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Ph. D. 1940. (History.)

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS.

Chapter I - deals with the geography of Maharashtra and I have tried to throw as much light as possible upon this obscure subject from various sources. I have also marshalled all the available information about the tribes and peoples inhabiting the various parts of the Maratha country.

Chapter II - deals with the history of Maharashtra from the earliest times down to c. 200 B.C. Important questions such as the Aryanisation of the country and Pre-Aryan history have been discussed. Mention may be made here of the Paithan excavations which throw an interesting sidelight on the earliest period.

Chapter III - describes the rise and growth of the Satavahana empire. Complicated questions like the original home of the Satavahanas, and their genealogy and chronology have been handled.

Chapter IV - deals with the Scythians in Maharashtra. I have put forward a new view as regards the date of the Saka king Nahapana.

Chapter V - deals with the history of the powerful

but little-known Vakataka kingdom.

Chapter VI - deals with the history of Southern Maharashtra under the Kadambas. In Chapter VII, I have treated the history of minor dynasties which had been neglected for a long time. This chapter brings to light the Kalachuri, Traikutaka and the Nala dynasties.

Chapter VIII - includes the history of the Early Chalukyas of Badami. I have thrown new light on the origin of the Chalukyas and their relations with the different powers of Northern and Southern India. I have also suggested a new date for the last Chalukya expedition against the Pallavas of Kanchi.

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Chapter IX - deals with the early history of the Rashtrakuta families. The obscure history of one of these families has been illuminated by the latest discoveries of copperplates. The reign of Govinda III, the greatest Rashtrakuta emperor, has been thoroughly dealt with and several complex problems of his time have been solved in a new fashion.

Chapter X - deals with the history of the Rashtrakuta empire down to 975 A.D. Particular attention has been

paid here to the empire's relations with the Eastern Chalukyas, the Gangas of Mysore, the Kalachuris and others. No reasons have been put forward for the fall of the empire.

Chapter XI - deals with the history of the Later Chalukyas down to c. 1000 A.D. New light has been shed on the ~~regions~~^{reigns} of Taila II and his son Satyasraya. Further, the history of another branch of the Chalukya dynasty has been treated in the light of new inscriptions.

Chapter XII - includes the minor dynasties of Maharashtra. I have put forward a new view as regards the origin of the Early Yadavas. I have fully dealt with the rise of the Silaharas, the Kadambas and the Rattas.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF MAHARASHTRA
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO CIRCA 1000 A.D.

BY

VISHNU RAMACHANDRA DEORAS.

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE
OF Ph. D. IN JANUARY 1940.

PREFACE.

Maharashtra is the name of the country where the Marathi language is spoken to-day. Marathi is the southernmost of the Indo-European tongues and is used by over twenty million people. The history of Maharashtra has always been closely interwoven with that of Northern Karnatak and hence it has been impossible to avoid dealing with the history of Northern Karnatak as well. Northern Karnatak to-day comprises the Kanarese-speaking districts of Dharwar, Bijapur, Belgaum and North Kanara. We may now define the boundaries of ancient Maharashtra. The river Narmada roughly forms the northern boundary. On the west it is bounded by the Arabian Sea. The river Wainganga forms its north-eastern frontier. The south-eastern boundary may be defined by drawing a straight line joining Honavar and Chanda. Thus ancient Maharashtra includes the whole of the Bombay Presidency excluding Gujarat, the Western half of the Nizam's Dominions, Berar and the Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces. It is unfortunate that Maharashtra instead of being one province by itself has been cut up into so many parts to-day.

III

The importance of the history of Maharashtra in the wider field of Indian history need not be underestimated. The unique geographical position of Maharashtra and the character of its people have secured for it a prominent place in the romance of Indian history. The histories of Northern and Southern India which do not take into consideration the history of Maharashtra must present a sorrowful spectacle. No connected political history of ancient Maharashtra has ever been written. I therefore make no apology for attempting it. I have limited myself to the period from the earliest times to c. 1000 A.D. and spared no pains to bring it up-to-date.

I take this opportunity of offering my sincere and respectful thanks to my distinguished guru Dr. L.D. Barnett, under whom I have taken my first lessons in the science of Indology. Without his constant help, encouragement and guidance I could not have finished this tremendous work during these days of stress and storm.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Rivers and Mountains of Maharashtra.

The Vindhya mountains form the dividing line between Northern and Southern India. This range is mentioned as one of the Kulaparvatas in the Mahabharata and the Puranas.¹ Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri has rightly explained that each Kulaparvata is associated with a distinct country or tribe.² Thus Vindhya is the mountain of the Pulindas, Kishkindhakas and the Sabaras. The river Narmada or Reva takes its rise from the Amarkantak mountains in the present Mandala district of the Central Provinces. This Amarkantak mountain is the same as the Amrakuta of Kalidasa's Meghaduta.³ The river Narmada runs from east to west along the foot of the Vindhya range and enters the sea below Broach in the Bombay Presidency. It is the sacred and important river of Maharashtra and is always mentioned first. In the Brahma Purana it is noticed together with the Mahanadi, Mandakini, Dasarna and Chitrakuta.⁴ The river Mahanadi may be easily identified with its modern namesake which flows into the Bay of Bengal. The river Dasarna is the modern Dasan that flows between the Betwa and the Ken.⁵ The river Reva or Narmada and the

1. Bhishma Parva, p.14, v.11.

“Mahendro Malayah Sahyah Suktiman Rikshavanapi; Vindhyaścha Pāriyātraścha saptaitē kulaparvatāh.”

