇa II. His Kapadvanj grant of 912
 represents him as a sovereign of Gujarat.⁵ 75.

888. From the Bagumra Plates of Kṛṣṇa we learn
 that the land tax was collected in three
 instalments; one in September, one in November
 and one in March.

ca 888

End of Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, 111 915.

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1. EI. IX. 6. Bhuvanamidabhāgino Hūṇa - Vam̄śenāh̄inam V.17.
 2. EI. XXII. 64.
 3. EI. XXVI. 217.
 4. IA. XIII. 65.
 5. IA. XVIII. 90. EI. III. 54.

890. Dhruvabhaṭa the elder son of Pulakeśi (the Cāpa ruler of Wadhwan) succeeded his father.
- 890-920. The dates of the Poet Rājaśekhara who flourished under the Pratihāra rulers Mahendrapāla (890-908) and Mahīpāla (910-940).
892. Unā Plate of Cālukya Mahāsāmanta Balavarman, son of Avanivarman I.¹ These Unā grants show that the whole of this region, upto the southernmost part of the Saurāṣṭra peninsula was included in the empire of Mahendrapāla I.
896. Balavarman the Cālukyan feudatory of the Pratihāras was succeeded by his son Avanivarman II. He is also known as "Yoga". He defeated Kings Yakṣadāsa, Dharaṇivarāha and others. The latter must be identified with Mahāsāmantādhipati Dharaṇivarāha of Wadhwan.
899. Another inscription from Unā issued by the Cālukya ruler Avanivarman II.² It traces the relationship between this Cālukyan feudatory of Saurāṣṭra and the Gūrjara -Pratihāra family of Kanauj. The Office of Sāmanta appears to have been hereditary.

1. EI. IX. 4.

2. EI. IX. 4.

King Agguka III (Saindhava) was succeeded by his son Jāika II,¹

c. 900. The Cāpa King Dhruvabhāṭa was succeeded by his younger brother Dharaṇivarāha.

904. Morbi Plates² of Saindhava King Jāika, identified with Jāika II, son of Agguka III.¹⁰⁶

910. Kapadvanaj Grant of Pracaṇḍa, son of Dhavalappa³ of the Brahmavāka family, feudatory ruler of a part of Gujarat under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kṛṣṇa II.

914. *Death of Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla II. 77* ⁴
Haḍḍālā Plates of the Cāpa King Dharaṇivarāha.

He was a vassal of the Pratihāra King Mahīpāla.^{77. 12a}

Mahīpāla, the Pratihāra succeeded Bhoja II. 153.

The Bagumra Plates of Indra III.⁵ They inform

us that old men vividly remembered when the

Plates were issued the brave feats of the

Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperors in the sanguinary wars

with the Gūrjaras - Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Indra III,

Nityavarṣa, succeeded his grandfather, Kṛṣṇa II,

his father Jagattunga having died.^{6 76. 153.} *Gujarat directly controlled from Malkhad, the Imperial Capital.*

1. EI. XXVI. 195.

2. EI. II. 257.

3. EI. I. 52.

4. IA. XII. 193.

5. ibid. 265. 3. IA. XII. 224.

6. IA. XII. 224.

915. Mahāsāmantādhipati Jāika II of the Jayadratha (Saindhava) Vanīśa issued a grant from Ghumli.¹ 73. Last epigraphic evidence of the² Saindhavas. 71. Bagumra Plates of Indra III. 76.

The Kar^{had} Plates of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Kar^{kr̥ṣṇa} III state that Yuvarājadeva gave his daughter in marriage to Amoghavarṣa III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King of Mānyakheta, who was an old man when he ascended the throne after his nephew Govinda IV.

ca 919. Succession of Paramāra Vairisimha II. 14/52. Yuvarājadeva might have flourished in 915-945 A.D. ca. 919. Last date of Jāika II, the Saindhava King. 105. 920. Ratnāditya, Cāpa King of Anahilwad succeeded

Vīrasimha. End of Vākpati's reign. (Paramāra). ca. 920. 934-940. The Karhad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-956)

seem to show a renewal of Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure on the northern provinces of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras in the reign of his father Amoghavarṣa III (934-40). That the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced as far as Citrakūṭa is confirmed by the Ahmedabad Plates of the Paramāra Sīyaka II⁴ a feudatory of Kṛṣṇa III. These struggles between the Gūrjara-Pratihāras and the

926. Chinchani Charters of the time of Rāṣṭrakūṭas. 256

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1. EI. XXVI. 222 ff.
 2. EI. IX. 24 ff.
 3. EI. IV. 278
 4. EI. XIX. 177.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas^{s p} produced disorder which indirectly helped the immediate rise of the Caulukyias in Gujarat.

935. Cāpa King Sāmantasimha succeeded Ratnāditya.
940-950. Paramāra Sīyaka II ruled over a considerable portion of Saurāṣṭra and the peninsular part of modern Gujarat as a vassal of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas between 940-950 A.D. His principality can be said to have included, at one time or another, Lāṭa, Kheṭaka-maṇḍala, modern Mālava and Saurāṣṭra.
942. The Śākambhari Inscription of Caulukya Jayasimha Siddharāja gives the definite date of Mūlarāja's accession as V.S. 998-942 A.D.¹
943. Mūlarāja I, son of Rāji of Kalyāṇa conquered Sārasvata maṇḍala and founded there the Caulukya or Solanki dynasty of Aṇahilvadpaṭṭan and reigned till 996 A.D. according to PBC. The direct descendants of Mūlarāja ruled Gujarat till 1243 A.D. They were succeeded by the Vāghelas whose last King Karṇa was defeated and routed by Alpkhān a commander of Alauddin Khilji in 1298 A.D.

946. Parabgarh inscription of Mahipala II. 155.

1. IA. LVII. 234.

Vasunandanidhau varṣe vyatite vikramarkataḥ:
Mūladevanareṣastu Cūḍāmaṇḍrabhūdbhuvi.

949. The Harasola Plates of Paramāra Sīyaka II.¹
950. Sīyaka took in battle the wealth of (the Rāṣṭrakūṭa) King Khoṭṭiga².

Dhanapāla's allusion in his Pāiyalacchi 972 A.D. to the plunder of Mānyakheṭa by the lord of Malava probably refers to this conflict. These ravages are also mentioned by Puṣpadanta in one of the verses prefixed to the Sandhis of the Mahāpurāna completed in 965 A.D.

972. Death of Khoṭṭiga, accession of Karkka. I
973. Taila II Cālukya rebels against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Karkka.³ I
987. Kadi Grant of Caulukya Mūlarāja I.
996. End of Mūlarāja's reign.

- ~~974.~~
 974. Varuṇas'armako grants of Caulukya Cāmuṇḍa⁴
 979. Ujjain Plates of Vākpati Cāmuṇḍa⁵
 ca. 993-998. End of Vākpati's reign.

1. EI. XIX. 236

2. EI. I. 225.

3. Gadag Inscription of Vikramāditya VI.

4. BV. I. 73.

5. GA. VI. 137.

Gujarat at the Decline of the Maitrakas and After

Gujarat as the name of the region under discussion is comparatively of recent origin. Traditionally the region was said to consist of three divisions; Ānartta, Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra. The area covered by the first two divisions is not clearly defined. Ānartta is said to correspond to modern Northern Gujarat with the capital at Ānandapura or Ānarttapura.¹ According to the sixth century records. But it is doubtful whether before this period Ānarttapura was the capital, and whether Ānartta comprised the whole of Gujarat as well as Saurāṣṭra as some Purāṇas tell us, or only the region round about Dwarka.

Lāṭa covered approximately the present Southern Gujarat, the region between Mahi and Tapti and probably a little further south. From the Indian sources, the name Lāṭa can only be traced to the third century A.D. It has not been found in the Mbh.² or other old Sanskrit works, or in the Cave or other inscriptions, probably because the whole Western Seaboard South of Narmadā as far as Goa. Ptolemy mentioned Larika which has been identified with Lāṭa.³ After the Fourth Century Lāṭa is frequently mentioned in Inscriptions and literature. The earliest mention so

1. Identified with modern Vadnagar. BG. I. 56.

2. Sorensen:- Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata.

3. McCrindle. 38. ca. 150 A.D.

far is in the Mandasor inscription¹ of the time of the Gupta Kings Kumāragupta and Budhagupta.

Surāṣṭra in its widest meaning denoted the whole of modern Kathiawad, while in the narrower sense, only the Southern part of Kathiawad, known as Sarath. The earliest mention of the word Surāṣṭra is to be found in Pāṇini's Gaṇapātha.² Later it is found in the Mbh.³ inscriptions and in the account of Greek merchants and Geographers.⁴ Of these three divisions only Lāṭa and Surāṣṭra, often called Saurāṣṭra survived in the mediaeval period. Late in the Tenth Century the northern part of Gujarat came to be called Gūrjaramaṇḍala, Gūrjaradeśa and Gūrjararatrā. The present term Gujarat came to be applied to the whole of modern Gujarat in the mediaeval period, although much of Kathiawad was still known as Sarath. In this study the whole of modern Gujarat has been included, that is, the whole peninsula of Saurāṣṭra and Kacch. It also includes parts of Rajputana since the sway of the Pratihāras, Paramāras and Caulukyās extended beyond the boundaries of Gujarat.

The Maitraka Kingdom at the height of its power included the whole of Surāṣṭra on its west. On its east

1. C.I.I. III. 79-88.

2. ca. 600-700 B.C. Belvalkar - system of Sanskr̥t Grammar. 18. B.G.I. 6.

3. Sorensen, op.cit.

4. Pliny. W.W.Tarn. Greeks in Bactria and India.

Ujjayinī was the boundary.¹ The Northern boundary may be traced to Ānandapura or the present Vaḍnagar.² Broach appears to have been the Southernmost findspot of inscriptions.³ The epigraphic records further say that the region between the Sahya and the Vindhya was included in the Maitraka Kingdom.

In the north west Kacchawas probably a part of the Valabhī Kingdom because Hiuen-Tsang says that it was a part of Malwa which was governed from Valabhī.⁵

We know of one feudatory family of the Maitrakas; the Gārulakas, through two Copper Plates which were found together with the Valabhī inscriptions. In one CP. of King Varāhadāsa the name of Dhruvasena is mentioned as the overlord.⁶ This King is said to have gained victory over Dwaraka, presumably on the Maitraka King's behalf. The capital of these rulers was Phaṅkapaśravaṇa which was near Girinagara. We do not know for certain who was the King of Dwaraka defeated by King Varāhadāsa. He was probably one of the Herules chief who was ruling over this part of Saurāṣṭra in Sixth century A.D. But we have no corroborative evidence to prove this.

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1. Gadre, Important Inscription from the Baroda State. p.659. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa. p.24.
 2. 3. EI. II. 20. Plates of Raṇagrāha.
 3. 6. ~~...~~
 4. Fleet. op.cit.
 5. Watters. II. 241.
 6. Pālitana Plates of Sāmanta Siṃhāditya. EI. XI. 17.

The trouble came to the Maitrakas in form of various Maukhari invasions. The first one occurred during the reign of Guhasena who was probably the first great King of this dynasty. From the Jaunpur Stone Inscription¹ we learn that the Maukhari King Íśvaravarman had reached the Raivataka mountain, a region included in the Maitraka territory. From the Copper Plates of Guhasena² we learn that "his strength was manifested by clapping [his] hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of [his] enemies" and that "the heads of [his] enemies were made to bow down by his prowess." And Guhasena assumed the title of Mahārāja while his predecessors were known as Mahāsāmantas. The dates of Guhasena were ca. 553-569 A.D.³ The successor of Guhasena was Dharasena II who ruled from 569-589 A.D.⁴ In his first two grants he is called Sāmanta⁵ which shows that he was not free from invasions. It appears that the Maukhari King Isānavarman, successor of Íśvaravarman did not let an opportunity go of harassing the Maitraka ruler.

1. C.I.I. III. 229 ff.

2. IA. VII. 66 ff.

3. Last known date of Dharasena I is 549. Gadre.op.cit. and the reign of his 3rd brother and successor Dharapaṭṭa was of short duration. First known date of Guhasena is 559. IA. VII. 66 ff.

4. and 5. First known date 571. IA. VII. 301. last known 589. IA. VII. 71. Alina PIS of Dhārasena II.

Dharasena II issued his next grant from a camp at Bhadrapaṭṭanaka¹ which shows that the Maukharis had not abandoned their ambitions. However, in the next inscription of 573² of Dharasena II we read that he calls himself a Mahārāja. But in the records of the years 588 and 589 he is known as Mahāsāmanta and it may be that Dharasena II submitted to Išānavarman. It is during this period that we have the Pālitānā Plates of the Gārulaka ruler Siṃhāditya.³ It is quite possible that they tried to break away from the overlordship of the Maitrakas, because although these Plates were found with those of the Maitrakas: there is no reference to the Maitrakas as overlords as we have in their other Plates.

Dharasena II was succeeded by his son Śīlāditya I, whose dates are ca. 590-615⁴⁵, also known as Dharmāditya. He identified with the King of Malwa mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.⁶ The Viridi Plates⁷ of Śīlāditya's successor Kharagraha I were

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1. Near Mahuvā and Talajā. Maybe identified with Bhābod 4 miles N.E. of Mahuvā and 20 miles from Talajā. Virji 295.
 2. Banlia Plates of Śīlāditya I. Dharmāditya. EI. XI. 115.
 3. EI. XI. 16.
 4. Last known date of Predecessor 589. IA. VII. 71.
 5. First known date of successor. 616. Amreli Plates of Kharagraha I. Gadre. 7 ff.
 6. Watters II. 242.
 7. P.O.C. VII. 659 ff.

issued from Ujjain, the capital of Malwa which would justify the identification. As there is no mention of Malwa's being a part of the Maitraka Kingdom, it would appear that Malava became a part of Valabhī under Śīlāditya I. The way in which Maitraka Kingdom gained Malava is connected with the ambitions of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj and Śaśārika of Gauḍadeśa. Dr. Virji says that "the suggestion offers itself that on fall of Devagupta [of Malwa], Śaśārika may have allied himself with Śīlāditya and offered as a quid pro quo the province of Malwa, which was now without a ruler. This suggestion is supported by the fact that no sooner did Harṣa find himself safe on his eastern frontiers consequent on the death of his formidable enemy Śaśārika, than he attacked Maitraka Kingdom. This is seen from the Gūrjara records.¹" This appears to us to be the conclusion to the problem of how Malwa became a part of the Maitraka Kingdom. Here we do not give the full account firstly because it is very much outside our period of study and secondly because this would involve a further detailed account of the Kalacuris, the Maukharis, the Guptas of Malwa, the Kingdom of Thaneśvara and of Śaśārika.

The successor of Śīlāditya I was his brother Kharagraha I, also known as Īśvaragraha. His Viridi Copper

1. Virji. p.57. and IA. XIII. 79. For details on the Gūrjaras see Appendix on the Gūrjaras of Broach.

Plates of the year 617¹ from the victorious camp at Ujjain show that he still was at war with some king. It is most likely that it was Harṣa who was at that time involved in struggle with Śaśāṅka. But he may have sent one of his officers to fight against the Maitraka ruler, but Malawa was in possession of the Maitrakas till the middle of the Seventh century.² The last known inscription of his predecessor was 611 and the only known inscription of his son and successor dated in 623 A.D.³ which would give the dates ca. 613-14 - 621-22 to Kharagraha I. This inscription of Dharasena III was issued from the military camp at Kheṭaka, or modern Kaira. It may be that he came into conflict with Harṣa, but that emperor was still fighting Śaśāṅka who died in ca. 626-7⁴ A.D. And from a Gūrjara Grant we know that Dadda II gave shelter to King of Valabhī when the latter was attacked by Harṣa.⁵ Dadda II's reign seems to have begun in 629 A.D. or a little earlier.

At this time the Cālukyan King Pulakeśin II was making far and wide conquests. In his Aihole Praśasti⁶ we

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1. op.cit.
 2. Two Nogava Plates of Dhruvasena II issued from Nauragrama and Chandraputraka in Mālavaka. EI. VIII. 188 and 194 respectively.
 3. The Bhavnagar Copper Plates. EI. XXI. 181 ff.
 4. According to Mañju-Śrī- Mūlakalpa. p.50.
 5. Navsari Plate of Jayabhaṭa II. C.I.I. IV. no.21.
 6. EI. VI. 9. of 632 A.D.

read that after having attacked his enemies in South "subdued by his splendour, the Rāṭas, Māḷavās and the Gūrjaras became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force should behave." The Gūrjara Kings were in all probability the Gūrjaras of Broach. Specifically Jayabhata I and Maitrakas may well have been the rulers of Mālwa who had to subdue to Pulakeśin II, hence the camp at Kheṭaka.

Dharasena III was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II, also known as "Bālāditya". His dates range from 629¹ - 641.² In referring to the achievements of the Gūrjara King Dadda II, the records of his successors say that he gave protection to "the lord of Valabhī, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva".³ But from this inscription we do not know which Maitraka King it was. Dadda who ruled from ca. 629 so was contemporary of Dhruvasena II and Dharasena IV, and it is not possible to say which one it was. After this conflict we read in Hiuen-Tsang that King of Malwa had accepted Harṣa's suzerainty and was given his [Harṣa's] daughter in marriage.

Dhruvasena II was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV,

1. A Grant of Dhruvasena II. Acharya. No.63.

2. A Grant of Dharasena IV. of 640 A.D. *ibid.* no.69.

3. *op.cit.*

who appears to be the most powerful ruler of Valabhi. He was known as Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara Cakravartin Śrī Ajjakapādānudhyāta Śrī Dharasena. His known dates range from 645¹ - 649.² The year 640 being the last date of his father. In the year 642 the Cālukyan King Pulakeśin II was defeated by the Pallava King Narasiṃhavarman.³ He is said to have destroyed the city of Bādāmi. "The event must be placed after 634- 35 A.D. which is the date of the Aihole inscription and before 655 A.D. which is the first ascertainable date of Vikramāditya I."⁴ And according to the same author, Fleet, "the date must be placed before 643 on the basis of the Kaira Grant of Vijayarāja issued in that year, wherein he makes no mention to his former overlord Pulakeśin II. At this time Dharasena IV assumed the imperial titles. We know of his two Grants which were issued from "victorious camp at Broach." But as we will show, this does not necessarily show that Broach was conquered by the Maitrakas. One cannot show the reasons, as far as available material goes why Dharasena IV assumed those titles. They are dropped by Dhruvasena III who ruled from ca. 650⁵- 654.⁶ The conflict

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1. IA. I. 45.
 2. IA. XV. 335.
 3. EI, III. 277.
 4. DKD. 359.
 5. B.G. I. 92.
 6. EI. I. 85.

with the Cālukyas had started, because the Nāsik Plates of Jayasimhavarman say that "with his bright tipped arrows Jayasimha exterminated and defeated the whole army of Vajjada between the Mahī and Narmadā."¹ This was the region which was previously held by Pulakeśin II and it is not impossible that the Cālukyas had to fight the Maitrakas to regain it. King Vajjada cannot be identified but hypothetical suggestions have been put forward connecting Vajjada with Śīlāditya II who ruled from 658³-685⁴.² This must have been a decisive victory for the Cālukyas, because it was celebrated in Cālukyan Charters alongside Pulakeśin II's victory over Harṣa.⁵

During Śīlāditya II's reign another important event took place, an Arab raid against Goghā.⁶ The Arab historians do not give any further details, probably they were defeated by the Maitrakas. But we have no further details about it.

In the feud between the Pallavas and the Cālukyas the latter were victorious. In the Vakkaleri Plates of Kīrtivarman II, we read that Vikramāditya II "resolved to

1. 9A. IX. 123.

2. V.V. Mirashi. I.H.Q. 353 ff.

3. and 4. Virji. 85.

5. Rāthod Grants. IA. XII. 187.

6. Virji. 88.

uproot the Pallava King, his natural foe, who had robbed the splendour of the former Kings of his line, who on coming to the Tuṅḍaka district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposite Pallava King."¹ At this time Śīlāditya IV had assumed the Imperial titles, and probably harassing the Gūrjaras of Broach, their nearest neighbours and feudatories of the Cālukyas. That Śīlāditya IV had to give up some part of his Kingdom is evident from the Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarṣa I, where we read that Rāstrakūṭa Indra I had married the Cālukya princess Bhavanāgā by rākṣasa form of marriage at Kaira. Kaira, as we have seen formed a part of the Maitraka Kingdom till 722 A.D. During his reign there was an Arab invasion which has been fully referred to in Chapter V. Suffice it to say here that the invaders probably had, alongside with other Kingdoms, created a state of confusion in Valabhi as well.

While the Maitraka power was beginning to decline, other powers were slowly coming on to the scene. They were the Gūrjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Ujjain was the capital of the Pratihāra King Vatsarāja, according to the Harivamśa,² Nāgabhaṭa the founder of this line of

1. IA. VIII. 23.

2. Pathak, "A Passage in the Harivamśa relating to the Gūrjaras". IA. XV. 141.

the Pratihāras, was ruling in about 735 A.D. The Hansot Plates of Bhartr̥vaḍḍha¹ records a Grant made at Broach in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvaloka (who may be identified with Nāgabhaṭa I) in the year 756. This Nāgabhaṭa is said to have conquered the Mlecchas² and this statement is further strengthened by Al-Bilādūri³ who says that the Arabs made incursions against Uzain (Ujjain), and they had attacked Bahmribad and burnt its suburbs." B.N.Puri rightly suggests that "the fact that the Arabs sent incursions against Ujjain which they failed to conquer, unlike other places mentioned by Bilādūri and its omission in the list of Kingdoms before they reached Navsari is a clear admission of the superiority of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras."⁴ It is not known when Nāgabhaṭa gained Broach. The Gūrjaras of Broach, feudatories of the Cālukyas were in all probability defeated by the Arab raid mentioned in the Navsari Plates of Pulakeśin II,⁵ which was his last inscription. The recognition of the Pratihāra monarch by Bhartr̥vaḍḍha in 756 shows that Nāgabhaṭa had taken the opportunity of enlarging his territory when there must have been utter confusion for the Cālukyan ruler. But

1. EI. XXI. 197 ff.

2. The Gwalior Prasasti of Bhoja. V.4. EI. I. 156 ff.

3. HIED. I. 126.

4. Puri. 37.

5. op.cit.

no longer had the Gūrjara-Pratihāras gained some territory, they had to face the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who were increasingly trying to push northwards. From the Radhanpur¹ and Wani² inscriptions of the time of Govinda III, we learn that Vatsarāja was driven into the tractless desert of Dhora (Dhruva) who took away from him not merely the two Gauḍa umbrellas, but also his name. From this it appears that Vatsarāja must have made an incursion in Gauḍa and taken the symbol of royalty. But Sanjan Plates³ of Amoghavarṣa also say that Dhruva after defeating Vatsarāja marched through the Pāla King's dominions upto the Doab, and overthrew him. The Baroda Plates of Karkarāja⁴ also refer to the defeat of the Gauḍa King at the hands of Govinda III.

Vatsarāja's son Nāgabhaṭa II was defeated by an alliance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Lāla rulers.⁵

During this time the Maitrakas were undergoing difficulties. Malwa was under the Pratihāras and Śīlāditya V (740-762) must have endeavoured to recover the lost territory. He appears to have retrieved only the province of Kaira, because the villages granted in the Aliṇā Plates of his son Śīlāditya VI are all in the Kaira

1. EI. VI. 239.

2. IA. XI. 156.

3. EI. XVIII. 235.

4. IA. II. 159.

5. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa. EI. XVIII. 235.

district. Before the end of his reign Śīlāditya V had to face another Arab invasion in c.760 A.D. Hasham, the Governor of Sindh sent Amrū bin- Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Baradā which seems to be the present village of Bardiā, ten miles North West of Perbandar. But this was defeated by Agguka III, the Saindhava King who was in all probability owed nominal allegiance to the Maitraka.

Śīlāditya VI who succeeded his father had like him all the imperial titles. It seems that the Maitrakas were still hoping to recover and maintain their territories. The Āliṇa CP. of Śīlāditya VI was issued from his victorious camp at Ānandapura. It is possible that they were still fighting with the Gūrjara Pratihāra. Saurāṣṭra was again invaded by the Arabs in 776, after having conquered, Bardā sickness broke out and they retreated. As we have shown elsewhere this retreat was due more to Saindhava defense rather than sickness. Śīlāditya VI was the last Maitraka King. How the dynasty came to its end is an enigma. In the Jaina sources four dates are given for the end of this illustrious dynasty, 319 A.D. 419 A.D. 517 A.D. and 789 A.D. The last one appears to be the most appropriate, but even this is not acceptable because already in the Harivaṁśa we read that in 783 A.D. there were reigning - in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura - in the North

Indrāyudha; in the South, Śrīvallabha; in the East, Vatsarāja, King of Avanti; and in the West, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas." Jīnasena meant a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler who sometimes took that epithet. But this is by no means certain and according to legends Valabhī was destroyed by the Arabs. This is not an impossibility, the resources of the Maitrakas must have been greatly diminished by the various Arab raids and therefore must have fallen very easily to invaders, either the Gūrjara Pratihāras or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

After the fall of the Maitrakas the Gārulaka feudatories of Girinagara became independent. It is not impossible that the Cūḍāsamas of Vāmanasthalē were also feudatories of the Maitrakas. At this juncture they must have also become independent, although we have no evidence for this. The last known Saindhava date is 915 and they seem to have become independent of the Maitrakas and the dynasty which followed them in their Kingdom.

At the fall of the Maitrakas the Gūrjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were fighting for supremacy in Northern India. It would appear that the Pālas were defeated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as we have seen above. In the following pages we will give a brief resumé of the struggle between both the powers bent on ruling Northern India. Both of them

had various feudatories in the region.

One Cāhamāna ruler (as we have seen above) Bhartr̥vaḍḍha issued a grant from Broach. This inscription gives six generations of Cāhamānas who seem to have resided in the region of Broach in Lāṭa. The Cāhamāna King mentions the name of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa) as the paramount lord. In the Broach region we have evidence that a Gurjara family was ruling till ca. 736 A.D. And the inscription under discussion is dated in 756, this seems to indicate that Bhartr̥vaḍḍha II may have succeeded Jayabhaṭa III - the last Gurjara King of the Broach line, as a viceroy of Lāṭa. It is impossible to say how the former Gūrjara Kingdom came into Pratihāra possession. But one may suggest that after the Gurjaras were defeated by the Arabs, who were in turn defeated by the W. Cālukya Pulakeśin at Nausāri, the Pratihāras took advantage of the opportunity thus offered. Bhartr̥vaḍḍha's family may have assisted Nāgabhaṭa and was awarded with the area of Broach. It is interesting to note that for about five centuries nothing is heard about this branch of the Cāhamānas till Jayasimha Sūri's Hammīra-mada-mardana, which reveals the presence of the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Saṅgrāmarāja who was a contemporary of Vāghela Vīradhavalā.

Another Cāhamāna feudatory's existence can be gathered

from the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II's time which mentions that a Cāhamāna family of Kings was a source of great pleasure to King Bhojadeva.

Another feudatory of the Pratihāras who left a record found at Unā, was Avanīvarman II Yoga who vanquished Yakṣadāsa and put to flight Dharaṇivāvāha. He made this grant with the approval of Dhiṛka, the tantrapāla of Mahendrapāladeva. Avanivarman's father and grandfather, Balavaśman and Avanivarman I defeated a certain Viṣaḍha and by slaying Jajjapa and other kings freed the earth from the Hūṇa race. It is very difficult to identify either of these defeated rulers, but it is certain that this family fought on behalf of their overlord Bhoja. This family was a member of Cālukyan dynasty. Most probably of the Western Cālukyas.

A Cāpa feudatory, Dharaṇivarāha issued Plates, found at Haḍḍala, mentioning Mahendrapāla as his overlord. Haḍḍala, as the Plate suggests, was in the possession of Dharaṇivarāha's ancestors for a long time, and the very name of the country Aḍḍana (id. with portions of present Limbidi and Wadhawan) was called after Aḍḍaka, the grandfather of Dhiṛka. This king is identified with Dhiṛka mentioned in the

1. EI. IX. 1 ff.

2. Chargé d'affaires acc. to Puri.

Unā Plates of Cālukyan Avanivarman, noticed above. If this suggestion is accepted then one has to presume that this Dharaṇivarāha was at first an enemy of the Cālukyas of Kathiawad, and later on he was appointed a feudatory of Mahipāladeva, son of Mahendrapāladeva. But this is all hypothetical, and although we have these two inscriptions, we cannot say for certain what course the events took.

Not much is known at this stage about other parts of Gujarat. We have few CPs. (6) from Ghumli which show that there was a dynasty called the Saindhavas ruling in the region of Okhāmaṇḍala, the North West tip of the Peninsula. They are mentioned in the Nausārī Plates of the Western Cālukyan Pulakeśin of 739 as having been destroyed by the Arab raid, but this is quite impossible since their last inscription is of the year 915. They appear to have been independent, and nothing is known about them, except through their inscriptions.

Now let us return to the warfare between the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Dantidurga seems to have led expeditions to Southern and Central Gujarat in about 750. In one of these expeditions he overran Lāṭa as far as the Māhi in the North.¹ The Lāṭa rulers at this time were most probably Cāhamānas of Broach, as seen above.

1. Sāmangad Plates of Dantidurga. IA. XI. 112.

Dantigurga established Kakkarāja in the Surat region as his feudatory. In the time of Nirupama Dhruva Lāṭa appears to have been placed in the charge of his son Govinda III. The latter, after his accession to the throne made extensive raids into the Pratihāra dominions and then appointed his younger brother Indra as his viceroy in Lāṭa in c. 800. The grants of Indra's successors show that they not only held the territory between Tapti and Mahi but that their power also sometimes extended from the river Ambika to Sabasmati. Many of their grants were made from places in the modern Kaira district. Dhruva II (835-67) the grandson of Indra died in a war against Amoghavarṣa I the ruler of the Imperial line, trying to free himself from that main line. But the Gujarat branch was not effaced thereby, his, Dhruva II's son, Akālavarṣa succeeded him, according to the grant of his son Dhruva III¹, but on what relations with the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa cannot be said for certain. To Akālavarṣa's son and successor, Dhruva III, his grants² credit wars with Vallabha (Amoghavarṣa), the Gurjaras, his relatives, and a Mihira King.³ Probably he was successful in these, except against Amoghavarṣa, as the unpublished

1. IA. XII. 170. v.13.

2. See Sankalia. App. p.5.

3. He is Id. with Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj.

grant from Baroda would show, according to which Dhruva possibly lost the territory south of Narmadā, to the Imperial branch. The contemporary record of Dautivarmā, brother of Dhruva raises the question as to who the actual ruler was. The conjoint signature of both brothers at the end dispels the suggestion that Dantivarma was the relative referred to in Dhruva's Bāgumsā Grant who revolted against the latter.

Kṛṣṇa Akālavarṣa, son of Dantivarmā is at present¹ the last King of the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, according to the Bagumra grant.² This grant which grants the village in Karmāntapura does not necessarily suggest that the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭas recovered the territory south of Narmadā from the main branch but does show that Dhruva had retained some of his hold over the territory south of Narmadā.³ Probably now they were feudatories, but after Kṛṣṇa they lose even this feudal character, and the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas resume direct control over Lāṭa

The suzerainty of the main line of Rāṣṭrakūṭa over Gujarat which was shaken in the reign of Amoghavarṣa (c. 886) seems to be slowly establishing itself towards the close of his reign (A.D. 871).⁴ Under his son and successor

1. IA. XIII. p.65.

2. EI. VI. 285.

3. Grant of a village Parhanaka in Karmāntapura. IA. XII. 179

4. According to Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa. EI. XVIII. p. 235.

Krṣṇa Akālavarṣa, the sway was completely realized in c. 910 A.D.¹ after severe fighting with the Gūrjaras. The Karḍa grants of Amoghavarṣa Kakka II of the Imperial line informs us that Krṣṇa II's enemies frightened by his exploits abandoned Kheṭaka (Kaira) with its maṇḍala and its forepart, which according to the B.G. means the surrounding territory.² The identity of one of the chief enemies to which the Karḍa Grant refers seems to be established by the Nauśari Plates of Indra III which mentions his grandfather fighting with the roaring Gurjaras "garjad gurjara". It seems certain that this Gurjara power is to be identified not with the Malkhed or the Lāṭa line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas³ but with the Gurjara Pratihāras of Kanauj. It is also probable that the Malkhed line of Rāṣṭrakūṭa were helped by the Gurjara Pratihāras in their bid to overthrow the supremacy of the Imperial line.

Unfortunately for the Pratihāras Mahendrapāla II died at about the same time ca. 910, when Indra III rose to power in the south. ca. 915. He, Indra III, was one of the most successful military leaders amongst the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Between 910-915 he undertook his expedition

1. Acc. to Kapaḍvanaj Grant. EI. I. 52.

2. BG. Pt. I. 128.

3. Indraji in B.G.

against Kanauj. The Cambay Plates of Govinda IV¹ show that Indra III after crossing Yamunā devastated the hostile city of Mahodaya which was also known as Kuśasthalī. There seems to have been some sort of war of succession in the Pratihāra empire, and of this situation Rāṣṭrakūṭa took the advantage. The court poet Rājaśekhara who served both Mahendrapāladeva and Mahipāla omits to mention the name of Bhoja II, which occurs in the inscriptions.² The former, Mahendrapāladeva died in 910 A.D.³ and the first inscription of Mahipāla is 914, he is mentioned as the paramount sovereign in the Haḍḍala Plates of Dharaṇivarāha. It is possible that Bhoja II ruled between 910-914. B.N. Puri⁴ suggests that the Cedi King Kokkaladeva who was a contemporary of Bhoja, pushed up the latter's claims, probably because he was not in agreement with Mahendrapāla's succeeding his father Bhoja I, of whom he probably was a feudatory. Rāṣṭrakūṭan campaign on the Pratihāra empire seems to have been undertaken in alliance with Kokkaladeva. Puri states that he was a contemporary of Bhoja I, Mahendrapaladeva and Bhoja II on comparing with various Candella Grants. The Bilhari SI⁵ mentions the latter setting up

1. EI. VII. 261 ff.

2. Bengal A. Soc. Plates. and Kokkaladeva's two records.

3. Mahendrapāladeva ruled till 907-8 according to Siyadevi. EI. I. 173.

4. P. 79-80.

5. EI. I. 286.

two unprecedented columns Kṛṣṇa in the South and Bhoja in the North. Puri furthermore suggests that Indra III, whose rule lasted only for 3 years,¹ undertook this campaign in his grandfather's reign, marched against Kanauj and after defeating Mahipāla, placed Bhoja II. Mahipāla left Kanauj and probably sought shelter with the Candellas, with whose help he probably regained the Pratihāra throne.² The presence of Mahipāla's feudatories show the Rāṣṭrakūṭan campaign did not leave any lasting scars.

But we do have evidence to show that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas also appointed a feudatory over their possessions in Gujarat. Till recently it was believed that there was no Rāṣṭrakūṭan feudatory in Gujarat after 935, which was governed by Govinda IV and V, both sons of Indra Nitya Varṣa³

but the recently discovered Harasola Grant of Śīyaka II of 949 not only gives evidence of Rāṣṭrakūṭan influence in Gujarat but further tells us that it was governed by a Mahāmaṇḍa-like Cūdāmaṇi - Mahārājadhirāja Śīyaka under Śrivallabha, both are identified with the Paramāra ruler Harṣa - Śīyaka II, and with Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III c. 940-56. It is suggested that Harṣa Śīyaka was driven out of Malwa

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1. Nausari Grant specifies 915 as his accession and the earliest Insc. of his successor's time is 918.
 2. Khajuraho Insc. I. 121 ff.
 3. Cambay Pls. of Govinda IV. 930. EI. VII. p.28 and Sangli Plates of V. 933. IA. XII. 247.

by the revival of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power,¹ and ruled Lāṭa as a feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.² This is not impossible, and it seems that the Paramāra ruler was always seeking opportunity of overthrowing the paramount sovereign. The opportunity came under Khoṭṭiga, the brother of Kr̥ṣṇa III. The Udaipur Praśasti of the Paramāras tells us that Harṣa "equalling the snake-eater [Garuḍa] in fierceness, took in battle the wealth of Khoṭṭiga."³ The Arthuna inscription⁴ of the Banswara Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja reveals that one of his ancestors Kanika-deva died a hero's death on the banks of the Narmadā after overthrowing the army of the King of Karṇāṭa. In the same record we read that he was fighting on the side of Harṣa of Mālava, no doubt Harṣa - Sīyaka of the main line. From the Inscriptions we know of five predecessors of Sīyaka, and Bühler is of the opinion that the first King Upendra conquered Malwa in about 800 A.D. We have no evidence to corroborate this, and to show that Upendra conquered Malwa which was in the G.P. empire would need very positive evidence indeed. Paramāras, therefore, seem to have become independent under Harṣa - Sīyaka, who by

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1. The Partabgarh Insc. of Cāhamāna.
 2. Ray. II. 850.
 3. EI. I. 235-237.
 4. EI. XIV. 295-98.
 5. EI. XIX. 236.

defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭas started a new cycle of events in Gujarat. About this time, in the North, Mūlarāja, the first Caulukya had established himself at Anahilapātaka in ca. 961 A.D., his first inscription being in 974 A.D.¹

According to the legends Mūlarāja was a nephew of the last Cāpa ruler, and it appears that he, Mūlarāja, usurped the throne. The Cāpa dynasty was established in about 746² at Anahilapātaka by its first ruler Vanarāja. There is no mention of other Cāpa dynasties before this time. In Bhinmāl according to Brahmagupta, the astronomer, a Cāpa King named Vyāghramukha was ruling in 628, when he finished his astronomical work called the Braḥmasphutasiddhānta.

When Hiuen Tsang came to Bhinmal in about 641 there was a Ksatriya King ruling there who was 20 years of age. It is very difficult to say whether he was a Cāpa or a Pratihāra ruler, the latter seems likely since after the Cāpas we find the Pratihāras ruling in Bhinmal. It is not known when this event took place, but Ozha places it in between the years 740-809.

Then there is the mention of the Cāpas of Pañcāsara³ in the chronicles as well as the bardic legends. Vanarāja's

1. The Kadi Plates of Mūlarāja . IA. VI. 180.

2. PBC.

3. Modern village of the same name in Vadhiar-bet-Guj. and Cutch.

father was Jayaśikhari who was defeated by King Bhuvad of Kalyāna. One cannot say with certainty about the Cāpas of Pancāsara since the chronicles as well as the legends cannot be too much relied upon. The last known branch of the Cāpas were these of Vardhamāna. The first known King of this family is Vikramārka who most probably ruled in the first quarter of the 9th century and possibly had to bear the brunt of an invasion by Nāgabhaṭa I. He was succeeded by Aḍḍaka, Pulakeśi of Dhruvabhaṭa ^{and} Dharaṇivarāha, whose inscription gives us this information. As we have seen above he was a feudatory of the Pratihāras. Dhruvabhaṭa and his predecessors probably fought a series of battles with the Saindhavas. His kingdom was invaded by Caulukya Mūlarāja, who captured his throne and drove him out of Saurāṣṭra. He seems to have saved his life by taking shelter with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi.¹ From the Nausāri Plates of W. Caulukya Pulakeśin we learn that he defeated the Arabs who on their way to Nausari had destroyed the Saindhava Kacchella Saurāṣṭra Cavotaka Maurya and Gurjara Kings. It is very difficult to identify these Cāpas. BG. regards them as the Cāpas of Pañcāsara, while Ozha identifies them with the Bhinmāl ones. Their

1. E.I.V. 18 ff.

mention in this grant after that of the Saindhavas would support the former opinion. But as there is no positive evidence for them in form of inscriptions it is difficult to come to any conclusion. It is possible that at Pañcāsara they were attacked by the Prātihāras and not Bhuvaḍ of Kalyāṇa as described by the legends. This event must have forced the Cāpas to become outlaws against their invaders. The Cāpas avenged themselves by robbing and killing of the officers of the reigning king, as depicted by Meruṅga, and when they had sufficient means, they founded a kingdom with Anahilapātaka as their capital. The date of this event cannot be decided since there is so much discrepancy in the chronicles, but roughly it seems to have happened sometime before 750. After Vanarāja, there followed seven Kings and according to the chronicles they ruled for about 225 years; that is from about 746-961, but even in these dates one cannot be certain. The first date of Mūlarāja is 974 as observed above. We have, however, one concrete evidence which shows that the Cāpas were ruling in Anahilapātaka in the tenth century, for an inscription¹ of Kumārapāla of 1152 definitely says that Mūlarāja gained power by overthrowing the Cāpas.

1. Kadi Plates of Mūlarāja. ११. VI. ११.

The account in some of the CPs. of the Caulukyās is that Mūlarāja was the son of Mahārājadhīrāja Rāji¹ and that he, "by his own prowess obtained² the Sārasvata maṇḍala by defeating the Cāpotkaṭas.³ But where Rāji hailed from cannot be ascertained. According to the Chronicles he came from Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kanauj, and was the son of the ruler Bhuvanāditya. But one cannot be certain of any references and this question will be discussed at length in the Chapter on 'the Caulukyās'.

1. Vaṅner Plates of Kumārapāta. opāt
 2. Vādnagar Prasasti
 3. 4

Chapter IV

The Saindhavas.

In the year 1936, six copper-plates belonging to the Saindhava family were found near Ghumli in the Navanagar State. The 12 CPs. are edited by A.S. Altekar in E.I. XXVI in 6 records. 'A' consisting of three CPs, 'C' of one and 'B', 'D', 'E' and 'F' consisting of two plates each. These are the only sources for the history of the Saindhava dynasty, who are known to have been ruling at Bhūtāmbilikā or modern Ghumli from ca. 740-920 A.D. Very little can be seen of Ghumli or Bhūtāmbilikā itself, except a few remains of a palace, a huge image of Hanumān, with a large bathing reservoir by its side and some ruins of insignificant temples. Judging from the present ruins, ancient Ghumli was about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth. Its population, therefore, may have been about 15,000.¹ The ground plan of the town resembles a widespread fan. The ramparts of the town were strong and massive and were surrounded by a deep ditch.