2. Studies in Ind. Ant., p.105.

3. Meghaduta (Ed. by Hultzsch), p.12, v.17.

4. Brahma P., p.76.

5. Mark. P., p.296.

Vindhya range are referred to in the Aihole inscription of Pulikesin II¹ and the Mandasore stone inscription of Yasodharman.² The river Suktimati is said to be flowing from the slopes of the Vindhya mountains in the Markendaya Purana.³ A satisfactory identification of this river has not been made. Dr. B.C. Law wrote that 'there is, however, hardly any clue to its definite identification'.⁴ It is worth suggesting here that it is the present Sukta which rises in the Khandesh district and enters the Burhanpur tahsil.⁵ Cunningham has identified the Mandakini with the modern Mandakin, a tributary of the river Paisuni in Bundelkhand.⁶ His suggestion is fully justified by a verse in the Mahabharata, which runs as follows:

"Tato girivaraśreshṭhe Chitrakūṭe Viśāmpate
Mandākinīm samāsādyā sarvapāpaprāṇāśinīm." 7

The Satpura range runs parallel to the Vindhya mountains and is the same as the Rikshavat of the Epics and the Puranas. The name of this mountain is rarely met with in the inscriptions. According to Raychaudhuri the ancient Hindus usually regarded Vindhya and Riksha as interchan-

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1. E.I., Vol.VI, p.6.
 2. C.I.I., Vol.III, p.154.
 3. Mark.P., p.296.
 4. Geog.Ess., Vol.I, p.112.
 5. Nimar Dist. Gaz., p.258.
 6. Geog. Dict. (Dey), p.124.
 7. Mbh., Vana Parva, p.147, v.58.
 8. Op. cit., p.128.

geable terms.¹ The Riksha probably included the present Mahadeva hills of the Hoshangabad district and other minor hills of the Seoni and Nimar districts. The Markandeya Purana relates that the rivers Tapi, Payoshni, Nirvindhya and Sipra have their sources in the Riksha mountains.² The Tapi river flows westwards parallel to the river Narmada and enters the Gulf of Cambay. The Tapi valley provided an easy access to the interior of the country for trading purposes from Surat - the seaport till the seventeenth century; but after that period the silt at the river mouth made it difficult of approach from the sea.³ The Tapi river was probably important for commercial purposes during the period under our review, though there is no direct proof of that.

The river Payoshni has been generally identified with the modern Purna river, which is a tributary of ^{the} Tapi. A Payoshni-mahatmya still exists in Berar. It was separated from the river Narmada by the Vaidurya mountains, according to the Mahabharata.⁴ The river Nirvindhya in the opinion of Fargiter is the same as the Penganga, a tributary of the river Warda.⁵ There is ^{no} evidence at all for this identification. A satisfactory identification is the one

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1. Op. cit., p.128.
 2. Mark. P., p.299.
 3. C.H.I., Vol.I, p.16.
 4. Roy's Trans., Vol.II, p.269.
 5. Mark. P., p.299, notes.

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proposed by Mr. Dey.¹ In his opinion Nirvindhya is the same as the modern Newuj, a tributary of the Chambal. Newuj may be phonetically derived from Nevijja - Naiwidhya. The Vayu Purana gives a slightly different form Nirbandhya.² Kalidasa refers to this river in his Meghaduta and places it between Vidisa and Avanti.³ The Sipra is the famous holy river on whose banks the modern Ujjain stands, and is mentioned by Kalidasa.⁴ The Markandeya Purana omits the river Kavery; but it occurs in the Brahma Purana, according to which it is a river flowing from the Riksha mountains.⁵ The Kavery river is the one that joins the river Narmada at Onkara-Mandhata.⁶ It should not be confused with its famous namesake that flows through the Tanjore district.

The other rivers associated with the Riksha mountains are Venya, Nishadhavati and Sinibali or Sinibahu.⁷ Vena is the river Wainganga, which rises in the Balaghat district and falls into the Godavari. The Bennakarpara bhaga or division is mentioned in the Sivani copperplates of Maharaja Pravarasena II.⁸ As the river Wainganga flows through the Sivani district, the identity of the river

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1. Geog. Dict., p.141.
 2. Vayu P., p.138.
 3. Meghaduta (Hultzsch), p.17, v.28. See also vs.24 & 30.
 4. Ibid, p.19, v.31.
 5. Brahma P., p.58., vv.11-12.
 6. Nimar Dist.Gaz., p.240.
 7. Mark. P., p.300.
 8. C.I.I., Vol.III, p.248.

Venya or Benna is easily established. The name Nishadhavati naturally suggests a connection with the Nishadha country, and hence is to be located somewhere in Southern Malwa.¹

The Sahya or Sahyadri range is the northern part of the modern Western Ghats situated between the river Narmada in the north and Kaveri in the south. It also includes several minor ranges penetrating into the heart of Maharashtra; for instance, the Ajanta range, running through Berar and the Nizam's Dominions, is called the Sahyadri Parvata. The Sahya is traditionally associated with the Aparantas, i.e. the people of Konkan. The Nasik Prasasti of Gautak^mkiputra Satakarni mentions Sahya as one of the mountains over which he claimed lordship.²

The rivers flowing along the foot of the Sahya range according to the Vayu Purana are Godavari, Bhimarathi, Krishna, Venya, N Vanjula, Kaveri, Tungabhadra and the Suprayoga.³ The river Godavari rises from a hill near Tryambaka in the Nasik district. About 900 miles in length, it is held sacred in Maharashtra, and is commonly

1. Barnett: Antiquities of India, p.13.

2. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.61.

3. Vayu P., p.138.

known as the Ganges. The rivers Krishna and Bhimarathi are still known by the same names. The region near the sources of the Krishna and Bhima, i.e. the modern Satara district, is really the heart of the Maratha country. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela contains the earliest epigraphic reference to this river and gives us the form Kanhabemna.¹ In the Karhad plates of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, dated A.D. 959, the river Krishna is called Kanhavanna, which is clearly a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Krishnavarna.² The river Vena, a tributary of the Krishna, is called Vena or Yenna today.³ Pargiter has missed the mark by suggesting the identification of Vena with the river Penner.⁴ The Vanjula of ^{the} Vayu Purana is probably the same as Vanjura of Rajasekhara.⁵ It may be suggested that it is to be identified with the modern Manjra river flowing through the Hyderabad State.⁶ The Kaveri is sometimes known in literature as Sahya-kanyaka or the daughter of the Sahya mountain. The river Tungabhadra flows into Krishna and is well-known. Bilhana, the Court poet of Vikramaditya the Chalukya king, who lived in the eleventh century, speaks of the river Tungabhadra as 'Dakshināpatha-Jānhavī' or the Ganges of the South.⁷