The earliest reference to the Saindhavas is in the Navasari plates of the Western Cālukyan King Pulakeśin II.² Therein they are mentioned along with Kacch, Saurāṣṭra, Cāpa, Maurya and Gūrjara Chiefs as having been defeated by

1. E.I. XXVI. 186.

2. C.I.I. IV. no.30.

the Arab raid that was repulsed by the Western Cālukyas at Navasāri. The next reference to them is in the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhojadeva, the Gūrjara-Pratihāra, the 8th verse of which describes the Saindhavas as being overwhelmed by the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa.¹ Nothing was known about the kingdom of this dynasty or the history and achievements of any particular ruler of this house. The Merbi Plate of a certain King Jāikadeva² was known, but as that plate was only the second of the set, the full name of the grantor was unknown. But with the discovery of the Ghumli plates the Morbi plate can be assigned to the King Jāika of the Saindhava dynasty.

The origin of these people is very hard to determine. Altekar is of the opinion that the Saindhavas had migrated to Saurāṣṭra from Sindh, and etymologically this seems to be a logical derivation. In support of this he brings in the evidence of the mention of Saindhavas belonging to the Jayadratha Vaṁśa³ in Charter F issued by Jāika II in 915 A.D.³ According to the Mbh., King Jayadratha, son-in-law of Dhṛtrāṣṭra, was a ruler of Sindh,⁴ so those rulers who claimed descent from him could be described both as hailing from Sindh and as ornaments of the Jayadratha family. In

1. EI. I. 156 ff.

2. IA. II. 257-8.

3. Jayadratha- Vaṁśa Śekhara. EI. XXVI. 186 ff.

4. Section 67 of the Sambhava Parvan in the Ādi P.

earlier charters the first title, Saindhava is preferred, and the second in the later ones. The reason for this may be that Puṣyadeva, the first ruler of the dynasty, was probably an immigrant from Sindh; so, although he himself claimed to be descended from Jayadratha, he was known to his contemporaries as a Saindhava ruler. Later on, when there developed a tendency to claim origin from a Puranic hero, Jaika II reverted to the use of the name Jayadratha. This argument of the origin from Jayadratha is further strengthened by a seal found at Valabhi, which reads:-

Ā Jayadrathād-avyacchinna-rāja-Vaṁśasya
 Śrīv-mmhā(r)āj- Ā(h)ivarma(ṇaḥ) Sūno(r)
 mahārāja-mahā (senā) pati Puṣyeṇa (sya).¹

This seal belonged to Puṣyeṇa, son of Ahivarman who claimed an uninterrupted descent from Jayadratha. Altekar states that "the name Puṣyadeva is merely a paraphrase of the name Puṣyeṇa of the seal, as both the terms 'ina' and 'deva' indicate a lord or a king in Sanskrit. The variation in the spelling need not therefore be regarded as throwing an impediment in the way of the proposed identification. Just as we have common variations like Govindadeva and Govindarāja, we may as well have parallel forms like Puṣyadeva and Puṣyeṇa as both 'ina' and 'deva' denote a ruler". We agree with Altekar here, but the genealogies of all the Charters begin

1. IA. XXXVIII. p.145. ibid. XII. 274-5.

with Puṣyadeva and not Āhivarman, therefore it is very difficult to establish the nature of relationship between them. It is most likely that Āhivarman was Puṣyadeva's father, since the word 'son' is given, but Āhivarman did not rule as an independent ruler in the Saindhava territory.

As far as the word Saindhava is concerned, it may be said that the word 'sindhu' also means 'an ocean',¹ and as the Saindhava Charters show that they were masters of the sea, there is quite a possibility that they adopted the word Saindhava with sea in mind rather than Sindh. There is no proof that they migrated from Sindh, and they may have adopted the name Jayadratha at a later date. But from the general trend of other dynasties in Gujarat it is most likely that they had migrated to Saurāṣṭra, and they may have been of a foreign origin. The seal found at Valabhi, bearing the name of Puṣyadeva may not have belonged to the Saindhava King, but one can never be certain about such facts unless some definite evidence comes forth.

All the Saindhava Charters are dated in the Gupta era, and their emblem was most probably a fish, since it is found on their Charters. This fact, as we will see later, points strongly toward their mastery at sea.

1. Samudrādhipati.

We have no grants of King Puṣyadeva himself and he is mentioned only in the grant F of King Jāika II wherein he is described as the ornament of the Jayadratha family. No titles are given to him, and he is known as Śri Puṣyadeva. Approximate dates of his rule can be hypothetically arrived at by calculating from his grandson's great-grandson's date of 833-34 A.D. Altekar estimated the dates of Saindhava rulers on the basis of the known dates of the plates, allowing 20 years per generation for the earlier Kings. This seems rather a conservative estimate and it may be that the date of Puṣyadeva, which according to Altekar is 734-754 A.D. was several years earlier. On the basis of these hypothetical dates it is quite possible that either Puṣyadeva or his successor Kṛṣṇarāja I bore the brunt of the Arab attack in about the third decade of the 8th century.

It appears that Puṣyadeva, who was probably trying to establish his kingdom in some northern part of Saurāṣṭra was only a feudatory chief; and if the seal from Valabhi does belong to Puṣyadeva, then it is certain that he was a **general** of an army, probably that of the contemporary Maitraka ruler Śilāditya IV¹ or V.² But in no records is there any mention of a sovereign ruler, and this shows that

1. Virji. 92.
2. Virji. 97.

the later Saindhavas of the 9th century were probably more independent than other feudatories. There are no grants of the first four rulers, therefore it is very difficult to say what type of allegiance they had to the Maitrakas. As has been noticed above, Puṣyadeva had no high sounding title,¹ but the Dhīnīki Plates, which bear the date 738 A.D. refer to their grantor King Jāikadeva as an imperial ruler enjoying the titles Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara.² This King Jāikadeva was supposed to be no other than a Saindhava ruler since his capital was Bhumilikā, and seal emblem, the fish. The long geneology of the Saindhavas given in Charter F goes back to about the 2nd quarter of the 8th century A.D., but there is no mention of a Jāikadeva ruling at this time. Altekar says that "therefore it is clear that this Dhīnīki grant is a forgery; this conclusion is also

supported by some other circumstances like the Palaeography of the Plates and the non occurrence of the eclipse on the date given in the plates. The date of the Dhīnīki plates therefore cannot cast any doubt on the conclusion arrived at, namely, that at ca. 740 Puṣyadeva and not Jāikadeva was the ruling Saindhava King and that he was a mere feudatory.

1. In the Charter F he is known as 'Kṣitipati'.

2. IA. XII. 151.

King Puṣyadeva was followed by King Kṛṣṇarāja who is mentioned in Grant C of King Rānaka and in Grant F of Jaika II. Nothing much is known about him except that his son Agguka succeeded him. Agguka has also been described in purely conventional terms, therefore it is not possible to state any historical facts concerning his reign. The rules of these 2 kings have been placed by Altekar from 754-794 A.D. During these years Kathiawad suffered much through the Arab invasions, and the Saindhavas, who claim to have been lords of Ocean, must have been more directly involved than other contemporary rulers. They seem to have repulsed the invaders, and, unlike the Maitrakas, emerged victorious from this struggle. From the Muslim Chronicler al Mansur¹ we learn that in c. 760 A.D. Hasham, the governor of Sindh sent Amru-bin- Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barda and the invasion was repeated 20 years later. The muslim historians tell us that though the last expedition succeeded in capturing the town of Barda, sickness swept away a great portion of the army and the remainder were destroyed in a shipwreck on the coast of Persia. The experience was so bitter that the Muslims were deterred from making further attempts at aggrandissment in that direction.² The town of Barda

1. HIED. I. 444.

2. HIED. I. 444.

attacked by the Muslims may have been either Bardia which is 10 miles North-west of Porbandar, or Bhumli itself, which is situated in the vicinity of the Barda hills.¹ It seems that although the 2nd raid was successful, the Muslims had to leave the country. Altekar is of the opinion that "for, aught we know, the sickness of the army may have been as much responsible for this evacuation as the bravery of the Saindhava defenders."² It is unfortunate that neither of the Charters mention this invasion, but in the Charter F there seems to be a vague reference to it, when it is shown that "Agguka showed the greatness of Varāha when he easily rescued his country which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies."³ This victory of the Saindhavas over the Arabs, if it occurred, was a great achievement considering the small size of their kingdom.

Agguka I was succeeded by his son Rāṇaka whose reign has been assigned to the years 794-814 A.D. He has been mentioned in conventional terms, and therefore it is impossible to say anything about him.

No contemporary grants of the first four rulers have yet been recovered, but it would seem that they were not

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1. We tend to identify it with Bhumli because in their Charters Saindhavas are said to have been masters of the sea and it seems certain that they had skirmishes with the Arabs. See. ft.3.
 2. EI. XXVI. 185 ff.
 3. Charter F. EI. XXVI. 185 ff. lines 4-5.

independent rulers but feudatories, probably of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras. In Charter A, line 7, we read the feudatory titles of Mahāsāmanta and possessor of the Mahāśabdas. But these titles are not very consistent in the sense that they are attributed to some rulers and not to the others. The same is the case in every Charter. But Charter F, which is the most reliable of all,¹ attributes these titles only to Jāīka II, who issued it. Therefore it is very hard to say under which category of feudatories the Saindhavas may be classed. Not even once are their overlords mentioned directly, but Altekar is of the opinion that there is a veiled reference to Rāmabhadryā in one of the later Charters, which will be discussed under the appropriate reign.

From the Charters A and B it can be gathered that King Rāṇaka had two sons, Kṛṣṇarāja (II) who was elder, and Jāīka I who was the younger and a half brother Jāīka is expressly referred to as 'Vaimātro bhrātā.' Nothing is known about him except the names of his predecessor and successor. According to Altekar Kṛṣṇarāja succeeded his father probably in c. 814 A.D. As with the other rulers he is very highly praised but not one historical fact emerges. He is described as full of enthusiasm in troubling the host of his enemies,

1. Charter F appears to be most reliable because, firstly it contains the full genealogy, and secondly the names it gives of the officials is not as renumerative as it is in the earlier Charters.

the Cāpins, or the Cāpas in line 15 of Charter A; but the same observation is made in almost identical words about his younger brother Jāika I and the latter's two sons Cāmuṇḍa and Agguka. These four rulers were ruling from c. 814-874 A.D. and all seem to have been at war with the Cāpas. At this time there were two Cāpa families ruling in Kathiawad. The family of Vanarāja was ruling Aṇahillapāṭṭana since c. 765 A.D.¹ The other family was that of Dharaṇi-Varāha which was ruling at Vardhamānapura since c. 850 A.D.² It would seem that the enemies of the Saindhavas, the rulers of Western Saurāṣṭra, were in all probability the Cāpas of Wadhwan who were feudatories of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras. The great-grandfather and grandfather of King Dharaṇivarāha were King Vikramārka and King Aḍḍaka respectively. Haḍḍala, as the plates suggest, was in possession of Dharaṇivarāha's family for a long time, and therefore it is almost certain that the age-long enemies of the Saindhavas were the Cāpas of Wadhwan.

It is hardly likely that the feud here refers to the Cāpas of Aṇahillapāṭṭana, the rulers of which family in the first half of the 9th century were Yogarāja and Ratnāditya, contemporaries of Kṛṣṇa II and Jāika I. The reason for this unlikeliness is that in Charter C of King Rāṇaka, whose reign

1. Prabandha

2. Haḍḍālā plates of Dharaṇivarāha. IA. XII. 193 ff.

was probably from 859-879 A.D.,) we read that his wife was queen Kṣemeśvarī. She was probably, according to Altekar, either a daughter or a sister of Cāpa King Kṣemarāja or Kṣemeśvara,¹ the son of Yogarāja, who is traditionally known to have ruled from 841-880 A.D.² If these Cāpas were the enemies of Saindhavas it is hardly likely that a king would have married their daughter. It can be argued that this marriage may have been entered into to cement an alliance between two hitherto unfriendly kingdoms. But even after the Charter C, in the Charters D and E there are references to the enmity between the Cāpas and the Saindhavas. M.M. Shastri³ thinks that Kṣemeśvarī may have been a queen of Cāpa King Kṣemeśvara of Anahilapattana living at Ghumli in separation from him. There is nothing in this charter to bear out this suggestion. She is referred to as rājñi-kṣemeśvaryāh in line 22. In line 18 we read that⁴

It is therefore almost certain that the word ātmiyāyāh has to go with rājñi-kṣemeśvaryāh. If the emendations suggested by Altekar are correct, the record would seem to sanction a

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1. King Harsagupta and Mahāsenagupta of the later Gupta dynasty had sisters named Harsagupta and Hahasenaguptā.
 2. PBC. p.14. (Singhi).
 3. Report on 12 cp. Inscriptions found at Ghumli - (not available).
 4. Samvidita Yathā Mayā ... Bhetālikābhīdhānagrāma
atmiyāyā.

grant for the purpose of erecting a temple in memory of the donor's queen, who appears to have married him in a svayamvara, or it may be that the grant was made at the request of the Queen, which seems less probable. Line 19 describes her as superior to thousands of women in her character, therefore it does not seem that she was separated from her husband, and living at Ghumli, it would seem as the donor's queen. In lines 21-22 the donor is referring to her constancy to the marriage vow taken in the presence of the sacred fire.¹

It would appear that these feuds with the Cāpas were no more than frontier clashes. It is hardly likely that there would have been intensive warfare for generations without any definite result.

Charter A describes Kṛṣṇarāja II as a ruler who had like Bharata propitiated Rāma by his steady and proper behaviour (line 15). This statement has also been made with reference to his brother Jāika I and the latter's son Agguka in Charters B and D. Altekar says "it is almost certain that a double entendre is intended to be conveyed by the expression - 'Bharat-iva-āchalad-ucita-samārādhita Rāmah.' This identity is not hard to find out. It must have

1. Prāsādāropanasyeti Kṛtvāgnisākṛīkākṣīnaprītīrakṛāna
nimintyaya.

been Pratihāra Rāmabhadra who ruled from c. 833-836 A.D. From the 8th v. of the Nāgpur Praśasti of Bhoja¹ we learn that the Saindhavas were amongst the rulers defeated by the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II who is known to have ruled from 803-833 A.D. The Saindhava Kings of that time must have been Rāṇaka I (c. 794-814 A.D.) Kṛṣṇa II (c. 814-824 A.D.) and his younger brother Jāika I (c. 824-849 A.D.).² It would appear that the campaign in Kathiawad was entrusted by Nāgabhaṭa II to the crown Prince Rāmabhadra, who on its successful termination, seems to have been appointed Viceroy over the Western provinces by his father. After their defeat by the Pratihāras Kṛṣṇa II and Jāika seem to have remained loyal to Rāmabhadra and are therefore fittingly described as propitiating Rāma."³ This is indeed a very slight reference, if it is to be thus interpreted to the Saindhavas' feudatory status.

As has been noticed above, the Saindhavas do not claim to have been anything more than mere feudatories. But in their Charters we do not find any name of an overlord, except the very casual reference to Rāma; this, if taken literally may refer to the Pratihāra Rāmabhadra, but this is very doubtful: It may be conjectured that the overlords were the

1. An. Rep. A.S.I. 1903-4. p.280.

2. During the reign period here assigned to Jaika I the period of his regency is also included.

3. EI. XXVI. Introduction.

Pratihāras because their feudatories ruled Eastern, northern and southern Kathiawad. Moreover, the Pratihāras claim to have defeated the Saindhavas, therefore it seems probable that the whole of Kathiawad was under the Pratihāras during the 9th century A.D. and onwards.

The Unā plates of King Balavarman,¹ a Cālukya of Southern Kathiawad, and a feudatory of the Pratihāras, and a contemporary of the Saindhavas, indicate that this King could not issue a land grant without the permission of the imperial officer. The grant says that "He, [Balavarman] with the approval of Dhīika² gave the village Ambulaka which belonged to the Nakṣipura 84 in the Saurāṣṭra maṇḍala"

A grant of the Cāpa King Dharaṇivarāha specifically mentions the name of Mahendrapāla through whom he enjoyed the principality of Vardhamānapura.³

All the Saindhava grants, on the other hand, are issued without any official permission; the dūtaka of Charter B was a certain Pratihāra Kṛṣṇa, but there is nothing to indicate his relationship to the Pratihāras. The word here seems simply to mean "chamberlain". He was probably an officer of Jāika I. From this it seems that the Saindhavas were powerful or influential enough to secure internal autonomy which was

1. EI. IX. 1. ff.

2. Dhīika the tantrapāla was the representative of the King Mahīpāla at Una. Puri.71.

3. JA. XII. p.193.

denied to other feudatories. Probably the main reason for this favour was the valuable help they gave to the Pratihāras in fighting the Arabs. The Saindhavas never seem to have undertaken an aggressive war against the enemies of the Pratihāras as the other feudatories did. This non-interference policy on the part of the Pratihāras must have helped the Saindhavas in organizing their internal administration which, from the references in the grants, seems to have been of first grade efficiency.

Kriṣṇarāja II is described in the Charter A as ridiculing Duryodhana and drinking the blood of Dusśāsana, like Bhīma. Altekar is of the opinion that this is probably a veiled reference to a fight with Kings of such names.¹ This, however, is not probable because the same reference has been used in connection with Jāika I in Charter B, with Agguka in Charter D, and with Camuṇḍa in Charter E. Kriṣṇa II is further described as a ruler who had pleased the inhabitants of Parvata who, therefore, resembled Śiva, who was a source of delight to the relations of (Himālaya) Parvata (mountain). This has also been used with reference to Jāika I, Agguka and Cāmuṇḍa. The inhabitants of Parvata region were obviously residents of territory around Bardā hills. These similes seem to be very commonplace and, it seems,

1. It does not seem possible that any kings would have taken such names.

cannot be taken literally. The Charters are written in a very poetic way, and it seems that the composers have incorporated any simile that attracted their imagination. If the names Duryodhana and Dusśāsana are analyzed, they would mean, "one who fights badly." and "one who rules badly." It may be said that this would mean that Kriṣṇa II, Jāika I, Agguka and Cāmuṇḍa were good rulers because, like Bhīma, they opposed those with these qualities. As far as the reference to Śiva is concerned, it would probably show that the kings pleased the inhabitants of region round the Barda hills. Altekar says that it is clear from this last mentioned reference that this city, i.e. Bhumli, had become the Saindhava capital as early as the reign of Kṛṣṇa II c. 820 A.D. Unless we assume that the draftsman of Charter F is guilty of anachronism, it is almost certain that even as early as Puṣyadeva's time Bhumli was the capital of the Saindhavas.

It seems that Kṛṣṇa II died at an early age, because his son and successor Agguka II was very young at his death, and so his uncle Jāika I was the regent for a while. From the Charter A it can be assumed that Jāika usurped the throne from Agguka II, the rightful heir. Jāika herein boasts

that though Kamalā (Royal Fortune) was anxious to be united with him rather than Agguka, her rightful lord, he spurned her wily overtures and decided to be the disinterested guardian. This, however, is proved wrong by the other verses in which he does not give the usual titles of a feudatory to Agguka, but takes them himself. The grant of a village was also made in his own name. In the Charter's text the writer refers to Jāika as the reigning King. It is therefore clear that Jāika had completed the plans of usurpation before the Charter A was issued in 513 S.e. 832-3 A.D. According to this, Altekar places Kṛṣṇa II's death in c.505 G.E. c. 824 A.D. The actual usurpation of the throne at Bhumli seems to have taken place before the issue of the Charter B, which is unfortunately not dated, in which Jāika mentions himself as King, with no reference to his brother or nephew in the genealogy. It would be possible to give the date 834-836 A.D. for the event. It appears that Jāika I allowed his nephew Agguka to rule as his feudatory in some part of his Kingdom. Agguka's son Rāṇaka, who issued a land grant mentioned in Charter C., was ruling at that time, but the Charter unfortunately is not dated. Altekar thinks that Agguka went on ruling in some part of the kingdom for 25 years, and may be placed from 859-879 A.D.

From the Charters it seems that the descendants of Jāika I became the rulers of Bhumli. He may have, according to Altekar's hypothesis, ruled from 834-849 A.D. as a King in his own right. No historical facts are known about him, but he has been described as propitiating Rāma. He seems to have had several skirmishes with the Cāpas, if the verse is taken to mean that the enemies were the Cāpas.¹

Jāika had two sons, Cāmuṇḍa and Agguka. The Charters D. E. F. make it clear upto a point that the small kingdom was further subdivided between these brothers at the end of Jāika's reign. Rāṇaka, a grandson of Jāika I through his son Agguka issued the Charter D in 555 G.E. 874 A.D. In 567 G.E. 886 A.D. another grandson of Jaika, Agguka, through his son Cāmuṇḍa issued Charter E. In the genealogy of the Charter F Agguka and Rāṇaka of D are altogether passed over; Jāika is stated to have been succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍa, the latter by his son Agguka III, and he in turn by his son Jāika II. It can be gathered from this that both the sons of Jāika I founded separate ruling houses. It seems that of the two sons of Jāika I, Agguka was the younger one since he and his

1. The translation of lines
is not very clear.

1. Cāpaghatītaratadatanīyatagaṇasamgimargga.
2. Cāpiripusārthakadarthanāsamarthaprotsarppadutsāhabharo.

son are passed over in the genealogy of the Charter F. In the Charter D. Rāṇaka, the granter is stated to have been placed upon the throne by his father Agguka in his own lifetime. This may probably be due to Agguka's fear that his elder brother might resume his ^{subordinate} /principality after his death.

Since the Charter D of Rāṇaka was issued in 874 A.D. and Charter E of his cousin in 886 A.D. it is possible to argue that there was no further sub-division of the kingdom after the death of Jāīka I. Rāṇaka may have died soon after that Charter was issued and have been succeeded by his uncle Cāmuṇḍa; the latter, after a naturally short reign may have been succeeded by his son Agguka some time before 886 A.D. As against this view it may be pointed out that Rāṇaka of Charter D had a grown up son, Jāīka, who was acting as a crown Prince in 874 A.D. In the normal course of events, therefore, the succession could not have devolved upon his uncle. In the Charter E, issued in 874 A.D. in lines 5-6 we read that at that time the Saindhava family had numerous branches and leaves.¹ This statement does not occur in any other Charters. Altekar, on this basis, is of the opinion that there were at least three branches of the Saindhava family ruling in Kathiawad, and against the improbability of this, on account of being a small state, he gives the

1. "Aparimita - snigdha - tara - patra - Śākhā - sañcaya - śālī".

Rāṇaka had the title Samadhigataśeṣamahāśabda Mahāsamanita

example of the Paṭvardhans who were ruling in Southern Mahārāṣṭra during the latter part of the British rule.

All the Charters are issued from Bhumli, and there is no evidence of either fighting or quarreling between the branches. It would seem that they all were ruling from Bhumli over different parts of their ancestral kingdom. There is only slight evidence as to the division of this very small kingdom, in Charter C we see that the Viṣaya of Pacchatri was under the seniormost branch of Kṛṣṇarāja.¹ In the Charter D we see that the viṣaya of Suvarṇamañjarī was given to the juniormost branch of Agguka.² But the Charters B, E, and F would show that both the above mentioned districts were under the family of Jāika I. The conclusion of these statements of the Charters would be that the seniormost and the juniormost branches were ruling not over the whole but part of the two districts mentioned above and that the leading family founded by Jāika I was ruling over both of them.

Juniormost branch of Agguka.

Agguka succeeded his father Jāika I in c. 849 A.D. and Altekar places his reign between 849-869 A.D. From the Charter D, issued by his son Rāṇaka we cannot find any useful

1. Yathā mayā svabhūjyamaṇa Pacchatri viṣayāntaḥpati.

2. " " " " Suvarṇamañjarī viṣaya.

Pacchatri is identified with Pacchatārdi, six miles west of Bhumli. Suvarṇamañjarī may be identified with one of the villages bearing the name of Senpur in North Kathiawad.

material about him because he is praised in the most conventional terms. The reign of Rāṇaka, who granted the Charter D of 874 A.D., has been placed from 869 to 889 A.D. From his Charter we learn that his father had abdicated in his favour and participated in his coronation. Once again the description of Rāṇaka is very conventional.

In 874 A.D. Rāṇaka had a grown up son, Jāīka acting as a crown Prince, who is known as dūtaka in Charter D.¹ It is not known whether he succeeded his father, because his name has been omitted from the genealogy of the Charter F issued in 915 A.D. This omission may be due to the fact that he belonged to another branch, because there is no evidence to show that this branch came to an end with Rāṇaka, and it is very probable that Jāīka may have succeeded him, and, according to Altekar's chronology, was ruler from 889-909 A.D., a fact which cannot be corroborated.

The main Saindhava branch was continued by Cāmuṇḍa, the eldest son of Jāīka I. He may have ruled from c. 849-874 A.D. The Charters E and F bestow conventional praises, and therefore it is very difficult to assess his rule.

Cāmuṇḍa was succeeded by his son Agguka III who issued the Charter E in 874 A.D. His reign has been placed from c. 874-899 A.D. Once again nothing is known about him, except that some new laudatory phrases about him have been added to the

1. "Svayamatra Dūtaka-abhūt - yuvarājaḥ - Jāīka." Śrīman"

standard formula of the grants.

Agguka III was succeeded by his son Jāika II who issued the Charter F in 915 A.D. He may have ruled from c. 899-919 A.D. In his grant he is compared with many gods and heroes, but we are in complete darkness when we try to get some authentic information about the events of his reign.

The Morbi grant¹ of a certain King Jāika is now identified as belonging to the Saindhava ruler Jāika II. This was issued in the year 585, G.E. 904 A.D. The identification is obvious, because the Charter F of Jāika II was issued in 915 A.D. On the Morbi grant there is the traditional fish emblem, but the other plates seem to have been lost. Both the Charters are composed by the same person Jhojjha, and Deddaka the engraver of the Morbi grant seems to have been a brother of Madhusudana who was the engraver of Charter F because both of them are described as the sons of Śaṅkara. Had there not been another Jāika, son of Rāṅaka of Charter D, the above identification would be a "mathematical certainty," as Altekar puts it. It has been noticed that the rule of this Jāika is placed from 889-909 A.D. He could therefore have issued the Morbi plate with the fish emblem at the end. But it appears from Charters E and F that Jhojjha was a protégé of Agguka III and Jāika II who belong to the main branch. This would show that Jāika of Morbi is more likely to be Jāika II rather than the king of the IIIrd branch.

1. IA. II. 257-8.

The Saindhavas appear to have been ruling semi-independently in the beginning. The name Rāṇaka, which means a feudatory ruler is significant for that purpose.

Nowhere in all the Six Charters have we seen the name of their Sovereign, and yet this name Rāṇaka shows that they were feudatories. The names of these Kings are very unusual, which we do not have in any other dynasties. The name occurs in the Ghumli Plates of Bashkala of 989 A.D. as a title, where it definitely means a "feudatory".¹

The extent of their Kingdom was the North-West region of Saurāṣṭra. In the east it probably included the region upto Morbi,² while in the South it extended upto Cāvaṇḍ,³ 15 miles north of Junāgadh. In the North and West the Saindhava Kingdom bordered the sea. They were aware of the dangers from the sea in the form of Arab invasions, and the titles like Samudrādhipati goes to show that they had some knowledge to and resources to defend themselves. In their Charters the Saindhava rulers enumerate the names of many administrative officers.

In the Grant A we have the names of Mantri, Purohita, Amātya, Janapada, Yuvarāja, Rajasthaniya, Pramatri,

1. EI. XXX.

2. Morbi Grant of Jāikadeva. IA. II. 257-8.

3. EI. XXVI. 223.

Balādhikṛta, Uparika,¹ Viṣayapati, Śaulkika,² Dussādhasā-
dhanika, Coroddharanika,³ Vaikṣepika, Cāra and Bhāṭa. All
these officers are mentioned in Charters B and D also. In
Charter C Janapada and Pramātri are omitted, but Senāpati
has been added. In Charters R Mantri and Purohita are
not included. In the Charter F, Mantri, Purohita, Janapada,
Rājasthānīya, Uparika and Śaulkika are not mentioned and
Deśādhipati has been added. Amongst these officers the
functions of Mantri, Purohita, Amātya, Yuvarāja,
Viṣayapati, Cāra and Bhāṭa are quite clear. Out of the
others Janapada cannot mean the whole population, but
probably refers to the existence of some representatives of
people at the Court. But this evidence is not enough to
prove that such representatives existed. The name of
this officer is not included in the Charters C and F.
Rājasthānīya means a Viceroy and Balādhikṛta, the Chief
of the army. Uparika was a provincial viceroy under the
Imperial Guptas, who was superior to the Viṣayapati who
is also included here. The name Corodharanika is connected
with removing the robbers and probably has the same

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1. Uparika has been taken to mean a Magistrate, but we feel that the Saindhavas who adopted the Gupta era must have taken the word from the Imperial Guptas where it means a provincial viceroy. Bihār Stone Pillar Insc. of Skandagupta. C.I.I. III. 52.
 2. "Superintendent of tolls or customs". *ibid.*
 3. Mentioned in the Antoli Charoli plates of Karkkarāja. Gujarat. JBBRAS. XVI. 106.

functions as of a modern policeman. According to Altekār Dussādhasādhanika were these officers of the Corodharanika class who were entrusted with the difficult task of apprehending Dacoits and other dangerous criminals.

Most of these officers are mentioned in the Charters of all the three branches. But from the size of the Kingdom it seems to us that this was just a renumerative list. The Charter F which only contains only nine names, and the ones dropped show that the list in F is more realistic. In such a small kingdom it is doubtful whether they would have both Mantrins and Amātyas. Instead there is the name Deśādhipati which corresponds to modern head of State, apart from the ruler. Rājasthāniya is omitted from F, and rightly, because it is improbable that such a small Kingdom had use of any Viceroy. Uparikas are also not included in Charter F, and Purohita for reasons unknown is omitted. These omissions in the Charter F strengthen our argument that that Charter is the most reliable of the whole series. One name which we have not seen before and cannot identify is Vaikśepika. One omission we find in this exhaustive list is that of an officer who had anything to do with the sea. It is probable that the Balādhiḅṛta was in charge of that part of administration as well.

From this one point emerges very clear, and that is, that although the Saindhava Kingdom was small, and despite the fact that the lists of officers given is not representative, the Saindhava rulers were very efficient. Their Kingdom, as we have seen above, was free from any interference from paramount rulers. They enjoyed independence and owed only nominal allegiance, first to the Maitrakas and then to the Gūrjara Pratihāras.

We have no further information about this dynasty. That they were not destroyed by the Arab raid of 766 is evident from the successful reigns of rulers upto ca. 920. What happened after that is very difficult to say.

From the Ghumli Plates of Bashkala we know that he was ruling there in 989 A.D. Probably after the last Saindhava ruler, that part of Saurāṣṭra fell into the hands of the Cūḍāsamās of Junāgaḍh, and then conquered by Mūlarāja who became the overlord of Kaccha and Saurāṣṭra. But we have no evidence for this, and therefore this subject must remain open.

Chapter VThe Cāpas.

The Cāpas who ruled in Aṇahilapāṭaka from about 720-961 A.D. were also known as Cāpotkaṣas, Cāvotakṣas, Cāpins and Cāvaṣās. It is very difficult to say with certainty what their origin was. No inscriptions of this dynasty has been found, though there is one inscription of a Cāpa King from Vardhamānapura.¹ But it seems that this king was either a member of a branch of the main Cāpas, or, more probably, not related with the Anahilvad Cāpas at all. There is no mention of any connection between them, and therefore it is very difficult to say that they were a branch of the Anahilvad Cāpas. It is stated in this copper plate that

"The Earth bowed to Śambhu before meditation and spoke with an echoing voice; 'when meditation rules thy eye, oh lord! I am unable to bear the torment caused by the Asuras.' [Then] the Supreme ruler created for the sake of the earth out of his bow [cāpa], a powerful prince called Cāpa who being lofty of stature, was able to protect her."²

Such a story of the mythical origin of a dynasty is very commonplace in our period, and is just an effort to explain the use of the word Cāpa as a family name - apart from

1. Vadhvān Cp. of Cāpa Dharaṇivaṣāha of 917-918 A.D.
IA. XII. 190.
2. ibid. 192.

that it does not seem to contain anything new. This story of origin is on the same lines as that of the Caulukyās, which relates that Caulukya was born from the bowl (culuka) of Brahma. It is an effort to show the antiquity of their origin. The Anahilvad Cāpas differ from other contemporary dynasties because they have no historical tradition of their origin to connect them with other dynasties. Col. Tod was of the opinion that they belonged to a foreign race which landed in Saurāṣṭra, then spread Northwards until Vanarāja founded the Kingdom at Anahilvad. From the Chroniclers it appears that the Cāpas were settled at Pañcāsara, well before Vanarāja had founded his Kingdom, which now is a fair sized village in Vadhiar between Gujarat and Kaccha. Tradition asserts ² that before establishing themselves at Anahilvad the Cāpas were ruling for 71 years at Dvīpa, which may be taken as modern Diu. Although this is very doubtful because Dvīpa must have been under Valabhi rule in about 675 A.D., or 71 years from 746 A.D.,³ for their power extended westwards to Diu, upto Junāgadh: nevertheless it does show that there must have been Cāpa suzerainty somewhere in Saurāṣṭra before Vanarāja established himself at Anahilvad.

The sources we have for the Cāpas are thus mainly

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1. IA. IV. 145-8.
 2. IA. LIV. sup. 29.
 3. The date given in PBC. as the founding of Anahilvad by Vanarāj.

literary. They do not seem to have issued any inscriptions, at least none have been found till the present date: but they are mentioned in the inscriptions of other dynasties. The Navsari grant the Western Cālukya King Pulakeśik,¹ which records the triumphant progress of an Arab raid from Sindh to Navsari, names the Kings of the Cāvotakas amongst the afflicted chiefs after those of Kacch and Saurāṣṭra. The Cāpas are also mentioned in the copper-plates of the Saindhavas,² wherein they are described as enemies. But possibly these Cāpas were those of Vardhamāna and not Anahilvad because of the proximity of the Saindhavas to the former city. The astronomer Brahmagupta of Bhinmal, who composed the Brahmasphutasiddhānta in 628 A.D., says that the ruler there was the Cāpotkata Vyāghramukha.³ But these Cāpotkatas again appear to have no connection with the important dynasty of Anahilvad.

The literary sources for this early period of Cāpa history are mainly Merutunga's Prabandhacintāmani⁴ and Vicāraśreṇi,⁵ another anonymous Sukṛtasankīrtana⁶ and Ratnamālā. PBC. is a short compilation of certain historical data; although the Vic. contains merely a list of Kings it is

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1. C.I.I. IV. No.30.
 2. EI. XXVI. 180 ff.
 3. Ojha. 146.
 4. The opening chapters.
 5. JBBRAS. IX. 147 ff.
 6. By Arisimha, son of Lavaṇaprasāda.

of much importance. Sukrt., is a short work largely borrowed from Vic., while Ratnamālā is a poetic history with good description and many fables taken from the PBC. The later Chroniclers of the Caulukya period give us considerably more information about the last Cāpa King Bhūyada, who was killed by his sister Līlāvati's son Mūlarāja, the first Caulukya ruler. But nothing of importance about the earlier Cāpas can be obtained from them.

All the Chronicles except PBC. start with the fight between a Cālukya King of Kalyāṇakaṭaka named Bhūvaḍa and King Jayaśikharī of Pañcāsara. The Ratⁿamālā gives a very long description of this fight. Of this kingdom of Jayaśikharī the Ratⁿamālā says:-

" — where there are ten thousand kṣatris
well-trained to war.

Jayaśikharī with Sūrpālā joined
Can destroy Indra's throne
But Gujarat's royalty is theirs
Little regard they any other."¹

This shows, (allowing for exaggeration,) that the Pañcāsara Kingdom was well established: but during the war Jayaśikharī was killed. Before the war he had sent his pregnant wife Rupasundarī away from the city with her brother Sūrpāla. The PBC. says that in Gujarāt, in the region of Vadhiyāra there

1. JBBRAS. IX. 69.

is a village called Pañcasara, the mother of the boy of the Cāpotkata race placed him in a cradle on a tree called Vaṇa and went to gather fuel. At that time the Jaina teacher Śilaguṇasūri came there and saw that the shade of that tree was not inclined,¹ though it was the afternoon, He thought that this strange fact must be due to the power of that boy in the cradle and, hoping that he was destined to extend the Jaina faith, bought him from his mother by giving her the means of subsistence.

The Sūri gave the name Vanarāja to the boy, and he was looked after by Viramati, a nun. When he was eight years old he was entrusted with the duty of keeping off the mice that spoiled the offerings made to the god. He killed them with clods, but was forbidden to do so by the teacher, whereupon he said they must be got rid of by the fourth expedient.² The teacher consulted his horoscope and finding that he was born to be a King, gave him back to his mother. He lived with his mother in a certain district, belonging to his maternal uncle. This area was inhabited by wild tribal people,³ and here Vanarāja lived the life of a bandit, making expeditions in all

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1. Chāyāmanamantīmālokya. PB. ed. by Sastri. p. 19. line 1.
 2. The four upāyas or expedients are sowing dissension, negotiation, bribery and open attack.
 3. Pallibhūmi.

directions. Once in a village called Kākara, while robbing a rich merchant's house, his hand slipped into a vessel of curds. So he did not steal anything because he said that he had eaten in that house. The next day the merchant's sister Śrīdevi sent for him secretly at night, out of love of her brother. She treated him kindly and so Vanarāja promised her that she would, at his coronation place the tilaka¹ on his forehead. Once, three of his associates went to the forest where they met a merchant called Jamba who, seeing that there were only three of them, broke two of the five arrows which were all that he had. When he was asked the reason for such an action, he said "as there are only three of you, two are quite useless"; and when a moving object was pointed out, he shot it down.² Very pleased with him, the three bandits took him to Vanarāja who was also very pleased, and told him that he would be the chief minister at his own coronation.

The PBC. records the following story of how Vanarāja acquired wealth to set up a kingdom. A Pañcakula came from Kānyakubja in order to draw tribute from the land of Gujarat, which had been given by the King of that country to his daughter named Mahanikā, by way of marriage portion; The Pañcakula appointed Vanarāja as his arrow-bearer.³ After the

1. Auspicious mark on the forehead.

2. Calavedhyam.

3. Sellabhṛt. The word sello is given by Hemacandra as equivalent to mṛgśiśuṣāraṣca. Forbes in Rās Mālā translates it as spear-bearer.

Pañcakula had collected wealth from the country for six months, he set out to return to his own land with 24 lakhs of silver drammās and four thousand well bred horses; but Vanarāja killed him at a Ghāṭ named Saurāṣṭra, and lived in concealment for a year, out of fear of his sovereign. After that he sought for a capital in order to found his own kingdom. When he was looking for a suitable site, he was asked by a man called Aṇahilla, the son of Bhīrūyāda Sākhaḍa, who was sitting on the edge of the Pipalulā tank, what he wanted. His henchman¹ said the purpose of their search was to look for land which would be fit to become a capital city. Aṇahilla said "if you will call the capital after me, then I will show you a piece of land." Then he went near a Jāli-tree, and showed them as much land as a dog was chased over by a hare.² There Vanarāja founded a city called Aṇahillapura, on the second day of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha, on a Monday in the 802nd year V.S. and had a palace built under a Jāli tree. Then at a suitable time, he sent for Śridevī,³ whom he had adopted as his sister who lived in the village of Kākara, who placed the tilaka on his forehead. He had himself crowned King under the title of Vanarāja, being then fifty-six years old. That merchant

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1. Taiḥ pradhānair. MSS(a) has simply tair, which would mean 'he said'. The reading of the text probably points to some omission.
 2. Yāvatiṃ bhūvaṃ śāsakena śvā trāsitastāvatiṃ.
 3. Here called Śriyādevī.

named Jamba was made his Prime minister. Then from the village of Pañcasara, with great respect he brought Śīlaguṇasūri and offered him the throne with all its seven constituent parts, but the sūri refused.¹ But Vanarāja, in accordance with the orders of the sūri had a caitya of Pārśvanātha built, with a statue of himself as a worshipper. In the same way he had built a temple of Kaṇṭheśvarī built near his palace. Vanarāja had these buildings built, thinking that this was the only way in which he could repay the kindness of the Sūri.

Before going on to the reigns of individual kings, it would be worth comparing the accounts of Vanarāja in the chronicles of Rās-Mālā² and Ratnamālā. There is not much difference in the two, because Rās-Mālā, alongside other traditions, contains considerable material from the Ratnamālā. The latter introduces the information on the Cāpas in the following way:-

The personal complexion of the King of men, the Cālukyās, which I have heard from what has been written, I have related with love.

I have not heard of the bodily colour of the Cāpotkaṭas, I will write by inference from the books, the character of their minds.

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1. 7 constituent parts are the King, his ministers, ally, territory, fortress, army and treasury.
 2. Translated by A.K.Forbes.
 3. Found in JBBRAS. IX.

Jayasikhari's successors, eight kings I speak of,
Because there is much connexion with them,

This book is devoted principally to Siddhray

But I will mention whatever occurs in their connexion."¹

We will examine the genealogy of the Ratnamālā later. On the war between King Bhūvaḍa and Jayaśikhari there is a good description of the way in which the war was conducted. There is no mention² of Śīlaguṇasūre or his finding Vanarāja and then taking him away, but Ratnamālā³ says that in A.D. 692 Jayaśikhari, the Cāvaḍā King was attacked by the Cālukya King Bhuvaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kānyakubja. Knowing that he was doomed to death, Jayaśikhari sent his pregnant wife away with his brother-in-law to the forest, where she gave birth to a son.

It seems that the PBC. has inserted the story of the Jaina mark to glorify the Jaina religion. But it is very difficult to say which of the traditions is correct. There is no place of importance with the name of Kalyāṇakaṭaka, or even Kalyāṇa recorded in the Kananj territory. And though there was a southern Cālukyan kingdom with its capital at Kalyāṇa, it was established in c. 11th century A.D.⁴

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1. JBBRAS. IX. 38-39. (with slight stylish alterations).
 2. But R. does say that when the boy is 6 years (months) old a Jain monk, passing through the forest, beholds a cradle swinging from the branches of a tree, the infant reposing in which seems like a dweller in the courts of King of heaven. Astonished, the holy man makes enquiry, and discovering the mother to be a queen, he brings her with due respect to the city. RM. p. 35. Queen.
 3. According to B. Indrajī. Composed in ca. 1230 A.D.
 4. Bombay Gazetteer. Vol. I. pt.I. 105.

Further, the known Cālukyan lines have no king with the name of Bhuvaḍa. Unless it refers to King Vijayāditya (696-733 A.D.) also called Bhuvanāśraya, who is said to have fought in the north, and was once imprisoned but escaped. The Bombay Gazetteer says that "the inference of this is that the author of Rathamālā knowing that the Caulukyias (Cālukyas) belonged to Kalyāṇa and knowing that a Cālukya King Bhuvada had defeated the Cāvaḍās, may have called Bhuvaḍa a King of Kalyāṇakaṭaka and identified it with famous Kanoj. This view is supported by the absence in the PBC. and other old records of any mention of an invasion from Kananj. It is possible that in A.D. 696 some king called Bhuvaḍa of Gujarat Cālukyas of whom at this time branches were ruling as far north as Kaira, invaded the Cāpas under Jayaśikharī, since the traces of a Cāpa Kingdom remain at least as late as 720 A.D. it seems probable that the destruction of Pañcāsara was caused not by Bhuvaḍa in 696 A.D. but by the Arabs in c. 720 A.D."

The Ratnamālā says that Jayaśikharī was once humiliated by the army of Bhuvaḍa. King Bhuvaḍa once assembled all his foremost warriors and asked them about Gujarat. The warriors replied that it was ruled by Jayaśikharī who was a servant of the Cālukyan King. When the Cālukyan army went to conquer the west, they happened to meet Jayaśikharī, with whom they fought a great battle. When his city was taken, Jayaśikharī

humbly said that he would remain a servant of Bhūrāja, if he would be allowed to stay at Pañcāsara. The warriors were very impressed by his loyalty, and left the city. Bhūvada did not believe this, but Chand, one of the leading warriors gave another account. He says that they met Sūvapāla in the forest, southwards from Ābu, after having conquered many lands in the west. When Sūvapāla asked them who they were, they said that they were simply some pilgrims to Somaśvara.¹ In this way they obtained information about Jayaśikharī's army; the account of this army is evidently much exaggerated. But Bhuvaḍa decided to fight and commanded the warriors to go and conquer Pañcasara. It seems that there must have been a good deal of warfare between the two dynasties, and it is more likely that the kingdom of Pañcāsara was destroyed by some local ruler, probably a Gujarāt Cālukya. But, on the other hand, if this is the case, then it remains to be seen which Cāpa dynasty was defeated by the Arab raiders, mentioned in the Navsari grant of Western Cālukyan Pulakeśin II of 720 A.D.² It is possible that the Pañcāsara area was still known as Cāpa territory at this time. On the other hand the destruction of the Cāpas took place, most probably at the hands of these Cālukyas, and it is unlikely that the subdued territory would still be known by its former name. There is a grant of a certain Cāpa King Dharaṇivarāha from Vardhamāna,

1. Somanātha Pātana.

2. C.I.I. IV. no.30.

dated in the year 917 A.D. The genealogy goes back five generations; and as we have seen earlier, the astronomer Brahmagupta of Bhinmāl says that in A.D. 628, the ruler of Bhinmāl was the Cāpa King Vyāghramukha. But after this we hear of no other Cāpa ruler at Bhinmāl, it is quite possible that the dynasty continued to rule there for another four or five generations. So there is a possibility that the Cāpas destroyed by the Arabs were other than those of Pañcāsara.

The PBC. does mention a king Bhūdeva, who propitiated Kadramahākāla in Malwa, because, in the city of Kānyakubja, the royal residence, which is of the size of 36 lakhs of villages, he fell in love with the wife of the servant who superintended his beverages. Probably this is a slight reference to the King Bhuvaḍa, who is always associated with

Kalyāṇa Kaṭaka in Kanauj.¹

When we turn our attention to the genealogy given by various chronicles, there is a little difficulty. From these traditions of the Cāpas , especially of the first ruler Vanarāja, a few points emerge. Firstly, that Vanarāja was born in a royal house. Due to unforeseen circumstances Vanarāja was born outside his father's kingdom, and it is very probable that he would have ruled his father's principality at Pañcāsara, if the kingdom had no been invaded. Living in the forest with his mother and maternal uncle, Vanarāja must have been brought up amidst tribal people, most probably the Bhīls. It seems that Vanarāja entered the service of a King, most probably a Pratihāra of Kanauj. It is very hard

1. text. p.31. Śat trimśad-grāma-lakṣa- pramite- Kānyakubje nagare Kalyāṇakaṭake. Last word here translated as "the royal residence." And adds the note is this the Hindustani "Urdū mu'allā"?

to say whether the stories about his being a robber are authentic or not. They were probably included by Meruṭuṅga and other chroniclers just to romanticize the story a little. It is also very hard to verify how Vanarāja acquired his Kingdom. Possibly he was rewarded with the city of Anahilwad for services rendered. Vanarāja must have had much assistance from his maternal uncle Sūrapāla, though he seems to have died before his nephew set himself up at Anahilwad, because there is no further mention of him. His mother is also nowhere mentioned. The traditions about the Jaina monk and the child Vanarāja seem to have some basis, even after allowing for Meruṭuṅga's exaggeration because he belonged to the Jaina religion. When Vanarāja set up his kingdom, he is said to have asked Śīlaguṇasūri to take over his Kingdom with all its seven constituent parts, but the sage refused. Though this statement seems evidently false, it is surely an indication of Vanarāja's faith in Jainism and respect for his teacher. According to PBC. Vanaraja also had built a caitya called Pañcāsara, adorned with images of Pārśvanātha and of himself.¹ In the Bombay Gazetteer we read that, "The figure of Vanarāja is still shown at Sidhpur.... It is clearly the figure of a King with the Umbrella of State and a nimbus round the head and in the ears the long ornaments

1. PBC. 18-19.

called kundalas noticed by Arab travellers as characteristics of the Balhara of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings who were contemporary with Vanarāja.¹ The King wears a long beard, a short waistcloth, a waistband and a shoulder garment or uparna whose ends hang down the back. Besides the earrings he is adorned with bracelets, armlets and anklets, and a large ornament hangs across the chest from the left shoulder to the right hip. The right hand is held near the chest in the act of granting protection and the left hand holds something which cannot be made out. By his side is the umbrella-bearer and five other attendants." So it is quite possible that Vanarāja was a believer in the Jaina religion. But even on this point one cannot be absolutely certain.

There may be some truth in the tradition that Jāmba was the chief minister in Vanarāja's kingdom, because later in the PBC. we read that, "Then Siddharāja appointed the police superintendent Sajjana of the race of the great minister Jamba to superintend the affairs of Surāṣṭra, on account of his fitness for the post."^{2,3} The Jāmba mentioned here seems to have been the merchant who was Vanarāja's minister. He appears to have rewarded his followers and helpers quite well.

1. Elliot and Dowson. I. 11.

2. PBC. 96.

3. Jāmbānvayasya Sajjanadaṇḍāthipateh: Śri Siddharājena Yogyataya Surāṣṭraviṣaya Vyāpāro niyuktaḥ.

We do not know anything much about Vanarāja as a person or a ruler. There is much controversy over his dates. All the authorities describe him as having ruled for 60 years and they also agree that he was about 50 when he established himself at Anahilwad. According to the PBC. Vanarāja founded his kingdom in 746 A.D. and as he was about 50 at that time, he must have been born in about 696 A.D. In the same year his father, Jayaśikharī died, but there is no mention of his date of birth in the PBC. According to that authority, Vanarāja died in 806 A.D. which would make him 10 years old at the time of his death. This seems extremely improbable, and it is obvious that Merutuṅga is puzzled about the dates. There are at least five MSS. of PBC. and there is no agreement about the dates in them. In this case the dates attributed to Vanarāja cannot be relied upon. It is possible that Vanarāja actually lived for 60 years and that this figure was erroneously given as the length of his reign; as he is supposed to have established his kingdom when he was no longer a young man, in this case he must have ruled for only about 15-20 years. Merutuṅga in his Vic. says that Annahilwad was founded in 765 A.D. and therefore Vanarāja was born in about 714-20 A.D. on the assumption that he was nearly fifty at that time. RM. says that Vanarāja was born in about 699 A.D. In PBC. we read that in 822 A.D. when Yogarāja

ascended the funeral pyre, 120 years had been accomplished. Calculating backwards from 822 A.D. we would get the year 702 A.D. which has no significance according to the other traditions. But it is quite possible that Vanarāja was born in that year. We have no means at all of checking any of the above dates. Dr. Indraji in the Bombay Gazetteer says that¹ Merutuṅga's dates for the foundation of Anahilwad in PBC. and Vic. 746 A.D. and 765 A.D. have a meaning. 746 A.D. is the date when Vanarāja acquired wealth and 765 A.D. is the date when he actually became king. So accordingly to Indraji Vanarāja was born in 720 A.D., came to the throne in 765 A.D. and died in 780 A.D. Vanarāja's rule according to the PBC. ended in 806 A.D. while, according to the Vic. it ended in 825 A.D.: the same difference of nineteen years as in the two dates of the foundation of Anahilwad.

All our sources agree that Yogarāja succeeded his father Vanarāja on the throne of Anahilwad. PBC. says that he ruled for 17 years, one month and one day: while the same author gives him 29 years in the Vic. RM. says that he ruled for 35 years, as does one MSS. of the PBC. an anonymous Patā Vali, and the Kumārapāla prabandha.² Of the King Yogarāja we know from the unanimous testimony of the

1. BG. I. Pt. V. 152.
2. JBBRAS. IX. 153.

chronicles that he had three sons, Kṣemarāja amongst them. There is a story about them that once Kṣemarāja told their father that foreign ships driven out of their course by a cyclone had arrived at Somanātha on their shores. These ships were full of goods such as 1000 good horses, 150 elephants and other things amounting to "ten millions." The last words may have been inserted to describe the richness of the cargo. The princes asked their father's permission to bring this rich cargo to the King, which otherwise would go to the merchant's own country through the Kingdom of the Cāpas.¹ The King forbade this, but the prince, thinking that the King was decrepit through old age, made ready an army in that very border district of their country and in the stealthy manner of thieves intercepted those ships and brought everything to their father. The King was very angry but he kept his silence and the sons were not welcomed. Kṣemarāja asked the reasons for this silence, and the King replied that if he said that this action of theirs was an honourable one, then he would be guilty of the crime of stealing his neighbour's goods; and if he said it was a dishonourable one then he would make his sons angry; so he chose silence. Then the king gave reason for forbidding such

1. "Nijadeśopari svadeśamadhye bhūtvā sañcariṣyati." 22. The text appears to be corrupt. Bhūtvā is omitted in one MS. and this reading gives better sense. Possibly the original text had the verb ci in place of car.

an act in the first place. He said that when in foreign countries other governments are praised, people scornfully say that in Gujarat there is a government of robbers. Yogarāja continued to say that: "When we are informed of this and similar facts by our representatives¹ in their reports, we are afflicted because we do, to a certain extent, feel despondent on account of our ancestors. If this reproach attaching to our ancestors could be forgotten in the hearts of men, then we also might attain the title of Kings in all gatherings of sovereigns. But now, you princes, being greedy for a trifling gain have furbished up anew that reproach of our ancestors."² Then the king brought his own bow out of the armoury and asked the strongest brother to bend it. They all tried but failed, while the king strung it with ease and said:-

'Disobeying the order of Kings³ cutting off the
salary of dependants

And deserting the society of wives is called
killing without a weapon.

It follows that you, my sons, are according to the policy taught in the treatise, killing me without a weapon. So what

1. Stānapuruśaih:- This word occurs frequently in the PBC. The officers denoted by it seem to have been very like consuls. PBC. 20 ff.
2. PBC. 20.
3. P and a, insert ājñabhangād, by disobeying [my] orders.

punishment will meet your case?"¹ Then the king starved himself to death and ascended the funeral pyre "after 120 years had been accomplished."² Yogarāja had a temple built to Yogīśveni - another name for Durgēe.³ According to the PBC, therefore, Yogarāja's reign ended in 822 A.D. But if we take Dr. Indraji's date of 780 A.D. as the end of Vanarāja's reign, then according to the PBC's statement that Yogarāja ruled for 17 years, his reign would have ended in 797 A.D. According to another MSS. of PBC, Yogarāja's reign ended in 841 A.D. and according to the Vic, it ended in 836 A.D. It is very hard to say which is the correct date because there is no corroborative evidence. Dr. Indraji says that "on the whole the PBC date of 841 A.D. (891 V.S.) seems the more probable. The author of the Vic may have mistaken the 7 of the manuscript for a 1, the two figures in the manuscript of that date being closely alike. If A.D. 780 is taken as the close of Vanarāja's reign and A.D. 806 as the beginning of Yogarāja's reign there is an interval of 26 years, during which period a childless elder brother of Yogarāja may have ruled." This argument seems to be a little unsound, firstly, because we do not know from which MSS. of the PBC. Merutuṅga copied, if he copied at all. There is one

1. *ibid.*

2. *Vimsatyadhika varṣasāte purne citāpraveśah: Kṛtaḥ.*

3. *Anena rājña bhaṭṭārikā śrī Yogīśvarīprāsādah Kṛtaḥ.*

MS. translated by Tawney that gives the date 878 V.S. as the closing date of Yogarāja's reign. Secondly on this hypothesis it is difficult to account for the gap of 26 years between the reigns of Vanarāja and Yogarāja. There is no evidence for such a gap in any MSS. of the PBC. or in the Vic. There is the tradition in all of them that Yogarāja followed his father, and Indraji's elder brother of Yogarāja is created out of thin air. The dates of the duration and the end of his reign do vary but there seems to be no gap between the reign of the father and the son. Reconsidering the statement "after 120 years had elapsed,"; if we take the year 702 A.D. as that of the birth of Vanarāja, it would make him 44 when he came to the throne in 746 A.D. The text of the PBC. says that Vanarāja was not quite 50 when he came to the throne.¹ As we do not have any precise dates about Bhuvāḍa's invasion, it could have taken place in 702 A.D. in place of 696 A.D. But, of course, this is all very hypothetical.

According to the PBC. Yogarāja was succeeded by Ratnāditya. Yogarāja is said to have had three sons, but we know the name of only one of them, that of Kṣemarāja. One interesting point to note here is that while Yogarāja was called the son of Vanarāja, the successors of Yogarāja and their successors in turn are never called sons of their immediate predecessors. This is most probably due to the

1. Pañcāsadvārṣadeśyah.

fact that Merutuṅga was completely confused by his very unreliable sources. All he may have known was that the Cāpa dynasty ruled for over 190 years. He must have known the names of its kings, so he arbitrarily attributed a few years to each ruler, but at the end even the dates that he has given come to about 196 years. He was writing at least over 500 years after the beginning of the Cāpa dynasty. We know nothing about Ratnāditya, except that his reign began in 822 A.D. and ended in 825 A.D. Both Vic. and Sukrt. are in agreement with the PBC. till the reign of Ratnāditya then they both have Vairisimha followed by Kṣemarāja. While the PBC. says that Ratnāditya's reign ended in 825 and that of Kṣemarāja began in 842 A.D. It is quite possible that Ratnāditya, Vairisimha and Kṣemarāja were the three sons of Yogarāja; and thus it is not impossible that Vairisimha may have ruled in the intervening years between 825 -842 A.D. It is unfortunate that the Sukrt. does not give the duration of the reign of every king but on the whole it appears to agree with Vic. According to the latter the reigns of Ratnāditya, Vairisimha and Kṣemarāja lasted for 53 years, while according to the PBC. the reigns of Ratnāditya, the interval and the reign of Kṣemarāja lasted for 55 years. Kṣemarāja, according to the Vic. is said to have ruled for 39 years while the PBC. gives 38 years, 3 months and 10 days. Assuming that Kṣemarāja was the youngest son, born later in Yogarāja's life, and that

he was about 20 when his father died; supposing his two brothers ruled for about 20 years, Kṣemarāja would have been about 40 when he came to the throne. He himself could have very well ruled for about 30 - 35 years. Vairisimha is said to have ruled for about 11 years.

According to the PBC. Kṣemarāja was succeeded by Cāmuṇḍa, and he in turn by Ākaḍadeva. While according to the Vic. and Sukrt. Kṣemarāja was succeeded by Cāmuṇḍarāja. So we at least have one point on which all the chronicles agree, that Kṣemarāja was followed by Cāmuṇḍa, who may have been his son. So at this point the date of the death of Cāmuṇḍa would be 882 A.D. according to the PBC. One MSS. of the PBC. does not mention Cāmuṇḍa at all, but a certain King Bhūyada was succeeded by Ratnāditya.¹

In the PBC. there is another gap of about 13 years between the reigns of Kṣemarāja and Cāmuṇḍa, which is very difficult to explain. Kṣemarāja's reign ended in 866 A.D. and that of Ratnāditya began in 879 A.D. It is probable that the latter king was ruling as a Crown Prince during the 13 years, but assumed kingship proper in 879 A.D. His reign is said to have lasted 13 years. According to Vic. Cāmuṇḍa was followed by Thāghaḍa, and by Rāhaḍa according to the Sukrt. He may have been the

1. Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Granthāvalī, No. 14, ed. by Durgāśan-Kara Śāstri. 1932.

same person as Ākadadeva. According to the PBC. the latter was succeeded by Bhūyagaḍadeva, while Rāhada and Thāgada of the other texts were succeeded by Bhūbhaṭa and Puāda respectively. Puāda is said to have ruled for 19 years, while Bhūbhaṭa for 27 years.

The Vic. does not mention Akaḍadeva, and according to it Ratnāditya was succeeded by Vairisimha, he in turn by Kṣemarāja, and he by Cāmuṇḍa, while PBC. ignores Vairisimha. Dating of these last four Kings according to the Vic. would be as follows:-

Ratnāditya ruled for 3 years, his rule ending in 838 A.D.

His successor Vairisimha ruled 11 years, 838-849.

Kṣemarāja's rule of 39 years lasted from 849-888. And

Cāmuṇḍa ruled for 27 years, from 888-915. Therefore at the death of Cāmuṇḍa the date according to PBC. would be 882, and the last date of Kṣemarāja, according to the Vic. 882, a difference of six years. As we have seen there was a gap of 13 years between the reigns of Kṣemarāja and Cāmuṇḍa in the PBC. It is quite feasible that the latter king who came to the throne in the year 879 was ruling as a Crown Prince between 866, the last date of his father's and 879 his first regnal year. He probably assumed full Kingship in the year 879. Kṣemarāja may have been a potential ruler for 30-35 years as suggested above, while his son was acting as a Yuvarāja. But this is all very confusing and therefore

hypothetical.

It seems most likely that from the years ca. 822-888 considering the evidence of the PBC. and Vic. four kings, Yogarāja, Ratnāditya, Vairisimha and Kṣemarāja ruled the Kingdom of Anahilwad.

According to the PBC. the first regnal year of Ākaḍadeva was 882, and 909 was the last year, giving him a reign of 27 years. According to the Vic. Cāmuṇḍa, Kṣemarāja's successor ruled for 27 years, 888 - 915 years. Here again we have the difference of six years between both the sources.

Ākaḍadeva was succeeded by Bhūyagaḍadeva the last in PBC. genealogy, who ruled for 27 years. But his first regnal year is 934 and the last 935 A.D. But there is a gap of 25 years between 909, the last year of Ākaḍadeva and 934 first year of Bhūyagaḍadeva. The explanation is very hard to find, as it is in all the cases of the PBC. According to the Vic. Cāmuṇḍa was succeeded in 915 A.D. by Thāghada who ruled till 942 when he was succeeded by Puāda. Thāghada may be the same as Ākaḍadeva and Puāda corresponds to Bhūyagaḍadeva or Bhūbhaṭa of the Sukrt. The latter follows the Vic. completely in its geneology, except that in place of Thāghada and Puāda it has Rāhaḍa and Bhūbhaṭa, which seems to us to be only a mistake in spelling the names differently.

Mūlarāja, the Caulukya's accession according to PBC.

is 937 while according to the Vic. it is 961. The first inscription of Mūlarāja that we know was issued in 974 A.D.¹ and the last one was issued in 995 A.D.² From the epigraphic evidence the dates given by the Vic. appear to be more reliable in case of Mūlarāja. The PBC. gives the date 992 A.D. as the last one for Mūlarāja, but the date 937 appears to be a little out of place. The question of the date of Mūlarāja will be fully considered in the appropriate chapter.

For the Cāpa chronology and genealogy, we on the whole, prefer the dates given by the Vic. But we have by no means neglected the evidence offered by the PBC. On the following pages we have given a complete chart of the Cāpa genealogy.

1. The Baroda grant. 974 A.D. WZKM. V. 300.
2. Balera Grant. 995. A.D? EI. X. 78.

All dates in A.D.

	Praband- ¹ hacintā mani	Vicāras- veṇī	Sukṛtas- ankīrtana	Ratnāmāla	PBC. ¹
Vanarāja	About 50 when Anahilvad found in <u>746</u> A.D. i.e. c. <u>696</u> . Died in <u>806</u>	About 50 when Anahilvad found in <u>765</u> . i.e. c. <u>714</u> - <u>720</u> Died in <u>825</u>	No dates given. But Vanarāja the first king.	Ruled for 60 yrs. Born. c.699A.D. Died <u>759</u>	About 50 A. founded <u>746</u> . Ruled 60 years. Died in <u>806</u>
Yogarāja	Ruled 17.1.1. Corona- tion in <u>806</u> . Rule ended <u>822</u>	Ruled 9 years. Corona- tion in <u>825</u> . Rule ended <u>835</u>	No dates given But Yoga- rāja succeeded Vanarāja.	Ruled 35 years Corona- tion in <u>759</u> . Rule ended <u>794</u>	Ruled 35 years. Coronation in <u>806</u> . Rule ended in <u>841</u>
Ratnāditi- ya	Ruled 3.3.4. Corona- tion in <u>822</u> . Rule ended <u>825</u>	Ruled 3 years. Corona- tion in <u>825</u> . Rule ended <u>838</u>	Ratnāditi- ya	<u>Kṣemarāja</u> Ruled 25 years <u>794-819</u>	<u>Kṣemarāja</u> Ruled 25 years <u>841-866</u>
	Gap of <u>17 years</u>	17 years			
	<u>Kṣemarāja</u> Ruled 38 years Corona- tion in <u>842</u> . Rule ended <u>866</u> (24 years)	<u>Vairisimha</u> Ruled 11 years Corona- tion in <u>838</u> . Rule ended <u>849</u>	<u>Vairisim- ha</u>	<u>Bhūrāja</u> Ruled 29 years Corona- tion in <u>819</u> . Rule ended <u>848</u>	<u>Bhūyada</u> Ruled 29 years Corona- tion in <u>866</u> . Rule ended <u>895</u>

Gap of 13 years 13 years					
	<u>Cāmunda</u> Ruled 13 years Coronation in <u>879</u> . Rule ended <u>882</u> (3 years)	<u>Kṣemarāja</u> Ruled 39 years Coronation in <u>849</u> . Rule ended <u>888</u>	<u>Kṣemarāja</u>	Ruled 25 <u>Vairisimha</u> Coronation in <u>848-873</u>	<u>Vairiśimha</u> Ruled 25 years <u>895-920</u>
	<u>Ākadadeva</u> Ruled for 26 yrs. Coronation in <u>882</u> Rule ended <u>909</u> . (27 years)	<u>Cāmunda</u> Ruled 27 years. Coronation in <u>888</u> Rule ended <u>915</u> .	<u>Cāmunda</u>	<u>Ratnāditya</u> Ruled 15 years. Coronation in <u>873-888</u>	<u>Ratnāditya</u> Ruled 15 years. <u>920-935</u>
Gap of 25 years 25 years					
	<u>Bhūyagadadeva</u> Ruled for 27 years (27.6.5.) Coronation in <u>934</u> . Rule ended <u>935</u> (1 yr.)	<u>Thāghada</u> Ruled for 27 years Coronation in <u>915</u> Rule ended <u>942</u> .	<u>Rāhada</u>	<u>Sāmantasimha</u> Ruled for 7 years Coronation in <u>888</u> . Rule ended <u>895</u>	<u>Sāmanta</u> Ruled 7 years
	-	<u>Puāda</u> Ruled 19 years. Coronation in <u>942</u> . Rule ended <u>961</u>	<u>Bhūbhata</u>	-	-

Mūlarāja	<p>Coronation in <u>937</u>. When he was 21. Therefore born in <u>916</u> Ruled for 55 years. Rule ended in <u>992</u>. Cāmuṇḍa's reign began in <u>994</u>.</p>	<p>Coronation in <u>961</u>. Succeeded and reigned for 35 years. Rule ended in <u>996</u>. Son Vallabha's reign began in <u>996</u>.</p>		<p>Ruled for 55 years.</p>	<p>Ruled 55 years Coronation in <u>942-997</u>. Succeeded by Cāmuṇḍa.</p>
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Chapter VIThe Paramāras.

During the 9th century there arose a few dynasties that were to command attention on the stage of Gujarat for nearly two centuries. They were the Paramāras, the Caulukyās, the Cāhamānas, the Cāpas and, to a lesser extent, the Cūdāsamās of Junāgadh. The first three dynasties and the Pratihāra are said to have sprung from the fire-pit at Mount Ābee. This legend of their origin is first to be seen in the Navasāhas-āñka carita of Padmagupta who was a contemporary of the Paramāra King Vākpati Muñja (A.D. 972-995) and his successor Sindhurāja. He writes that,¹ 'Mount Ābu [Arbuda] was a place of great sanctity where Vasiṣṭha, the first of the judges of Atharvana² - Song and house-priest of Ikṣvāku, had his residence. He had a wish-granting cow which was once stolen and carried off by the son of Gādhi, (i.e. Viśvāmitra).

This made him very indignant, whereupon he threw an offering into the fire with some holy sayings. At once a hero sprang out of the fire with bow and crown and golden armour. He forcibly wrested the cow from Vasiṣṭha. The grateful owner became highly pleased, and having given him the name Paramāra, slayer of the enemy, made him supreme ruler of the earth. From this hero, a family originated which was

1. Sarga XI. VV. 64-76.

held in high esteem by virtuous kings. In course of time there was born a king named Upeudra, who was a member of this family.

Bardic traditions of Rājputāna¹ say that while the sages were passing their time in deep meditation, and acts of devotion, the demons decided to obstruct them. The Brahmans dug pits for burnt sacrifices, but the demons irritated them by throwing flesh and blood into them. On this, the priests, gathering round the fire-pit, prayed to Mahādeva for help, and the great god took pity on them. A being arose; but as he had no martial qualities, the Brāhmans placed him as a guardian of the gate, for which he was named Pr which ultimately was contracted to Parihāra and Pratihāra. A second being issued from the palm of Brahmā's hand, (culukā) and was named Caulukya. A third came forth and was named Paramāra, slayer of the Enemy, who with the assistance of the other two, gave battle to the demons, but failed to vanquish them. Then following Vasiṣṭha's prayer for further help, another mighty figure, with deadly weapons in his hand, sprang forth from the fire. Because he was 'Caturanga' (four armed) was given the name Cauhān. Through his military skill and personal bravery the demons were defeated and killed.

Another bard narrates that² once Indra made an image of Dūrvā grass, sprinkled over it the water of life, and

1. Tod. Vol. I. p.113. ASI. Vol. II. p.255.
2. B.G.I. Vol. IV. p.485.

threw it into the fire-pit. After that the sañjīvana-mantra was repeatedly recited, whereupon a mace-bearing figure sprang from the flames, shouting 'Mar. Mar!' (slay!) He was given the name Paramāra, and received Abu, Dhar and Ujjain as his heritage.

According to Mūkjī, the bard of Khici-cohān,¹ "the Solānki, who was given the appellation of Caluk Ras, owed his origin to the essence of Brahma. The Pwār [Paramāra] originated from the essence of Śiva, and so the Pariyār [Pratihāra] from the Devī's [goddess'] essence. The chosen race, the Cauliān, issued forth from the fount of fire and wandered forth, leaving Abu for Abhārḥ."

While a particular bard denies the fire-origin of the Paramāras, others maintain that not only the Cauhān's but the Paramāras, Pratihāras and Caulukyās as well were members of the fire-race. But when we come to the epigraphic sources of our period, we find that, none of the dynastic inscriptions, except those of the Paramāras, refer to this origin from the sacred fire. The earliest known record of the Cāhamānas is of the Dhōlpur branch of Eastern Rājputānā which is dated 842 A.D.² The Harṣa stone inscription of Vigharāja, dated A.D.973³ is the earliest known dated inscription of the

1. ASI. Vol.II. p.255.
 2. EI. V. App. No.12.
 3. EI. II. p.116.

main Cāhamāna line. The Dhālpur Inscription simply says that the dynasty belongs to the goodly race of the eminent lord of the earth, Cāhavāna." And the Harṣainscription speaks of the dynasty without any reference to the stories related by the bards. The Vaḍnagar Praśasti of the Caulukya Kunārapāla dated 1151 A.D.¹ states that Caulukya, the founder of the dynasty, was created out of water of the Ganges in the hallowed palms [culuka] of Brahmā. Similarly the Pratihāras are found to trace their descent from the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa². In the Ā'īn-i-Akbari,³ the author acknowledges the fire-origin of the Paramāras, though he tells quite a different story in that connection. "It is said that about two thousand, three hundred years before the fourtieth year of the divine era [i.e. B.C. 761] an ascetic named 'Mahābāh' lit the first flame in a fire-temple and devoted himself to performing religious rites. People who desired to attain eternal salvation gave their offerings in that temple of fire, and were greatly attracted to that form of worship. This alarmed the Bhuddists. They approached the temporal lord and succeeded in inducing him to put a stop to that form of worship. The people now became very much mortified, and prayed to God for a hero who would be able to help them and redress their grievances. The supreme Justice created from this fire-temple

1. EI. I. p.296.

2. EI. XVIII. p.110, presumably because L. is R.'s pratihāra.

3. Translated by Blochman and Jarrett. Vol.II. pp.214 ff.

a human figure equipped with all the qualities of a soldier. This brave warrior within a short time succeeded by the might of his arm in removing all obstacles that stood in the way of peaceful performance of fire-worship. He assumed the name Dhanji, and, transferring his seat from the Deccan, established himself on the throne of Malwah. Putrāj was the fifth descendant of this line. But as he died without leaving any issue Āditya Penwār was elected by the nobles as his successor. He was followed by a line of kings who were called the Paramāras."

Now when we turn to the Inscriptions, this theory of origin appears at a very late date. The Udaypur Prasasti of the reign of Udayāditya (ca. 1072 A.D.) is the earliest known document of the main line of Dhārā which mentions the mythical birth of the founder of the line. It states that 'there is in the west a son of the Himālaya, that lofty mountain called Arbuda [Abu], that gives reward to those possessing [true] knowledge, and [is] the place where the conjugal union of the Siddhas is perfect. There Viśvāmitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha [his] cow. Through his [Vasiṣṭha's] power, a hero arose from the fire-pit, who worked the destruction of the enemy's army. When he had slain the enemies, he brought back the cow, then that sage spoke; 'Thou will become a lord [of Kings] called Paramāra. The

other inscriptions which in general relate the same story are:-

1. The Nāgpur stone inscription. 1104. A.D.¹
2. The Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūṣṅapāla - of 1042 A.D.²
3. The Mt. Abu Inscriptions. Nos. I and II.³
4. An unpublished inscription in the Acaleśvara temple at Ābu.⁴
5. The Pāṣanārāyaṇa inscription.⁵
6. Arthuna inscription of the Paramāra Camuṇḍa. 1079 A.D.⁶
7. The Mount Ābu inscription.⁷

The account of these inscriptions agrees fully or partly with that of the Navasāhasāṅka carita.

Almost all Indian scholars are of the opinion that the Paramāras were not original inhabitants in India. They argue that the Paramāras came to India in the 5th or 6th century A.D. with the nomadic Hūṇa tribes which brought about the destruction of the Gupta empire.⁸ Mr. Watson following a Gujarati tradition, states that the Cāvadā Vanarāja was called a Paramāra, and speaks about a genealogy in which

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1. EI. II. 180.
 2. EI. IX. 11.
 3. EI. VIII. p.200.
 4. IA. XLIII. p.193. ft. 2.
 5. ibid. XLV. p.77.
 6. EI. XIV. p.295.
 7. EI. IX. p.148.
 8. Heiṇa invasion was one of the many causes for the destruction of the Gupta Empire, not the only one.

Vanarāja's family is described as having descended from Vikramāditya of the Paramāra tribe.¹ The fact that the Cāpas were Gūrjaras is known from the astronomer Brahmagupta. He says that he prepared his work at Bhinmal in 628 A.D. under the Gūrjara king Vyāghramukha who belonged to the Cāpa dynasty.²

Forbes, the translator of Rās-Māla, points out that Jayaśekhara, the Cāpa ruler of Pañcāsara, was called a Gūrjara lord.³ From all this it follows, states Dr. Ganguly,⁴ that the Paramāras who were Cāvaḍās, were members of the Gūrjara tribe. Mr. J. Campbell⁵ adds two other points in support of this theory, of the Gūrjara origin of the Paramāras. He states that Gurjara Osvāls are Paramāras, and Rājā Hūṇa who rendered help to the King of Chīlar against the Arabs is said to have been a Paramāra. D.R.Bhandarkar⁶ also supports Campbell and draws attention to the fact that "the Firojpur Gurjaras of the Panjab have a tradition that they came from Dārnagar in the South. As Dhārā was from the beginning the seat of the Paramāras, it is very likely that the Firojpur Gurjaras were a collateral branch of the former." As all of the four tribes viz., the Cāhamānas, the Caulukyās, the

1. IA. IV. 147-8.

2. BG. I. pt.I. p.138. fn. 1.

3. Rās Māla Vol.I. p.34.

4. History of Paramāras p.6. fn.4

5. BG. Vol.IX. p.485.

6. JBBRAS. XXI. 128-9.: Ibbetson, Census of the Punjab. p.268.

Paramāras and the Pratihāras claim descent from the Agni-Kuṇḍa (Fire-pit), it may be assumed that they belonged to one and the same race. The Pratihāras were undoubtedly Gūrjaras.¹ This then, Ganguly says, settles also the origin of the other three members of the Agni-Kula. Hoese² supports this opinion and describes the Pratihāras, the Paramāras, the Cauhāns, the Candellas, the Kachhwāhs etc., as constituent elements of the Gūrjara tribe.²

Lassen thinks that the Paramāras are the 'Parvarai' mentioned by Ptolemy, and remarks that "Their name in this form comes nearer to the old Paramāra than to that of the present time Purwar or Porwar of which we get the second in Powargarh, i.e. Powargadh fort of Pawar, the name of Campanir, the old capital of the district in North Gujarat."³ Burgess⁴ rightly objected to this assertion put forward by Dr. Lassen, pointing out that Porvarai of Ptolemy means a people, while the Paramāras were only a Kṣatriya family, from which no name of a district is yet known to owe its origin.

We find many debatable points when we review the details of the origin of Paramāras. The first striking feature is the fact that these stories of mythological origin of the Paramāras appeared at a very late date. As we have seen, their first mention is in the Nāgpur Praśāsti of 1104 A.D. of

1. EI. III. p.266.

2. JRAS. 1905. p.31.

3. Ind. Alterthumsk. III. p.822.

4. IA. XXXVI. p.166. fn.

the main branch, of the Paramāras. It is also contained in the Vasantgaḍh Inscription of Pūṣṇapāla, a King of the Ābu branch of the Paramāras. This theory seems to have been launched by Padmagupta. At about this time we find that many dynasties in their inscriptions, put forward some connection between their dynasty and the Gods. It is not clear as to why they followed this practice of giving names of deities as their forefathers. It was probably practised to assert the divine right of the King. With the Paramāras the link might be with the Agnikuṇḍa. It seems to us that the Paramāras, together with the Caulukyās, the Pratihāras, of the Cāhamānas were non-āryans but not non-Indians. One point that might be put forward is that around Mount Abu there might have been settlements of Bhils and other non-Aryan tribes. In present days one comes across many Bhil settlements, and one can put forward an argument that whoever these strange people were, they accepted the Hindu faith, joined the service of petty rulers around Abu, and gradually became powerful. These petty chiefs were probably feudatories of Harṣa of Kananj, who is said to have conquered the whole of Northern India. Later, they must have taken advantage of constant feuds between the Pratihāras, the Pālas and Rāṣṭrakūtas. Later still the Bhils or non-āryans, who were presumably very brave and courageous, must have risen to high honours in a society where soldiers held an important place. The Brāhmins

were still the highest caste, but during these days of constant warfare soldiers' were more important than priests. But the puzzle is not yet solved, because the Brāhminhāras, the Cāhamānas or the Caulukyās do not refer to this mythological story. Only the Paramāras mention it, especially the Paramāras of Ābu. As yet the original name of the Paramāras is not settled. Ganguly says that the original home of the Paramāras¹ must have been in the Deccan, which once formed the home dominion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. One inscription, dated 948 A.D. in the reign of Paramāra Sīyaka II was found at Harasola.² This is the earliest known record of the dynasty, and among other information we come across a passage which shows the connection between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Paramāras. In brief, it can be summarized as follows:-

"Parama-bhaṭṭārka Mahārājādhirāja. Parameśvara Akālavārṣa-deva Pṛthvīvallabha meditated upon the fact of P.M.P. Amoghavarṣa-deva. In the renowned family of that sovereign was born the King Vappaiyarāja, who was efficient in eradicating crime and who burnt his enemy by the flame of his power. His son and successor was the famous Vairisimha who was followed by Siyaka, a brave warrior, invincible to his enemies in battle."³

1. H.O.P. p.9.

2. Prañtej Taluq. Ahemdabad dist. of Gujarāt.

3. EI. XIX. p.237.

Akālavarṣa, the son of Amoghavarṣa, in whose family Bappaiyarāja was born, is evidently the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Akālavarṣa Krishna III, King of Mānyakheṭa. The known dates of his reign range from 940-951 A.D.¹ He was a contemporary of the Paramāra Siyaka II, and was in all probability his suzerain lord. Vappai is Prakṛt form of Vākpati.² In the Gaṇḍavaho Kavya its author Vākpati is described as Vappai. Vappai is referred to in the Harasol grant is undoubtedly the same as Vākpatirāja I, the father of Vaīrisimha II. Ganguly states that it is evident from the above grant that the Paramāras were members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin of the Paramāra race is further proved by the fact that Vākpati-Muñja, the son of Siyaka II assumed the Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles Amoghavarṣa, Śrīvallabha and Pṛthvivallabha.³ Then there is also the evidence of the Ā'in-i-Akḥbari that Dhanji, the founder of the Paramāra family, transferring his seat from the Deccan, established himself in the Sovereignty of Mālava.⁴

We feel that this evidence is not strong enough to prove that the Paramāras were of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin. In a few inscriptions of the 9th, 10th and the 11th centuries A.D. a number of small ruling families are found to describe them-

1. B.G. Vol.I, Pt. II. p.421. Add.

2. Kāvya Prakāśa ed. Maheshchandra Nyāyaratna. 1886. p.119.

3. ... Amoghavarṣa-deva parābhidhāna śrīmad-Vākpati-deva-pṛthvivallabha-śrīvallabha-harendta-devah kuśalo.

4. IA. II. p.214.ff.

selves as being members of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family.¹ As to Vākpati's having assumed the titles of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, this is indeed very common in Ancient Indian history. There are instances of kings assuming titles that were taken from their overlords or even kings of other dynasties. The motive behind this practice may have been to identify one's name with that of a more powerful ruler or even the overlord.

As to the question why the Paramāras in their later records made no mention of their Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin. Ganguly² says that, "the cause of omission" is not far to seek. Padmagupta's Navasāhasāṅkacarita written between the years 996-1000 A.D. is the earliest known record to describe the family as 'Paramāra', and in the six royal grants which have been found of the earlier Paramāra kings, there is no mention of their belonging to a family called Paramāras. On the contrary, some of them are found claiming relations with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race. As noticed above, in that age it was a general custom among the imperial ruling dynasties to trace their origin from mythical heroes and to name their families after them. The records of the Pratihāras present very decisive evidence to that effect. They were, evidently Gūrjaras by race;³ but they persistently designated themselves as Pratihāras because

1. EI. X. p.17. ibid. IX. p.248.
 2. H.O.P. p.9. fn. 6.
 3. EI. III. 266.

they believed that the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa-Pratihāra was the founder of their family. The Paramāras did not make an exception to this general rule. After their attainment of the imperial power they too seem to have put forward similar pretensions."

Returning to the point that it is in Ābu inscriptions that we find the mention of the fire-pit origin rather than in the texts of the main branch, one may put forward the argument that this was the case because the territory around Ābu belonged rightfully to the Paramāras. It is rather strange, though, that these four dynasties are mentioned together as having sprung from the fire-pit. This may have been some sort of initiation ceremony to enter the Hindu faith and the Kṣatriya caste, but it is very difficult to state anything definite about these prevailing traditions. The question of the origin of the Gūrjaras is very controversial, and much has been written on it: therefore it is best to discuss it with greater detail later on. For the moment, suffice it to mention that there are two schools of thought about it.

(i) Those who believe in the foreign origin of Gūrjaras, who must have entered the Indian sub-continent with the incoming hordes of nomadic tribes.

(ii) Those who maintain the Indian origin of the Gūrjaras.

One point in regard to the origin of these people is the Bardic tradition recorded by Col. Tod ¹ which is mentioned on page 3 about the mighty figure 'Caturāṅga', or Cauliān^h. He, apparently seems to have been the strongest of the four men created by Brahma. Three former soldiers were unable to defeat the demons, but it was Cauliān who, single-handed, destroyed them. In other traditions we read of the Paramāra as the slayer of the Enemy. From this one can deduce that traditions were presented differently in different places. This one, taking its root, probably in Eastern Rajputana, considers the Cāhamānas of Rājputānā, the most powerful warriors.

The first Paramāra ruler Upenḍra or Bappaizēja² or ^{Kṛṣṇa-} ^{rāja} was defeated by Śuḍra III who came to the throne in about 915 A.D. In the Navasari Plates of Śuḍra III² we ^{read} ~~learn~~ that he defeated a certain Upenḍra who had annexed or relieved Govardhana. According to Altekar³ the Paramāras were in the beginning feudatories of the Guṇjara Pratihāras; at their instigation Upenḍra seems to have attacked the Nasik district. But he was defeated by Śuḍra III and Upenḍra now became a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūtas, as seen in the Harasola Plates⁴ of Styaka II.