1. E.I., Vol.XX, p.79.

2. E.I., Vol.IV, p.286.

3. Bombay Gaz., Vol.XIX, p.14.

4. Mark. P., p.303, notes.

5. Kavyamimansa, p.280, Benares Edn. 94. (g.o.s.)

6. Hyderabad State Gaz., p.3.

7. Vikramankadevacharita, p.33 (Text), v.62.

The name Mahendra ~~is~~ is sometimes applied to practically the whole of the Eastern Ghats,¹ but is used chiefly to denote the range of hills in the Ganjam District, where it is known today as Mahendragiri. It is in this sense that the term is used by Kalidasa in his Raghuvamsa, where the Kalinga king is called the lord of Mahendra.² The Mandasore Pillar inscription of Yasodharman tends to support Kalidasa in his view.³ Another noteworthy mountain is Sripurvata, which has been identified with Srisailla, situated in the Kurnool district. The Mahabharata informs us that one obtains the merit of the Asvamedha sacrifice by the worship of Vrishadhvaja or Siva at Sripurvata.⁴ Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, is stated in the Talgund inscription to have established himself in the forest stretching to the gates of Sripurvata.⁵ Moreover, the kings of the Vishnukundin dynasty are often spoken of as meditating 'on the feet of the holy lord of Sripurvata' in their inscriptions.⁶

Dakshinapatha and the peoples of Maharashtra.

The name Dakshinapatha was applied to the region stretching south of the Vindhya Mountains. Sir R. G.

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1. Geog. Ess., Vol.I, p.97.
 2. Canto VI, v.54.
 3. C.I.I., Vol.III, p.146.
 4. Vana Parva, p.146.
 5. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.34.
 6. E.I., Vol.XVII, p.337.

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Bhandarkar writes that the term used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmada.¹ But strictly speaking, we cannot regard this definition as accurate, as Avanti and the country around Ujjain, which lies to the north of the river Narmada, was considered by Buddhist writers to be an integral part of Dakshinapatha. Thus in the Jatakas, Avanti is spoken of as a part of Dakshinapatha.² The Mahavastu tells us that a Brahman of Ujjayini (the capital of Avanti) in the Dakshinapatha came from the Himalayas to see the Bodhisattva.³ Abhinavagupta, writing in the tenth century A.D.⁴, seems to have based his definition of a 'Dakshinatya' or a resident of the South on the above Buddhist writings. In his opinion the Dakshinatya countries are those lying between the Vindhya range and the Southern ocean.⁵

However, the Brahman writers always thought that Dakshinapatha lay to the south of the Narmada. In the Nandampundi grant of Rajaraja I, dated A.D. 1053, Vishnuvardhana, the son of Vijayaditya, the founder of the Chalukya dynasty, is said to have ruled over Dakshinapatha which is situated between Rama's Bridge and the Narmada

1. E.H.D., p.1.

2. "Dakshināpathe Avantiratthe" - Vol.V (Text), p.133.

3. Vol.II, p.30.

4. Kieth: Sanskrit Drama, p.291.

5. Natyasastra, Vol.II, p.208.

river.¹ The same inscription also relates that there were seven and a half lakhs of villages in Dakshinapatha. A similar term in use was Irattapadi.² Rajasekhara, the famous Sanskrit writer of the tenth century, regards the river Narmada as the boundary between Aryavarta and Dakshinapatha. His words are: "Yā kila bhagavati Āryavarta-dakshināpathayorvibhāgarekhā."³ In the Natyasastra of Bharata we come across a definition of Dakshinapatha, where he says that it is the area containing the mountains Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Mekala and Palamanjara.⁴ This agrees with the one given by Rajasekhara in the Kavyamimansā.⁵

The Greek author of the Periplus, writing in the first century A.D., also used the word Dakshinapatha in the same sense. He writes, "Beyond Barygaza the adjoining coast extends in a straight line from north to south; and so this region is called Dakhinabades, for Dakhinos in the language of the natives means 'south'". The inland country back from the coast towards the east comprises many desert regions and great mountains."⁶ He further tells us that all kinds of wild beasts were found in this region. But he does not forget to inform us that many populous nations

1. E.I., Vol.IV, p.305.

2. Ibid, p.94, n.ii.

3. Balaramayana, p.170.

4. Vol.II, p.208.

5. "Māhishmatyāḥ parato Dakshināpathaḥ;" p. 93.

6. Periplus (Schoff), p.43.

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existed as far as the Ganges, and mentions the two important cities of Paethana, the same as modern Paithana, on the upper reaches of the river Godavari, and Tagara, the modern Ter in the Nizam's Dominions. The Greek Dakhinabades is the exact transliteration of the Prakrit Dakkhināvadha.

Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the fifth century A.D., speaks of a country named Dakshina, about which he received some information while at Benares.¹ His 'kingdom of Dakshina' is probably the same as that of Maharashtra governed by the Vakatakas during the period. Dakshina is evidently a shorter form of Dakshinapatha and is of common occurrence in Sanskrit literature.

Sir R.G. Bhandarkar remarks that the country of the Pandyas was not included in Dakshinapatha.² For this he finds authority in the Mahabharata. The Pandya king whom Sahadeva conquered may have been one residing in Madhyadesa. This view gains support from a verse in the Mahabharata, which mentions a Pandya prince who joined the Pandava side immediately after a Magadha prince.³ Moreover, it is possible that the passages dealing with the encounter between

1. Travels of Fa-hien (Legge's Edn), pp.96-97.

2. E.H.D., p.2.

3. Udyoga Parva, p.25, v.9.

Sahadeva and a Pandyan king may be corrupt, as the chapter betrays a lack of geographical knowledge and confusion about the exact route of Sahadeva's march. Perhaps Bhandarkar confused the Pandyas of Madhyadesa with those of Dakshinapatha, who are noticed together with the Dravidas, Andhras, Keralas and Kalingas in a later verse.¹

Sir R.G. Bhandarkar also misunderstood a passage in the Vayu Purana, which led him to believe that the valleys of the rivers Narmada and Tapi were not included in Dakshinapatha.² The Vayu Purana does not exclude them from its list and notices them together with other rivers like the Godavari, Krishna, Bhima etc. Again, the same Purana while enumerating the peoples of Dakshinapatha mentions the Mahishakas, Abhiras, Pulindas and Vaidarbhas in its list,³ who were undoubtedly occupying the territories watered by the rivers Narmada and Tapi.

The Aitareya Brahmana of c. 800 B.C. contains the earliest reference to the peoples of Dakshinapatha. Here we are informed that the sage Visvamitra had a hundred and one sons, fifty older than Madhuchchhandas, fifty younger.⁴

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1. Sabha Parva, p.51, v.73.
 2. E.H.D., p.2.
 3. Vayu P., p.139.
 4. Ait. Br., (Kieth's Trans.), p. 307.