Upenḍra was succeeded by ^{Vaisisimha 5} ~~Vakpati~~ I about whom nothing much of importance is known.

1. Vol. I. p. 113.

2. J. B. R. A. S. XVIII. 253.

3. A. R. 101.

4. op. cit.

5. According to the Udaipur Prasasti. op. cit.

If this identification of Upenḍra with the first Paramāra king can be positively proved, this would show that Upenḍra he was ruling between the years 914-917, the dates of Śnḍra III. We know that Siyaka III was definitely ruling in 949; therefore between the years 920-949 we have in the genealogy of the Udaipur Brāśasti 4 kings, namely Vairisimha I, Siyaka I, Vākpati I and Vairisimha II.

For there are inscriptions² of the Paramāras which give the genealogy as Upenḍra, Vairisimha, ~~Vākpati~~ Siyaka I, and Vākpati II. We are of the opinion that the genealogy of the Udaipur Brāśasti (issued ^{between 1059-1080.} ~~to~~ A.D.) is not correct. Vairisimha is said to have died ~~as~~ an old man, after having ruled for 27 years. Between the years of 920-949, it seems to us that only one king ruled. The first epigraphic evidence of Siyaka is dated in 949, and he may have come to the throne 2-3 years earlier, if not more. We feel therefore that, within the short period it is not impossible, but improbable, ~~that~~ ^{that} four kings ruled the Paramāra Kingdom. But this whole question depends on whether Upenḍra is to be identified with Upenḍra who was defeated by Śnḍra III, but till new evidence comes forth, the above solution seems logical to us.

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1. Harasola Plates.
 2. Three inscriptions of Vākpati. GA. VI. 52-53.
 3. Nāgpur Brāśasti. GBRAS. I. 259.
and the NS.

Vairisimha II.

The rule of Vākpati I, the father of Vairisimha II, seems to have come to an end about the year 917-918 A.D. When rule of the Paramāra kingdom was assumed by his son Vairisimha II, who was also known as Vajraṭa.¹

The information regarding the military exploits of the kings from Upendra and Vairisimha II is very scanty.^{1a} The reason for this is probably that the Paramāras were the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and were not strong enough to wage aggressive wars against their neighbours. The rise of the Paramāras mainly depended upon the decline of the Gūrjara Pratihāra kingdom in the north and of that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the south. Only in the reign of Sīyaka II, do we see that they become independent. It was probably during the early part of Vairisimha's reign that Paramāra rule suffered an eclipse at the hand of the Pratihāras of Kanañj. The Pratihāra Rāmabhadra, son of Nāgabhaṭa II, "was weak and devoid of military valour."² He was succeeded by Bhoja, who was a king famous for his military exploits, who extended the boundary of his kingdom far and wide. In the south-west the

1. EI. I. 237. v.11. 1a. See previous page.
2. J.Dep. L. Vol.X. p.47.

^{Calukyas}
~~Gangas~~ of Saurāṣṭra seem to have acknowledged his suzerainty sway.¹ But his attempt to push his arms further met with signal failure, because he could not force his way into the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kingdom, which extended to the North up to Mālwa and Lāta. He was defeated by Dhruva II, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief of Lāta sometime before 867 A.D.² That Mālwa still formed a part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominion is shown by several epigraphic records. The Nilgund inscription of the reign of Amoghavarṣa, dated 866 A.D.³ reports that the King was worshipped by the lord of Mālwa on the eve of his march against the King of Kanauj, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (914 A.D.) stopped at Ujjain and performed his devotions at the temple of Mahākāla.⁴ So long as Indra III was on the throne of the Deccan the Pratihāras of Kanauj could not gain much advantage in the South.⁵ But his death, shortly before 918 A.D. was followed by anarchy in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kingdom. Govinda IV contrived to put his own elder brother, the successor of Indra III to death, and usurped the throne.⁶ There was much disorder and lawlessness,⁷ and this did not go unnoticed by the Pratihāras. Bhoja I was followed by Mahendrapāla and Bhoja II. Mahipala, who ruled between 914-946 A.D. succeeded Bhoja II.⁸ He took advantage of the situation in the

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1. EI. IX. p.1 ff.
 2. IA. XII. p.181.
 3. EI. VI. 102.
 4. EI. VII. 29-30.
 5. I. Dep. L. X. p.66.
 6. EI. VII. 34.
 7. EI. IV. 288.
 8. I. Dep.L. X. p.75.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa dominions. His armies in their triumphant march moved from country to country. Mahipāla's court poet Rājaśekhāṣa^{9c} gives a vivid description of his master's military achievements.

"Of that lineage was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of Muralas, who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate, who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of [the King who is] the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulūṭas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas."¹ Most of the countries described here bordered the Pratihāra empire, and Dr. Majumdar has ably shown that this is no valid reason to regard the above description as a poetic hyperbole.² Kuntala was the name of the country south of the Narmadā over which the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruled. Mahipāla's war with the Kuntalas is also narrated by Pampābhārata.³ He seems to have conquered and annexed the territories of Malwa just about this time.

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur Dist.(U.P.) were evidently the feudatories of the Pratihāras of Kanaṃj: Guṇāmbodhi, a prince of this family, became a favourite of Bhoja

1. J. Dep.L. X. p.63.
 2. ibid. 64 ff.
 3. BG.I. pt.II. p.380.

(934-990 A.D.) and obtained land from him.¹ He helped his suzerain with men and arms in his conquest of Bengal.² His successor was Ullabha, who was in turn followed by Bhāmāna. The last mentioned King was apparently a contemporary of Mahīpāla who was the grandson of Bhoja. As he^{Bhāmāna} was only a feudatory, he would not have undertaken any military expedition against Mālwa on his own account. In all likelihood, he accompanied Mahipāla on his southern campaign and shared that victory with him. (It is known from the Kahla plates³ that he (Bhāmāna) distinguished himself by the conquest of Dharā.)

This settles the important fact that Mālwa was not annexed to the Kingdom of Kanauj before this time. But that the Pratihāras asserted their supremacy over it about this period is beyond doubt. The Paṣṭabgarh inscription,⁴ dated 946 A.D. of the reign of Mahendrapāla II, the son and successor of Mahipāla, records that in that year Mādhava was the great feudatory lord and governor of Ujjain, and Śriśarman, who was a commander-in-chief, was carrying on the affairs of state at Maṇḍapikā. Under this Pratihāra monarch, Mādhava, having worshipped the god Mahākāla at Ujjain, on the Mina-Saṃkrānti day, granted the village of Dhārāpadraka for the maintenance of the temple of Indrāditya-deva at

1. EI. VII. p.89. v.9.

2. J. Dep. L. X. p.52.

3. nija-ṽijayī pa (d-o) ddhāra- Dhārāvanīśa --(hr̥ṣya) t-senā-jaya-śri- haṭha-haraṇa - kalā dhāma- Bhāmānadevaḥ.//v.13.
EI. VII. p.85.

Ghoṅta-varṣika, a place associated with Nityapramudita-deva, at the request of the great feudatory Indrarāja, son of Durlabharāja of the Cāhamāna dynasty. The second part of this Partabgaḥ Inscription starts with a panegyric of the Cāhamānas. Indrarāja had built the sun temple, and this was the temple which was granted the village of Dhārā-Padraka. The importance of the mention of these Cāhamānas (who apparently were feudatories of the Pratihāras) will be discussed in the appropriate chapter. This proves beyond all doubt that Mālwā was under the rule of the Pratihāras of Kanañj. But this state of things did not continue for long. [Within a very short time after the accession of his son, Mahendrapāla II, the vast Pratihāra empire began to disintegrate.]

One interesting point to be considered is that both the Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa Empire began to decline at about the same time in the 10th century. And on their decline depended the rise of their feudatories such as the Paramāras, the Cāhamānas, the Kalacuris and the Cāpas. Yaśovarman, the Candella King of Bundelkhand (925-950 A.D.) seems to have been the first among them to assail the Pratihāra empire.² He wrested from it the greater portion of its southern territories. Some time before 953 A.D. the Candella Kingdom

1. EI. XIV. p.176.
2. EI. I. 132.v.23.

is found to extend¹ from the river Jumna on the north to the frontier of Cedi on the South, and from Kalinjar on the east or north-east to Gopādri in modern Gwalier on the north-west. This very clearly shows the extent of the decline of the Pratihāra empire, which once stretched upto the river Narmadā on the south, but had now been pushed back so far that it was bordered by Gwālier.

During this period of turmoil and disaster the dethroned Paramāra Vairisimha II, who seems to have been living in exile in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kingdom did not remain inactive, and spared no pains to revive Paramāra rule in Mālwā. He seems to have received help from the Gujarat branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa with which he fell upon the Viceroy of Mahendrapāla II and blotted out the last vestige of Pratihāra supremacy by expelling him. ^{verse} Strophe II of the Udaipur Praśāsti² seems to give a hint to that effect. It records that³ "By that King [Vairisimha II] the famous Dhārā was indicated, when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the edge of his sword!" Bühler remarks⁴ that this expression means, "smiting the foe with the edge of his sword the King indicated that Dhārā belonged to him."

1. ibid. 134. v.45.

2. EI. I. 235.

3. ibid. Jātas tasmād Vairisimho 'nyānāmnā loko brūte
(Vajraṭa) svāminam yaṃ/ śatrar vvarggam dhāryāsyer unihatya
Śrīmad-Dhārā sūcitā yeva rājñā //

4. ibid. fn. 86.

Whichever way this verse is interpreted it does show that Paramāra rule was re-established in Mālwā, presumably with the help of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. From now on it was upto the successors of Vairisiṃha II to strengthen the kingdom that had taken the opportunity offered by the failing Pratihāra empire.

Not much is known about Vairisiṃha II as a man. The panegyrists deal more with his military skill than with his cultural and administrative achievements. The bards recount that Vairisiṃha went on a pilgrimage to Gayā and assisted the King of Gaur against his rebellious Buddhist subjects; and in return for his service he was granted the hand of the King's daughter, Lalitā.

His reign is fixed at 27 ^{years} ~~years~~ and he is considered to have died at Ujjain as an old man at the age of 71.¹

Sīyaka II.

Vairisiṃha II was succeeded by his son Sīyaka who occupied the throne sometime before 949 A.D.,² and in the early years of his reign assumed the titles of Maharājādhirājāpati and mahāmāṇḍalika-cūdāmaṇi. In the Harasola Plates of Sīyaka we have the oldest known record of the Paramāras. As may be

1. Luard and Lele, the Paramāras of Dhar. 1908. p.3.
2. EI. XIX. 236.

expected, it gives much information about Gujarat and the Paramāras. It is stated that on his return from a successful expedition against Yogarāja. This inscription also throws considerable light upon the question of how long the Rāstrakūtas of Manyakheta were in power in Gujarāt. In the introductory strophes it is stated that Bappaiparāja, the first known Paramāra King (to be identified with Kṛṣṇa in other Grants) was born in the family of Amoghavarṣa and Akālavarṣa. These two Kings were undoubtedly Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It is rather puzzling why the Paramāras connect themselves with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It might be, as Diskalkar points out that the Paramāras were related to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas through marriage. It may be that Vairisiṅha regained the throne of Mālwā with the help of Rāṣṭrakūṭas, among whom he may have been in exile for a very long time, and it was an honour for the Paramāra Kings to join their name to that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We have records of the Vākāṭaka dynasty wherein Prabhāvatīguptā praises her own dynastic family. She was a Gupta princess married to a Vākāṭaka prince, but she still eulogized her father and forefathers because they belonged to a more illustrious family.

As to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Gujarāt, Bhagvanlal Indraji,¹ in dealing with the period when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed held sway over Gujarat, admitted that no materials

1. BS, Vol. I. pt. I. p.131.

exist for fixing how long after 914 A.D. Gujarāt belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and ventures the suggestion that they continued to rule it until their destruction by the Cālukya King Taila or Tailapa in A.D. 972. The present Grant of would supply the required information to a large extent. Yogarāja, the king defeated by Śīyaka some time before 949 A.D. might have been a Cāpa chief. In the Prabandhacintāmani of Meruṅga¹ a Cāpa King Yogaraja is said to have been Vanarāja's son and to have ruled from 806-822 A.D. His date is very early indeed for this Grant, but it is possible that there may have been another Yogarāja in the Cāpa dynasty. With regard to the details of the last years of Cāpa rule, especially the period of 940 to 960 A.D., the Jain chroniclers are hopelessly at variance. It is possible that Yogarāja may have been a Cālukya of southern Kāthiāwād, if not a Cāpa.² As Śīyaka, returning from his expeditions had encamped at Māhi near Sarnāl (according to the Harasol Grants) it follows that Yogarāja's principality must be located somewhere to the West of the Māhi and of Kheṭakamaṇḍala which was in his own possession. The Cāpas and the Cālukyas of Southern Kāthiāwad acknowledged the overlordship of the Pratihāras of Kanauj and Śīyaka's intimate

1. Prab. 20.22.

2. EI. IX. p.2 ff.

connection with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the enemies of the Pratihāras, explains why he attacked Yogarāja.

Another plate of Śīyaka is the Ahmedabad copper plate found in Ahmadābad.¹ The first plate is lost so that we do not possess the name of the family to which Śīyaka belonged. But the Garuḍa symbol of the other Paramāra grants is also found on this plate and the name of the Dāpaka, (most probably an officer in charge of the engraving) in this grant is Kaṇha paika, which is identical with the name occurring in the grant of Vākpati II of 1031 V.S.² It is known that Śīyaka had ruled until the year 1029 V.S., as the poet Dhanapāla of Dhārā in strophe 276 of his Pāilachhi states that he composed the work "for the sake of his sister Sundarā in V.S. 1029 when Mānyakheta was looted by the people of Mālwā." The present grant being dated in V.S.1026 is three years earlier than the date of the text mentioned and 21 years later than the Harasola plates. There is, therefore reason to believe that the Paramāras were connected with Gujarāt in the early days of their power.

Wars of Śīyaka II.

Śīyaka was a very able soldier, and from the records it seems that he was the first important ruler of this dynasty. He found an open field for aggressive wars in

1. EI. XIX. p.177.

2. IA. VI. p.51.

Gujarāt where the supremacy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Pratihāras had considerably weakened. The first object of his attack seems to have been the Cālukyas of Saurāṣṭra-maṇḍala. The rulers of this dynasty were the feudatories of the Pratihāras.¹ Bāhukadhavala, an early ruler of the dynasty, appears to have helped Nāgabhaṭa II in his wars against the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Deccan.² Avanivarman II who was also called Yoga, was his great grandson.³ He probably offered strong opposition to Vairisimha II in his war against the Pratihāras, and subsequently intrigued for the revival of the Pratihāra supremacy in Mālwā. It is quite possible that this is the Yogarāja, who is mentioned in the Harasola plates of Sīyaka.

~~As we have seen, the Cālukyas who ruled Saurāṣṭra, the Southern part of Kathiāwād, were feudatories of the Pratihāras;~~

Some time afterwards Sīyaka seems to have launched a campaign against a Hūṇa Prince whose territory was apparently to the north-west of Mālwā. Earlier Balavarman, father of Yogarāja of Saurāṣṭra defeated and killed a certain Jajjapa,⁴

1. EI. IX. ff.

2. J. Dep. L. X. 40.42.

3. EI. IX. p.2.

4. EI. IX. p.8. v.17.

a Hūṇa prince in battle. The Navasāhasāṅkacarita tells us that Sīyaka slaughtered the Hūṇa princes and turned their harem into a dwelling place for their widows.¹ This Hūṇa prince who was defeated by Sīyaka seems to have been a successor of Jajjapa.

About this time the Candellas of Jejākabhukti extended their territory upto Bhilsa in the west. The Khajuraho inscription, dated 954 A.D. registers² the fact that at this time the Candella Kingdom extended as far as Bhāsvat (Bhilsa), which was situated on the bank of the river Mālavā. Sīyaka's bid for fortune in the west seems soon to have involved him in a war with the Candellas, who checked his advance. In the Khajuraho inscription, Yaśovarman Candella (925-950 A.D.) is described as "a god of Death to the Mālavas."³

After this, Sīyaka turned his attention towards the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In this bold enterprise he was helped by his feudatory Kaṅka of Vāgaḍa. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga (971 A.D.) who was the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III (945-956 A.D.) was at that time on the throne of Mānyakheṭa. He hurried his arms towards Malwa in order to oppose the Paramāras. A fierce battle took place on the banks of the river Nasmadā, at a place called Kalighaṭṭa, in which Kaṅka died fighting bravely, though not before he had broken down the barrier

1. Sarga XI. V. 90.

2. EI. 6. p.137. V.45.

3. EI. 126.v.23. Kālavān Mālavānām.

of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army. Khoṭṭiga sustained a heavy defeat in this encounter, and retreated to his capital. Śīyaka seems to have been bent on conquering the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire. He pursued the vanquished monarch and reached the gates of Mānyakheṭa. Khoṭṭiga could not repel the invading forces of Malwa, and surrendered his capital to their mercy. The city was apparently sacked by the victors. Dhanapāla in his Pailachhī states that "he completed his work in 1029 V.S. (= A.D.972) at the time when Mānyakheṭa was plundered in consequence of an attack by the lord of Mālwa."¹ The Malwa King referred to here was in all probability Śīyaka II, as the Udaipur Praśasti mentions his victory over Khoṭṭiga.² The Navasāhasaṅka Carita mentions his success over the lord of Rūḍapāṭi,³ whom Dr. Gauguly⁴ is inclined to identify with this Khoṭṭiga. One cannot really be certain of this identification, but we have not yet come across any king with the name Rūḍapāṭi. It may well have been a biruda of one of the minor neighbouring kings. Though the city of Mānyakheṭa was occupied, its fort was bravely defended by the Gaṅga King Mārasimha II. The Śravana Beḷgola epitaph records that "He, by the strength of his arms [protected] the encampment of the emperor, when it was located at the city of Mānyakh^eṭa."⁵

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1. Intd. p.6. VS. 276.277.278.
 2. EI. I. p.237. v.12.
 3. Sargat. v. 89.
 4. Page.42.
 5. EI. v.179.

The Gaṅga Prince was a contemporary, both of Śīyaka and Khoṭṭiga, since he reigned from 968 to 972 A.D.

Some scholars¹ are of the opinion that the passage in question refers to the feud between Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kakka II and Tailapa II founder of the Cālukya empire of the Deccan.² According to

Ganguly this view loses much of its strength if the whole situation is taken into consideration. "It is evident that Tailapa's victory was immediately followed by the final extinction of Rāṣṭrakūṭa sovereignty and the establishment of the new Cālukya empire in the Deccan. Śīyaka's success cannot therefore be regarded as more than temporary. Hence

Mārasimha's boast of protecting the Mānyakheta fort gains much more justification, if it relates to the conflict between

Khoṭṭiga and Śīyaka." Khoṭṭiga died probably at the hands of Śīyaka because in the same year, 972, his successor Kakka issued a grant.^{2a}

It cannot be ascertained how much exactly Śīyaka gained from the annihilation of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheta. As far as we can see their downfall was brought about by the Paramāras alone. This, of course, helped Tailapa II very much in extending his dominions. During the reign of Vākpati II of Bhoja, the upper courses of the Godāvarī formed the Southern boundary of the Paramāra Kingdom.³ One is inclined to believe that the credit of this vast achievement goes to Śīyaka, who was the real founder of the Paramāra Kingdom.

1. *ibid.* EI.V.179.

2. *ibid.* p.IX. fn. 3, 2a. *Khanda Plates*. EI.41.263.

3. PBC. p.33. EI. XIX. p.69.

He left behind him a vast empire which extended in the North upto the Banswara State;¹ in the east bordering to Bhilsā;² in the south to the Godāvarī;³ and in the west upto Māhi.⁴

Soon after his return from the Southern expedition he seems to have abdicated in favour of Vākpati II, his son. Padmagupta tells us that in the latter part of his reign, the king adopted the life of an ascetic, "clothed himself in the grass-robcs of a royal sage" and devoted himself to the practice of austerities.⁵ The name of his queen was Vaḍajā,⁶ and besides Vākpati, he had another son named Sindhurāja. Śīyaka himself sometimes known as Śrī Harśa or Harṣadeva. His reign ended sometime between the years 970-973 A.D.

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1. EI. XIV. p.295.
 2. EI. I. p.134. v. 45. Khajuraho insc.
 3. PBC. p.33
 4. EI. XIX. p.236.
 5. Navāsah^o. Sarga XI. 88.
 6. ibid. v. 86.

Of the reign of the son and successor of King Śīyaka two inscriptions have come to light. The first¹ is dated V.S. 1031. i.e. 974 A.D. issued from Ujjain. The relevant verses read:

"Paramabhaṭṭāraka Maharājadhiraṅga Parameśvara śrīmad Amoghavarṣadevāparābhidaṅga śrīmadVākpatirājadeva Pṛthvīvallabha śrī Vallabha Narendradeva" orders all the Government officers, Brāhmins and others, patīls,² and inhabitants and cultivators assembled in the Taḍāra³ by name Pipparikā⁴ situated on the banks of the holy Naśmadā,⁵ to the north of the portion of waters called the Gardabhapaṅi,⁵ that it be known to them that the said Taḍār which is bounded on the east by the Agāravāhalā⁶, and on the north by the rivulet which flows into the ditch belonging to Cikhillikā⁷ and on the west by the Gardabha⁸ river, and on the south by the Piśācatīrtha⁹ ... the King being at Ujjain on the 14th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādrapada, the auspicious day of the Pavitrak Parvani of the Saṁvat 1031, after bathing himself in the waters of the Śiva lake and

1. IA. VI. p.49 ff.

2. Paṭṭakila. in the text

3. Meaning not clear. Probably an administrative division.

4. Unidentifiable.

5. Modern Khaja river. 9A. VI. 51.

6. Unidentifiable.

7. Modern Chikalda. 9A. VI. 51.

8. Now called Khaṭṭjā- Dharampuri tālukā of Rāja of Dhāś.²

9. Retains the same name.

worshipping the lord of every living as well as lifeless thingbent on furthering the merits of his mother and father as well as himself, with singleness of heart and the ceremony of pouring water [on the palms of the hands of the grantee] does hereby give away the above mentioned Tadār, with all its proper boundaries to the very learned Brāhmaṇ philosopher, the illustrious Vasantācāryadeva, son of Dhanika Pandit who has emigrated from Ahichatra into this Southern realm this order has been given by Śri Kaṇhap-
aika."^{2.1}

The second inscription is dated V.S.1036 i.e. 979 A.D. issued from the royal camp at Bhagavatpura. The relevant verses are translated as follows.

"P.M.P. Śrimad Amoghavarṣadevāparābhīdhāna ŚrimadVāk-
patirājadeva PṛthviVallabha ŚriVallabha Narendradeva
being in good health gives notice to all King's officers,
Brāhmans and others, and to the resident Paṭṭakila³ people,
and others assembled at the village of Sembalapuraka,⁴ which
is held by the Mahāsādhanika,^{4a} the illustrious Mahāika, and
appertains to the Tiṇisapdra Twelve:-⁵

1. IA. VI. 51. Tr. by Nilkantha Janardana Kistane.

2. Name is the same as in Śiyaka's grant dated 969 A.D.
EI. XIX. 236.

3. J. of Am. or Soc. VII. p.40.

4.5. Kielhorn unable to identify these place names.

4a. Title not found elsewhere by Kielhorn, but comparable
Mahāsādhanabhāga in Rājatarāṅgini. IV. 143.

'Be it known to you that to increase the [spiritual] merit and the fame of Our parents and Ourselves, [and] believing in a future reward [of pious deeds], We, encamped at Bhagavatpura,¹ have, in this year 1036 on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, at the request of Āsinī, the wife of Mahāsādhanika, the illustrious Mahāika granted this the above-written village to the Bhaṭṭārikā, the glorious goddess Bhaṭṭeśvarī, at the glorious Ujjaynī, for the purpose of [defraying the expenses of] bathing, anointing, flowers, perfumes, incense, the naivedya [offerings] and public shows, and also for putting in order of the temple buildings, when damaged or out of repair..... In the year 1036, on the 9th day of the dark half of caitra [this grant was written] in the famous most victorious camp located at Guṇapura;² and [the official] who conveys [the King's] own orders regarding this is the illustrious Rudrāditya. This is the own sign-manual of the illustrious Vākpatirājadeva."

The genealogy given in these two grants is

Kṛṣṇarājadeva
|
Vairisimhadeva
|
Sīyakadeva
|
Vākpatirājadeva (II).

1.2. Kielhorn unable to identify these place names.

Apart from the titles given here to Vākpati II, he was known by the names Utpala and Muñja. In the Nāgpur Praśāsti he is described as Muñja¹ and in the rest of the Paramāra inscriptions he is mentioned as Vākpati.² Rightly Dr. Ganguly³ suggests that "Vākpati and Muñja were names of one and the same king. King Arjunavarman, in his commentary of Amaruśataka, known as Rasikasamjīvanī states that Vākpatirāja, otherwise known as Muñja was one of his predecessors."⁴ Similarly, there is evidence to prove his identity with King Utpala. In the Navasāhasārikacarita⁵ it is stated that Vākpati was the elder brother of Sindhurāja who followed him on the throne after his, (Vākpati's) death. In another place,⁶ in this same source, where the history of the early rulers of Malwā is told, Sindhurāja is said to have mounted the throne of Utpalarāja. "Here," says Dr. Ganguly, "the absolute omission of the name, Vākpatirāja, by the poet proves the identity of the two."⁷ There is further evidence:- a verse ascribed to Utpalarāja by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra is attributed to Vākpatirāja by Vallabhadeva.⁸

1. EI. II. p.184. v.22.

2. e.g. Udaipur Praśasti. EI.I.222.

3. History of Paramāra dynasty, p.47.

4. "Asmatpūrvajasya Vākpatirāj-āparāṅmno Muñjadevasya".

5. Sarga I. vv.6-7.

6. Sarga. XI. vv.92. 101.

7. op.cit. 47.

8. Subhāsitāvali. 3413.

Through the Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga, something is known about Vākpati II's birth and early life.

"Long ago in that very country of Mālava, a king named Siṃhadantabhaṭa of the race of Paramāra, as he was roaming about on his royal circuit, saw in the midst of a thicket of reeds a certain male child of exceeding beauty, that had been just born. He took it up as lovingly as if it were his own son and made it over to his queen. The child's name was called Muñja, with reference to his origin. After that, a son was born to the King, named Sīndhala. As Muñja was attractive by uniting in himself all good qualities, the king wished to crown him king, and visited his palace for that purpose. Muñja, out of excessive bashfulness, hid his wife behind a cane sofa, and politely received the king with the customary prostration. The king, seeing that the place was apparently private, told him of the circumstances of his origin from the beginning, and said, 'I am so pleased with your devotion to me that I mean to pass over my son, and bestow the kingdom on you, but you must live on good terms with this brother of yours named Sīndhala. Having given him this caution, he performed the ceremony of his coronation. Muñja, fearing that the story of his origin would get abroad, went so far as to kill his own wife. Then he conquered the earth by his valour, and for a long time enjoyed pleasures, while the great minister named Rudrāditya, a very prince of

good men, looked after the affairs of his kingdom That brother named Sīndhala, out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja; accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time. That Sīndhala came to Gujarat, and established his settlement¹ in the neighbourhood of the city of Kāśahrada."^{2.3.}

It is very difficult indeed to conclude with certainty how authentic Meruṭuṅga's story, about Muñja's birth and accession to the Paramāra throne, is. No other corroborative evidence has been found, but this story seems to be of an imaginary origin. Though it is not impossible that Siṃhadanta-bhaṭṭa, identifiable with Sīyaka II, may have adopted a son for want of an heir, but this fact cannot be gathered from any other source. The Navasāhasāṅkacarita makes no mention of this fact. We have no evidence for the statement that Sīndhala, Sindhurāja had established rule in Gujarat at Kāśadraha. The name Meruṭuṅga uses throughout for Vākpāti is Muñja. He gives no other information about Sindhurāja, but states that on hearing the death of Muñja, "the ministers in the country of Mālava, placed on the throne Bhoja, the son of Muñja's brother."⁴ This statement is not borne out by the epigraphic records, which show that Sindhurāja succeeded

1. Pallī.

2. Modern Kāsandra or Kāsandhra (see Buhler's Arisimha.p.25)

3. PBC. Tr. C.H.Tawney, 1901. pp.30-31.

4. PBC. p.32.

his brother Muñja,¹ though no inscription of the King himself has yet come to light on the other hand, the Navasāhasāñka-carita of Padmagupta describes the reign of Sindhurāja.

Vākpati II appears from the sources to have launched wars against his neighbours. The Udaipur Praśasti tells us that his "lotus feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karṇāṭas. Lāṭas, Keralas and Colas."² He also conquered Yuvarāja, and, slaying his generals, as Victor, raised on high his sword in Tripuri."³

"Scholars are agreed that this Yuvarāja is to be identified with the second prince of that name in the family of the Kalacuris of Dāhala."⁴ The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasimha tells us that he dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Someśvara (i.e. Somnāth).⁵ Ray⁶ is of the opinion that "it was probably in the course of this Western expedition, which he may have undertaken that he came into violent conflict with the Paramāras," Vākpati especially. According to the same scholar the remark in the Khairha and the Jubbulpore Grants of Yaśaḥ-karṇa that Yuvarāja "purified the town of Tripurī"⁷ may have a veiled reference to the purificatory ceremonies, which the Kalacuri

1. EI.I. 235-237. v.16.

2. ibid. v.14.

3. EI.I.235 and 237. v.15.

4. DHNI. II. 769.

5. IA. XVIII. p.215-216. line 7.

6. DHNI. II. 769.

7. EI. XII. p.211. v.7.

Kings possibly performed after the re-occupation of his capital. Dr. Ray continues:-

"The ... discovery of the Ahmedabad grants of the Paramāras Harṣa-Sīyaka¹ (c.947-70) has shown that the predecessors of Vākpati were feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Māhyakheṭaka. This explains to some extent the nature of the struggle between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Calukyas, Kalacuris and Paramāras of this period. These conflicts, in which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas ceased to exist as a great power in the Deccan and in which Tripurī was plundered and Vākpati Muñja met a tragic end, were possibly not detached incidents, but only episodes of long drawn duel between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Paramāras on the one hand and the Cālukyas and the Kalacuris on the other."² Dr. Ray's remarks impress us as being very true and his seems to be the only explanation for the constant warfare amongst these dynasties. The Prabandhacintāmani does not mention the conflict with the Kalacuris, but, on the other hand, gives a vivid description of Vākpati's struggle with the Cālukyas of Karnāṭa.³

According to Dr. Ganguly⁴ "the final overthrow of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas almost coincided with the accession of Vākpati." In the Śravana Belgola epigraph⁵ it is stated that Mārasimha

1. EI. XIX. p.236 ff.

2. op.cit. 769.

3. P.B.C.P.33.

4. op.cit. 57. We have shown elsewhere that it was Sīyaka

5. EI. V. 179. who was responsible for destroying Khottiga. This was probably an attempt by Karka to regain the territory.

protected the encampment of the ^{em} emperor, probably Khoṭṭiga, when it was located at the city of Mānyakheta. This reference has some connection with the statement in the Udaipur Praśasti¹ that Sīyaka was victorious over Khoṭṭiga. But though the city was captured and plundered by the Paramāra armies, they could not conquer its main fort which was successfully protected by the Gaṅga King Mārasimha II. "But", states Dr. Ganguly,² the Rāṣṭrakūṭas had hardly managed to recover from their losses before another formidable enemy, probably more terrible than the Paramāras, invaded the plains of the Deccan and threatened to overthrow their imperial Government. The leader of this invading force was Tailapa II of the Cālukya race Khoṭṭiga's successor, Karkarāja could not stem the tide of this invasion, and eventually surrendered him his capital and kingdom. After this there was a scramble for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire between the Cālukyas and the Paramāras. In fact it was quite impossible for Tailapa to establish a permanent sovereignty in the Deccan until he could destroy the power of the ambitious Paramāras In one of his early attempts Vākpati was routed by the armies of Tailapa." It is stated in the

1. EI. I. 222.

2. op.cit. 57.

3. The Nilgund insc. says, "Who [Tailapa II] after obtaining the fortune of the glorious Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kings".
EI.IV.206.

supposedly Dr. Ganguly's remark about the threat of Tailapa to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was based on this sentence in the Nilgund insc. but he does not make a note of it.

Nilgund inscription of Tailapa's reign of 982 A.D. that "On hearing the name of whom [Tailapa II] which he acquired by extirpation of all the armies of hostile kings, Coḡas, Āndkras, Pāṇḡyas and the King Utpala, bewildered, deliberate what to do, where to go and where to dwell."¹ There is no doubt that King Utpala is Vākpati. More is learnt about the warfare between the Paramāras and the Cālukyas from the Prabandhacintāmaṇi. Merutuṅga² writes that King Tailapadeva of the Tilinga country harassed Muñja by sending raiders into his country. The Paramāra sovereign was determined to march against him, though his prime minister Rudrāditya who was ill at that time tried to persuade him against it. The minister conjured him to make the river Godāvāri the utmost limit of his expedition and not to advance beyond it;" but he looked upon Tailapa with contempt, as he had conquered him six times before; so in his overwhelming confidence he crossed the river and pitched his camp on the other side. Rudvāditya hearing this and foreseeing what the outcome of such an action would be, mounted a funeral pyre. Tailapa destroyed Muñja's army, by force and fraud and took Muñja . prisoner binding him with a rope of reed (muñja). He was put in prison and confined in a wooden cage and waited upon by Tailapa's sister with whom he performed "marriage union.

1. EI. IV. 206.

2. P.B.C. 33 ff.

His ministers who had arrived, probably following him, dug a tunnel to where he was and made an appointment with him. From the account it seems that Mr̥nālavatī, Tailapa's sister was very much older than Vākpati. Merutuᅅga writes,¹ "... seeing in the old age near the face of youthful Muñja, she was despondent on account of its extreme want of brightness." After this episode Muñja according to PBC, though eager to return to his country, was unable to endure separation from his wife, yet afraid to tell her the facts. After a little persuasion he did reveal to her what his plans were, and asked her to go with him. She agreed and went to get her casket of jewels. But later she said to herself that "As I am a middle-aged widow, when he reaches his own Kingdom, he will cast me off." So she went and told her brother of her husband's plans. Tailapa had him bound with cords and taken about to beg from house to house. Merutuᅅga has written many verses, supposedly uttered by Vākpati and one line says "Muñja, that treasury of glory, lord of elephants, king of the land of Avaᅅti." The author after these verses adds that "these and other speeches of Muñja are to be looked upon as based on oral tradition." This phrase may be applied to the whole narrative concerning Vākpati. In the end he was put to death by Tailapa; according to Merutuᅅga, his head was fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace, and kept

1. P.B.C. 35-36.

continually covered with sour milk, by which Tailapa gratified his anger. Meruṭuṅga makes no reference to any other warfare between Vākpati and other kings.

From the Bijāpur Inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi¹ it is learnt that this king gave shelter to another king (whose name is lost) and to the lord of Gūrjaras when Muñjarāja had destroyed Āghāṭa the pride of Medapāṭa (Mawār) and caused them to flee. This Muñjarāja, as pointed out by Kielhorn² must have been Paramāra Vākpāli Muñja for whom dates V.S. 1031,³ 1036⁴ and 1050⁵ are available. The date of this Hastikuṇḍi inscription is 1053 V.S. The prince of Mawār who seems to have suffered defeat at the hand of the Paramāra was probably King Śaktikumāra, son and successor of Naravāhana.⁶ The last known date of Naravāhana is V.S.1028, the date of Eklingaji stone-inscription⁷ which was discovered in a temple, 14 miles north of Vdaipur. Naravāhana's mother was a Hūna lady,⁸ and one inscription of Śaktikumāra states that her fame shone forth in the form of Harṣapura."⁹ This probably indicates that she founded a city of that name.

1. EI. X. pp.18 ff.

2. *ibid.*

3. Ujjain grant. IA. VI. 51.

4. IA. XIV. p.160.

5. Amitagali's Subhāṣita - ratna - Saṁdoha.

6.

7. JBBRAS. XXII. pp.166-67.

8.

9. IA. XXXIX. p.186 ff.

Naravāhana was succeeded by his son Śālivāhana, and not by Ś'aktikumāra as Dr. Ganguly points out.¹ In the 'Age of Kanañj' the same author suggests that the Guhila King was either Naravāhana or his son Ś'aktikumāra.² Śālivāhana seems to have had a short reign, because the first date available, of his son and successor Śaklikumāra is V.S.1034.³ Dr. H.C. Ray suggests that "one of the princes who was defeated on this occasion and whom Dhavala claims to have protected was possibly Śālivāhana or his son Śaklikumāra."

The dynasty to which Dhavala belonged is not stated in the first part of the inscription where Muñjarāja is mentioned, but in the second record of King Dhavala his grandfather has the epithet of "Śrī Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Kūla-Kānana-Kalpa-Vṛkṣa", therefore it follows that Paramāras were even at this date in conflict with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on the whole.

As noted above, the Udaipur Praśasti mentions his victory over Karṇāṭas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Colas. The fight in which Vākpati lost his life has been already dealt with. The attack on Lāṭa which was now in the possession of the successors of Bārappa was probably undertaken in order to regain his ancestral possessions, on the western side. Buhler has expressed doubts about the authenticity of

1. op.cit. 51.

2. p.96.

3. Alpur S.I. XXXIX. 186-91.

Vākpati's struggle with the Keralas and Colas. "It is difficult to understand how he could have come into contact with the latter two whose countries lay at such a great distance from Mālvā." Dr. Ray suggests that "Vākpati may have fought with these chiefs when he was engaged in his struggle with Tailapa, the Karṇāṭa King."¹ But this does not seem very probable. There is no mention in the Cola inscriptions about any conflict with a northern ruler at this time. Vākpati's contemporary were Uttama Cola (A.D.973-985)² and Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.D.)³. The predecessor of Uttama Cola, Parāntaka II (A.D.957-973), seems to have been active against the Pāṇḍyas who were apparently independent under Vīra Cola. Rājarāja I is said to have been victorious in great battles. It is hardly likely that these two dynasties of the south, Keralas and Colas, would have taken any part on the side of the Karṇāṭa kings. The mention in the Udaipur praśasti was most probably a hollow boast or the customary panegyric verse.

There is evidence for a war between Vākpati and the Cāhamānas of Marwar. This dynasty, under the rule of Śobhita had extended the boundaries of his kingdom upto Mt. Ābu.⁴ The inscription says that Śobhita took away the glory of the lord or [lords] of Arbuda. And in the Sevadī cp. of Cāhamāna

1. op.cit. Vol.I. p.855.
 2. Kanañj-Imperial. p.156.
 3. Struggle for the Empire. 234.
 4. EI. IX. p.66. V.S.1218.

Ratnapāla,¹ it is stated that Śobhita was the Lord of Dhārā. This, however, does not seem very likely since the Paramāras were at this time, well established in the Dhāra region. The contemporary of Vākpati appears to have been Balirāja, Śobhita's successor. Vākpati may have attacked the Ābu region during this period, although there is no direct evidence to prove it, the fact being confirmed by the inscriptions of the Paramāra Ābu branch which state that Araṇyarāja, son of Utpala was the first prince of the line to enjoy the sovereignty of this territory.² From the records of the Jālor and Bhinmāl branch of the Paramāras it may be concluded that Vākpati had distributed the conquered territories to the princes of the family. Araṇyarāja, the first ruler over the region of Mt. Ābu; and Candana, the first ruler of the Jālor branch³ were both sons of Vākpati, while the first king of the Bhinmal branch appears to have been prince Dūsala, son of Sindhurāja, and nephew of Vākpati.⁴

From the Sundhā hill inscription of Balirāja, a Cāhamāna King of the Nādol branch, it is known that "he [Balirāja], dispersed the army of Muñja."⁵ This event is probably the same as mentioned in the Hastikuṇḍī inscription of Dhavala. It appears to us that this King Balirāja may have

1. V.S. 1176. E.I. XI. 304.

2. JASB. X. 667. 670-71. EI. IX. p.56.

3. IA. LXII. p.41. Progress Report of the Arch. Survey. W. Circle. 1909. p.54.

4. Unpublished. Acc. to Ganguly.

5.Balirājadēvo Yo Muñjarāja-va(ba) la bhāṅgam acīkarat tam. , , , v.7. EI. IX. p.75.

been heir apparent at the time of the repulse of Vākpati's army. Tod states that he presented the inscriptions to the Royal Asiatic Society, from Nādol, one dated V.S.1024 and other V.S.1039. They were of a certain prince Lākhā and they stated that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Pāṭaṇ and levied tribute from the prince of Chitor. It is by no means possible to corroborate this statement of Tod's. There is one inscription on the Sūraj-pal at Nādol which is reported to have been erected by him, and which contains his name, showing that he established himself there, but no date is given. If the account can be relied on than the last date of Lakṣmana, the Cahamāna of Nadol, is 982 A.D. Śobhita may have succeeded his father in the same year or a little later. The Bijāpur Inscription of Dhavala is dated V.S. 1053 = 996 A.D., but the last date we have of Vākpati is 1050. V.S.= 993 A.D. Accordingly the war with the Cāhamānas must have taken place at least before 991 A.D. It is known from the PBC that Tailapa was attacked six times.¹ It must have taken Vākpati at least one year in this conflict which finally finished with his death. Therefore it seems that the attack on the Cāhamānas must have taken place in ca. 990-91 A.D. or even earlier. King Lakṣmana's last available date is 982 A.D. Śobhita must have succeeded him

1. P.B.C. p.33. Manuscript Bombay states 26 times. But this certainly seems to be an exaggeration. It is doubtful whether these really were 6 successful attacks. But it does show the involved nature of this conflict.

either in the same year or one year later. He is said to have conquered the region of Ābu which was probably under a Paramāra branch line. That may have been the reason for the epithet 'lord of Dhāra'. On the other hand we have reference to the Paramāras of Ābu from Araṇyarāja onwards: there does not seem to have been any interruption in their rule. A more likely suggestion is that the region of Ābu was first conquered by the Cāhamāna Śobhita, probably from the last kings of the Northern Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Vākpati then conquered it from the Cāhamānas and handed it over to his son Araṇyarāja. And it was at this time that Balirāja, then the heir apparent, repulsed Vākpati's attack but was unsuccessful in gaining a decisive victory. The King Śabhita then probably gave up any claim to the Arbuda region and fled to Hastikuṇḍr where King Dhavala, who had helped him in bearing the Paramāra attack, gave him shelter. Balirāja must have then come to the throne of Nādol and continued to rule there. The distance between these places is not very great and therefore this is quite a feasible suggestion.

Vākpati appears to have had some sort of friction with the Hūṇas. The Kanthem grant of Cālukya Vikramāditya V says that King Taila II cast down Utpala (Vākpati II), who was the death blow to the Hūṇas, the Mālavas, identified by Fleet as people of Marubhūmi of Marwar, and the Cedi (king).¹

1. IA. XVI. 15 ff.

The inscription of Dhavala of Hastikundī mentions that the King gave protection to a Gūrjara King who was attacked by Muñja or Vākpati. It has been assumed that this Gūrjara King was the 1st Caulukya ruler Mūlarāja. According to Padmagupta one Gūrjara King

"... neither eats food nor drinks water, he keeps not the society of women: he lies on the sand, puts from him all worldly pleasures, and courts the hottest sun. O Lion of the house of Mālava, it seems to me that this Gūrjjara King is doing penance in the forests of Marwar because he is eager to obtain an atom of that Prasāda which is the dust of your feet." And the author later lamenting the death of Vākpati refers to him as "Hā - dev - Ojjayinī -bhujaṅga". Dr. A.K.Majumdar rightly points out "... it is known that Ujjain was in the possession of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras at least until V.S.1003, the date of the Partapgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II. But that city must have passed into the hands of the Paramāras some time before V.S.1031 (A.D.973-974), for in that year Muñja issued a grant from Ujjain." And from the above exclamation of Padmagupta it would appear that Ujjain came under Paramāra rule in the lifetime of Vākpati. "It is therefore likely," says Dr. Majumdar "that the Gūrjara prince killed by Muñja was not Mūlarāja but a Gūrjara-Pratihāra prince of Ujjain."

Even in the Navasāhasāṅka carita Mūlarāja is not

referred to by a name, but just as a Gūrjara King. There is no reason to believe that this King was definitely Mūlarāja I.

It has been seen above that Vākpati most probably died when captive of Tailapa II. Merutuṅga's version has been more or less corroborated by epigraphic sources. The Kan^uthem grant as noticed above, shows that Vākpati was imprisoned by Tailapa. The Gaḍag inscription of Vikramāditya VI Cālukya states that the valiant Muñja was slain by that monarch's remote predecessor, Tailapa II. The A'in-i-Akbarī mentions that Muñja lost his life in the wars of Deccan.

Vākpati's death can be assumed to have taken place between the years 993-998 A.D. Amitagati completed his Subhāṣitarathasaṁdoha in V.S. 1050 = 993 A.D., when Vākpati was on the throne of Mālava.¹ Tailapa II most probably died shortly before 998 A.D.;² therefore some time during these five years Vākpati's reign came to an end.

There is evidence to prove that Vākpati was himself a poet as well as a patron of art. In the PBC. Merutuṅga states;

"That creature [Vākpati] who was long ago produced as the dwelling place of Sarasvatī."

Moreover,

"Fortune will go to Govinda, the glory of heroism to the house of the Hero;

But when Muñja passed away, that storehouse of Fame,

1. Kāvya-mālā Series: No.82. 1903.

2. BG. Vol.I. Pt.II. p.432.

Sarasvati will be without a support."¹

These words are said to have been spoken by Vākpati himself. But Tawnay remarks that the speeches of Muñja are to be looked upon as based on oral tradition.

The Udaipur Praśasti² tells us that he cultivated eloquence, poetry, the art of reasoning and a complete mastery over the rules of the Śāstras. He³ is described as a chief of poets by the Kanthem⁴ and year⁵ grants of Vikramāditya V. In Navasāhasāṅkacarita⁶ Padmagupta writes that "after Vikramāditya and Sātavāhana had gone home, the goddess Sarasvati reposed beside this poet friend, (Kavi-mitre)."

Not much is known to-day of Vākpati's literary work, except as quotations made by contemporary and later authors in their own writings. Dr. Ganguly summarizes the literary remains of Vākpati as follows:⁷

"Dhanika in his commentary on Daśarūpa, twice quotes a verse whose authorship he ascribes in one place to Vākpatirāja, and in the other to Muñja.⁸ The Kashmirian

1. PBC. p.34.

2. EI. I. 222.

3. Utpala.

4.) IA. XVI. p.23. Kavi-vr̥ṣa.

5.

6. Sarga XI. V. 93.

7. op.cit. 276.

8. Prayaya Kupitam dr̥ṣṭa vs. 66-67.

poet Kṣemendra, quotes three different stanzas, composed by Utpalarāja, in his books Sukṛttatilaka,¹ Kavikaṇṭhābhasaṇa² and Aucitya- Vicāracarcā.³ This last is a treatise on 'alaṅkāra," in which the verse composed by the King begins with "ahau-vā hāre vā" etc. The same stanza occurs in the anthology of Vallabhadeva, its author being given as Vākpati, the son of Harṣadeva.⁴ In the Rasikasamjīvanī Arjunavarman quotes a verse, the authorship of which he ascribes to his ancestor Muñja, whose other name was Vākpati.⁵ Two other verses by the King are reproduced in the Śarṅga-dharapaddhati (1363 A.D.)⁶ "Muñja-pralideśa-vyavasthā", a geographical description of India is said to have been written by Vākpatirāja."⁷

Padmagupta was his chief court poet. Dhanañjaya, Bhaṭṭa Halāyudha, Dhanika, Dhanapāla, Śobhana, but it was in the reign of Bhoja that literary achievements reached highest point in the 11th century.

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1. Kāryamāla. Pt.2. ed. Durgaprasad and Parab. Bombay 1886.-37.
 2. ibid. Pt.4. 1887. p.125.
 3. ibid. Pt.1. 2nd. ed. 1893. p.131.
 4. Subhaṣitāvali -3413, 3414. Peterson p.449.
 5. Amaruśataka 1819, p.23.
 6. Vs. 126 by Vāk. 1017 by Utpalarāja.
 7. AS. Re Vol.IX. p.176.

Vākpati Muñja was followed by his younger brother Sindhurāja. Why this was done is not known. Vākpati II had two sons Araṇyarāja and Candana. But they were ruling Ābu and Jalor respectively. It will not be out of place here if we give a short account of the ^{four} ~~three~~ branches of the Paramāras, Ābu, Vāgaḍā Jalor and Bhinmal.

The Ābu branch ruled over the territory called the Arbuda Maṇḍala.¹ Its capital was Candrāvati² in Rajasthan. As to the extent of this small principality, it extended as far as Delwara in the East,³ Palanpur on the South³ and Godwar district ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ the North.⁴ We will deal here with only the first two kings, others being in late 11th and 12th centuries. According to the Vasantagadh inscription of Pūrṇapāla, Araṇyarāja, son of Utpalarāja was the first King of this branch. He was succeeded by Adbhuta Kṛṣṇarāja. The next ruler of this branch was Dharaṇivarāha, and then Mahīpāla, who was succeeded by Dhandhuka and he by Pūrṇapāla. We do not have much information about the earlier kings. But in DV. we read that Mūlarāja in his struggle against Grāharipu was helped by King of Arbuda-
maṇḍala.⁵ In the Bijapur inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa

1. EI. IX. 13.

2. EI. IX. 155. v.5.

3. Pārtha-Parākrama II.

4. JBBRAS. XXIII. 75.

5. DV. V. Verse 37. Bijapur Insc. of Dhavala. EI. X. 20.

King Dhavala we read that he gave asylum to a king named Dharaṇvarāha, when the latter was driven out by Mūlarāja. The Kiraḍu inscription of Kumārapāla's reign of 1162 A.D. mentions one Dharaṇidhara, the grandfather of Dhandhuk, the Paramāra King of Abu. Probably he is identical with Dharaṇivarāha. Therefore D.V's statement is correct here, probably Mūlarāja reinstated Dharaṇivarāha to his dominions as a feudatory. Dhandhuka was also a feudatory King but in the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūrṇapāla¹ we read that he was ruling over Arbuda-Manḍala, having conquered his enemy, Pūrṇapāla must have recovered the territory from the Caulukyās, and this was achieved most probably with the help of Paramāra King Bhoja of Malwa. This line of the Paramāras came to an end in the first quarter of the 14th century. In the Mount Abu inscription of the Cāhamāha King Luṅtigadeva we read that that king conquered Candrāvati and ruled over the territory of Arbuda.²

According to the Arthunā inscription of Cāmuṇḍarāja of the Vāgaḍa branch of the Paramāras, they were descendants of Ḍaṃbarasimha, the younger son of Upendra-Kṛṣṇarāja.³

1. EI. IX. 13.

2. EI. IX.

3. EI. XIV. 295.

The first known ruler of this branch is Dhanika who ruled in the middle of the 10th century and built the temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahākāla in Ujjain.¹ He was succeeded by Cacca, also known as Kakka or Kaṅka, a contemporary of Sīyaka II of the Malwa branch. It seems that Cacca fought against the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Khoṭṭiga of Mānyakheta. The Arthuenā Inscription says that "Mounted upon his elephant's back, on every side with showers of arrows shattering the host of the lord of Karṇāṭa upon the banks of the Narmadā, slaying thus the foes of the blest King Śrī-Harṣa, the lord of Malwa, he went to heaven, a valiant warrior."³ It is quite probable that he died in this battle. Caṇḍapa was the successor of Cacca, who in turn was followed by Satyarāja. In the Panhera Inscription of King Maṇḍalika, dated 1059 A.D. we read that Satyarāja gained victory over the Gurjaras or the Caulukyas and received fortune from Bhoja.⁴ Vijayarāja who ruled from about 1100-1125 was the last known king of this branch. In 1145 A.D. Malwa was conquered by the Caulukyas, and was ruled by them till 1174 when it was reconquered by King Vindhavarman.⁵ At this time it appears that Vagaḍā Kingdom fell into the

1. The Panhera Insc. of Maṇḍalika. EI. XIV. 42.

2. *ibid.* 296

3. *op.cit.*

4. *op.cit.*

5. Ganguly. 173.

hands of the Guhilots of Mewar. An inscription of the Guhilot King Sāmantasiṃha tells us that having established himself in Vagdā he brought all the surrounding territories under control.¹ Mūtā Nensi, the court bard says the same thing.²

Of the Jalor branch of the Paramāras we do not have much information. As we have seen above Candana, the son of Vākpati II was the first ruler of this branch. He was followed by Devarāja, Aparājita, Vijjala, Dharāvarṣa and Vīsala. An inscription of Vīsala dated 1117 A.D. was discovered in Jālor.³ Mūtā Nensi⁴ says that the Cāhāmana King Kīrtipāla, younger brother of King Kelhaṇa wrested Jābālipura (Jalor) from the Paramāras. After this conquest the Nādol Cāhāmanas transferred their capital to Jālor.

Turning our attention to the Bhinmal branch we find that they were more successful than their brethren branches. They called themselves the rulers of Marumaṇḍala and their capital was Śrīmāla, modern Bhinmal. The main source for this branch is the unpublished Kiradu inscription which has been at length referred to by D.C.Ganguly.⁵ Dūsala, a son of Sindhurāja obtained the territory of Marumaṇḍala from

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1. PRAS. Western Circle. 1915. 35.
 2. Ganguly. 342.
 3. EI. IX. 66 ff.
 4. Ganguly. 344.
 5. ibid.

his uncle Vākpati II. Next in the Kiradu Inscription is the mention of a certain prince Devarāja, and according to Ganguly an inscription of his reign has been discovered,¹ which is dated in 1002 A.D. Devarāja's inscription states that he pleased one Dūrlabharāja² by his achievement. According to Ganguly the latter was probably a Cāhamāna King. Dūrlabharāja II, the younger brother of Vigharāja, who ruled in the latter part of the 10th century³ (in the Śākambhari region). But this identification is by no means certain because we also have King Durlabha in the Caulukya dynasty. It is not impossible that Devarāja joined the Caulukyias against the Paramāras. During the years 1008-9 the Paramāra Sindhurāja launched an attack against the Caulukya Cāmuṇḍa who defeated the Paramāra. Durlabha was the second son of Cāmuṇḍa and it is quite possible that Devarāja helped him in his wars against the Cālukyias of Lāṭa. But this is only a suggestion, we have no definite evidence for this.

In the Kiradu inscription⁴ the next name is that of Kṛṣṇarāja of whom there are two inscriptions.⁵ When Bhīma invaded the Paramāras of Malwa, those of Bhinmal

1. Ganguly, 345. fn. 3.

2. *ibid.* 345.

3. *ibid.*

4. *op.cit.*

5. Issued 1060 A.D. B.G. Vol. I. 472. Issued 1066. *ibid.* 473

must have suffered Kṛṣṇarāja fell to the Caulukya strength and was imprisoned. In the Sundhā hill inscription of King Bālaprasāda¹ of the Nadol branch of the Cāhamānas we read that he forced Bhīma to release Kṛṣṇadeva. From this it would appear that King Devarāja mentioned above was friendly with the Cāhamāna Durlabharāja. Kṛṣṇarāja's Bhinmāl inscription of 1066 A.D. would show that he had regained his throne, Bhīma's reign ending in 1060.

Kṛṣṇarāja was followed by Soccirāja, Udayarāja and Someśvara, in whose reign the Kiraḍu Inscription was issued. It seems that the Bhinmal branch of the Paramāras came to an end in the first decade of the 13th century. The Cāhamāna Udayasimha issued three inscriptions dated 1206, 1218, and 1249 from Śrīmāla or Bhinmal.² Thus we see that Vākpati II, in order to be free in handling the affairs at Malwa thought it was best to decentralize the empire. These divisions remained intact till they were taken in the political turmoil and absorbed by the neighbouring powers.

As we have seen above, Sindhurāja was the next king to rule Malwa. In the Chronicles we are given to understand that there was some discontent between the two brothers.

1. EI. IX. 76.

2. B.G.I. 474-476.

Merutuṅga¹ tells us that Mūñjās younger brother Sīndhala, out of high spirits disobeyed the orders of Mūñja and so he was banished from the kingdom, after which Mūñja ruled for a long time. Sīndhala then returned to Gujarat and established his settlement in the neighbourhood of Kāśahrada. There he was told by a ghost to return to Malwa. From Mūñja he received a district to rule, but because he was haughty, he was blinded, and was confined in a wooden cage. He had a son named Bhoja. When the latter grew up, Mūñja became apprehensive because an astrologer had told him that his nephew was destined to rule Dakṣiṇāpatha with Gauḍa for 55 years and three days; and fearing that if Bhoja lived his own son could not inherit the kingdom, he ordered him to be put to death. But before the execution a verse from his nephew made Mūñja change his decision and honour him with the dignity of Crown Prince. When the news of Mūñja's death reached Malwa, the ministers placed Bhoja on the throne. Buhler had rightly doubted the authenticity on one verse in the NS. Where Padmagupta is silent about this and stated that "when his majesty Vākpati was about to ascend to heaven, he placed a seal on my song, Sindhurāja, the younger brother of the brother of poets now breaks it." Apart from this we

1. PBC. 36.

also have epigraphic evidence to prove that Sindhurāja succeeded Vākpati. Although it is not impossible that there was some discontent between the two brothers in the beginning, from evidence it is certainly not true that Sindhurāja deprived Vākpati's sons of their heritage. As we have seen above Vākpati gave two principalities, Ābu and Jālor to his two sons. From the NS. it can be gathered that Sindhurāja was made a Yuvarāja, probably before Vākpati went to his fatal expedition.¹

In the Udaipur Praśasti² we read that Vākpati was succeeded by his younger brother (anuja) Sindhurāja. The same inscription gives him credit for having conquered a Hūṇa King and gained glory by other victories. The Sindhurāja was also called Navasāhasāṅka and in the Carita of the same name by Padmagupta he is called Avantīśvara, Paramāra- Mahibhṛt and Mālavarāja.³ Padmagupta's object in writing this carita was to describe some incidents which led to the marriage between the King and the Nāga Princess Śaśiprabha. The story appears to be a figment of the poet's imagination but according to Bühler⁴ there may be some historical basis to it. There

1. XI. 98. Puraṁ Kāla Kramāt tena prasthiten Ambika-pateh maurvi-Kiṇāṅkavaty asya Pṛthvī doṣṇi nivesitā.

2. EI. I. 222.

3. NS. I. vv. 1,2,3,6,11,15,19,51, 102.

4. GI. I. 230.

were Nāga families ruling in Rajasthan and Central India¹ and the detailed inscription of the city of King Vajrāṅkuśa leads us to believe that he was probably an historical figure, but it is very hard to identify him. Ganguly² is of the opinion that he was a ruler of the Vajra country, and the ancient name of modern Wairagadh in the Chanda district, Central Provinces was Vajra or Vajragadh. This identification seems to be accurate, but it is difficult to say whether, without further evidence, Padmagupta was referring to them. In the tenth Sarga of the NS.³ we are told that Sindhurāja gained victories over the Hūṇa King, and the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Murala, Lāṭa and Kosala. This would correspond to the passage in the Udaipur Praśasti wherein we read that Sindhurāja defeated the Hūṇas. These Hūṇas are mentioned to a great extent in the inscriptions of this period, but they are not very easy to identify. We have an inscription of 926 A.D. wherein we read that it was issued by a certain Madhumati who was feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. He is definitely mentioned as an Arab, but it is quite possible that the word Hūṇa had the same meaning as Mleccha.⁴ This settlement shows that now there was a tendency amongst the foreigners to serve Indian

1. Nāgas of Bastar. EI. IX. 160 ff.

2. Ganguly. 70-71.

3. X. 14-20.

4. A foreigner.

rulers and for which they were recompensed. But now, without more definite evidence, it is difficult to show as to whom these Hūṇas were. The NS. next mentions the ruler of Vāgaḍa. As noticed above the Paramāra principality of Vāgaḍā was ruled by the descendants of Dambarasiṃha, son of the first King Upendra. It is probable that Sindhurāja wanted to unite the whole Paramāra Kingdom under him, but he was not able to do so, because we have inscriptions from the Vagaḍā of the Paramāras, which show that they were still independent.

Jayasiṃha Suri in the Kumārapālabhupāla carita tells us that Camuṇḍa the successor of Mūlarāja killed in battle one Sindhurāja, who was as ungovernable as the sea. Although we need not take the killing part seriously, it goes to show the enmity between the two dynasties.

We know that Lāṭa was conquered by Mūlarāja and was incorporated in the Caulukyan Kingdom. Sindhurāja may have been fighting the successors of Taila II who, as we have seen above, killed Mūñja. In fighting against Kosala, Sindhurāja was continuing the policy of Vākpati II, and the King against whom he fought was Kalacuri Kokkala II, the son of Yuvarāja II, the contemporary and rival of Vākpati II. We have no inscriptions of Sindhurāja and it is very difficult to say what his dates were. But Vākpati II

probably died in 997¹, and the first inscription of Bhojadeva was issued in 1020 A.D.² Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son Bhojadeva and at this juncture we end our account of the Paramāras, because with Bhoja of Malwa and Bhīma³ of Anahilpaṭṭana a new era of feud begins between the two dynasties of Gujarat.

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1. DHNI. II. 858.
 2. Banswara Plates of Bhojadeva. EI. XI. 181.
 3. Radhanpur Plates of 1029 A.D. his first insc. IA. VI. 193-4.

Chapter VII

The Caulukyās.

The Caulukyās, one of the most important dynasties in Gujarat, were by tradition related to the Cāpos. It is impossible to prove or disprove this tradition, but from the romantic story with which it is connected, it seems to have been created to suit the purpose of the bards. The dramatic character of the story suggests that it has been much embroidered to gain effect and therefore one finds it difficult to believe in its authenticity at least in the form in which we find it. The P.B.C. relates the story thus:-

"Then three brothers by the same mother, sons of Muñjāladeva, of the family of King Bhūyagaḍa, previously mentioned, named Rāja, Bīja and Daṇḍaka, went on a pilgrimage to Somanātha and paid their adorations to him, and on their return were looking at King Bhūyagaḍadeva, while engaged in the amusement of manège. When the king gave the horse a stroke with the whip, the Kṣatriya named Rājā, who was dressed as a pilgrim, was annoyed with that cut, which was given inopportunely. He shook his head and said, "Alas! Alas!". When the King asked him the reason of his behaviour, he praised the particular pace performed by the horse, considering it not inappropriate, and said, "When you gave the horse a cut with the whip, you made my heart bleed." The King was

astonished at that speech, and made over him, the horse to drive. He, seeing that the horse and groom were equally well trained, praised them at every step. That conduct on his part made the King think that he was of high birth, so he gave him his sister, called Līlādevī. After some time had elapsed from the beginning of her pregnancy, the lady died suddenly, and the ministers reflecting that if they did not take some steps the child would die also, performed the caesarian¹ operation and took the child out of her body. Because he was born under the natṣatra Mūla, he gained the name of Mūlarāja. By his general popularity, due to his being resplendent as the newly risen sun, and by his valour, he extended the sway of his maternal uncle. Under these circumstances, King Bhūyada, when intoxicated, used to have him crowned King, and used again to depose him when he became sober. From that time forth a "cāpotkaṣa's gift" has become a proverbial jest. Being disappointed every day in this way, he made ready his followers, and having been placed on the throne by his uncle when not master of himself, he killed him, and became King in reality. In the year 993 V.S. (937 A.D.) on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Āṣāḍha, being a Thursday in the nakshatra of Aśvinī in the lagna of Leo, at midnight², in the 21st year from his

1. Tadudaravidāraṇapūrvamapatyamuddhṛtam.

2. rātri prahara dvaya samaye.

birth, Mūlarāja was crowned King."

In the other MSS. of the P.B.C. the same account of Mūlarāja's rise to power is given, except that one MS. gives the name of the last cāpa king as Sāmutasiṃha, and the date of Mūlarāja's coronation as V.S. 998 (952 A.D.). Three other chronicles, namely Śukṛtsaukirtana.¹ Sukṛtakirti Kallolinī² and Ratua-Māla³ agree with this tradition that Mūlarāja was a nephew of the last cāpotkaṣa king, whoever he may have been.

The MS. of the P.B.C. translated by Tawney gives the last cāpa king a reign of 27 years 6 months and five days. On the other hand the P.B.C. consulted by Dr. Majumdar⁴ attributes the name Sāmutasiṃha to the last King and states that he ruled for 7 years. In the Vicārasreṇi, however the last Cāpa king is Puāda, and is assigned 19 years. The Sukṛtasaukīrtana calls the last cāpa King Bhubhata but unfortunately does not give the length of his reign, or his dates. Therefore according to the length of reign of each king and the dates given with it; the P.B.C.⁵'s last date of the Cāpas would be 936 A.D.; 962 A.D. according to the Sāmanta Vic. RM stating that Sāmanta Simha ruled for 7 years

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1. Sarga II. Vv. 1-2.
 2. V. 23.
 3. J.B.B.R.A.S. IX. 33.
 4. Chaulukyas of Gujarat. p.23.
 5. Ms. translated by Tawney.

gives the date 915 A.D. Another Ms. of PBC. gives the date 942. But there is a difficulty in the MS. translated by Tawney. Merutunga says that "Bhūyagaḍadeva came to the throne in V.S. 990 (934) ... his reign came to an end in V.S. 991 " but before this Ākaḍadeva came to the throne in 892 A.D. and reigned till 919 A.D. (965.V.S.)¹ But the last cāpa king came to the throne only in 934. It is quite possible that during this gap there was some trouble over accession. The exact nature of the trouble is not known to us, but it is not impossible that it may have something to do with Mūlarāja. This tradition of Mūlarāja's killing of his uncle is very strong, and it is very hard to disbelieve it. This whole question of Mūlarāja's accession seems to be tied up with the chronology of the cāpas. The earliest known date of Mūlarāja is 974 A.D.², therefore the nearest date in the chronicles would be that of the Vic. And that chronicle, along with the Sukrtasaṅkīrlana, appears to be more reliable than the others as far as the chronology and the genealogy of the Cāpa dynasty are concerned, since the date given fits better with the evidence.

One inscription of Kumārapāla, the Caulukya King,³ would appear to confirm that Mūlarāja had usurped the throne from the Cāpas. The verses state that "Illustrious Mūlarāja

1. Baroda grant V.S. 1030. WZKM. V. 300.

2. For detailed Chronology of the Cāpas see Chap. p.

3. The Vadnagar Prasasti EI. 1. 301. Vs. 4-5.

... by excessively light taxes gained the affection of his subjects. He made the fortuna of the Cāpotkata princes, whom he took captive at his will, an object of enjoyment for the multitude of the learned, of his relatives, of Brahmanas, bards and servants."

Bühler said that "this statement agrees with that contained in Mūlarāja's land grant where it is stated that 'he conquered the province watered by Sarasvati through the strength of his arms', and furnishes an additional argument for assuming that the first Caulukya gained Gujarat by conquest, not as the Prabandhas narrate by the treacherous murder of the last Cāpotkata, his near relative."¹

From Someśvara, the author of Kirtikaumudī² and of the Dabhoi Praśasti³ we learn that "Won over by the eminent qualities of this conqueror of his foes, the guardian goddess (Śri) of the Gūrjara Princes became of her own choice his bride, just as [the goddess Śri became the bride] of [Viṣṇu] the foe of Bāṇa, (at the churning of the Ocean)". In his Surathotsava Someśvara does not give any further information regarding Mūlarāja's accession to power but only states that Mūlarāja appointed Sola as his family priest.⁴ This led Bühler to conclude that "the appointment of a new Purohita

1. E.I. 1. 294.

2. K.K. II. v.2.

3. E.I. 1. 21.

4. Surathotsava. XV. Verses 7-8.

proves that on Mūlarāja's accession, considerable changes in the royal household were made. Such things would not have happened if the Chaulukya prince had ascended the throne of Gujarat by the right of succession on the extinction of the Chavda line. But they were only too natural, if Mūlarāja I as his land grants assert, conquered the Gūrjara-maṇḍala by the strength of his arms."¹

Dr. Majumdar² states that Bühler's contention would have been correct had the Chroniclers related a peaceful transference of power to Mūlarāja after the end of the Cāpas. Dr. Majumdar continues by saying that, taking the evidence accepted by Bühler, it appears that Mūlarāja on his accession imposed very light taxes to gain the affection of his subjects. Hemacandra also indicates in a clever pun that on his accession Mūlarāja fixed the taxes.³ It may, therefore, be taken as true that Mūlarāja reduced taxation to please the people: and that he distributed the wealth gained from the Cāpotkaṭas amongst the learned, brahmanas, bards, servants and his relatives, and that he appointed a new family priest.

These actions of Mūlarāja would show that he was trying to stabilize his position by pleasing his subjects; the only way in which he could legalize his position as a usurper. If

1. I.A. XVIII. 186.

2. The Caulukyias of Gujarat.

3. "Harir-iva Balibandha Karas-tri-śakti-yuktah Pinākapāṇir-iva Kamalāśrayaś-cha Vidhir-iva jayati Śrī Mūlarāja-nripaḥ". P.B.C. 89. fu. 3.

he had achieved the throne of the Cāpas not by usurping it but by conquering it, he need not have worried about the heavy taxation. On the contrary the extra revenue would have proved useful in paying off his troops and establishing himself in Anahilvāḍ. Another point in favour of the traditions is that no ancestors of Mūlarāja are mentioned by Hemacandra or Someśvara. But if he were a conqueror the court poets would have taken the opportunity of praising Mūlarāja's family. And therefore Dr. Majumdar's argument that Mūlarāja murdered his uncle and usurped the throne is much more acceptable under the present knowledge of the subject.

When we come to the origin of the Caulukyās, great difficulties arise, because of the various traditions, literary, and bardic, as well as in the epigraphic sources. Dr. Majumdar has dealt with this question of Caulukya origins in great detail in his very scholarly book: therefore here it remains only to write a few words on that subject. In 1937 R.S. Satyasray wrote a book on the origin of the Cālukyās.² He identifies the Caulukyās of Gujarat with the Southern dynasty of the Cālukyās and Dr. Majumdar is of the opinion that both the Caulukyās and the Cālukyās belonged to a same clan, the Sogdians:¹ but in his opinion "although this opinion is attractive, the present available evidence does

1. C.O.G.

2. Calcutta 1937.

not justify any definite conclusion on that point."¹

Leaving aside the complications arising from the various theories of origin of the Cālukyas and the Caulukyas, it would be best to concentrate on the traditions known about the Caulukyas only.

The Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla states that "Humbly asked by the gods for a protector against the insults of the son of Danu, the Creator, though about to perform the twilight worship, produced forthwith in his pot [Culuka] filled with the holy water of Gaṅgā, that hero named Culukya, who sanctified these three worlds with the flood of his fame From him sprang a race" which came to be known as Caulukya.² Practically the same story is related by Abhaya tilaka Gaṇi, the commentator of Dvyāśrayakāvya,³ while commenting on the word 'Caulukyavaniśa', and Merutuṅga in PBC.⁴ repeats the verse quoted by Abhayatilaka Gaṇi:

'The elephants are ill to take service with, the
 mountains have lost their wings
 The tortoise is a 'laggard of love' of his friends, and
 this lord of the snakes is double tongued
 The creator considering all this, produced, for the
 support of the earth,
 From the mouthful of water sipped at the evening
 ceremony, a brave warrior with waving sword blade.'

1. C .O.G. p.17.

2. DV. Commentary on. v. 2.

3. PBC. 21-22.

4. EI. 1. 301.

In Vasautavilāsa Balacandra Sūri relates, like the Vadnagar Praśasti, that the first Caulukya was created to destroy the demons.¹

These traditions are very hard to believe, and it seems that they were circulating because during this time by convention each and every dynasty had to claim a mythical origin.

But Jayasimha Sūri, who wrote Kumārapālabhūpālacarita later than the authorities noted above, gives a very different story. He traced the descent of his hero's ancestors from one Culukya, who was a great and virtuous warrior who destroyed countless enemies and then fixed his capital at Madhupadma. There then arose a race known by his name Caulukya; after many Kings and in course of time Śrī Simhavīkrama was born in the family, who freed the whole world from debt and proclaimed his own era. Simhavīkrama's son was Harivikrama from whom were descended eighty-five kings of admirable splendour. Then came a king named Rāma, his son was Bhata, destroyer of the Śakas, and his son was Śrī Daḍakka, conqueror of the Gaja Kings of Pipāsā. Daḍakka's kingdom was occupied by Kāñchikavyāla. Then there shone the moonlike King Rāji who married Līlādevī: their son was Mūlarāja.²

From this account it seems that the only sure fact the Sūri knew was that King Rāji was married to Līlādevī and they

1. Sarga. 3. verses 1-2.
2. Sarga. 1. vv. 16-21.

had a son named Mūlarāja. Though it does not seem incredible that the Caulukyās came to be known as such, because one of their ancestors was called Culukya or a similar name. But we have no evidence to show that this was the case. It is more likely that, as with certain other dynasties, the name of the eponymous ancestor was a back formation from the family name.

Then comes the well known myth of the Agnikula, related by the bards. This has been dealt with in the chapter on the Paramāras; suffice it to state here that this ceremony most probably refers to some kind of initiation into the Hindu religion, of either foreign or non-Hindu tribes. If Dr. Majumdar's ¹ suggestion that the Caulukyās were of Sogdian origin is true, then the Agnikula myth does not seem out of place. This assumption is based on the fact that the name Caulukya or Cālukya was derived from or was a variant of Culika or Śulika. Epigraphic evidence which was lacking upto now was provided by an inscription ² discovered some years ago recording a grant by Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍarāja son of Mūlarāja of the Śaulkika family, who can be definitely identified with Mūlarāja and his son Cāmuṇḍa of the Caulukya Cāmuṇḍa family. Therefore, from this inscription for the first time a definite link can be established between the

1. Caulukyās. p. 14 ff.

2. Varuṇasarmaka Grant: Bhāratīya Vidyā I. 73.

Śaulkikas and the Caulukyās. The intermediate change between these two terms is probably supplied by the Kadi plates of Mūlarāja, where the dynasty is called Caulakika. Therefore, according to Dr. Majumdar, it is necessary to examine whether there was any connection between the Cālukyās or Caulukyās, Culikas or Śulikas, for even before the discovery of Cāmuṇḍa rāja's inscription, these two had been identified. The Mārkaṇḍeya purāna mentions the Culikas and Śulikas along with Lampakas, Kirātas, Kāśmiras and other less well-known tribes in the region bordering India on the north.¹ The Matsya² and the Vāyu Purānas³ contain corresponding passages where the names are variously given as Culikas, Cuḍikas, Śulikas, Sainikas and even Piḍikas, but it is now held that all these were variants of Culika-Śulika. The Matsya Purāna further adds that the river Cakśu passed through the region of the Culikas, and this river has been identified with the Oxus. The Brhat-saṃhitā⁴ mentions the Culikas five times and Caulikas once, but speaks of them in the most disparaging terms. There are also many scattered epigraphic references to the Śulkis or Śulikas. In the Maratha inscription of Iśānavarman,⁵ Śulikas are mentioned

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1. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna. LVII. 40-41 verse
 2. GRAS. 1912. 712.
 3. GRAS. 1912. 712.
 4. IX. 15. 21: XIV. 8: XVI. 35.
 5. EI. XIV. 110.

along with Andhras and Gaudas, all of whom Iśānavarman claims to have defeated. The Torkhed plates of Govindarāja record that one Mahāsāmanta Buddhavarasa belonged to the Śalukika family.¹ There existed also the well known Śulki dynasty of Northern Orissa, which according to Dr. R.D. Bannerjee was identical with the Śulkis mentioned in the Harāha inscription. The names of some other Śulki Kings are given in the Mahseer² inscription: on grounds of palaeography it has been suggested that these Kings ruled during the 10th century, and Mirashi is inclined to connect this family with the ancestors of Mūlarāja.³

It would, therefore, appear that the Śulikas were foreigners. Pargiter tried to establish their identity and concluded that Culiker is the best supported form of the name and many of the variations are easy misreadings or its corrupted forms.⁴ R. Gauthiot arrived at an interesting conclusion of great consequence while reviewing a book by F.C.Andreas, who had identified Pehlvi word surak or sulak with sulik, and sulik with su-li mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang and had concluded that all these words in reality signified the Sogdians. Gauthiot further developed this view by quoting some of the Sanskrit texts mentioned above and concluded that

1. EI. III. 54.

2. EI. III. 156.

3. Bhāraliṃyā Vidyā VI. 90. ibid. XIV. 1.

4. JRAS. 1912. 712.

Sulika and Sudik represent respectively the eastern and western forms of the same name; only Pehlvi, which remained in continuous contact with Sogdians retain both the words sod and sulik.¹ Dr. Bagchi accepted this proposed identification of Gauthiot and explained the alternative forms Culika-Śulika by assuming that the name being a foreign one was heard and transcribed in Sanskrit in various ways; he further added, citing examples, that "the alternative s: ś: ch is not unknown in such cases."² Dr. Majumdar then traces the history of the Sogdians, which in brief is as follows:- Not much is known about the Sogdians; it has been held that the Śakas under the pressure of the Yue-chis probably invaded Sogdian first and then marched into Bactria. But Strabo mentions the 'Tokharoi' among the people who conquered Bactria from the Greeks, and the Chinese historians state that at precisely the same period the Yue-chis reached Bactria. This has led some scholars to infer that the Yue-chi of the Chinese annals were the Tokharoi of the Greeks and Tukhāra of the Sanskrit texts.³ This identification may explain the frequent mention of the Culika-Śulika along with Tukhāra, Śaka, Yavana, Pahlava Chīna and other foreign tribes. It is not possible on this slight evidence to show what role the Sogdians played in the race migrations of Central Asia. But

1. IA. 1910. 541-2.

2. JDL. XXI.

3. R. Grousset. L'empire des Steppes. p.64.

it is evident from the widespread use of their language and their scattered colonies that they were great traders and bold pioneers.

The existence in the 7th century A.D. of the Agni dynasty at Karashahr and of the Suvarṇa dynasty at Kucha with kings bearing such names as Suvarṇapuṣpa and Haripuṣpa shows the influence of Indian culture in these regions. If, therefore, the Caulukyas were Sogdians, it would not be surprising to find that after their long and intimate connection with India they had merged themselves so completely and successfully with the indigenous elements, that when they appeared as royal dynasties the least trace of their foreign origin was lost in obscurity, and only their family name remained to serve as a reminder of their ancestry.

This is the essence of the argument put forward by Dr. Majumdar, based on the available sources. If the identification of the Caulukyas with the Śulikas and Sogdians is correct, then it would prove that there is some truth in the Agnikula Myth. As in the myth the Paramāras, Cāhamānas and the Prātihāras are mentioned together with the Caulukyas, it would follow that the other three tribes or royal dynasties were of foreign origin as well. But this shows that these foreigners, although accepted by the indigenous people, had to go through some form of ceremony to come into the Hindu faith. This would also support their stories of origin from

the mythological heroes. Now that they were members of the Hindu religion, they traced their ancestry to the epic heroes, as many Indian dynasties did at this time.

But a significant argument against the identification with the Sogdians is that one single inscription is not enough to prove that the Caulukyias were a foreign race. The conclusion must remain hypothetical. But on the whole Dr. Majumdar's arguments are very convincing and they make the picture of the Caulukya's origin very clear. It would also show that the Cālukuas and the Caulukyias were members of the same clan despite the discrepancy in the various spellings of their names.

The Agnikūḷa myth is not found in the early inscriptions of the Cālukyias, but Bilhaṇa the court-poet of Vikramāditya VI gives a story of supernatural origin in his work Vikramāṅka Deva Carita. (1085 A.D.) "One day, while Brahmā was engaged in his prayer, Indra approached him and complained that the world was full of infidels and non-believers. The grandfather [Brahmā] looked at the Ganges water in his palm, and from it came out a hero fit to protect the three worlds. From him were descended the Calukyias." This in essence is the same story as related by the bards and poets of the Caulukyias and, therefore, it seems that there was some affiliation between them.

Turning our attention to the ancestors of Mūlarāja, we encounter many difficulties. His father and mother were,

according to the traditions, Rāji and Līlādevī. Earlier we have noticed how Rāji came to the Anahilapaṭṭaṇa and how he married Līlādevī, sister of the last Cāpa King. The RM gives more information about Rāji than any other chronicle. It says that Bhūyaḍa (who defeated Vanarāja's father Jayaśikhari) had a son Karṇāditya, the father of Candrāditya, who was the father of Somāditya, who was the father of Bhūvanāditya whose son was Rāji.¹ Meruṭunga in PBC. mentions a certain Bhūyarāja of Kalyāṇakaṭa in Kānyakubja; and a descendant of this Bhūyarāja was one Muñjāladeva whose son was Rāji.

There is little doubt that both the RM. and PBC. refer to the same person. The list of kings in RM. one MS of the PBC. and Meruṭunga's Therāvali agree with each other. In RM. the author relates the fight between Jayaśikhari (Vanarāja's father) and King Bhūyaḍa while Meruṭunga's account starts with the birth of Vanarāja and does not mention his father's name. Dr. Majumdar¹ is of the opinion that accounts of both the authors are wrong and tries to identify Bhūyarāja of whom Meruṭunga relates the following story:-

"There was once a King named Bhūyarāja who reigned in his capital called Kalyāṇakaṭaka in the country of Kānyakubja comprising 63 lacs of villages. One morning, while he was out

1. COG. pp. 19-22.

walking he saw a damsel with fawn like eyes sitting by the window of a palace wishing to possess [lit. wishing to hunt: mṛgayamāno] this girl who had conquered his heart, he made inquiries and ordered the wine steward to seize her. The latter brought her to the King's palace and hiding her in a secret place, informed the King. As soon as he saw her the King caught hold of the woman by the arms: thereupon she said to the King: 'Your majesty is an incarnation of all the gods. Alas! How is it that you desire a low born woman?' The sweetness of these words dispelled the King's lust to some extent and he asked her: 'Who are you?' She replied: 'I am your maidservant'. The King ordered her to explain herself and she said: 'Your Majesty's servant is the wine steward. I am his wife and so am servant of your servant.' Greatly marvelling at this reply, the King's lust departed completely and looking upon her as his daughter he allowed her to depart. On turning over in his mind he thought that his arms had touched her body, the King determined to punish those hands. During the night he put his arms so that his own watchman mistaking them for those of an interloper cut them off. In the morning he dissuaded his ministers from punishing the watchman, and went to the Mālava maṇḍala and stayed there worshipping god in the temple of Mahākāladeva. By the grace of god his arms became joined to him again. He made an offering of the country of Mālava together with his own harem to the god, and appointing the princes of the Paramāra

family to protect the same, took up the life of a hermit."¹

In the Vastrapatha-māhātmya of the Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāna, it is related that there lived in Kānyakubja, a king named Bhoja. Once a Vanapāla came to Bhoja and told him of a woman with the face of a doe roaming in the forests of Raivataka. Bhoja thereupon went with his troops, captured the maiden and brought her to Kānyakubja where she related the stories of her previous births. This impressed Bhoja to such a degree that he abdicated in his son's favour. This Bhoja has been identified with Pratihāsa Mihira Bhoja.²

It is possible that Mihira Bhoja once led a campaign into Saurāṣtra. The Haḍḍala grant of the Cāpa King Dharāṇi-varāha and the Unā grant of Avānivarman prove the existence of the power of the Gurjara Pratihāras in Gujarat upto the beginning of the 10th century, and it is likely that these territories came under Pratihāra sway as a result of a campaign undertaken by Bhoja, which has been misrepresented in the Skanda-Purāna. The romantic story of the Skanda-Purāna agrees in its main points with that narrated by Mārutuṅga.