He placed them all under the supremacy of Madhuchchhandas, but those who were older were not satisfied with the arrangement and migrated to the southern frontiers. The Dasyus namely, the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas were descended from them. The story seems to reflect the mixture of Aryan and indigenous blood along the frontiers.

It is not difficult to identify the tribes mentioned by the Aitareya. The Andhras are well-known in history and literature. They are now represented by the inhabitants occupying modern Telingana. The Mayidavolu plates of the early Pallava king Sivaskandavarman tell us that Dhannakada or Bezvada was the centre of the Andhra country.¹ It is interesting to note that a tribe of the name of Andh still exists to-day in the Yeotmal, Buldana and Akola districts of Berar.² The Andh is a low cultivating caste numbering more than 50,000. In Russell's opinion, they are a non-Aryan tribe of the Andhra or Tamil country from which they derive their name.³

The Andhra ladies are referred to in two passages of Vatsayana's Kamasutra, and he speaks of a custom by which a newly married damsel among the Andhras was sent to the king's

1. P.H.A.I., p.64.

2. Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, Vol.II,

3. Ibid.

4. Kamasutra (Tomley edn.), p.294.

harem on the tenth day with some presents.¹ Bharata remarks that the inhabitants of Dravida, Andhra, Kasi-Kosala, etc., should be painted in black if represented on the stage.² The famous temple of Mahadeva called Bhimesvar at Saptagodavari is included in the Mahabharata list³ of sacred spots, and is located by Murari in the 'Andhra-vishaya'.⁴

The Pundras occupied parts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts in Bengal. Dr. B.C. Law remarks that the capital of the Pundras must now be definitely identified with Pundranagala (= Pundranagara) mentioned in a fragmentary Mauryan Brahmi inscription.⁵ In the Sangali copperplates of Govinda IV, dated 933 A.D., Paundravardhana is mentioned as the place from which the donee, Kesava Dikshita, is said to have come.⁶ Fargiter observes that the Pundras had moved southwards from Bengal in the early centuries of the Christian era and established themselves in Chota Nagpur, which is very likely.⁷ His view is supported by the Kudlur plates, dated 962 A.D., which state that the Ganga king Rajamalla was victorious over the Andhras, Pundras and Kalingas.⁸

The Sabaras and Pulindas are mentioned in the Matsya

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1. Kamasutra (Bombay Edn.), p.294.
 2. J.A.S.B., 1909, p.359.
 3. Vana Parva, p.146, v.44.
 4. Anargharaghava, p.302.
 5. Ancient Indian Tribes, Vol.II, p.16.
 6. I.A., Vol.XII, p.251.
 7. Mark. P., p.329, notes.
 8. M.A.S.-A.R., 1921, p.21.

and Vayu Puranas as ~~being~~ inhabitants of the Southern region.¹ The Mahabharata locates the Pulindas, as also the Vindhyachulikas, in the Dakshinapatha.² In the sixth century A.D., we find the Pulindas occupying the modern Nagod State. The Navagrama inscription of Maharaja Hastin records the grant of a village in the 'rashtra' of the Pulinda chief.³ This Pulinda chief was apparently a feudatory of the nripati-Parivrajakas. The mention of 'Pulindarājarāshtra' in the present inscription justifies the inference that the Pulindas should be located within the Parivrajakas dominions, which lay on both sides of the Vindhya range. It is difficult to locate the Sabaras precisely. Tradition says that Rama met a Sabara woman in the Dandaka forest and ate berries out of her hands. The modern village of Sabari Narayan in the Bilaspur District is said to represent this holy spot. If the tradition is correct, the Sabaras were the residents of Dakshina Kosala, i.e. the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces.

Mutibas.

The Mutibas are not known to us either from the Epics

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1. Matsya P., p.201, v.48.
Vayu P., p.139.
 2. Bhishma Parva, p.16.
 3. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.126.

or Puranic sources. Hence it is difficult to identify this tribe. Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri has made a valuable suggestion that they should be identified with the Mushikas of the Puranas.¹ The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela mentions the Mushikas.² It is possible that they were settled on the banks of the river Musi, a tributary of the river Krishna.³ Perhaps the Mutibas were a Dravidian people like the Nolambas and Kurumbas of Mysore.

Asmaka and Mulaka.

Asmaka seems to have been occupied by the Aryans at a very early date. The Vishnu Purana explains the mythical origin of Asmaka by making him a son of Madayanti, wife of Kalmasapada Saudasa. Kalmasapada was ruling at Ayodhya and belonged to the Ikshvaku family. He was 'beguiled by a Rakshasa, offered Vasishtha human flesh as food, and was cursed by him. He then became a Rakshasa and a cannibal, and killed and devoured a Brahman, but after twelve years regained his sanity. At his desire Vasishtha begot a son Asmaka of the queen Madayanti.'⁴ It is possible that the claim of the Puranas that the Asmaka country belonged to the Ikshvakus is not unjustified in as much as we find an

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1. P.H.A.I., p.66.
 2. E.I., Vol.XX, p.79.
 3. Ibid, p.83.
 4. A.I.H.T., p.208.

Ikshvaku family ruling over the Andhra country in the third century A.D. The Pali Sutta-nipata, which is "one of the most ancient monuments of Buddhism", according to Prof. Sylvain Levi,¹ shows that Assaka extended southwards from the river Narmada to Patitthana, on the banks of the Godavari. According to the Parayana, Patitthana was included in Mulaka, as the poet thus traces the steps of the route taken by the pupils of Bavari: "Patitthana of Mulaka; then the city of Mahissati; also Ujjeni and Gonaddha, Vedisa etc."² The Brahman Bavari, who emigrated to the south from Sravasti, came to settle himself on the banks of the river Godavari in the country of Mulaka.³

So Assakassa visaye Mulakassa samāsane
Vasī Godāvarīkūle ũnchenāca phalena ca.