Dr. Majumdar says that, "Probably Bhūyaḍa's invasion of Gujarat described in the Ratnamālā was really based on Bhoja's invasion of the country, in which the Caulukyās and

1. PBC. edited by Jinavijaya Muni. p.11. (not included in the Tr. by Tawney.
2. IHQ. V. 129-32.

the Cāpotkaṭas mentioned in RM. may be taken to refer to the Caulukyās of the Haḍḍala grant and the Cāpotkaṭas of the Una grant,¹ both of whom were feudatories of the Gūrjara-Prātihāras. It is possible that the Caulukyās of the Una grant accompanied Mihira Bhoja against Gujarat and later settled there. But there are many difficulties in accepting this story, firstly, Bhūyarāja has been referred by one chronicler as a Caulukya.² Secondly, according to Merutuṅga, Vanarāja came to the throne in 746 A.D.³ and King Bhūyaḍa reigned before that date, since he is said to have fought with Vanarāja's father. According to RM. Bhūyaḍa fought Jayaśikhari, Vanarāja's father in 696 A.D., while the earliest date we have of Mihira Bhoja is 836,⁴ and his last known date is 882.⁵ Therefore, Bhoja could not have ruled in the period suggested by the Gujarat Chroniclers. Dr. Majumdar continues to say "nevertheless it should be remembered that Merutuṅga nowhere says that Bhūyarāja fought against the ancestors of Vanarāja." But on the other hand, Dr. Majumdar fails to notice that Merutuṅga in his PBC. does mention other parts of the tradition. He mentions that the child was noticed by Śīlaguṇasūri,⁶ and that this took

1. Dr. Majumdar makes a slight error. The Cāpotkaṭas are the authors of the Haḍḍala grant and not of the Una Grant which was issued by the Cālukyas not by the Caulukyās.

2. In Ratnamāla.

3. PBC.

4. EI. XIX. p.17ff.

5. EI. I. 186 ff.

6. PBC. Tra. Tawney. p.16.

place in the village of Pañcāsara.¹ Merutuṅga, in fact, relates the same tradition as that in the other Chronicles, but omits the fight between Jayaśikhari and Bhūyada, although he mentions the latter, as Bhūdeva. [Dr. Majumdar continues² saying "hence, it is possible that Kṛṣṇaji [author of Ratnamālā] was mistaken in his identity of the Cāpotkaṭa dynasty which had to bear the brunt of Mihira Bhoja's attack assuming such an attack to have taken place." As regards the dynasty to which Bhūyarāja belonged, there is always the possibility that the Chroniclers were mistaken about an event which took place so long before their times. Thirdly, the name of Mihira Bhoja might have been corrupted with Bhūyaḍa or Bhūyarāja. Taking everything into consideration, therefore, it seems that the proposed identification is likely, and may, for the present serve as a working hypothesis, because we shall now see that the ancestors of Mūlarāja did not come from Kalyāṇakaṭaka, as was so long believed on the testimony of the Chroniclers.]

The discovery of the Varunaśarmaka grant³ has thrown fresh light on the ancestry of Mūlarāja. These plates issued during the reign of Mūlarāja, by his son record that Mūlarāja was a descendant of Vyāla Kāñci-prabhu. As Jayasimha

1. PBC. Tra. Tawney. p.17.

2. op.cit.

3. Bhāratīya Vidyā. 1945. Pt. 6. pp. 90-92.

Sūri states in his work¹ that Kāñcikavyāla was the father of Rāji, Mirashi has identified him with Vyālakāñci, which is quite likely. Thus, of the three Chroniclers,² Jayasiṃha Sūri alone seems to have based his narrative on a tradition which is to some extent corroborated by an inscription: therefore, we may place greater reliance on Jayasiṃha Sūri's statement. According to him, the progenitor of the race was a warrior called Culukya, who, after having destroyed many enemies, established his capital at Madhupadma. There then arose a race known by the name of Caulukya and in course of time, King Simhavikvama was born in that family. Simhavikvama freed the whole world from debt, and proclaimed his own era. His son was Harivikvama, from whom were descended 85 kings. Then came a King named Rāma, whose son was Sahajarāma, the destroyer of the Śakas. His son was Daḍakka, Conqueror of the Gaja Kings of Pipāsā. Daḍakka's kingdom was occupied by Kāñci Kavyāla, whose son was Rāji, the father of Mūlarāja.

Evidently, the first part of Jayasimha Sūri's story has no more value than a legendary tradition. But, beginning with Rāma, the kings mentioned in his chronicle seem to be historical persons. Probably Rāji's ancestors were petty princes of a place called Madhupadma. Mirashi is of the

1. Kumiārapālacarita canto IV. 25 ff.

2. Merutuṅga, Kṛṣṇaji, 8 Jayasimha suri.

opinion that this Madhupadma was situated on the river Madhuveni (modern Mahuwar) a tributary of the Betwa. But this identification is beset with many difficulties, and tentatively we may assume that Madhupadma was Mathura, which was sometimes known as Madhupuri. We may therefore conclude that Rāji came from outside Gujarat, not from Kanauj, but probably from Mathura ."¹

The Varuṣāśarmaka plates were granted by the illustrious Cāmuṇḍarāja on Sarurday, the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa, according to the text of the plates, "when 1033 Gupta [sic] years had elapsed." They record the donation to a Jaina temple of certain fields in Varuṣāśarmakapura which Jinavijaya Muni has shown to be identical with Vaḍasamā in Mahesāṇā tāluca of the Kaḍi district in Baroda state. The plates state that Cāmuṇḍarāja was the son of Mūlarāja and a descendant of Vyālakāñci in the royal family of the Śaulkikas. His mother was Mādhi, a daughter of the excellent King Bhoja of the illustrious Cāhamāna family. It is concluded that this grant was made by Cāmuṇḍarāja as Yuvarāja (from the verse which says that he did not become vain though he had obtained the rank of Yuvarāja) during the reign of his father, Mūlarāja. This fits in with the dates of Mūlarāja (1030-1051 V.S.) supposing that the date 1033 refers to the Vikrama era.

1. op.cit.

Mirashi, in his article on this grant says that, this particular grant is not in the usual style of the Gujarat Caulukyās, as noticed in the grants of Mūlarāja and his successors. Secondly, if the grant was made by Cāmuṇḍarāja, as a 'Yuvarāja', it is rather strange that he makes no mention of his father's consent, but only records his own approval at the end. Thirdly, the Cāhamāna King Bhoja, is otherwise unknown. Fourthly, the mention of the date as a Gupta one is incorrect; all the other grants of the Caulukyās are dates in the Vikrama era. All these points lead to the conclusion that this grant is spurious.

But Mirashi¹ suggests that there are certain other characteristics of the grant which make it not unlikely that the record is genuine. It is undoubtedly in characters of the 10th century to which it may be referred, supposing that its date is recorded in the Vikrama era. The date is fortunately given with full details and therefore admits of verification. "It corresponds, for the expired Vikrama year 1033 to Saturday, the 18th November 976 on which day the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa ended 18h. 45 m. after mean sunrise." The Cāhamāna King Bhoja, maternal grandfather of Cāmuṇḍarāja is unknown from any inscriptions, but the Apabhraṇśī work Kathākosa of Śrīcandra² mentions

1. op.cit.

2. See Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. in C.P. & Beria p. 726-7.

a king named Bhoja who flourished about that time and may have belonged to the Cāhamāna dynasty. The Kathākośa was composed by Śricandra who was patronized by the grandsons of Sajjana, a minister of Mūlarāja of Aṇahilapura, most probably the first Gujarat Caulukya King. While giving his spiritual genealogy Śricandra mentions that Guṇakara who was his parama guru was honoured by Gāṅgeya, Bhoja and other Kings. These kings were therefore contemporaries of Mūlarāja. They must be differentiated from the famous King Gāṅgeya and Bhoja of the Kalacuri and Paramāra dynasty respectively, who ruled in the first half of the 11th century. A Cālukya feudatory named Gāṅgeya who flourished about this time is known from the inscription of his grandson Durlabharāja dated 1075 A.D.¹ Bhoja who was his contemporary, may have belonged to the Cāhamāna dynasty as stated in the Varuṇaśarmaka plates.²

Besides, the present record gives some information about the ancestry of Cāmuṇḍarāja which receives confirmation from another source. The Chroniclers mention several ancestors, none of whom, except Rāji are known from epigraphic records. They do not mention Vyālakāñci, but the grant is corroborated by the Kumārapālacaritra of Jayasīṃha which mentions Kāñcīkavyāla as the grandfather of Mūlarāja.² The name

1. JBBRAS. Vol. XXVI. 257 ff.

2. Bhāratīya Vidyā. 1945. Part 6. pp.90. 92.

Vyālakāñci is too unusual to suggest itself to a forger unless it was historical. The account of the ancestry of Mūlarāja given in the Kumārapālacaritra, which is said to have been based on tradition aitihya looks on the whole to be more trustworthy than the fanciful legends recorded by other Prabandhakāras. The old characters, and finally this striking corroboration of ancestry in one important respect - all lend their support to the view that the grant is genuine." According to KPC. it would seem that Rāji came from Mathurā and not Kanauj. But no records of the Caulukyias have been found either in Mathurā or Kanauj. On the other hand, from inscriptions it can be seen that a Caulukya family was ruling in central India in the 9th and 10th centuries. In 1930, M.B.Garde, found some fragments of a stone inscription at Maser in the Bhīlsā district,¹ which on palaeographic grounds he has referred to the 10th century. This inscription mentions a line of Śulki Kings. Their progenitor was Bhāradvāja who was born from a drop of water which fell from the añjali of the creator. The inscription mentions some kings of this line like Narasimha and Kesari and describes their wars with the Kalacuris, their neighbours on the East, as well as with the Lāṭa Kacchavāha and Hūṇa Kings. Narasimha was a feudatory of Krsnarāja, who has identified with Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa, the younger brother of Candella King

1. Dept. of Arch. Gwālior State. 1930-31. p. 10.

Dhañgal whose known dates range from 954-1002. These kings therefore flourished in the 10th century. The fragmentary state of the inscription makes it difficult to say how long this family continued to rule in central India.

Mirashi identifies Śulki with Caulukya and Cālukya, and says that this family, meaning the Cālukyās of Central India, bears unmistakable affinity to the Caulukya dynasty of Gujarat." The Cālukyās of Central India seem to have ruled in a place called Maṭṭamayūra in the 9th century,² where Avantivarman erected a matha for a Śaiva ascetic whom he had invited to his country. The Caulukya (Cālukya) princes Siṃhavarman, Sadhanva and Avanivarman, the ancestors of Nohalā, the Queen of Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva I (c. 915-940) probably belonged to this family, for the Bilhāri inscription says that they too were descended from Bhāradvāja.³ Another place in Cālukyān territory was Madhumatī which was probably situated on the river Madhuvēni (modern Mahuwar) a tributary of the Betwa. These Cālukya Kings of Central India were staunch supporters of Śaivism as were Mūlarāja and some of his descendants. Mirashi also gives a few more points of comparison; Mūlarāja also claimed descent from Bhāradvāja and some of the names i.e. Narasimha and Kesari resemble those of Mūlarāja's ancestors, Siṃhavikrama and Harivikrama etc.

1. EI. XXV. 280.

2. EI. I. 355.

3. EI. I. 257. v. 30-33.

"All these points of similarity leave a little doubt that the two families were related to each other and that Mūlaraja or his father originally hailed from Central India."

We find that it is quite possible that both Cālukya and Caulukya dynasties belonged to one race, but that cannot be proved definitely till there is more corroborative evidence from epigraphic sources. True, there are points that are common to both, firstly, the name: then the claim that they both descended from Bhāradvāja.¹ They both have the story of 'Culuka' which can be explained as an invention by the bards to trace their origin. And if it can be proved that Rāji was of a Cālukyan descent and from Central India, then the whole problem would be solved. It is hard to believe, though that Rāji came from Mathurā. It is hardly likely that a prince of a kingdom where the religion was Vaiṣṇavism would come to Saurāṣṭra, the home of devout Śaivism. This is, of course, only if one places any reliability in the Chroniclers, according to whom Rāji came on a pilgrimage to Somanātha. But if we take Rāji to have come from Central India, where there were Śaivite rulers, then it is very natural for him to come to Saurāṣṭra. On the other hand Kalyāṇa Kaṭaka means an excellent, beautiful royal camp, and need not be taken as name of a specific place. As far as Kānyakubja is concerned,

1. And were followers of the same religion, Śaivism.

may be that the Chroniclers had heard of the might of Kananj and simply linked Rāji with the most famous place they had heard of. And if, Rāji was in any way connected with the Śulki or Cālukyas of Central India, then there is no reason to disbelieve the chronicles which say that he was descended from the Cālukyas.

It is very difficult indeed to prove whether the Varuṇaśarmaka grant is genuine or not. Nowhere in the Caulukya grants do we hear of Cāhamāna King Bhoja or the name of Mūlarāja's wife. The only point in favour of its being genuine is that it mentions the name Vyālakāñci which corroborates the evidence of Jayasimha's Kumārapāla Caritra. The ancestry given by Jayasimha is rather fantastic and there is no reason to believe that while the other Chroniclers were wrong Jayasimha was correct about Mūlarāja's ancestry. Vyālakāñci is indeed a very strange name and it is doubtful whether any ruler in whose family were such names as Simhavikrama, Harivikrama, Narasimha and Rāma would assume such a name, we find it very difficult to believe that the Varuṇaśarmaka grant is genuine. It may have been forged at a later time to show hereditary ownership of certain fields in Varuṇaśarmakapura. The name of the dynasty is given as Śaulkikas, while in the early years of the Caulukya rule only the name Caulukya was used.

It would therefore seem that Rāji came from somewhere in Central India, most probably related in some way to the Cālukyan family, to pay homage to Śiva at Somnāth. This would show that the Chroniclers were not incorrect when they recorded that Rāji was a member of the Cālukya family, hence so much confusion in the names.

The Caulukyas.

Mūlarāja I.

We have, fortunately, epigraphic sources for the reign of Mūlarāja I, and for his successors as well. The Chroniclers also give much information about him. PBC.¹ devotes much space to him. Meruṭuṅga starts with the invasion of a Sapādalakṣa King who came to the border² of the land of Gujarat to attack Mūlarāja. At the very same time arrived Bārava, the general of the monarch that ruled over the Tilaṅga country. King Mūlarāja, in deliberation with his ministers, laid before them the probability that, while he was fighting with one enemy, the other would attack him in the rear. They said to him, "If you throw yourself into the fort of Kanthā,³ and tide over some days, when the Navarātra festival comes, the King of Sapādalakṣa will go to his capital of Śākambharī to worship his family goddess. In the interval we will conquer the general named Bārava. And after him the King of Sapādalakṣa also." When he heard this advice of the ministers, the King said "will not the disgrace of running away attach to me in the world?" But they said, - "That the ram retires, the reason is that he may butt. The

1. PBC. Tawney. 23.

2. Sandhau.

3. Modern Kanthkot in the eastern (Vāgad) division of Kacch.

lion also, in wrath, contracts his body, eager for the spring, with enmity hid in their hearts, employing secret counsels. The wise endure anything, making it of little account." Persuaded by this speech of theirs, Mūlarāja threw himself into the fort of Kanthā. The King of Sapādalakṣa passed the rainy season in Gujarat, and when the Navarātra came on, he planted the city of Śākambharī on the very ground where his camp stood, and having brought his family goddess to the spot, began the Navarātra festival there. Mūlarāja, hearing of that occurrence perceived that his ministers were men of no resource, and developing in that crisis great intellectual brightness, he proceeded to compose a state paper¹ and summoned by a royal rescript all the neighbouring feudal lords, and by the mouth of the Pañcakula who was secured by spending money on a fictitious account, he appealed to all the Rajputs and foot soldiers by pointing to the noble deeds of their families, and won them over by suitable gifts and other attentions. Then he informed them of the time agreed upon and placed them all near the camp of the King of Sapādalakṣa. On the day fixed, Mūlarāja mounted a splendid female camel, and with its keeper traversed a great tract of the country, and in the early morning unexpectedly entered the camp of the Sapādalakṣa King and dismounting from the camel alone, sword in

1. Rājalaharikā.

hand, said to the King's doorkeeper, "Is the King at leisure at present? Inform your master that King Mūlarāja is entering the royal door." And with these words he pushed the servant away from the neighbourhood of the door with a blow of his strong arm, and himself entered the royal pavilion at the very moment that the doorkeeper was saying, "Here is King Mūlarāja entering the door," and sat down on the King's bed. The King, beside himself with fear, kept silence for a moment, and then shaking off his terror to a certain extent, he said "Are you really King Mūlarāja?" Mūlarāja said in clear tones "Yes". The Sapādalakṣa King, hearing this utterance, was proceeding to make some remark suitable to the occasion, when those soldiers with whom it had been previously arranged, four thousand in number surrounded the pavilion. Then Mūlarāja said to that King, "When I was reflecting whether on this terrestrial globe there was any king heroic enough to stand against me in battle or not, you arrived exactly in accordance with my wishes. But as flies alight in swarms at meal-times, this general of the King of land of Tilanga, who is named Tailapa, has come to conquer me. So I have come here to ask you to abstain from attacking me in the rear, and similar operations, while I am engaged in chastising him." When Mūlarāja had said this, the King replied, "Since you, though a sovereign, are so careless of your life, as to enter thus alone the dwelling of your enemy, like a common soldier, I will make peace with you until the end of

my life." When the Sapādalkṛa monarch said this, Mūlarāja rejected his overtures, saying, "Do not speak thus," and when invited to take food he refused the invitation out of contempt. He rose up, grasping his sword in his hand, and mounting that female camel, surrounded by that very body of troops, he fell upon the camp of the general Bārava. He killed him, and captured his horses, ten thousand in number and eighteen elephants and while he was encamping, the Sapādalakṛa King, having been informed of this fact by his spies, took to flight."

This is the story given by Merutunga, and we have no definite positive evidence to prove its authenticity. But we have given this episode in full detail because it illustrates the simple narrative of Merutuṅga. This conflict between the king of Sapādalakṣa, evidently a Cāhamāna King, and Mūlarāja is mentioned in other chronicles. The Hammīramahā-kāvya¹ says that Vighraharāja, tenth in succession from Vāsudeva of the Cāhamāna lineage killed Mūlarāja and weakened the Gurjara country. Indraji and Jackson² are of the opinion that the Sapādalakṣa king defeated Mūlarāja and at his submission, did not press his advantage. But if this was the case Mūlarāja's victory over Bārappa seems improbable. The existence of Bārappa can be proved by the Surat Grant of

1. Author Nayacandra. IA. VII. 59. Text published.

2. BG. Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 159.

Kirtirāja,¹ grandson of Bārappa, dated in 1018 A.D. Giving twenty years to a king brings Bārappa's date to 978, a year which falls in the reign of Mūlarāja² (941-996 A.D.)³ And the statement of PBC. that Bārappa was a general of Tailapa seems correct. The southern form of the name Bārappa seems to support the statement. It is quite possible that Tailapa, after overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in 972 A.D.⁴ placed a general in military charge of Lāṭa, allowing him freedom to attack his neighbours. The DV.⁵ devotes much space to this conflict between Bārappa and Mūlarāja. In short, it says that, "Once when Mūlarāja received presents from various Indian Kings, Dvārappa, King of Lāṭadeśa sent an ill-omened elephant. The marks being examined by royal officers and by prince Cāmuṇḍa, they decided the elephant would bring destruction on the King who kept him. The elephant was sent back in disgrace and Mūlarāja and his son started with an army to attack Lāṭadeśa and avenge the insult. In his march Mūlarāja first came to Śvabhṛavatī or Sābaramati, which formed the boundary of his kingdom, frightening the people. From the Sābaramati he advanced to the ancient Purī⁶ where also the people became confused. The Lāṭa King prepared for fight, and

1. WZKM. 1893. Band VII. pp.88-89.

2. PBC. Though first miṣc. 974. Baroda Gt. IA. IV. 72-77.

3. Balera Cp. EI. X. 76-79.

Author Nayacandra, IA. VII. 59.

4.

5. Canto 6. verses 27-101.

6. Broach, according to the commentator, Abhayatilaka.

was slain by Cāmuṇḍa in single combat. Mūlarāja advanced to Broach where Bārappa who was assisted by the island Kings¹ opposed him. Cāmuṇḍa overcame them and slew Bārappa. After this success Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍa returned to Anahilapura.

The DV. calls Bārappa King of Lātadeśa; the PBC. calls him the general of Tailapa King of Telingana; the Sukrtasankirtana a general of the Kānyakubja King, and the Kirtikaumudī² a general of the Lord of Lāṭa. The Chroniclers get some support from the epigraphic evidence and it can be shown that to some extent they did report historical facts. We have seen earlier that Barappa's identification can be arrived at by Surat grant of Kīrtivāja. The grant of Trilocanapāla, grandson of Kirtirāja also mentions Bārappa. Furthermore Bühler found a confirmation for the statement in PBC.³ that Mūlarāja took shelter in Kanthādurga. In the Kaḍi grant, dated 987 A.D. we read that Mūlarāja resembled "Tryambaka [Śiva] since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on the Mount [Kailāśa]."⁴ As Anahilapātaka," says Bühler,⁵ "the residence of Mūlarāja was situated in an entirely flat sandy country and not even fifty miles of any hill; the inference may be made that the

1.

2. Canto II. v. 3.

3. PBC. p.23.

4. Tryambaka iva Vihitacalāśrayaḥ. IA. VI. 183-84. of 191-2.

5. *ibid.*

praśastikāra' in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and the various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than Mūlarāja's temporary stay on the hill of Kanthā, which he boldly compared to Śiva's residing on Kailāśa."

On examining the two conflicting statements by Hammira-Mahākāvya, and the PBC., on the outcome of the war with the King of Śapādalakśa, the grant of the Cālukya Triocanapāla is of some help. DV. tells us that Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍa crossed the river Sābaramati and killed Bārappa. The grant of Trilocanapāla describes Goggirāja. Bārappa's son and successor, as the "first home of the family ... who relieved his own land like a greater viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons."¹ It is quite possible that this refers to the Caulukyias who defeated his father and seized Lāṭa, 'his own land'.

Another war to which the Chroniclers refer is the one with Lakṣarāja, the King of Kacch.² Meruṭuṅga tells us that this prince was the son of Phulaḍa and Kāmalatā, the daughter of a Paramāra King called Kīrtirāja. Lakṣarāja, owing to the boon of Yaśorāja, whom he had propitiated was altogether invincible. He repulsed Mūlarāja's army eleven times. But in the twelfth encounter Mūlarāja besieged him at Kapilakoti, killed him in single combat, and trod on the flowing beard

1. IA. XII. p.203. vs. 10-11.

2. PBC. 27,28. 150.

of his foe.

King Kirtirāja, the Paramāra has not yet been identified but it does show the existing enmity between the Paramāras and the Caulukyas. Yaśorāja is identified with Yaśovarman of Malwa by Indraji, but this seems hardly possible, firstly because there is no mention of such a connection in the PBC., and, secondly, Yaśovasman of Malwa ruled from c. 1134-42 A.D. We have no direct evidence for such a conflict between Mūlarāja and Lakṣarāja, but if there is any foundation of fact in this story, these hostilities must have begun long before the invasion of the rulers of Lāṭa and Śakambhari. For Mūlarāja's retirement to Kanthkoṭ shows that he was already master of Eastern Kacch. Another piece of evidence is a grant of Bhīmadeva I of the year 1029 A.D.¹ which states that "the King of Kings, Bhīmadeva who resides in Anahilapāṭaka, addresses all officials and inhabitants of Masūra,² situated in the dvādaśa of Ghaḍahaḍikā, in the province of Kachha, and announces the following grant - to Bhaṭṭāraka.³ Ajapāla, son of Ācārya Maṅgalaśiva, an emigrant of Navaṇisaka, situated in Kachha."

Bhīmadeva granted this village as the sovereign of

1. IA. VI. 194.

2. Village, or boundary village untraceable on any map.

3. Acc. to Bühler who recd. the information from Mr. Khakar, descendants of this Bhattāraka existed up to 1877 in Kachh.

Kacch, and it is very probable that it had been incorporated in the Caulukya Kingdom since the days of Mūlarāja. The Vastupāla Tejaḥpāla Praśasti of Jayaśimha also tells us that Mūlarāja humbled the chief of Kacch.¹

The DV. gives a somewhat different description of the death of Lakṣarāja. Hemacandra connects Mūlarāja's struggles against the ruler of Kacch and the Ābhīra chieftain of Saurāṣṭra into one episode. Of Grāharipu, the chieftain of Saurāṣṭra, he says that, he lived at Vāmanasthalī,² a city resplendent with the flags of Hanumān and Garuḍa, and at Durgapalī.³ He ate the flesh of animals and drank spirituous liquor. The 'Mleccha' hunted in Revatācala and at Prabhāsa⁴ slew deer which should not be slain. He took the flesh of cows, despised the Brāhmins and killed the pilgrims going to Prabhāsa. We are then told that, being asked by Somanātha (Śiva) in a dream to destroy Grāharipu, Mūlarāja, though on good terms with the Ābhira ruler, marched against him. In the struggle that followed Grāharipu was taken prisoner, and Lākhā was killed, Mūlarāja then went to Prabhāsa and worshipped the linga at Somanātha.⁵

There is no epigraphic support of this account, but Mūlarāja's pilgrimage to Somanātha is supported by Meruṭeniga

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1. GOS. No.X. App. I. 58 ff. vs. 5-6.
 2. Vanthalī.
 3. id. with Junāgadh.
 4. Mod. Somnāth Pāṭaṇ.
 5. IA. IV. 72-77.

who tells us that Mūlarāja went every Monday to 'Someśvara-pattana out of devotion to the god Śiva, and Somanātha was so pleased with his devotion that after informing him of his intention, he came to the town of Maṇḍali. The King caused there to be built the Mūleśvara temple. Buhler has pointed out that this is evidently to be identified with Mūlanāthadeva to which Mūlarāja assigned the village of Kamboikā by his Kadi grant dated 983 A.D.

The defeat of Grāharipu, the King of Saurāstra is described in detail by Hemacandra alone.¹ According to him Mahadeva appeared to Mūlarāja one night in a dream and asked him to destroy Grāharipu. Next morning the King consulted Jambaka and Jehula. They were his Mahāmantrin and Mahāpradhāna, according to Abhayatilaka Gani. Mūlarāja then told them of his dream, but said that he was a little hesitant to take action because he himself had established Grāharipu, even though he was guilty of harassing the pilgrims.² Jehula replied that Grāharipu was an Abhira,³ that he tortured the pilgrims and killed them, ate meat and drank wine. He had defeated many

1. Dvyāśraya.

2. Krito mayā Grāharipu. Dv. ii. v. 59.

3. DV. ii. v. 109.

kings, particularly Sindhupati, who according to Abhayatilaka Gaṇi was the King of Sindh,¹ and had been forced to pay tribute of horses and elephants to Grāharipu. Moreover he had committed the sin of hunting chamari deers in Ujjayanta.² For these reasons the minister advised the king to kill Grāharipu.

Then Jambaka began to give a description of Grāharipu's strength. He was a mighty king and had a most important ally in Lakṣa who had freed Kaccha from the Turuṣkas.³ This Lakṣa was the son of Phulla and was an inseparable friend of the king of Saurāṣṭra.⁴ With such a powerful ally Grāharipu was very strong. Therefore, Jambaka asked Mūlarāja to defeat him, as he was the only one who was able to do so.⁵ This seems to have decided Mūlarāja. He set out after the Vijayādaśamī day in the month of Aśvina, with a large army and all due pomp. In the course of a few days he reached the Jambumatī forest.⁶ There a messenger of Grāharipu came to talk () and reminded Mūlarāja that he had no

1. *ibid.* v. 83.

2. *Girnār.* DV.

3. *Yudho' parājiṣṇur-arer-abhīrustrātā Turuṣkān api Kaccha-deśāt.* This literally seems to mean that Lakṣa had saved the Turuṣkas from Kaccha, but according to the Editor of the DV. (S.P.Pandit) the phrase means that Lakṣa saved Kaccha from the Turuṣkas which seems more likely. If we take it literally it might fit in with the hypothesis that Grāharipu was a Muslim. D.V. ll. V, 105.

4. DV. ll. 106.

5. *ibid.* 108-9.

6. Hemacandra does not mention the J. forest. It is mentioned by A. Gaṇi. DV. IV. v.1.

quarrel with the Ābhira King, and urged him to go back. But Mūlarāja did not take any notice of it. He replied that Grāharipu was a despicable man who troubled the pilgrims, lived with other people's wives, had destroyed Prabhāsātirtha and had hunted in the Vjjayanta: obviously, all this happened because he was born of a Mlechha woman.¹ Saying thus, Mūlarāja turned away the messenger.

The messenger having failed in his mission, Grāharipu began to prepare to fight. He was joined by the Medas, the famous King Lakṣa, and his own sons. Various forms of spirits appeared, revealing bad omens. Nevertheless within a very short time, Grāhāri "passed through the great forest on the bank of the river [which was] the daughter of the wife of Sūrya, [thereby] causing a panegyric to be written. As it were, in Yavana alphabets, by the [profuse] ichor of tuskers satisfied by the barley plants spoiled by the cold [touch] of the great forest."²

Then Grāharipu reached the Jambumāli river, which has been identified with the river Bhogavati or Bhogao which passes the village Jambu to the east of Vadhvan.³ There he was joined by a king called Sindhurāja.⁴ Then came Lakṣa, ready for the battle.

1. DV. IV. vs. 25-33.

2. DV. IV. v. 76. Sūryā-tanayā tate himāni-śīta-yavāni tṛpta danti-dānaih. TV. A.K.M. p. 26. Yavanānyā lekhyan-prasastim nveśo'vaṇyāniḥ kṣaṇal-lalaṅghi.

3. IA. XII. 192.

4. discussed later.

Mūlarāja also arranged his army and was joined by Kings called Revatimitra Śailaprastha, Mahitrāta and Revatimitra's friend Gangamaha, the King of Gaṅgadvāra and his brother Gaṅgāmaha. Then came the Bhilla army, the Kauravas who were the sons of Kuru Kings and the friends of the desert King. Then after the fight began, Mūlarāja was joined amongst others, by his Gujarati soldiers and the Kings of Saptakāsi. The Paramāra King of Western Ābu also joined him.² When the fighting became serious, Grāharipu received the help of one Akṣauhinī of Mlechhas, who, Abhayatilaka Gani explains, came from Turuṣka.³ Then there was a long combat between Mūlarāja and Grāharipu at the end of which Mūlarāja struck down his opponent and had him securely bound.⁴ Thereupon Lakṣa came and asked Mūlarāja to release Grāharipu, but he refused because Grāharipu was a beef eater. Then there was a terrible fight between Mūlarāja and Lakṣa, till at last Mūlarāja pierced Lakṣa with a spear and killed him. Then people of Saurāṣṭra came to Mūlarāja, dressed as women, whereupon he released the prisoners and left the battlefield to visit the holy city of Prabhasā.

It appears that all the allies of Mūlarāja mentioned

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1. Mitre Revatimitrasya raṇāyottaasthatus tadā Gaṅgadvātapati Gangamaha-Gaṅgāmah-ānujan. DV. V.V.2.
 2. discussed later.
 3. A.Gani explains that one Akṣauhinī is composed of 21,870 elephants, same number of chariots, 64,610 horses, and 1,09,350 foot soldiers, implying that this number of Mlechha troops actually joined Mūlarāja.
 4. DV. V VV. 102-3.

by Hemacandra are fictitious. But Grāharipu's ally Lakṣa appears to have existed. Kirtikaumudī, Vasantavilāsa and Sukṛtasankirtana mention this fight in single verses and state that Mūlarāja defeated Lakṣa, the Kachha Bhūpāla. Merutunga gives a more detailed account. According to him, Lakṣa or Lākhā was the son of a herdsman named Phulaḍa, who under romantic circumstances came to marry princess Kāmalatā, daughter of the Paramāra King Kirtirāja. Lakṣa was the King of Kachha who had repulsed Mūlarāja's army eleven times, but Mūlarāja besieged him in some fort in the twelfth campaign and Lakṣa was killed by Mūlarāja in a duel. As Lakṣa lay dead, Mūlarāja touched the beard of his dead enemy with his feet, and Lakṣa's mother cursed him saying, "Your race will be afflicted by leprosy."¹

From these two descriptions it is certain that a King of Kaccha named Lakṣa or Lākhā Phulāni was defeated by Mūlarāja. The bardic legends of Kaccha refer to this incident as well. And, as has been shown above, Kaccha seems to have become a part of the Caulukya Kingdom.

The story of Grāharipu² and Mūlarāja, as depicted by Hemacandra, it appears very fictitious. The only thing that seems to be certain is that a certain Ābhira King Grāharipu was defeated by Mūlarāja. Grāharipu is hardly a name any

1. PBC. Tawney. 23-4.

2. DV. Sarga V.

King would take. The story about Mahādeva appearing to Mūlarāja in a dream is complete fantasy on the part of Hemacandra. Many of the reasons given for Mūlarāja's attack on Grāharipu sound absurd, and seem to have been invented by the author to justify Mūlarāja's aggression, the more so if Grāharipu was really a vassal of Mūlarāja. Mūlarāja may have been prompted to aggression by the fact that Lakṣa and Grāharipu combined could be a grave danger to the rising Caulukya kingdom. Grāharipu's molesting of the pilgrims may have angered Mūlarāja but his hunting deers in Ujjayanta is hardly a strong enough incentive for Mūlarāja's attack. Ujjayanta is identified with Girnar which was in the territory ruled by Grāharipu: since he is said to have ruled at Durgapallī, identified with Junāgadh.

It is very difficult to say what was the relationship between Grāharipu and the Mlechhas and Lakṣa and Turuṣkas. The Tarikh-us-Sind¹ records an invasion of Kachh by a King of Sindh, who was propitiated by a man of the Samma tribe named Lakhā, who came as ambassador bringing presents and a kachha horse, making offering of these, and asking pardon for their sins. Duda, the King of Sindh, gave him presents in money, a horse and a khil'at allowing him to depart. It is tempting to use this statement as corroborating Hemacandra's reference to the liberation of Kachh from the Turuṣkas by Lakṣa, but Burgess states that the incidents recorded in the

1. Elliot and Dowson. I. 218.

Tarikh-us-Sind happened in the middle of the 12th century. According to the Jād jā Chronology proposed by Burgess, Lākhā Phulāni of the bards reigned from 1320-1344 A.D.¹ But without further evidence it is not possible to say anything with certainty.

1. ASWI. 11. 196-99.

From this account it is clear that the foundation Mūlarāja lay for the Caulukya empire was very strong and with his aggressive nature he brought large part of modern Gujarat under his rule. When he came to the throne, he was ruling over the Sārsvata maṇḍala which corresponds to region in the Sarasvati valley. But when he died, the Caulukyās were masters of the land between Satyapura (modern Sanchar) to the river Marmadā. This was by no means a meagre achievement and it was left upto his successors to continue the Caulukyān supremacy over Gujarat. Mūlarāja had appointed one Vīra, a Cāpa officer as one of his ministers. This was probably done to please the people of Aṇahilwad and his wife who was a Cāpa princess.

Cāmuṇḍa the successor of Mūlarāja was issuing his own Charters as early as 977 A.D.¹ in capacity of a Crown Prince. According to Hemacandra after Cāmuṇḍa's return from the victorious campaign against Bārāpa, Mūlarāja invested him with full royal powers, and had his abhiṣeka performed.² In PBC.³ we read that "one evening after the ceremony of waving lights was over, Mūlarāja gave some [chewed] betel to a servant who perceived worms in it. Learning this, the King was seized with a desire of

1. Bhāratīya Vidya. I. 73.

2. DV. VI. 100. 107.

ascetism, and determined to abandon the world; he then applied fire to the toe of his right foot, and performing great gifts through a period of eight days, he ascended to heaven."¹

The evidence of both these Chroniclers would go to show that Mūlarāja abdicated in favour of his son Cāmuṇḍa.

The period of approximately 25 years between the reigns of Mūlarāja and Bhīma are not so glorious. We have seen that there was some feud continuing between the dynasties of the Paramāras and the Caulukyas. It is difficult to say what the outcome was but it seems that Caulukyas gained more advantage. In KBCH² we read that Sindhurāja was killed by Cāmuṇḍa, but this need not be taken in its literal sense. It may be taken to mean that morally Sindhurāja was killed.

From the evidence of one inscription it has been held that the Western Cālukyas reconquered Lāṭa at this period. In this inscription, found at Lakkundi,³ a certain Attimabe took permission from Satyāśraya to issue a grant soon after the King returned from a successful campaign in the Gūrjara country. This statement is further

1. PBC, 29.

2. Kumārapālabhupālacarita. by Jayasimha Suri. I. 31.

3. Bombay Karnatic Insc. I. No.52.

corroborated by the Kanarese work Gadāyuddha of the poet Ranna¹ who flourished during the reigns of Taila II and Satyāśraya. The Lakkundi inscription was issued in 1007 A.D. and the Gūrjara King was supposed to have been Cāmuṇḍa, "but", says Dr. Majumdar, "we do not have any evidence that would connect Cāmuṇḍa with Lāṭa or Gūrjara."² We have seen that Cāmuṇḍa defeated Sindhurāja, and Lāṭa seems to be the only place over which they could have fought. One evidence we have in favour of Cāmuṇḍa's being identical with Gūrjara of Lakkundi is that from the Surat Plates of the Trilocānapāla³ we learn that his father Goggirāja "relieved his own land like the greater Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons." Goggirāja's son Kīrtipāla is referred to as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and though he does not mention his suzerain⁴ it is certain that they were feudatories of the Western Cālukyas with whose help they regained Lāṭa. The "powerful enemies like demons" would be the Caulukyias who had previously defeated Bārappa and occupied Lāṭa. We do not know much more about the political career of Camuṇḍa. Hemacandra says that he had three sons, Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja

1. POC. XVI. 134.

2. COG. 35.

3. IA. XII. 201.

4. Fleet held that there were other Western Cālukyan Feudatories who did not mention their suzerain. e.g. Bhīllama III of the Yāclava family. DKD. 436.

and Nāgarāja. Cāmuṇḍa once asked Vallabha to uproot a 'thorn', an enemy. Vallabha, at his father's command did so.¹ Hemacandra just wrote this, but more information was given by Abhaya tilaka Gaṇi that Camuṇḍa having become licentious was deprived of his Kingdom by his sister Vācinidevi who placed Vallabha on the throne. Forbes took this to mean that Cāmuṇḍa had some improper relations with his sister, but this is completely baseless. Gaṇi continues saying that after being deprived of his Kingdom, suffering from his pride, Cāmuṇḍarāja left for Baṇaras. On his way he was robbed of his royal umbrella probably by the Paramāra King. Cāmuṇḍa returned to his capital and asked his son Vallabha, to avenge this act and get back the umbrella from the Malwa King, and this was what led Cāmuṇḍa to order his son to uproot the enemy. Merutuṅga says that it was Durlabha who marched through Malwa after his abdication in favour of his nephew Bhīma I under the same circumstances. This was, according to Merutuṅga, the primary reason for the rooted enmity between Gujrat and Malwa. But we have seen that there was enmity between the two dynasties from the day of Mūlarāja and Cāmuṇḍa.

The date of Vallabha's accession is hard to determine. Hemacandra makes no direct reference to him but a verse is dedicated to him in the Siddha Hema Candra.¹

1. Introduction to Siddha-Hema-Candra. p.76. v.10.

Wherein he has praised the Caulukya Kings, the Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla includes Vallabha in the genealogy,¹ as do many others, but not all. Probably Vallabha's reign was very short and according to Dr. Ray he probably died when Cāmuṇḍa was alive.² Majumdar rightly suggests that "in view of the insertion of the incidents mentioned above by Abhaytilaka Gaṇi, the suggestion of Dr. Ray seems to be the correct solution to the problem."

According to PBC. Vallabha ascended the throne after Cāmuṇḍa's death and reigned for six months,³ and in the Vic.⁴ gives him a reign of 14 years. The author appears to be very confused, probably due to the fact that Vallabha was ruling after Cāmuṇḍa had abdicated. We learn from the same source that Vallabha besieged Dhārā⁵ while Hemacandra does not mention Malwa in connection with Vallabha. But the Chroniclers were aware of the constant feud between both the dynasties and therefore must have associated each and every King with wars between them. We do not read of any specific achievement in the DV. which was composed soon afterwards of Vallabha. Every Chronicler mentions that Vallabha had a short reign. From DV.⁶ we gather that Vallabha died of

1. EI. I. 296.

2. DHNI. II. 944-5.

3. PBC. 29.

4. JBBRAS. IX. 155.

5. PBC. 29.

6. DV. VII. vv. 43-49.

smallpox and this has been corroborated by Merutuṅga. Cāmuṅḍa was still alive at this time, because after placing his second son Durlabha on the throne, he retired to Śuklatīrtha, on the banks of Narmadā where he died later.¹

With Durlabha the reconquest of Lāṭa is associated. The Vaḍnagar Praśāsī² says that "when filled with anger, he somewhat contracted his eye brows, that forthwith indicated its result, the destruction of the Lāṭa country." Jayasimha Suri writes "Then Durlabharāja, having obtained his Kingdom, a cloud of the forest having destroyed the lord of Lāṭadeśa, enjoyed his land with his fortunes."³ In the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla we read that Kīrtipāla the son of Goggirāja lost his kingdom.⁴ It is difficult to determine the exact date of this event, but we have an inscription of Kīrtipāla of 1018 A.D. which would show that this annexation took place some time later. The first epigraphic evidence of Bhīma is 1030 A.D.⁵ We know that Mahmud of Ghazni left Ghazni in 1025 A.D.⁶ and returned in 1026.⁷ Somnātha was plundered and he came in contact with Bhīma. This event must have occupied at least first two

1. DV. VII. vv. 50-5 .

2. EI. I. 302. v. 8.

3. KBCH. I. v. 35.

4. IA. XII. 201.

5. The Radhanpur Plates. IA. VI. 193.

6. IHQ. IX. 934.

7. HIED. II. 249.

years of Bhīma's reign. From this it would seem that Bhīma must have come to the throne in about 1024 A.D. This would give us approximately from 1018 -9 - 1023-4 as the date of Durlabha's invasion of Lāṭa. 1024 A.D. was probably Durlabha's last date.

Kīrtipāla, as it has been noted above, was a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara of the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. The Western Cālukya Jayasimha was fighting the Colas from 1019-1024 and in 1024 A.D. we find that Jayasimha had a camp of victorious army at Kolhapur when trying to vanquish the ruler of Kanhan.¹ It is probably during this period that Durlabha took the advantage of the situation and annexed Lāṭa. An inscription of Bhīma of 1029 - 30 A.D.² records the grant of land in Cutch. As Bhīma is nowhere credited with conquering Cutch, it would appear that Cutch remained a part of the Caulukyan Empire from the time of Mūlarāja. It would seem that under Durlabha the territories of the Kingdoms had not shifted much, but we do not have evidence for Northern limit of the Kingdom. It probably remained the same.