Perhaps Mulaka represented the region in which the modern town of Nasik, Dhulia and Ahmadnagar are situated. Asmaka is associated with Avanti and Aparanta in the Buddhist books. In the Markandeya Purana, Asmaka is mentioned together with the Mulikas, variation of Mulaka, and the Bhogavardhanas.⁴ The last named people have been identified by Mr. Kale with those living in the neighbourhood of

1. J.A.H.R.S., Jan., 1935, p.1.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid, p.8.

4. A.B.O.R.I., Vol.XVII, part iv, p.324.

Bhokardan, a village in the Aurangabad Division of ^{the}Hyderabad State.¹ We learn from Digha Nikaya that Potana was the capital of Assaka, Dantapura of Kalinga, Mahissati of Avanti.² According to the Mahabharata, Asmaka founded a town called Paudanya.³ The Prakrit form is Podanna which appears in the form Potana of the Digha Nikaya.

In the Mahabharata we find that an Asmaka prince was killed by Abhimanyu; and Karna, the great warrior on the side of the Kauravas, is said to have conquered the Kalingas, Rishikas, Asmakas and others.⁴ Kautiliya informs us that the rainfall in Asmaka is $13\frac{1}{2}$ dronas.⁵ Bhattasvamin, the commentator of the Arthashastra, identifies it with Maharashtra. Dandin represents Vasantabahu, the Asmaka prince, as a vassal of Vidarbha.⁶ Bana tells us how an Asmaka king named Sarabha being attached to string music, was assassinated by his enemies.⁷ Rajasekhara notices Asmaka in his exhaustive list, but his omission of Mulaka goes to prove that in the tenth century the name had disappeared from the pages of history.⁸

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1. I.A., 1923, p.262.
 2. Digha Nikaya, Vol.II, p.235.
 3. Sorensen's Index, p.5.
 4. Ancient Indian Tribes, p.87.
 5. Translation, p.139, n.2.
 6. 'Ten Princes' by Ryder, p.208.
 7. Harsha-charita, Translation, p.192.
 8. Kavyamimansa, p.93.

Vatsagulma.

This country had defied all attempts at its identification until in 1933 Mr. Laxman Sastri Gadage made a remarkable discovery by equating the ancient Vatsagulma with the modern Basim, a Tahsil town in the Akola district of Berar.¹ Vatsyayana in his Kamasutra refers to the Vatsagulma country and its m malpractices.² Probably the town was known as Supratishthita before the two brothers Vatsa and Gulma, according to legends, made it their capital.³ This Supratishthita was situated in the Pratishtana province, according to Gunadhya.⁴ We learn from Rajasekhara's Kavyamimansa that Vatsagulma was a city in the Vidarbha country and that it was a favourite resort of the God of Love.⁵ The same poet in the Karpuramanjari gives us another form, probably the one in common use, Vachchhoma.⁶ This Vachchhoma denotes the intermediate form of Vatsagulma, and the final form Vasim (Basim) may then be easily derived. The change of cha to sa is not unusual; see Pischel's Gramm. d. Pkt.-Sprachen, S327a.

Mr. Ramaswami Sastri has suggested the identification of Vatsagulma with Vamsagulma⁷, which is located by the

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1. Saradasrama Annual, p.31 (Marathi).
 2. Text, Bombay Edn., p.294.
 3. Ocean of Story, Vol.I, p.60.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Text (G.O.S.), p.10.
 6. Karpuramanjari (H.O.S.), p.26.
 7. Kavyamimansa, p.307 (G.O.S.).

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Mahabharata near the source of the ~~2~~ rivers Narmada and Sona.¹ As the source of these two rivers was never included in Vidarbha, the identification is incorrect. The Vamsagulma which is mentioned as a sacred spot in the Mahabharata is evidently situated in the Mekala region.

Vidarbha.

Vidarbha was one of the earliest Aryan settlements in the Deccan. Ancient Vidarbha was certainly greater in area than the present Berar, and included the northern part of the Nizam's Dominions and the Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces.

Yasodhara in his commentary on the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana explains that the country to the south of Kalanjara was called Vidarbha.² It is probably that Yasodhara gives us here the political boundaries of the Yadava empire in the thirteenth century, because Kalanjara was never included in Vidarbha.

The Nalopakhyana tells us that the capital of Bhima, king of Vidarbha and the father of Damayanti, was Kundinapura.³ Dey identifies Kundinapura with Bidar.⁴ One fails

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1. Vana Parva, p.145, v.9.
 2. Kamasutra (Bombay Edn.), p.294.
 3. Vana Parva, p.117.
 4. Geog. Dict., p.34.

to see what phonetic resemblance there is between the two names. The hero of Bhavabhuti's ¹ Malati-Madhava hails from the town of Kundinapura, and Trivikramabhatta locates it on the banks of the Varada river, the modern Wardha.⁴ It has been identified with the village of ^{au} ~~Ku~~ndinyapur on the west bank of the river Wardha in the Chandur taluk of the Amraoti district.³

The modern name Berar is derived from the Marathi Varhād. In the Nalachampu of the tenth century, Berar is mentioned as Varadātata.⁴ It is instructive to note that Varāṭa-deśa is mentioned twice in the Kudlur copperplates of the Ganga king Marasimha (962 A.D.). We may provisionally assume that Varāṭa is derived from the ancient Varadātata. The modern form Varhād is nearly the same as Varāṭa of the Kudlur copperplates.⁵

Murala.

This country is located by Rajasekhara in the Southern Division.⁶ Kalidasa tells us in the Raghuvamsa that the river Murala was flowing through that country.⁷ Dey identifies this river with the river Mula-mutha, which

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1. Saradasram Annual, p.39.
 2. Nalachampu, p.68.
 3. I.A., 1923, p.262.
 4. Nalachampu, p.233, v.66.
 5. M.A.S.-A.R., 1921, p.14.
 6. Kavyamimansa, p.93.
 7. Raghuvamsa, IV, 55.

rises near Poona and is a tributary of the Bhima.¹ Mr. Sastry follows him and identifies Murala with the country of Miraj.² But Miraj was known in ancient times by the name of Mirinji, which occurs in the Kolhapur copperplates of Gandaradityadeva³; cf. E.I., Vol.XII, p.272 etc., where it is called Mirinje. Hence Murala cannot be identified with Miraj. The only epigraphic reference to the river Murala is the one contained in the Bhadan copperplates of the Silahara king Aparajita. They record a grant of the village of Bhadana bounded on the south by the great river (Mahanadi) Murala. Prof. Kielhorn has rightly identified the Murala with the modern Ulhas flowing in the Thana District. It is highly probable that the Muralas denoted the people living on the banks of the river Murala or vice versa.

Aparanta.

The term Aparanta is applied generally to denote the peoples of the Western country. The Markandeya Purana includes the Surparakas, Bharukachchhas, Nasikyas and Surastras in its list.⁴ The Surparakas are easily identified with the people of Sopara, a town near Bassein in

1. Geog. Dict., p.134.

2. Kavyamimansa, p.303.

3. E.I., Vol.XXIII, p.30.

4. A.B.O.R.I., Vol.XVII, p.325.

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Bombay. Rajasekhara locates them and the Nasikyās or the people of Nasik in the Dakshinapatha.¹ The Bharukachchhas are the people of Bhrigukachchha, and are noted by Rajasekhara. They occupied the modern Broach and its surrounding parts. Kautiliya writes that an immense quantity of rain falls in Aparanta. The commentary explains Aparanta as meaning Konkana.² A Silahara inscription reports that there were 1400 villages in Konkana in the tenth century A.D.³

Mahishakas.

We have already seen that they are alluded to in the Matsya Purana. The form Mahishmaka also occurs in one of the manuscripts of Rajasekhara's Kavyamimansa.⁴ They were certainly the people of Mahish^hmati, which has been identified by Dr. Fleet with Mandhata on the Narmada in the Nimar District.⁵ It may ~~be~~ also be Mahesvara, which is forty miles to the south of Indore. Mahish^hmati is mentioned in the Mahabhashya of Patanjali.⁶ We learn from the Barwani copperplates that Mahishmati was the capital of Maharaja Subandhu in the latter half of the fifth century A.D.⁷

1. Kavyamimansa, p.93.

2. Arthasastra (Trans.), p.139, n.3.

3. E.I., Vol.III, p.274.

4. Text, p.93, (G.O.S.)

5. J.R.A.S., 1910, p.

6. Mahabhashya (Kielhorn's Edition), Vol.II, p.35.

7. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.261.

Navarashtra.

This country is referred to in the Matsya Purana.¹ Dr. B.C. Law ~~thinks~~ thinks that it is a misreading for Maharashtra.² But this is not the case. We find that in the Charkhari plate of Devavarma, a Chandella king, Navarashtramandala is distinctly noticed.³ The king gave the village of Bhutapallika to a Brahman in A.D. 1051. This grant was issued from Kalanjara, and the village was situated in the Navarashtramandala. As the inscription was discovered in Bundelkhand, Central India, Navarashtra must be some part of Bundelkhand. Dey wrongly identified it with Nausari in the Broach District of Bombay.⁴

Maharashtra.

The earliest literary reference to Maharashtra is to be traced in the Natyasastra of Bharata.⁵ There the people of Maharashtra are mentioned together with the Kosalas, Tosalas, Kalingas, Andhras and the people of Vanavasi. If we accept the date of this work as given by a high authority like M.M. Haraprasad Sastri, this notice of Maharashtra will have to be considered as old as the second century B.C.⁶ But it is safer to accept the date given by three scholars

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1. Matsya P., p.201.
 2. "Navarāshtrā Māhishikāh Kalingāśchaiva sarvaśah."
 2. A.B.O.R.I., Vol.XVII, p.321.
 3. E.I., Vol.XX, p.126.
 4. Geog. Dict., p.139.
 5. "KosalāsTosalāschaiva Kalingā-Yavahāh Khasāh
Dramid-Āndhra-Mahārāshṭrā-Vainnā vai Vānavāsīkāh."
 6. J.A.S.B., Vol.V, p.352. (Vol.II, G.O.S. p.208,
v.40.)

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like Kieth,¹ Jacobi, and Winternitz.² In their opinion the Natyasastra is undoubtedly a work of the third century A.D., which seems more likely, though there is much ancient material in it.

Vararuchi, the Prakrit grammarian, while discussing the treatment of the Sauraseni dialect, remarks that 'the remainder of the rules are the same as for the Maharashtra³ dialect! The earliest possible date for Vararuchi is the third century A.D.; he may have been even later.⁴ Maharashtra is omitted in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, but not in the Puranas. The Maharashtra are coupled with the Abhiras, Sabaras and Kalingas in the Vamana and Brahma Puranas.⁵ They are alluded to in the Brihat-Samhita of Varahamihira, who flourished in the sixth century A.D.⁶

The Pali chronicles of Ceylon, the Mahavamsa and the Dipavamsa, have preserved for us the names of the countries to which Buddhist missionaries were sent after the Third Council said to have been held during the reign of Asoka in the third century B.C. The Thera Mahadeva was sent to Mahisakamandala, i.e. either Mysore or Mandhata; the Thera

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1. Sanskrit Drama, p.292, n.3.
 2. Geschichte etc., Vol.III, p.3, n.3.
 3. Prakrita-prakasa, p.120.
 4. Kieth: Hist. of Skt. Lit., p.433.
 5. Vamana P., p.13, v.48.
Brahma P., p.77.
 6. I.A., Vol.XXII, p.184.

Rakkhita to Vanavasi, the Thera Yonadhammarakkhita to Aparantaka, i.e. Konkan; and the Thera Mahadhammarakkhita was sent to Maharattha.¹ Buddhaghosa also gives the same account in his Samanta-Pasadika.² None of these works is earlier than the fourth century A.D.