In DV. we read that Durlabha was invited by Mahendra to attend the Svayamivara of his sister. Gaṇi explains that

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1. Miraj Copper-Plate. IA. VIII. 10.
 2. Radhanpur C.P. IA. VI. 193.
 3. DV. VII. v. 74.

Mehendra was the King of Naddula in Marudeśa. He is probably identical with the only King of Mahendra of Naddula, a Cāhamāna. Kielhorn identified him with the Prince of the same name who took shelter with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Dhavala¹ when chased by Cāhamana Durlabharāja of Śakambhari line.

Durlabha went to the Svayamivara and was accorded a good welcome by Mahendra and almost all the girls of the city hastened to catch a glimpse of the good-looking Caulukya King. The assembly of the Kings included rulers of Kāśī, Avantī, Chedī, Kuru, Hūṇa, Mathurā, Vindhya, Āndhra and Gūrjara. But from all the Kings Durlabhādevi, the sister of Mahendra chose Durlabha and garlanded him. After this ceremony Mahendra gave his younger sister Lakṣmi to Nāgarāja, Durlabha's younger brother. The rejected suitors became very angry with successful Durlabha and attacked him when he was returning to Gujarat. Durlabha, however, defeated them with comparative ease and returned home with his bride.²

This narrative is not corroborated by any epigraphic evidence, nor by any other Chronicler. And the name of the Princess being Durlabhādevi, is a strange coincidence. It

1. EI. XI. 68.

2. DV. VII. 79-142.

may be argued that the name was probably given later, but there does not seem any truth in this story. But the marriage between Nāgarāja and Lakshmi may have taken place; it is described in a single verse and rightly Dr. Majumdar says that "Hemacandra is unlikely to have taken any liberty regarding the parentage of Bhīma. And unless Gani knew the name of Nāgarāja to be true, it is doubtful that he would have supplied it."¹

We have some evidence as to the last date of Durlabha's reign. A certain Jñānavimala² gives the spiritual lineage of the Kharatara sect to which he belonged, and traces its beginning to 1024 A.D. When the great Jaina monk Vardhamāna Sūri and his disciple Jineśvara visited the court of Durlabha in Aṇahilapāṭaka. It is doubtful that in a matter of religion and setting up of a sect we would be given a wrong date. Jñānavimala wrote in 1598 A.D. but we also have a work called Kharataragaccha Paṭṭavali³ which mentions that King Durlabha was a contemporary of Vardhamāna Suri. Therefore we can say with certainty that Durlabha either died or abdicated in favour of his nephew Bhīma in 1024 A.D. As noticed above, India was attacked by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1025 and at that time Bhīma was ruling.

1. C.O.S. 41.

2. Commentator of Maheśvarakavi's Śabdabheda-Prakāśa.

3. I.H.Q. XI. 779.

Durlabha had no children and was very fond of Bhīma, the son of his brother Nāgarāja. When Bhīma I came of age, according to the DV. in spite of his protests. Nāgarāja also retired from all public activities at the same time and the two brothers died soon after.¹

Bhīma I was one of the greatest rulers of the Caulukya dynasty. He withstood the Muslim invasions, and at the same time kept on harassing the Paramāras under Bhoja. As with Bhoja, many legendary tales are connected with Bhīma, but we must end our account of the Caulukyias at this point because a new era dawns on Gujarat with Bhīma I's accession to the throne of Aṇahilpāka.

1. DV. VIII. vv. 1-22.

Conclusion

Thus from our research, one point emerges very clearly. That is that since the earliest days Gujarat was the key position for rulers of the South who wanted to establish hegemony over the Northern part of the sub-continent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were able to tip the balance in Northern India because they recognized the strategic importance of Gujarat.

By 1000 A.D. as we have seen the Maitrakas had disappeared and that region was controlled by the Caulukyias. Where once the Saindhavas had ruled, that part of Saurāṣṭra was now ruled by a certain Bashkaladeva whose plates were recently discovered at Ghumli.¹ These plates were issued in 989 A.D. the object of which was to record the grant of a village. His capital was at Bhūtambili within the Mahādurga adhikaraṇa² in the Jyeṣṭhuka-deśa within the Nava-Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala. Bashkala calls himself a Rāṇaka, (a feudatory chief) but makes no mention of his sovereign. It is not unlikely that his overlord was Mūlarāja I, the Caulukyian ruler who was at

1. EI. XXX.

2. An administrative unit.

this time conquering for the neighbouring territories. The latest known plates of the Saindhava dynasty are of 915 A.D. and possibly after that the Okhā maṇḍala district was occupied by the members of Bashkala's family. But this is by no means certain. We notice a few facts about these plates. Firstly, that under Bashkala it was known as Jyeṣṭhuka-deśa. This has been taken by scholars to mean that there is some connection between the Jeṭhwar and Jyeṣṭhuka-deśa. According to the traditions Jeṭhwas originally came from Ghumli. This seems to corroborate the traditional evidence. That Bashkala was a member of this ruling family is not an impossibility.

Secondly, this region under the Saindhavas was known as Aparā-Surāṣṭra-Maṇḍala, but now it is called Nava-Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala. The reason for this change is not known.

There is a difference of 75 years between the last known date of the Saindhavas and the only known date of Bashkala. It is certain that Bashkala was not a descendant of the Saindhavas. If he were so, he would have mentioned them in the plates, and would not have dated his plates in the Vikrama era, while all the Saindhava grants are dated in the Gupta era. In Junāgaḥh the Rās were still rulers because we later read of their wars with the Caulukyās.

Turning our attention to Gujarat, we find that the Caulukyās were well established. In ca. 1024 Bhīma I succeeded his uncle Durlabha, which coincided with the rise of Bhoja in the Paramāra dynasty. The Paramāras now were ruling over the region which was before ruled by the Gūrjara-Pratihāras. Lāṭa was still a district which was much contested over. As we have seen it was now occupied by the Caulukyās.

In Rajasthan the Cāhamānas of Śākambhari were emerging as powerful rulers. In 1025 A.D. Muhammad of Ghazni made his first raid over Samānāth, but retreated and was back in Ghazni within a year. But with him he took treasures of Somnāth, the deity of the Caulukyās. We have instances of Arab settlements in India. In the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Charters from Chinchani¹ we read that when Indra III (915-28 A.D.) was reigning there was a ruler named Madhumati who belonged to the Tājika or Arab community and that he had received the entire maṇḍala or territorial division of Samyāna from Kṛṣṇarāja (II) (878-915 A.D.) Madhumati appears to be the Sanskritized form of the Arabic name Muḥammad.² It is stated that Madhumati

1. EI. XXXII. Pt. II.

2. Muhammad is Sanskritized as Madhumada in the Panjab Plates of the Kadamba Jayakesin I (1050-80 A.D.). He is said to have belonged to the Tājiya Vainśa and to have been the son of Āliyana and the father of Chhadana who was a capable and popular administrator under the Kadambas. Moraes. The Kadamba Kula. p.296.

conquered the chiefs of all the chiefs of the harbours of the neighbourhood apparently on behalf of his master, and placed his own officials in them. Verse 19 says that his own name was Sugatipa and that he was the son of Sahīyarāha or Hīyārahāra or Yārahāra. Unfortunately it is difficult to make out what this name is, because evidently it is Sanskritized. Verse 20 says how this governor of Saṃyāna, established free ferry on two streams near Saṃyāna (apparently on the Sanjan river) we also read that Sugatipa's minister was Ruvvaiya.

This inscription is very important for two main points. Firstly, this shows that some Arabs had taken service with the Indian rulers. This supports statements of early Arab writers that the Balharas (Ballaha-rāyas or Vallabha-rājas (i.e. the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānkir or Mānyakheta) were very partial towards Arab Muslims and Ibn Haukāḷ says that Muslim governors were employed by the Balharas.

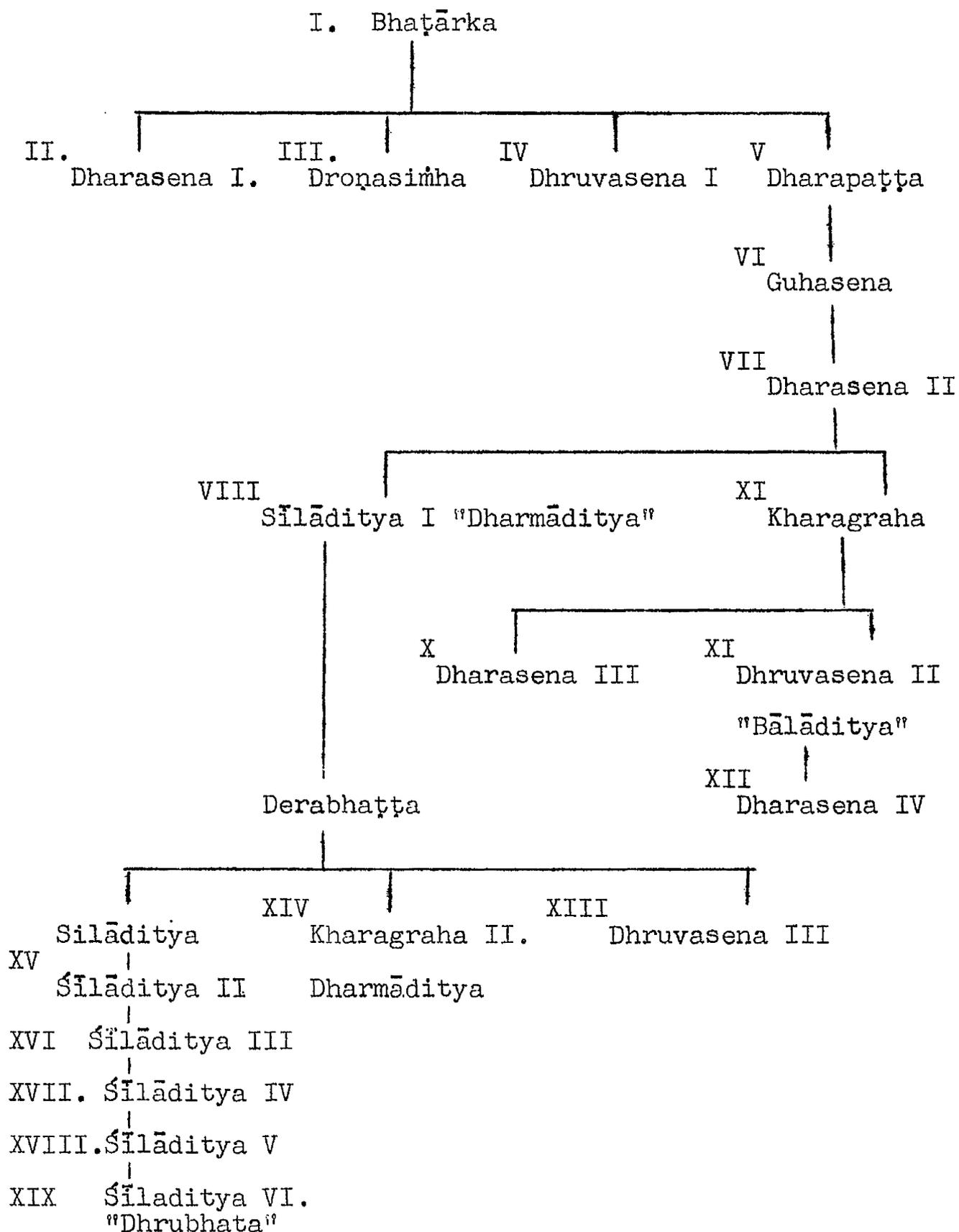
Secondly, this shows that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas still had some influence over Gujarat and especially that Indra III was alive till this date of 926 A.D. This is the only inscription to be discovered of an Arab Governor, the importance of which cannot be undermined.

As we have seen the Cāpa territory came under the Caulukyās and therefore vanished from the map of Gujarat.

The first years of the 11th century in Gujarat saw the rise of two great emperors - Bhoja of the Paramāra dynasty and Bhīma I of the Caulukya.

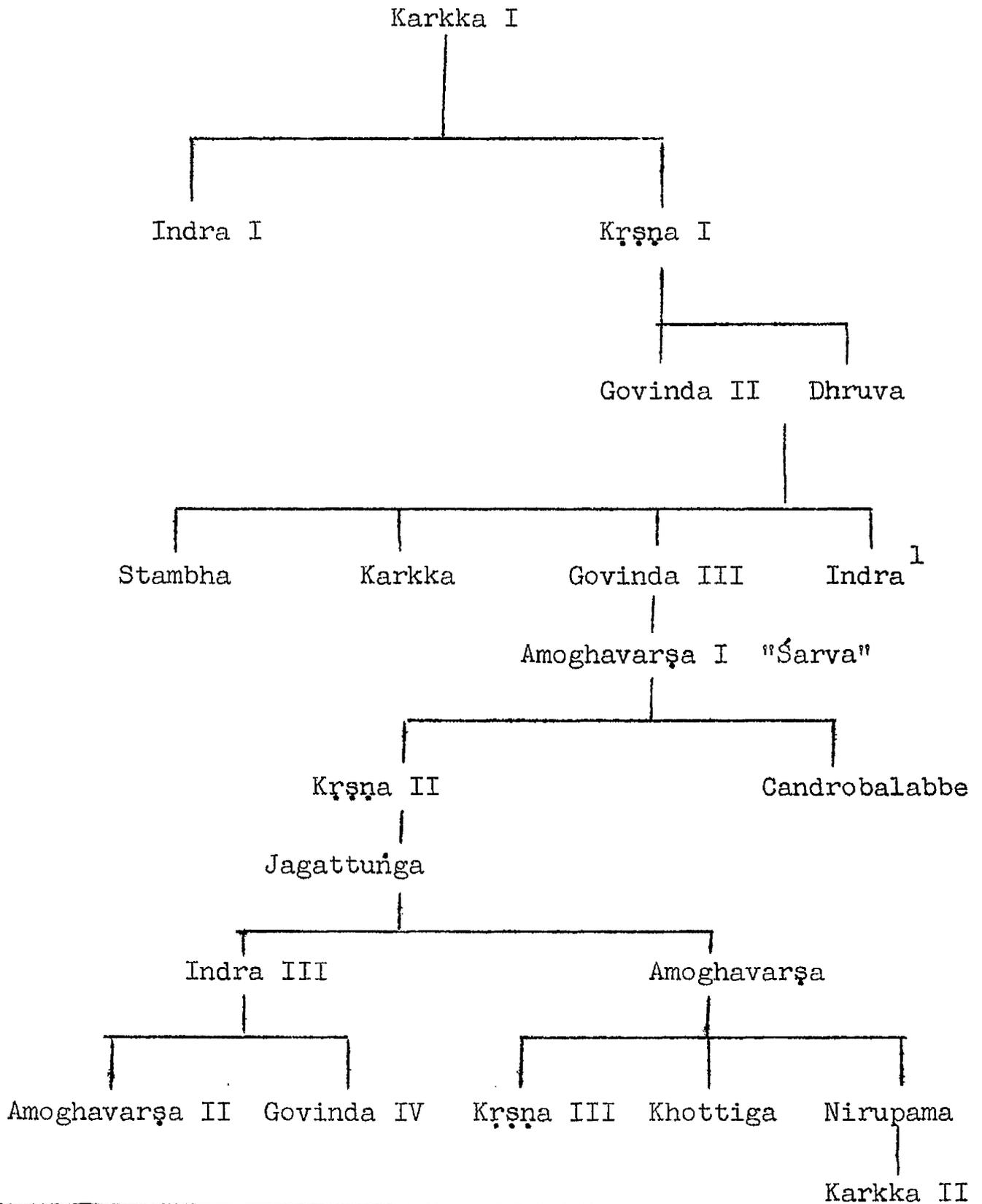
We end our research at this juncture because this accession of both emperors opens a new age in the history of Gujarat. They both fought for the hegemony of Gujarat in which the Caulukyas became masters of Gujarat.

The Maitrakas of Valabhī

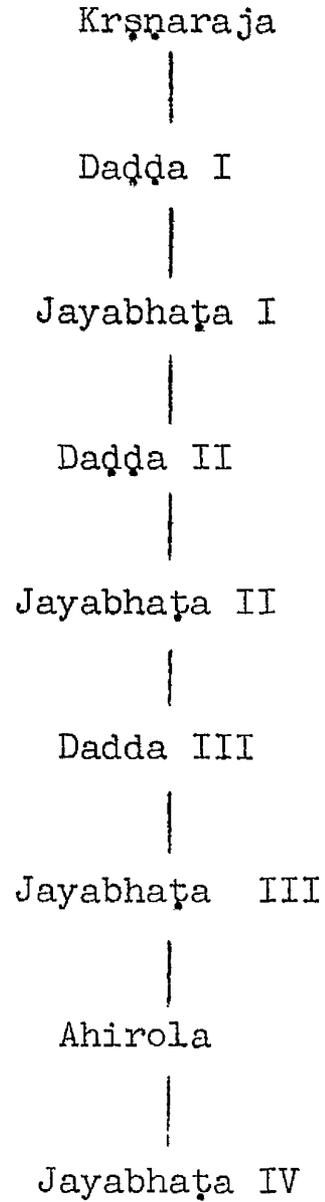


1. The Roman numbers show the order of succession.

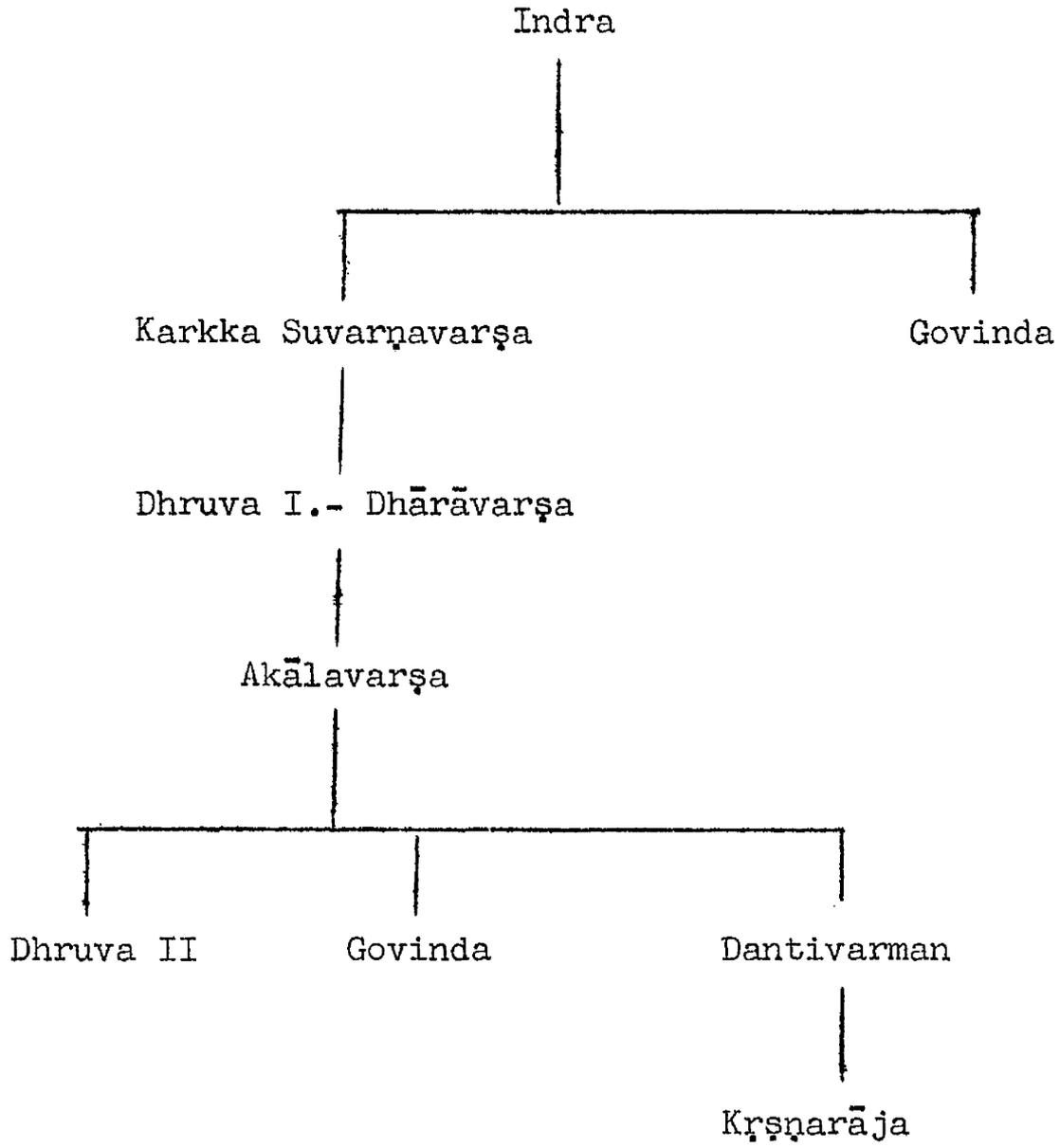
Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed.



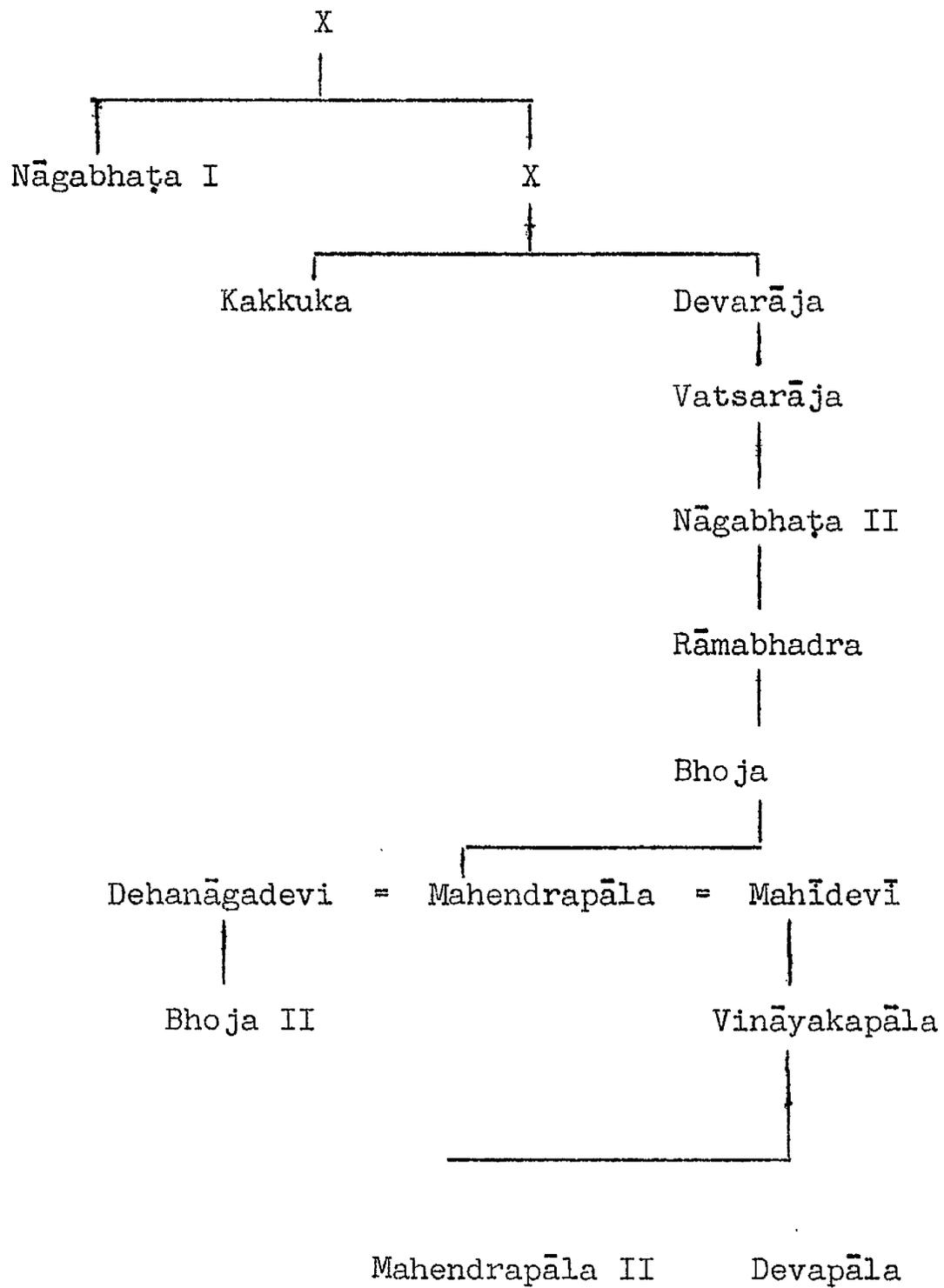
1. Of Gujarat branch.

The Gurjaras of Broach.

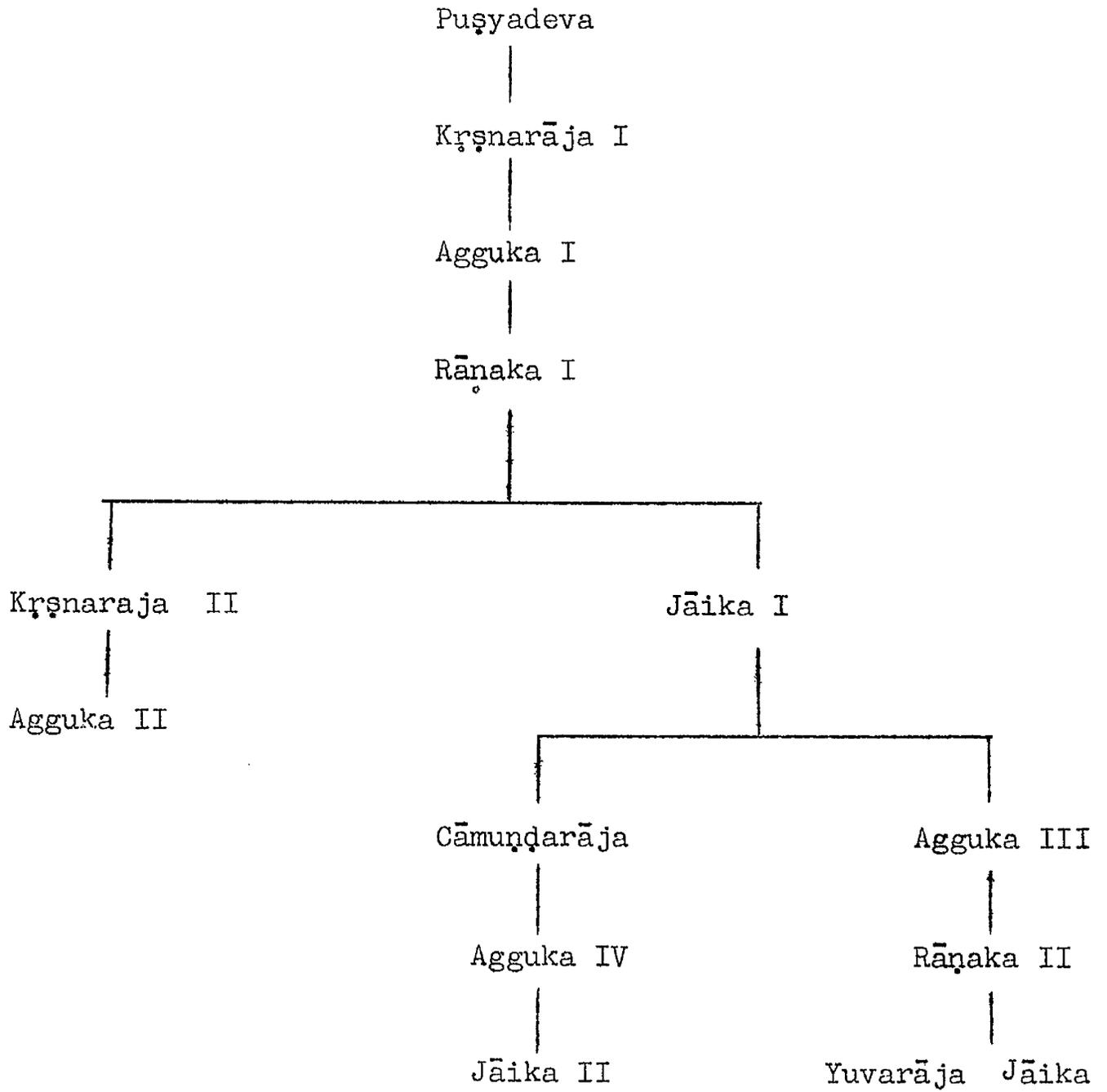
The Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Gujarat.



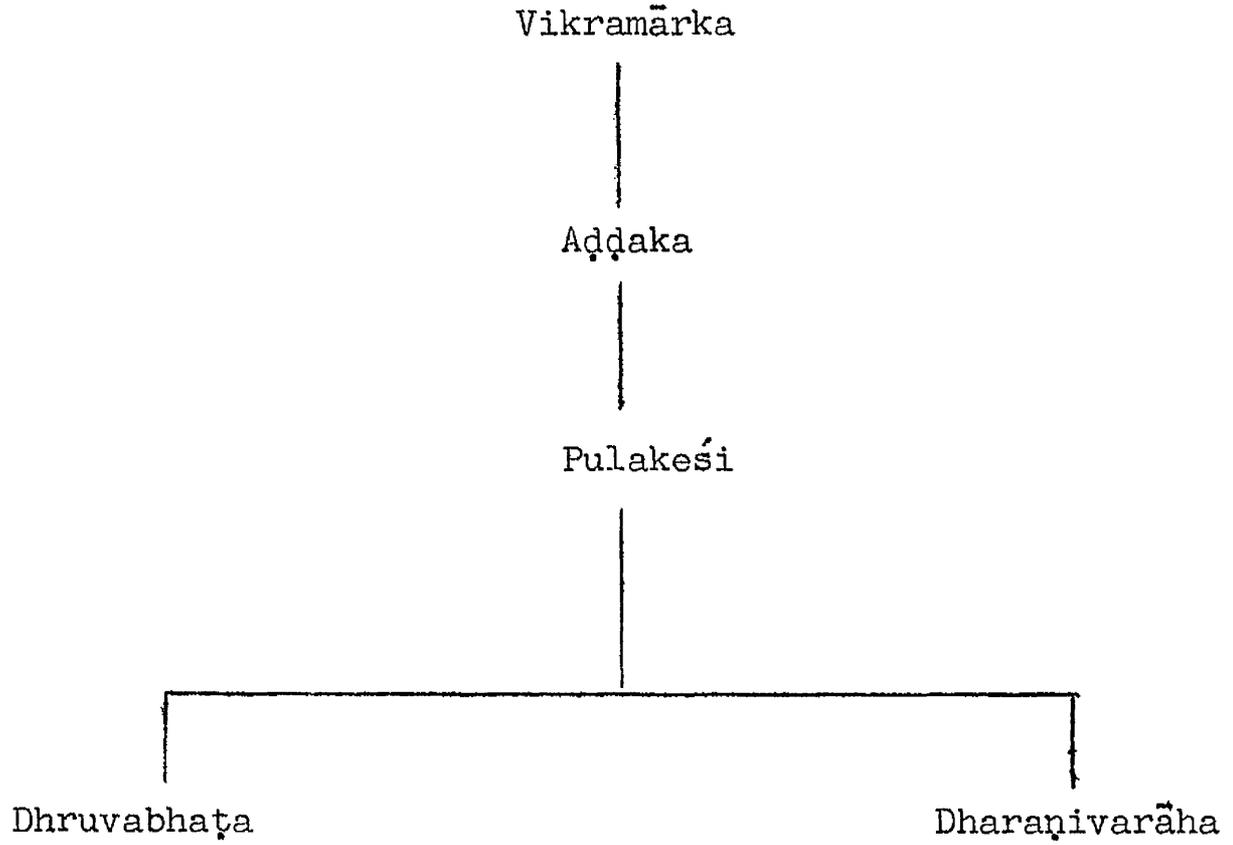
The Gūrjara-Pratihāras



The Saindhavas of Ghumli

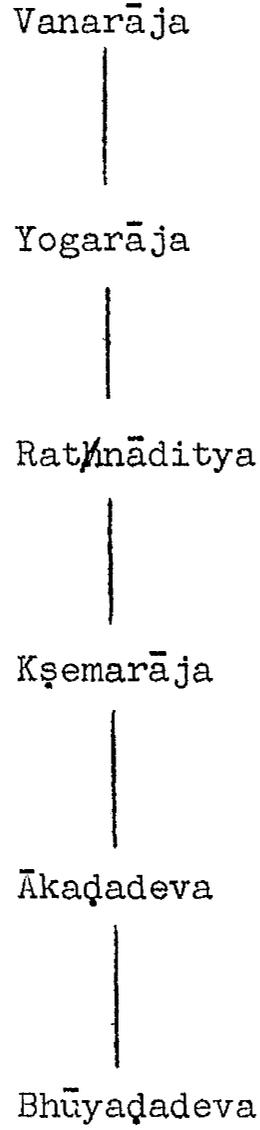


Cāpas of Vardhamāna¹



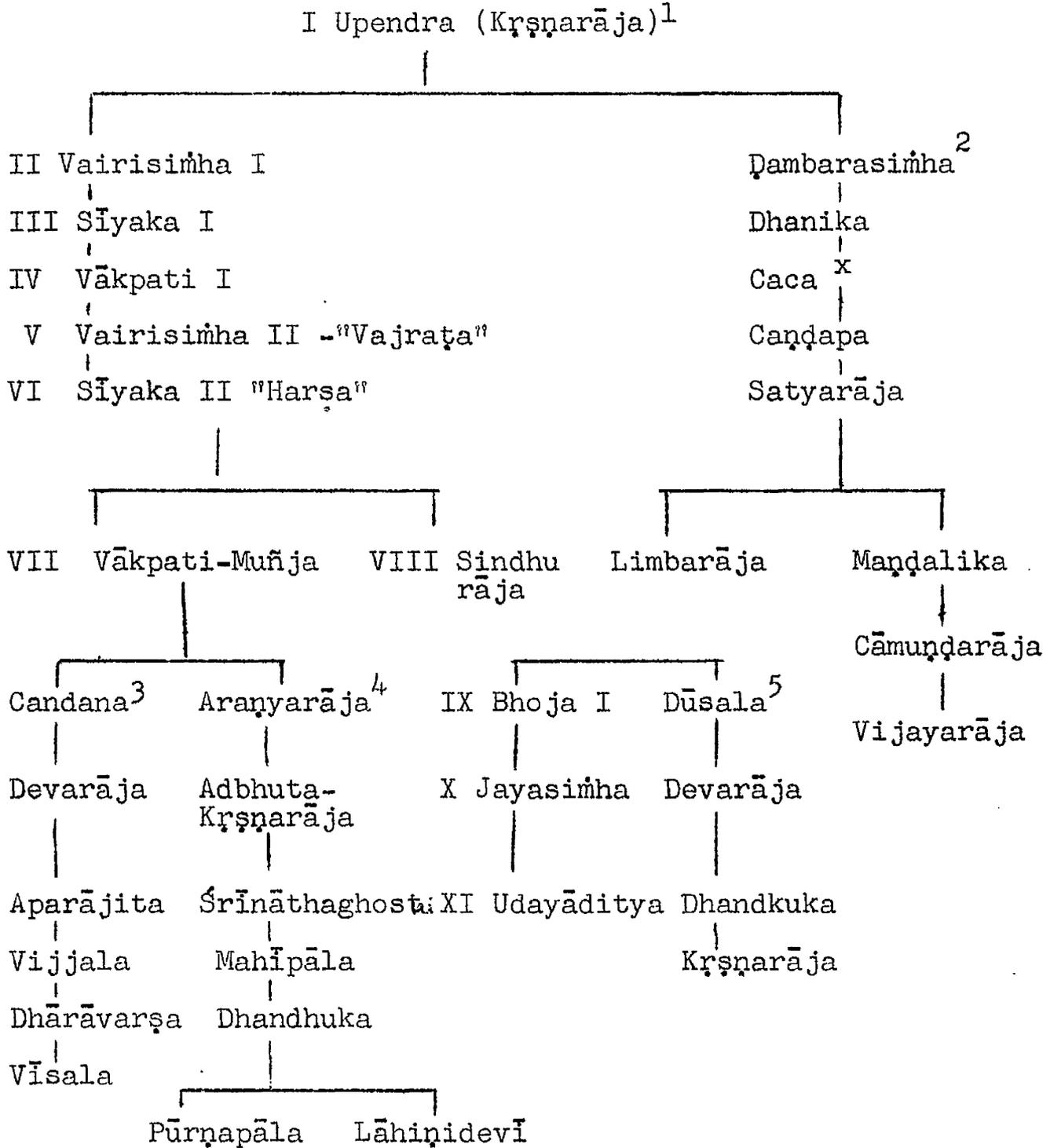
1. Haḍḍālā Plates of Dharaṇivarāha 914 A.D. IA. XII.
193 ff.

Cāpas of Aṇahilapātaka.¹



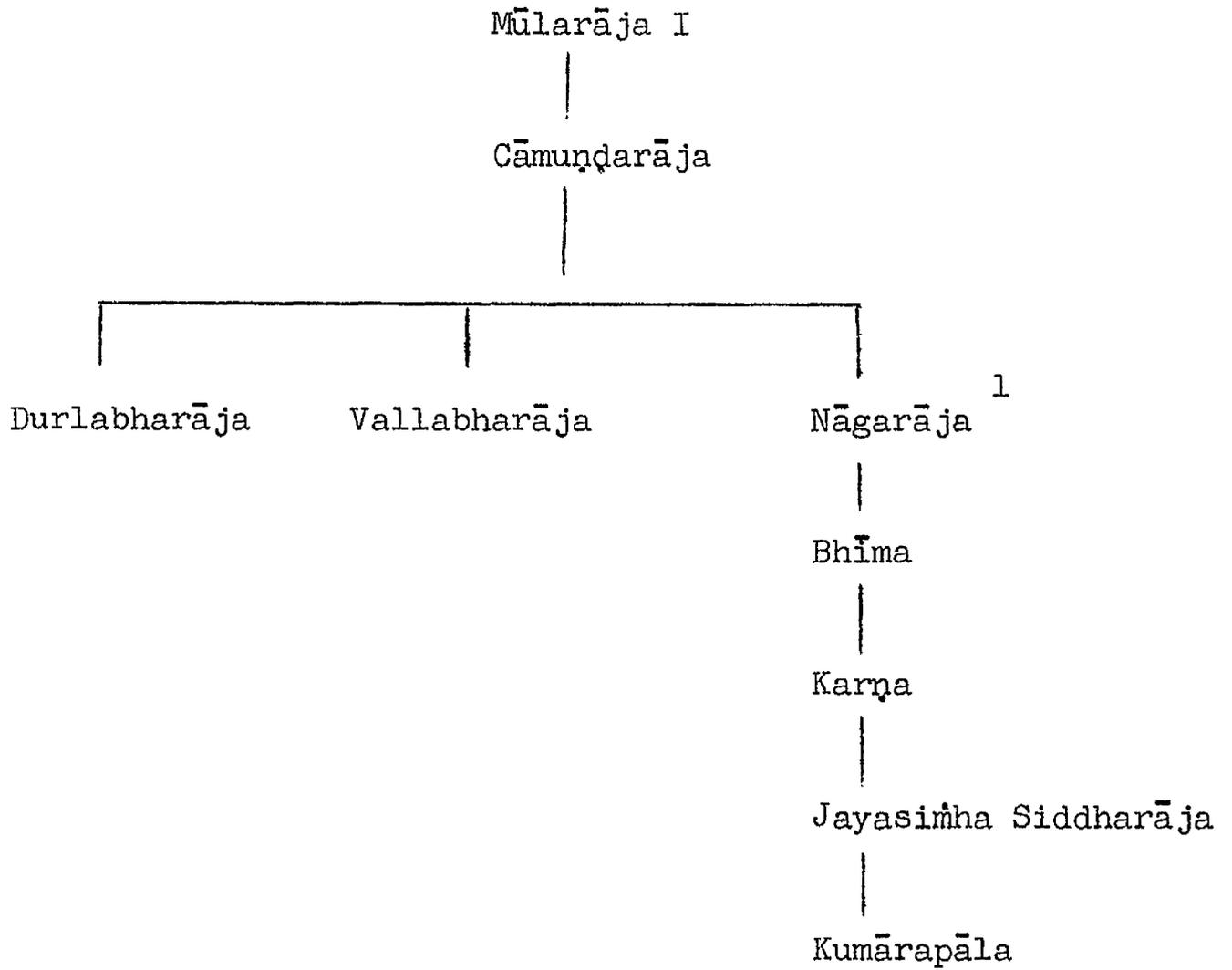
1. For detailed genealogy see the Chapter on the Cāpas.

The Paramāra Dynasty - Showing the relationship between various branches.



1. The Paramāra branch ruling in Malwa. The Roman numbers denote that main branch.
 2. Vāgada branch. 3. Jālor branch. 4. Ābu branch.
 5. Bhinmal branch.
 x. Caca was the son of Dhanika's brother.

The Caulukyias



1. Nāgarāja did not rule.

Cāhamānas of Broach.

Maheśvaradāma

|

Bhīmadāma

|

Bhartrvādḍha I

|

Haradāma

|

Dhrubhaṭa

|

Bhartrvādḍha II

The Gūrjaras of Broach.

In the region between the rivers Kim and Māhi in Gujarat inscriptions dated in the Kalacuri era have been found. They belong to the Gūrjara dynasty of Broach and range from the year 630 to 736. A.D. This region appears to have been under the direct rule of the Kalacuris up to the year 611 at least; in that year the Kalacuri King Buddha-rāja granted a village in the Broach district.¹ After the overthrow of the Kalacuris by Pulakeśin II, the ruler of the Western Cālukyan dynasty extended his kingdom upto the river Kim in addition to the province of Konkan and the three Mahārāṣtras,² as well as Southern Gujarat.³ In the meantime emperor Harṣa was conquering regions far and wide and presumably Pulakeśin II placed the Gūrjara King Dadda II as his vassal in order to create a buffer state. Dadda II

1. C.I.I. IV. No.5.

2. The Marathi speaking parts of States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad. In the Aihole Inscription, EI. VI. p. 1 ff he is called the lord of the three Mahārāṣtras comprising 99 thousand villages.

3. Vikramāditya I who succeeded Pulakeśin II appointed his younger brother Jayasimha to Governor South Gujarat parts of North Konkan and the Nasik district. Navasāri Plates of Jayasimha's son Śīlāditya state that the prosperity of Jayasimha was augmented by his elder brother Vitramāditya I. C.I.I. IV. No.27 line. 9.

probably had taken the advantage of hostility and warfare between the Kalacuris and Western Cālukyas and acquired some territory. Dadda on his part was probably much relieved at the support gained. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II¹ tells us that Lāṭa's King, who was in all probability none other than Dadda II, with others being impressed by Pulakeśiu's valour, became as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by force should behave.

Dadda II's grants are the earliest Gūrjara records discovered so far in Gujarat. Kielhorn has shown that both in their eulogistic and formal parts they were drafted on the mould of the earlier Kalacuri grants and from this he rightly conjectured that "the family of these chiefs (Gūrjaras) rose to independence only after the time of Kalacuri King Buddhārāja " 611 A.D.² Thus the Gūrjaras, although feudatories of the Western Cālukyas, made use of the Kalacuri era and based their grants on those of the Kalacuri Kings. The Kaira Copper-Plate of Dadda II³ mentions two earlier princes of the dynasty: his grandfather Dadda and his father Jayabhata, Vītarāga. The former had the title of Sāmanta, and Fleet rightly conjectured that he and his son were feudatories of Buddhārāja.⁴ As the known dates of Dadda II range from 630-642, he probably ruled from ^{ca} 620-645. His grandfather can

1. E.I. VI. 6.

2. E.I. VI. 296.

3. C.I.I. IV. 17.

4. B.G. I. pt. II. 315.

be referred to the period 570-595 and his father from 595-618 or 619. But there is no way in which these dates can be corroborated. The contemporary Kalacuri Kings were Kṛṣṇarāja and his son Śaṅkaragaṇa. It is again doubtful whether Dadda I was at all ruling in the Broach region, because from a copper plate found at Sankheda¹ we learn that a certain Nihirullaka was ruling over the lower Narmada Valley, later on the heart of the Gūrjara Kingdom, as a feudatory of the Kalacuri King Śaṅkara-Gaṇa. After this the region was under the direct rule of the Kalacuris as shown by the Sarsvaṇī grant of Buddharāja.² The Gūrjaras therefore, must have come to rule the Broach region only after the defeat of the Kalacuris. It would appear that the two predecessors of Dadda II were of no importance at all and were probably minor officers or landlords under the Kalacuris. And only when the hostility between the Kalacuris and the Western Cālukyas flared up and resulted in the disappearance of the former, could Dadda II, as a Vassal of Pulakeśin II gain the Kingdom of Broach.

The origin of these Gūrjaras, as of the other dynasties, is very obscure, and here we will attempt to give only the details of political history. Their origin will be discussed in Appendix

1. C.I.I. IV. no.13.

2. E.I. VI. 296 ff.

Dadda I.

There are no records found of this ruler, but from the Kaira grants of his grandson Dadda II we learn that he was a devotee of the Sun.¹ We are told that the lands at the foot of the Vindhya delighted him, which seems to suggest that he raided the country up to Vindhya from his base, most probably in Rajasthan. He may be referred to the period between the years 570-595.

Jayabhaṭa I.

We know very little about this King. He was given the Biruda "Vītarāga."² - one whose passion had vanished - and from this we may suggest that he was probably a man of peaceful nature. He had two sons, Dadda II and Raṇagraha; the latter was apparently placed in charge of the Eastern part of the kingdom by his brother. Jayabhaṭa may have flourished in the years between Ca. 595- 618-19.

Dadda II.

This ruler was also known as "Praśānta-rāja" - one whose passion had subsided. He is known from several inscriptions, and was the real founder of the Gūrjara Kingdom in Lāṭa. His Kaira plates³ are dated 629-30 A.D. and 634-35

1. C.I.I. IV. nos. 16-17.

2. C.I.I. IV. nos. 16-17.

3. C.I.I. IV. nos. 16-17.

and record the grant of śiriṣapadvaka¹ to certain Brāhmaṇas. The other sets of plates were issued in 641-2,² and record the grant of two fields in the village of Kṣīyasāva in the Saṅgamakhetaka viṣaya.³

Dadda II is also mentioned in the fragmentary Sankheda grant of his brother Raṅagraha dated 641. As stated above, Dadda II was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Pulakeśin II soon after the latter carved out a kingdom for himself in the lower Narmada Valley. On the seals of his plates Dadda II is styled Sāmanta, or feudal lord, while in his grants he is said to have won the Pañcamahāśabda.

Like his grandfather he was a sun-worshipper. Dadda II heads the genealogy in all the later records, which corroborates to some extent the view that he was the real founder of the Gūrjara Kingdom. His descendants took pride in describing him as one "who had a canopy of glory, possessing the grace of a moving large and white cloud, which had sprung from his protection of the King of Valabhi when he was attacked by the illustrious emperor Harṣa."⁴

It has been recognized that a mere Sāmanta could not have given protection to a Maitraka ruler against Harṣa without any assistance. Besides, it is interesting to note that Dadda II himself does not mention the incident in

1. Modern Sisodva 11 miles from Ankleśvar in Broach.

2. C.I.I. IV. nos. 19-20.

3. Modern Sankheda.

4. Navsari Plates of Jayabhata III. 706 A.D. C.I.I. IV. 1.85. line 4.

his grant of 641 which was made towards the end of his reign. Scholars are uncertain as to who the supporting sovereign was. According to R.C.Majumdar,¹ Dadda II was a feudatory of the Pratihāras, who were hereditary enemies of Harṣa. But it is doubtful whether they were at that time strong enough to resist Harṣa or to provoke him by helping the Gūrjara ruler in shielding a Maitraka ruler. From the Aihole inscription² and the description of Hiuen-Tsang³ we learn that after having gathered forces from the five Indies and the best generals from all countries, Harṣa advanced in person, relying on his formidable elephant force. He was opposed by Pulakeśik II and a battle was fought, probably on the banks of Narmada, in the heart of the Gūrjara Kingdom.⁴ In this struggle Dadda II probably fought on the side of the Western Cālukyan King. Though he himself did not claim credit for any victorious battle, his descendants ascribed the victory over Harsa solely to their ancestor. One of the causes of this war may have been the protection given to the Maitraka ruler by Dadda II when he was attacked by Harṣa. The Maitraka ruler who sought protection was in all probability Dhruvasena II - also known as Bālāditya - whose earliest grant is of the year 629-30. From Hiuen-Tsang's account we learn that Harṣa later made peace with him and strengthened the alliance by

1. J.D.L. Vol.X. pp. 1 ff.

2. E.I. VI. p. 1 ff.

3. O.Y.C. II, 239.

4. Devahuti. Thesis. Ph.D. 1956. p.

giving him his daughter in marriage.

Altekar explains the state of affairs by saying that Harṣa's conquest of the Maitraka must have preceded his offensive against Pulakeśin II.¹ V.V.Mirashi² disagrees and argues that there seems to have been only one war, during which the Maitraka flew to the court of Dadda II. He was pursued by Harṣa who in turn was defeated by Pulakeśin II and his feudatory Dadda II.

Altekar¹ points out that the war after which the Maitraka sought protection with the Gūrjara King could not have been fought during the first two or three decades of the 7th century when both Harṣa and Pulakeśin II were increasing their power and position by conquering small kingdoms. Pulakeśin II's victory over Harṣa is mentioned in the Aihole inscription of 634 but the earlier Lohaner plates issued by him in 630 are silent about it.³ Dharasena IV, who succeeded Dhruvasena II, appears to have been most powerful: he is known to have assumed the titles P M P and Cakravastin.

It appears to us that there was only one war, as conjectured by V.V.Mirastu⁴ and that Dharasena IV, who later in his reign advanced against Broach, derived his strength from the alliance with Harṣa. Dharasena IV advanced to Broach and occupied it, which shows that it was then the Gūrjara capital.

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1. A.B.O.R.I. XIII. p. 302 ff.
 2. C.I.I. IV. Introduction page liii.
 3. S.M.H.D. I. pp. 1-8.
 4. C.I.I. IV. Introduction. p. liii.

Their capital till the end of Dadda II's reign was Nāndīpurī,¹ as all of his four grants² are issued/there^{from}.

The capital was shifted to Broach sometime before 675, the date of the Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Dadda II.³

From his victorious camp at Broach Dharasena IV issued two sets of Plates in 648.⁴ The villages granted by him lay, however, in the Khetakāhāra Viṣaya which was outside the Gūrjara kingdom. It has been suggested that the Maitraka king was a guest of the Gūrjara kingdom when he issued the plates from 'his victorious camp'. To Mirashi the argument does not appear convincing; for though in ancient times kings sometimes made grants of land situated in the territory they had recently acquired, they did not do so invariably, especially when the country was only raided and not annexed. The Vadner Plates of Buddharāja⁵ though issued from his victorious camp at Vidiśā in Eastern Malwa, record the grant of a village in the Nāsik district and the Kashad Plates of Kṛṣṇa III,⁶

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1. Nāndīpurī has been identified with modern Nandod in the Rājpipla State. Dr. Buher identified it with an old fort of that name just outside the Ghadesvara gate, to the east of Broach. Indraji suggested Nandod. The statement in the Anjaneri Plates of Jayabhata III that Nāndīpurī Viṣaya included the village Toranaka (mod. Toran, 2 miles to the north of Nandod) proves the correctness of Indraji's suggestion.
 2. C.I.I. IV. nos. 16-17. 19-20.
 3. C.I.I. IV. no. 121.
 4. I.A. VII. 73 ff. and XV. p.339 ff.
 5. C.I.I. IV. no.14.
 6. E.I. IV. 278.

though issued from his victorious camp at Melpati in North Arcot record the grant of a village near Karhadi in the Satara district.

In the case of Dhruvasena IV, the adjective 'victorious' prefixed to the 'camp' does indicate, however, that he raided the Gūrjara kingdom, during the course of a military campaign. But there is no indication of any annexation of land. It is very possible that Dharasena IV soon returned to his country after having exacted heavy tribute from Jayabhata II, the successor of Dadda II.

Jayabhata II.

We do not have any historical information about the successor of Dadda II. He is known only from the genealogies of his successors.¹ The praise given to him is very general, and he was in all probability a sun-worshipper. But a temple dedicated to the sun god was most probably built by him. The temple, Jayāditya was situated at Kotipura near Kāpika,² and its existence is known from a grant made several years later (827) for its repairs by King Govinda of the Gujarat Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch.³ The reason why the building of this temple may be attributed to Jayabhata II is that as shown above Jayabhata I does not seem to have ruled Gujarat

1. C.I.I. Vol. IV. Nos. 121, 24, 25.

2. Modern Kavi.

3. I.A. V. 144 ff.

and Jayabhaṭa III and IV according to their grants were devotees of Śiva. Jayabhaṭa II may be placed between the years 645-665.¹

Dadda III.

Only one grant of this King dated in 675 has been hitherto discovered,² but he is mentioned in the grants of his successors.³ He had the biruda of Bāhusahāya - one whose sole helper is his arm - and had attained the Pañcamahāśabda. He seems to have pursued a more vigorous policy than his predecessors. He is said to have obtained victories over the kings of East and West.⁴ The king of West mentioned here was probably Śilāditya II of the Maitraka dynasty whose dates range from 660-685.⁵ It would seem that soon after his succession, if not earlier, Dadda III raided the Maitraka kingdom in retaliation for the previous invasion of Dharasena IV, and was successful to a certain extent. During his reign the Gūrjara kingdom was invaded by a king called Vajraṭa or Vajjada, as stated in the Nāsik plates of Dharaśraya Jayasimha,⁶ but the attack was in all probability repelled by the Cālukyan help. The whole army of Vajraṭa or Vajjada was destroyed by Jayasimha, a younger son of Pulakeśin II.

1. C.I.I. IV. Introduction.

2. C.I.I. IV. no.121.

3. C.I.I. IV. nos. 21-24.

4. C.I.I. IV. no. 21

5. Acarya. No.78, J.A.S.B. VII. 968.

6. C.I.I. IV. no. 28. lines 9-10.

This victory was regarded as very important because it was decisive, and, like the defeat of Harṣa, it is mentioned in many Rāṣṭrakūṭa records as the most glorious achievement of their enemies the W. Cālukyas.¹ It is not certain who this king Vajraṭa was. V.V.Mirashi² has put forward the opinion that he may be identified with the Maitraka Śīlāditya III, whom we have discussed above. It would seem that Dharasena IV issued his plates from Broach which was in all probability only raided by him. He was driven out by Dadda III who is said to have defeated the Kings of East and West.³ But then Śīlāditya III, who was a very powerful ruler, returned and was finally defeated by the paramount sovereign of Dadda III, the W. Cālukyan King Jayasiniha. From a recently published inscription it seems that Śīlāditya III occupied the Gūrjara kingdom for some time, because the inscription records his grant of a field in the village Antikā situated in the Bhasukaccha visaya.⁴ This grant is dated 676-77 A.D. about nine years before Jayasiniha's Nāsik grant⁵ which records his victory over the king Vajraṭa. It is therefore almost certain that the King was Śīlāditya. Furthermore, we saw the biruda Bāhusahāya attributed to Dadda III⁶ which is yet further

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1. e.g. Anjanavati Plates of Govinda III E.I. XXIII. p.14.
 2. C.I.I. IV. Introduction page liv.
 3. C.I.I. IV. No.121.
 4. Important Inscription from the Baroda State. Vol.I. pp. 18 ff.
 5. C.I.I. IV. No. 28.
 6. C.I.I. IV. Page 93. line 10-11.

evidence showing that the Gūrjara country was undergoing difficult conditions. The land granted by Śilāditya III was in the Broach district, and not outside as in the grant of Dharasena IV. The defeat of Vajraṭa may have occurred some time between 677-685.¹

Jayabhaṭa III.

This Gūrjara ruler is known from two records. His Navasāri plates were issued from his camp at Kāyāvātāra.² The second set of plates was discovered at Nasik and registers the grant of a village near Nāndipuri. These were issued from Broach. In these records, as well as in the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Dadda III the word 'Gūrjara' is left out, and instead they are said to have descended from Karṇa, undoubtedly the hero of the Bhārata war. This fact is very significant, because it gives some evidence that the Gūrjaras were not being assimilated in the Hindu way of life and they thought that by having an ancestor from Hindu tradition they would be more willingly accepted by their contemporaries. This point will be discussed in the appendix where we will put forward our views on the ~~foreign~~ origin of the Gūrjaras.

1. ~~op.cit.~~ fn. 4-5 on page *previous page*.

2. Modern Karwan (latitude 20° 3' N. longitude 73° 10' E)
C.I.I. IV. No.21.

Jayabhaṭa was a worshipper of Śiva and had won the Pañcamahāśabda.¹ His descendants gave him the higher title Mahāsāmantādhipati,² but he makes no claim to it in his own records. His Naṣari^{va} plates are dated in the year 706,³ and the second set in 710.⁴ Jayabhaṭa III's rule may have lasted from ca. 690-715. Dadda III ruled from about 665 to 690, since his first plates were issued in 675 and his last date may be determined by the war with Vajraṭa (if identified with Śilāditya II) which may have taken place in about 685 - the last known date of Śilāditya II.⁵

Ahirola.

He was the son and successor of Jayabhaṭa III and is known from the Prince of Wales Museum grant of his son Jayabhaṭa IV.⁶ He has been given the same titles as his father, and his reign seems to have been quite peaceful and uneventful. He probably ruled from ca. 715-719 or 720.

Jayabhaṭa IV.

The son and successor of Ahirola is known from two grants. The first one which is fragmentary, was found at Kavi

1. C.I.I. IV. no. 22. line 14.

2. C.I.I. IV. no. 24. line 15.

3. C.I.I. IV. no. 21.

4. C.I.I. IV. no. 22. Anjaneri Plates of Jayabhaṭa III.

5. J.A.S.B. VII. p.968.

6. C.I.I. IV. no. 24. line 21.

and is dated in A.D.736.¹ The second one was issued later in the same year.² The description of Jayabhaṭa is purely conventional, but there is one verse in a corrupt form, which may refer to an historical event.

'Jayabhaṭa, by the edge of his sword, forcibly vanquished in the city of the lord of Valabhī, the Tājikas who oppressed all people.'³

This verse was also found in the Kāvī plates,⁴ but was very fragmentary, which led Bühler to translate it thus:-

"Who [Jayabhaṭa] by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī."⁵

But the Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhaṭa IV⁶ show that he went to rescue the Maitraka ruler when he was attacked by the Arabs. The first two Arab invasions have already been considered in Chapter I while discussing the general history of Gujarat in the early part of the eighth century.

This verse in the Prince of Wales Museum plates shows that Jayabhaṭa IV, although an hereditary enemy of the

1. C.I.I. IV. No.23.

2. C.I.I. IV. No.24.

3. Asidhārājalena Śamitah Prāsabham Valabhipateh Pureh Yo Cye) nāśesalokasaṅ(tā)pa Kalāpadastājji Kanalo (Ja)yabhata-jala) da eṣa.

4. I.A. IV. 155. Asidhārājalena Śamita (tain) prāsabham Valabhipateryude(ddhe) Yo na Śesaloku (ka) sabhāpa Kalāpadastarthikāhala ... phalada.

5. 9A IV. 155

6. C.I.I. IV.

Maitraka kings, did not hesitate in helping the Maitraka kingdom when attacked by an outside force.

The rule of this king probably lasted from ca. 720 till the final defeat of the Arabs by Añanijanāśraya-Pulakeśin some time before 740, the date of his Nausari plates.¹ From the Nausari plates we know that with other kings the Gūrjara chief was also defeated by the Arabs, before they were forced to retreat by the W. Cālukyau King. Jayabhaṭa IV was thus the last king of the Gūrjara dynasty of Broach. After its destruction their Kingdom was in all probability annexed by the W. Cālukyās. After their overthrow by the Rāṣṭrkūṭa king Dautidurga,² the country to the North of the river Kīm Kūn was occupied by a Cāhamāha King Bhartrvaddha, a feudatory of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra King Nāgabhaṭa.³

Extent of the Gurjara Kingdom.

This Kingdom was most probably bounded by the river Kim in the South and the Arabian Sea in the West. In the North, the boundary followed the course of the Māhi river upto the former Rewakantha Agency, from where ran along the eastern limits of the Panch Mahals district to Chota Udaipur in the East.⁴ Their capital at first was Nāndīpurī as all the

1. C.I.I. IV. no. 30.

2. Antroli-Chāroli plates of Karka II dated 757 record the grant of Sthāvarapallikā (mod. Chāroli - only 17 years after the Navsari Plates of Pulakeśin of W. Cālukya branch.

3. E.I. XII. p.197. Hānsot plates of Cāhamāha Bhartrvaddha.

4. V.V.Mirashi. C.I.I. IV. Introduction page lvi.

records of Dadda II are issued from it. After him it seems to have shifted to Broach. Of the five later records, one of Dadda III, two of Jayabhaṭa III and two of Jayabhaṭa IV, one was issued from the royal camp at Kāyāvātāra South of Baroda, while the place of issue in the case of the other two is not known.

Thus the early Gūrjara dynasty comprised six generations and ruled for approximately 120 years when they were in all probability destroyed by the Arabs.

The Early Cāhamānas.

Origin.

The Cāhamānas were one of the most important dynasties of mediaeval India, but like the other dynasties their origin is obscure and the traditional accounts are fictitious. They are one of the four races mentioned in the Agnikula myth which has been discussed in the earlier pages.¹ There are at least five theories of their origin:-

1. According to the bards and the chroniclers they were fire-born. The best known chronicler is Chand Bardai who told the story in his work - the Prthvivāja-Rāso. It is also found in the story told by bard named Nainsi; the Hammiyarāso of Jodharāja; the Variśabhāskara of Sūryamalla Miśrana; and the history of Cāhamānas of Manipuri as told in the Cauhāna Candrikā. This story is also repeated in Sisāṇā inscription of the Cāhamānas of Bedlā,² and of course the Chroniclers and the Inscriptions relating to the Paramāras and the Caulukyās as seen above.

The Agnikula myth is very hard to disregard. In the case of the Cāhamānas, the name itself sounds a little foreign. Cāha may well have some connection with Śāha

1. See Chapter V. VI. VII.

2. E.C.D. p.94.

which clearly denotes foreign influence. And later we shall see the importance of this Agnikula myth while comparing the various theories. As we have noticed above the Agnikula ceremony may have taken place not because they were foreigners but because they were non-Hindus, or non-Kṣatriyas. But the association of these four dynasties, the Prātihāras, the Paramāras, the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas with the fire-origin appears to be significant. That this myth originated from Rājasthān is made clear from the fact that the bards tell us that, when the other three strong men could not conquer the demons, who were hindering the sacrificial fire: the almighty, from his arms created a warrior named Cāhamāna, who was able to conquer the demons. All the importance goes to the last warrior, and it seems to us that this importance was given to him in Rājasthān where the Cāhamānas ruled for about 400 years.¹

II. The second theory of origin is that according to the Gotroccāra they were of lunar origin, but this was never mentioned before 1321 A.D.² and therefore does not appear to be important. But this tradition of their being

1. The last Insc. of the Cāhamānas of Candavāvati and Abu is V.S. 1394. Dr. Ojha's transcript.

2. Luṅtigadeva's Ābu Insc. *op. cit.*

Somavaṁsi appears to have been accepted as true at one time by the Cāhamānas of Candrāvati.¹

III. The Cāhamānas are also regarded as belonging to the solar line. The Vaniśabhāskara² sompromises between the solar and the fire origin by saying that they are ultimately identical. The theory their solar origin cannot be traced earlier than the middle of the 12th century, and that too only registers the claim of the Śākambhari line to the solar origin. The later sources which state their solar origin are the Prthvirājaviḷaya,³ a Cāhamāna Praśasti⁴ (probably of Vighraharāja IV's reign), the Badlā Inscription of Prthvirāja III,⁵ the Haṁmira Mahākāvya⁶ and the Surjanacarita.⁷

The Prthvirāja-Vijaya says that the first Cāhamāna was born after the Kaliyuga had set in the Buddha had been born as an avatāra of Viṣṇu and the Mlecchas had begun invading India.⁸ The Cāhamāna is also mentioned as a son of the sun-god, an uncle of Ikṣvāku - the first Solar King of India - according to the traditions.⁹ According to the Acaleśvara Inscription of Luṅṭigadeva, the first

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1. Luṅṭigadeva's Ābu Insc. *op.cit*
 2. Rājasthāni - Calcutta. III. Pt. 2. pp. 1-8.
 3. PV. I and II.
 4. E.C.D. p.5.
 5. E.D.C. p. 94. Insc. 5.
 6. H.M.I. 14-17.
 7. SC. VIII. 151-162.
 8. Prthvirāja - Vijaya. i. 36-74.
 9. E.D.C. p.6.

Cāhamāna was created after the solar and lunar race had become extinct.¹ His services were required to put down the Asuras interfering with the sacrificial rites of Vatsa. According to Daśaratha Sharmā two points emerge from the tradition of the solar origin,

1. That the Cāhamānas were not tribally connected with the old solar and lunar Kṣatriyas, and

2. that the Cāhamānas probably gained recognition as Kṣatriyas rather late in history and most probably by fighting for Hinduism against the Non-Hindus.

If this is so then the Agnikula theory of origin does not seem wholly fictitious. There is the possibility that this certain individual named Cāhamāna was made a Kṣatriya by this ceremony. He may have been a foreigner, a non-Kṣatriya or even a non-Hindu, and in order to become a member of the ruling caste took part in the Fire ceremony, described in the Agnikula legend. The other points in this tradition such as the story about the coming together of Viśvāmitra, Gautama and Agastya and Vaśistha's bringing forth the heroes; and the story that the four dynasties were brought forth from four different parts of Brahmā's body, are obviously unbelievable. But it seems clear enough that the

1. Kṣitau praśantau Kila Sūrya-somavañś: viśalau pravaran hi parvañ.

tradition implies that the originators of these four dynasties had to undergo a religious ceremony in order to be assimilated into the Hindu way of life, and especially into the Kṣatriya caste.

IV. According to Bhandarkar the Cāhamānas were most probably Khazars and originally belonged to a priestly section of a foreign tribe.¹ The evidence given is a coin of Vāsudeva Vahmana or Bahmana; the legend on the obverse is in Sassanian Pahlavī "Saf Varsu Tef. Sri Vāsudeva" in the inner circle to the right, and on the margin "Saf Varsu Tef Wahman [Bahman] Multān Malkā", meaning Śri Vāsudeva Vahman, King of Multān. And on the reverse it has Śri Vasudeva in Nāgari characters and the Pahlavi legend. Tukān Zaulistan, Saparda lakṣan that is Takka, Zabulistān and in all probability Sapādalaṣṣa. Rapson compares this coin with coinage issued by the Persian King Khusru II. Parviz in the 37th year of his reign which corresponds to 627 A.D.¹

We find that as with other dynasties the problem of their origin cannot have a solution until and unless some extraordinary sources are discovered. The Cāhamānas controlled the whole of Rajputana and confronted various Muslim invasions. But for our purpose we need only to look at the earlier branches of this dynasty.

1. Rapson - Indian Coins, Para. 109. Catalogue of Indian coins. 1908. London.

The Cāhamānas of Lāṭa.

The existence of the Cāhamānas of Lāṭa was first found in the Hansot Grant of Bhartrvaḍḍha.¹ The first verses of this record that "The Cāhamāna family, exalted with a large army, who have succeeded in adorning their territory, who are a receptacle of victory" Then there is a genealogy of the donor.

In the Cāhamāna family.

|
Rājan Maheśvaradāṇṇā

|
Bhīmadāma

|
Bhartrvaḍḍha (I)

|
Parama Māheśvara Haradāma

|
Dhrubhaṭadeva

|
Parama-māheśvara-Samadhigatata - pañca- mahāśabda
Mahāsāmantādhipati Bhartrvaḍḍha (II).

1. IA. 1913. 58.

It is then announced that this last prince while staying at Broach granted the village of Arjunadevīgrāṃā to a certain Brāhmaṇa. It was issued from Broach in the pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya of the illustrious Nāgāvaloka in 756 A.D. Nāgāvaloka has been identified with Nāgabhaṭa I of the Gūrjara Pratihāra dynasty.

This inscription gives us six generations of Cāhamānas who appear to have resided in the region of Broach. By assigning a period of 30 years Konow arrived at 500 A.D. as the date of Maheśvaradāma. But H.C. Ray would assign only 25 years each and have 600 A.D. as his date. We cannot say as to what date would be right, but 30 years reign for each ruler is not impossible but unexpected. Maheśvaradāma's date may have been somewhere around 580-60 A.D. the most interesting point to be noted here is the name endings in °Dāma, which also occurs amongst the Western Kṣatrapas. In the opinion of Rapson,¹ it may well be a Sanskritized form of the Persian word Spalaga-dāma. The name certainly has a very strong foreign element which would go to strengthen the argument of foreign origin of these people.

We had the Gūrjaras in the Broach region till about 736 A.D. when they were destroyed by the Arab raid. After

1. Catalogue of Indian Coins. 1908. P. cv.

that this part of Gujarat was probably conquered by the Gūrjara-Pratihāras and given to the Cāhamānas who became feudatories. Konow suggests that they may have settled in Broach for a long time previously. But this seems impossible to us because from the Gūrjara inscription that they had good control over the Broach region, and therefore probably Dhrubhaṭadeva was the first Cāhamāna of Broach. The other rulers mentioned in the genealogy were no rulers, but were only included as ancestors.

For about five centuries nothing is heard of the Cāhamānas of Gujarat. The Hammīra-mada-mardana of Jayasiṃha¹ reveals the presence of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Saṃgrāmarāja, also known as Saṃgrāmasiṃha, who was a contemporary of the Vāghelā King Viṣṭadhavala (ca. 1233-43 A.D.) He is said to have been the son of Sindhurāja and nephew of Siṃha, lord of Lāṭadeśa.

The Cāhamānas of Dhavalpuri.

The existence of this branch was made known by the discovery of a Stone Inscription at Dholpur.² It opens with an eulogy of the Sun God, then follows the genealogy of a

1. G O S. X. 1920.

2. ZDMG. XL. 38-42. Carmaṇvālī-taṭa-dvaya-saṃsthita-Mlecchādhipa-pravarāḥ,
ipsitaṇā praṇatā sevām kurvanti yasyānu.

King named Caṇḍamahāsenā.

In the Cāhāvāṇa-vaṃśa

|
Isuka

|
Mahiṣarāma

|
Caṇḍamahāsenā

The last King lived in Dhavalapuri. The object of this inscription is to record the building of a temple of Caṇḍasvāmin, the date of the consecration of the temple is 842 A.D.

Caṇḍamahāsenā's family appear to have been feudatories, possibly he acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja, who had captured Kanauj sometime before 836 A.D. The only thing known about Caṇḍamahāsenā is that the Mleccha lords who were established on the banks of the Carmaṇavati paid him homage. Who these Mlecchas were, it is very difficult to say. But that there were Arab settlements at this time is known from the *Ginchanī* inscription of a certain Madhuban^{mal} who was an Arab feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

1. op. cit.

The Cāhamānas of Partabgarh.

This branch is known from the Partabgarh Stone Inscription of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla II,¹ whose gift of a village for the cult of the goddess Vaṭa-Yakṣiṇī-devi in 946 A.D. is recorded in it. But it also contains references to earlier grants of various shrines attached to the monastery of Hari-Ṛṣiśvara. We are told that the provincial governor of Mahendrapāla, resident at Ujjaen, at the request of the Cāhamāna Mahāsāmanta Indrarāja, granted a village for the cult of Indrādityadeva. The Inscription gives the following genealogy of the Cāhamāna Chief:

Princes of the Cāhamān-ānvaya ... who were a source
of great pleasure to King Bhojadeva

|
Govindarāja

|
Durlabharāja

|
Indrarāja

This last prince built the great temple of the Sun-God -

1. EI. XIV. 160-161.

named after him (Indrā-ditya), at the village of Ghonta - Varṣika. As grants are recorded to this temple in 942 A.D. it is certain that Indrarāja built the temple on or before that date.

Nothing is known about any possible successors of Indrarāja.

List of Inscriptions

The Gūrjaras of Broach.

1. Kairā Plates of Dadda II - 629 A.D. - C.I.I. IV. 57.
2. Kairā Paltes of Dadda II - 634 A.D. - C.I.I. IV. 67.
3. Saṅkheḍā Plates of Raṇagraha - 641 A.D. - C.I.I.IV.72
4. Saṅkheḍā Plates (First Set) of Dadda II - 642 A.D. -
C.I.I. IV.75
5. Saṅkheḍā Plates (Second Set) of Dadda II - 642 A.D. -
C.I.I. IV.78
6. Navsāri Plates of Jayabhaṭa III - 706 A.D. -
C.I.I. IV.82
7. Anjaneru Plates of Jayabhaṭa III - 710 A.D. -
C.I.I. IV.90
8. Kāvī Plate of Jayabhaṭa IV - 736 A.D. - C.I.I. IV.96.
9. Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Jayabhaṭa IV -
736 A.D. - C.I.I. IV. 102.

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10. Haḍḍālā Plates of Cāpa Mahāsāmantādhipati
Dharaṇivarāha - feudatory of Matūpāladeva - 914 A.D. -
I.A. XII. 193 ff.

The Gūrjara-Pratihāras.

11. Buckalā inscription of the time of Nāgabhaṭa - 815 A.D.
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12. Barāh inscription Bhojadeva I. 836 A.D. - EI. XIX. 17 ff.

13. Daulutpur inscription of Bhojadeva I. 843 A.D. -
EI. V. p. 211 ff.
14. Gwalior inscription of the time of Bhojadeva - 875 A.D.
EI. I. 156 ff.
15. Āhār inscription of Bhojadeva. 876 A.D. -
EI. XIX. 588 ff.
16. Pehevā inscription of the time of Bhojadeva - 882 A.D.
EI. I. 186 ff.
17. Sagartal inscription of Bhojadeva - EI. XIII. 107 ff.
18. Sīyaḍoni inscription of the time of Mahendrapāladeva
- 903 A.D. -
EI. I. 173 ff.
19. Partābgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla
948 A.D. - EI. XIV. 182 ff.
20. Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka - 837 A.D. - EI. XVIII.
87 ff.
21. Ghaṭiyālā inscription of Kakkuka - 859 A.D. -
EI. IX. 210 ff.
- 22-23. Two CPS. of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj
893 and 900 A.D.
EI. IX. 1.

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24. Paithan Plates of Govinda III. 794 A.D. EI. III. 105.
25. Radhanpur Plates of Govinda III. 806 A.D. - EI. VI. 239.
26. Nilgund inscription of the time of Amogha-Varṣa I.
864 A.D. - EI. VI. 98.
27. Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa I. 8~~69~~⁷¹ A.D. - EI. XVIII.
235.
28. Baroda Plates of Karkarāja - 810 A.D. - IA. XII. 156
29. Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī -
997 A.D. - EI. X. 17.

30. Kapaḍvanaj grant of Kṛṣṇa II - 910 A.D. - EI. I. 50
31. Cambay Plates of Govinda IV. 930 A.D. - EI. VII. 26.
32. Sirur inscription of Amoghavarṣa I's time - 866 A.D.
EI. VII. 202.
33. Soratur inscription of Amoghavarṣa I. 869 A.D. -
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34. Roṅ inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I.
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35. Kalas inscription of Govinda IV. 927 A.D. EI. XIII.334
36. Ellora Plates of Dantidurga. 742 A.D. - EI. XXV. 25.
37. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Charters from Cinchani - 924 A.D.
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38. An inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas . IA. XII. 156.
39. A grant of Dhruva III of Broach. IA. XII. 179.
- 40-41. Two grants of Indrarāja III. 915 A.D. - EI. IX. 23.
42. A Rāṣṭrakūṭa grant from Mysore. IA. XII. 11.
43. Ilāo Plates of Dadda II. Praśāntarāga - IA. XIII.115 ff
44. Āntroli Charoli Plates of Karka II - 755 A.D. -
J.B.B.R.A.S. XVI. 105 ff.
45. Baroda Plates of Suvarṇavarṣa - 810 A.D. IA.XII. 156 ff.

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46. Udaypur Praśasti of the Kings of Malwa. undated.
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47. Harasol C P of Sīyaka II. 949 A.D. - EI. XIX. 236.
48. Ahmedabad C P of Sīyaka II. 969 A.D. - EI. XIX. 177.
49. Ujjain CP of Vākpati Muñja - 974 A.D. - IA. VI. 51.

50. Ujjain CP of Vākpati Muñja - 979 A.D. - IA. XIV. 160.
51. Banswara CP of Bhoja - 1020 A.D. - EI. XI. 182.
52. Betma CP of Bhoja - 1020 A.D. - EI. XVIII. 320.
53. Ujjain CP of Bhoja - 1021 A.D. - IA. VI. 53.
54. Depalpur CP of Bhoja - 1022 A.D. - I.H.Q. VIII. 305.
55. Sarasvatī -image stone I. of Bhoja - 1033 A.D. -
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56. Tilakwada CP of Bhoja - 1047 A.D. - P.O.C. 1919. 319.
57. Kalvan CP of Bhoja - undated - EI. XIX. 69.
58. Paramāras of Vāgaḍa.
59. Panhera SI of Maṇḍalika - 1059 A.D. - EI. XXI. 42.
60. Arthuna SI of Cāmuṇḍarāja - 1079 A.D. - EI. XIV. 295.
61. Arthuna SI of Cāmuṇḍarāja - undated - PRAS. Western
Circle. 1919. p.35.
62. Ajmer Museum SI of Vijayarāja - 1099 A.D. - A.S.I.
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63. Māndhāta Plates of Devapāla - 1226 A.D. EI. IX. 103.

Paramāras of Jālor.

64. Jālor SI of Vīsala - 1117 A.D. - IA. LXII. p.41.

Paramāras of Bhinmal.

65. Bhinmal SI of Kṛṣṇarāja - 1060 A.D. - B.G. Vol.I.
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66. Bhinmal SI of Kṛṣṇarāja - 1066 A.D. - ibid. 474.
67. Bhinmal SI of Jayatasimha - 1182 A.D. - ibid. 474.

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68. Vasantagadh inscription of Pūrṇapāla. - 1042 A.D.-
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69. Mount Ābu Vimāla temple inscription - 1322 A.D. -
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70. Fragmentary grant of the Paramāras of Ābu - ca.
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71. Baroda Grant of Mūlarāja I - 973 A.D. - WZKM Vol.V. 300
72. Varuṇaśarmaka Grant of Yuvarāja Cāmuṇḍa rāja - 957 A.D.
- BV (English) VI. 90.
73. Kadi Grant of Mūlarāja I. - 987 A.D. - IA. VI. 191.
74. Balera Grant of Mūlarāja I. - 995 A.D. - EI. X. 78.
75. Radhanpur Grant of Bhīma I - 1030 A.D. - IA. VI. 193.
76. Abu Stone Inscription of Bhīma I - 1065 A.D. -
EI. IX. 148.
77. Palanpur Grant of Bhīma I. 1066 A.D. - EI. XXI. 171.
78. Navasari Plates of Karṇa I - 1077 A.D. - JB BRAS XXVI.
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79. Dohad Inscription of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja - 1140 A.D. -
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80. Bali Inscription of Jayasiṃha Siddharāja.- 1144 A.D. -
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81. Mangrol Stone Inscription of Kumārapāla. - 1146 A.D. -
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82. Dohad Inscription of Kumārapāla - 1146 A.D. - IA. X. 158.
83. Mount Abu Inscription of Yaśodhavalā - 1146 A.D. - IA. LVI. 10.
84. Vadnagar Praśasti of Kumārapāla - 1151 A.D. - EI. I. 293.
85. Udaypur inscription of Kumārapāla - 1163 A.D. - IA. XVIII. 343.
86. Udaypur inscription of Ajayapāla - 1172 A.D. - IA. XVIII. 343.
87. Grants of Anhilwar Caulukyās. IA. VI. 200 ff.
88. Surat grants of the Lāṭa chief Kīrtirāja . - 1006 A.D.- V.O.J. VII. 88.
89. A CP. of the Lāṭa chief Trilocanapāla - 1048 A.D. - IA. XII. 196.

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90. Grant of the time of Agguka. - 832 A.D. - EI. XXVI. 197
91. Grant of King Jāīka I. undated. EI. XXVI. 203.
92. An incomplete grant of King Rāṇaka - undated - EI. XXVI. 207
93. Grant of Rāṇaka of a subordinate saindhava branch - 874-5 A.D. EI. XXVI. 212.
94. Grant of King Agguka III - 886-7 A.D. - EI. XXVI. 217.
95. Grant of King Jāīka II. 915 A.D. - EI. XXVI. 222.
96. Dhīnikī Plates of Jāīkadeva - 738 A.D. - IA. XII. 151.
- 96a. The Morbi Grant of Jāīkadeva. 904. A.D. - IA.II. 257-8.

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97. Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V. - 774 A.D. - IA.XVI.15
98. Nilgund inscription of Taila II. - 848 A.D. - EI. IV. 204.
99. Miraj plates of Jayasimha II. 890 A.D. - IA. VIII. 11.
100. Kulenur inscription of Jayasimha II - 894 A.D. -
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101. Sudi inscription of Someśvara I. 925 A.D. - EI. XV. 85
102. Hottur inscription of Someśvara I - 932 A.D. -
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103. Sudi inscription of Someśvara II - 940 A.D. -
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104. Balgami inscription of the time of Someśvara II -
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105. Gadag inscription of Vikramāditya VI. undated.
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106. Tidguṇḍi plates of the time of Vikramāditya VI.
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107. Dabhoi inscription of Vīśala - 1255 A.D. - EI. I. 20.
108. Vīśala's inscription - 1260 A.D. - IA. VI. 212.
109. Arjuna's inscription - 1271 A.D. - IA. XI. 107.
110. Cintra Praśasti of Sāraṅgadeva - undated - EI. I. 271.
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112. Ābhoṇa Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa - 596 A.D. C.I.I. IV. 38.
113. Saṅkheḍā Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa - undated. C.I.I. IV. 44.
114. Vaḍner Plates of Buddharāja - 609 A.D. - C.I.I. IV.47
115. Sarsavṇī Plates of Buddharāja - 610 A.D. -
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118. Nasik Plates of Dharāśraya - Jayasimha - 686 A.D. -
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120. Navsāri Plates of Pulakeśirāja - 740 A.D. -
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122. Nādol plates of Ālhaṇadeva - 1162 A.D. - EI. IX. 62.
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124. Mount Ābu inscription of Luntigadeva - 1321 A.D. -
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126. The Hansot Plates of Cāhamāna Bhartr̥vaddha. - 757 A.D.-
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128. Dholpur inscription of Caṇḍamahāseṇa - 842 A.D. -
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129. Nāḍol inscription of Jojaladeva - 1091 A.D. -
130. Kiradu inscription of Ālhaṇadeva - 1152 A.D. -
131. Harsa inscription of Gūvaka I.
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133. Inscription from Dabhoi - 1253 A.D. - EI. I. 20.
134. Inscriptions in the temple of Neminātha on Mount Ābu.
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135. Eastern Cālukya grants. EI. V. 125.
136. Palitana Plates of the Gārulaka King Simhāditya.
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137. Goharwa Plates of the Kalacuri King Karṇadeva -
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138. Catsu inscription of the Guhilot King Baladitya -
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139. An incomplete grant of the Sinda King Ādityavarman -
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140. Bilhari SI of Kalacuri Yuvarājadeva II - undated -
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141. Goharwa Plates of Karna - 1047 A.D. - C.I.I. IV. 250.
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143. Samoli Inscription of the Guhilot King Śīlāditya -
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- 144a. Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Śivaraverman.
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146. Pālitāṇa Plates of Dhruvasena I.
147. The Valabhi grants. J.B.B.R.A.S. (N.S.) I. 17 ff.
148. Bhāmodrā Mohotrā Plates - 502 A.D. J.B.B.R.A.S. XX.
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- 148a. Virṇḍi Plates of Kharagraha [617 A.D.] P.O.C. VII. 659.
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156. The Bhāvanagar Plates of Guhasena of Valabhī - 567 A.D.
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157. A CP Grant of Dharasena II - 571 A.D. - IA. VII. 68.
158. Bantia Plates of Dharasena II. 573 A.D. - EI. XXI. 179
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161. The Bhavanager CPs of Dharasena III. 623 A.D. -
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