Dandin, the famous Sanskrit author, who flourished at the end of the sixth century A.D.,³ speaks highly of the Prakrit dialect of Maharashtra and praises the poem Setubandha composed in that dialect.⁴ Murari, who belongs to the eighth century, praises the city of Kundina as being a unique ornament of the Maharashtra country.⁵ Rajasekhara, a dramatist of the tenth century, identifies Vidarbha with Maharashtra, and speaks of Vidarbha as being the birth-place of knowledge.⁶

The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited Maharashtra in 639 A.D., described the character of the people thus: "The inhabitants are proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards supplicants in distress and sanguinary to death with any one who treated them insultingly."⁷ Hiuen

1. Mahavamsa (Geiger), p.94; Dipavamsa (Oldenburg),

2. Vol.I, pp.63-64. p.159.

3. Macdonell: Hist. of Skt. Lit., p.332.

4. "Mahārāshtrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakriṣṭāṃ prakṛitāṃ viduḥ. Sāgarah sūktiratnānāṃ Setubandhādi yanmayam." Kavyad-

5. Anargha-Raghava, p.301.

6. Balaramayana, p.302.

7. Walter's Yuan Chwang, Vol.II, p.239.

Tsang was a keen observer, and his description of the Marathas is corroborated by the author of the Kuvalayamalakatha, which was composed in 777 A.D.¹ He writes: "Dridhalaghu-syāmāngān sahamānānāp̄himāna-kalahasīlānscha; 'Dinnallegahille' ullapatastatra Mahārāshtrīyān." In his opinion the Marathas were short in stature, strong, enduring and rather dark in colour. They were addicted to pride and quarrelsomeness. Moreover, they were fond of talking loudly and used the forms like 'din^halle' and 'gahille' in their conversation. But the poet's description applies only to the trading classes of Maharashtra and not ^{to} the people as a whole. The warlike and heroic nature of the Marathas is attested by Bana², Trivikramabhata³ and Rajasekhara.⁴

Etymology of the name Maharashtra.

Mr. Alfred Master has recently put forward a theory that the name Mahārāshtra is a Sanskritization of the Dravidian Karnāta, which form occurs in the Mahabharata⁵ and may go back to very early times. Mr. Narayana Rao explains that the name Karnata is to be derived from Karu-nadu or 'the high country' and not from Karinadu or Karnadu, 'the black country'.⁶ In old Kanarese and Tamil the word

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1. Apabhramśakavyatrayi, Intro., p.89.
 2. Ibid, p.93.
 3. Nalachampu, p.233.
 4. Viddhasalabhanjika, p.129.
 5. Bhishma Parva, p.16.
 6. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XXV, p.492.

Karu-nadu would mean elevated or great land. In Tamil the word Karunatakam denotes the Kanarese country and language.¹ Mr. Master suggests that as the high country stretches from the Kannada country to the river Narmada, the term Karnata may well be applied to Maharashtra.² As karu means not only 'tali' but 'great' also in ancient Kanarese,³ it seems highly probable that the term Karu-nadu was translated as Mahārāṭṭha or Mahārāshṭra.

A similar example of Sanskritization may be found in the case of Trikalinga, which is the same as the Telugu Mudugalinga.⁴ The Aihole inscription dated 634 A.D. relates that Pulakesin II became the sovereign of three Maharashtrakas by virtue of his prowess and nobility.⁵ It may be conjectured that Karnata, Kuntala and Vidarbha or Berar were the three Maharashtrakas, and it is certain that Varadātata or Berar was called Maharashtra even in the tenth century.⁶ Hence it is very likely that the Aryans translated the word Karu-nadu as Maharashtra.

The people of Maharashtra were known as Maharashtrakas or Maharatthas. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar identifies the Maha-

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1. Tamil Lexicon, Vol.II, p.756.
 2. I.A., Vol.LVII, p.174.
 3. Kittel: Kan. Dict., p.375.
 4. C.I.I., Vol.I, Intro., p.xxxviii, n.3.
 5. E.I., Vol.VI, p.6.
 6. Nalachampu, p.233, v.66.

ratthis with the Maharathis of the cave inscriptions at Karli, Bedsa and Bhaja.¹ These Maharathis of Maharashtra were probably local governors. Perhaps the Ceylonese Chronicle Dipavamsa has preserved for us the original form Mahārattha as handed down by tradition from Asokan times.² Dr. Jarl Charpentier believes that the enumeration of the Andhras and Maharashtras in ancient Jain canonical works 'actually dates from the time shortly before or after the commencement of our era.'³ The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela mentions the Rathikas of Maharashtra.⁴ The Velvikudi grant refers to the Maharathas; and this shows that the form was in use in the eighth century A.D.⁵

The word Rashtrakuta occurs in several inscriptions of Eastern Chalukya dynasty.⁶ The word therein certainly means the governor of a district. The word Rashtrapati used in the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas means the same thing.⁷ Various abbreviations like Ratta in Kanarese, Iratta in Tamil and Reddi in Telegu came into use. The name was used irrespective of caste. The Imperial Rashtrakutas claimed that they belonged to the lunar race, and the Reddis, who were a powerful dynasty of Telingana in the

1. E.H.D., p.20.

2. Dipavamsa, p.159.

3. Uttaradhyayanasutra, Intro., p.27.

4. E.I., Vol.XX, p.79.

5. Ibid, Vol.XVII, p.307.

6. I.A., Vol.XII, p.92.

7. Ibid, p.160.

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fourteenth century, were Sudras.¹ The official title was in course of time adopted as a family name, which is not unusual in India. It has no connection with the etymology of the name Maharashtra.

1. E.I., Vol.III, p.286.

CHAPTER II.

MAHARASHTRA FROM THE EARLIEST
TIMES UNTIL THE RISE OF THE
SATAVAHANAS.

PREHISTORIC MAHARASHTRA.

Before the Aryanisation of Maharashtra as we understand it to-day, it was not a distinctly separate unit; and its culture and civilization were probably not very different from those of the other parts of South India. It would be impossible to secure a definite chronological order while studying the prehistoric past. I shall only make an attempt to notice some of the important discoveries which throw light on the prehistoric period. The discovery of the Indus civilization has opened a new era in the history of the Punjab and Sindh, and the question naturally arises as to how it was related to other parts of India. To assume that the people of South India were uncivilized before the Aryan advance would be absurd.

Practically nothing is known to us as regards the Palaeolithic age in India. A few specimens have been noticed by Mr. Bruce Foote, but they do not help us in getting a clear idea of the Palaeolithic man in India. Palaeolithic implements of indurated shale and coming from various levels of stratification have recently come to light at the island of Salsette, near Bombay, as a result of excavations conducted by Lieut-Commander Todd.¹ The

1. A.B.I.A. (Leyden), Vol.XII, p.13.

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implements which belong to the Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic types prove the presence of Palaeolithic culture in parts of western Maharashtra. The occurrence of Mesolithic implements as surface finds suggests that the palaeolithic culture was superseded by ^{the} Mesolithic. The excavations in the Mahadeo Hills south of the Narmada river reveal the existence of a mesolithic culture in the neighbourhood of Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces.¹ Dr. Hunter holds that ~~the~~ people of Tardenoisian culture were inhabiting the region before the appearance of the neolithic man. Charcoal, bones, shell, ivory, painted pebbles and quartz implements are some of the noteworthy objects. Prof. Balfour of Oxford on examining the skeleton of a child of six found evidence ~~of~~ even at that age of hard diet, as may be expected among primitive tribes. Later on we find ample evidence of new inhabitants well-acquainted with pottery replacing the microlithic people.

After apparently a great gap in time we come to the neolithic age, and we have numerous remains which repay a careful study. We will first take into consideration the evidence afforded by the discovery of stone circles in South India.

1. Nagpur University Journal, Dec. 1935, p.28 f.

Mr. Hunt writes that cist-graves with stone circles are common in South India and are found in association with pillar stones and dolmens, etc. A group of stone circles is the only indication to the naked eye of the presence of cist burials. These stone circles are not only found in the Hyderabad State, but also in the Central Provinces and Berar. Hundreds of them are found in the Nagpur District and about a million are to be met with in the Nizam's Dominions. A thorough investigation has not yet been undertaken by the Archaeological Survey, and the articles written by Dr. G.R. Hunter, Mr. Hunt and Mr. Yazdani are the only sources of our information.

The excavations at Mahurziri conducted by Dr. Hunter have brought to light an inscription in Vakataka characters of the fifth century A.D. This shows that the Aryans must have come into contact with the people who practised cist-burials.¹ Some of the stones bear cup marks. Dr. Hunter suggests that these cup marks are 'religious, perhaps sacrificial tokens'. The aboriginals like the Telis and Dimars of the neighbourhood still worship a few of the marks, although it is not sanctioned by the Brahmans. ~~Nu-~~

1. Saradasram Annual, 1933, p.30 f.

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Numerous beads of various shapes and colour have been discovered by Dr. Hunter, and he has conjectured with great probability that there was a flourishing factory at Mahurziri. On analysis it was found that stones like Agate, Cornelian, Jade, Turquoise, Marble and Glass were represented. A very interesting seal of the prehistoric Earth-Mother goddess in a squatting posture has been discovered. It appears to be similar to those discovered by Sir John Marshall at Mohenjodaro. Are we to infer from this that the people of Mahurziri were in communication with the people of the Indus Valley? Dr. Hunter remarks: "Both as regards shape and material the beads compare with those found by Sir Aurel Stein in Buddhist sites in Central Asia"; and therefore, it is possible that the people of Mahurziri were in touch with the inhabitants of the Indus Valley and Central Asia.

The cairn builders were a fairly civilized race. According to Mr. Hunt, they held full control of the whole of South India for a long time.¹ They knew the use of gold and silver, copper and iron. Pottery of excellent workmanship has been found, and it is similar to that found in Egypt, Chaldea and Assyria. The lids are exactly

1. J.R.A.I., 1924, p.140 f.

the same as those used in India to-day. This suggests that the Aryans came into contact with them and derived some of their arts. Pottery was decorative, and depicted men, women and animals. Peculiar marks were observed by Dr. Hunt and Mr. Yazdani, Director of Archaeology in the Nizam's State. These so-called marks occur on the pottery discovered at Raigir in the Hyderabad State and various sites in the Madras Presidency. They are considered as tribal 'owner's marks' by Dr. Hunt. But Mr. Yazdani holds that they represent the alphabetical signs, and are similar to those found in Cretan, Aegean and Etruscan writings.¹ He has also pointed out the remarkable similarity of some of the marks with the Brahmi letters of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions. It is possible that the cairn builders had learnt the Semitic script, the parent of Brahmi, from the Semitic countries with which they traded by way of sea. A careful diagram of these marks has been prepared by Mr. Yazdani.² The cairn builders lived chiefly as agriculturists. They chose a particularly hard ground for burying their dead. Fertile land was naturally reserved for cultivation. Important persons of the society were honoured by the special and elaborate form of burial that we

1. H.A.S.-A.R., 1916-17, p.5 f.

2. Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1917, p.56 f.

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find. The servants probably accompanied their rich masters, as is evident from the Raigir Cairn. Iron weapons have been found, but this does not give us any clue to the determination of date. At Bowenpalli, an iron trident to which the effigy of a buffalo has been attached was discovered by Mr. Yazdani. In his opinion, it is of a 'comparably late period', and represents the victory of the God Siva over the demon Mahisha. The worship of Siva in this form is very ancient, and the chief representatives of this sect were the Kapalikas, whom we find in the drama Matta-vilasa Prahasana.

Paithan Excavations.

Paithan, an ancient site, is situated on the Upper Godavari in the Aurangabad District of the Nizam's Dominions. It is considered to be one of the most sacred cities in Maharashtra. Excavations were recently undertaken by the Nizam's Government at Paithan and have brought to light a civilization which is probably similar to that of Mohenjodaro.¹ In the sixth stratum, at a total depth of about 16 feet, were discovered two buildings of burnt bricks and a brick drain, similar to those found at Mohenjodaro. The

1. Indian Art and Letters, 1938, p.83 f.

bricks are of exceptionally large size and no lime was used in their construction. 'Terracotta beads were found in large numbers at very low depths and their shapes show great variety, being barrel-shaped, globular and discoid.' Terracotta figurines in nude of both sexes have been discovered. Beads have been used as ornaments for the neck and head. Mr. Syed Yusuf thinks that the workmanship of the figurines is similar to that of Mohenjo-daro. A dish of baked clay has two marks inscribed on it. Decorative objects made of shell, coral, ivory and mother-of-pearl have also been discovered and attest the artistic skill of the inhabitants. Some of the coins of the Satavahanas made their way to the sixth stratum owing to the floods of the river Godavari.

Excavations have been carried out in the Narmada Valley a few years ago by Mr. Karandikar, and he believes that the civilization is similar to that of the Indus Valley.¹ A full report on his researches has never been published. It is possible that the people of the Narmada Valley had established contacts with Babylonia by way of sea. This is suggested by the discovery of a Babylonian seal in the Central Provinces.² It dates from about 2,000 B.C., the

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1. Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, p.263 f.
 2. Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar, p.x.

period of the first dynasty of Babylon. The port through which the Narmada Valley people traded with the outside world was evidently Broach. Beads from Mahurziri were exported to Aden through the valley of the Narmada river, according to Dr. Hunter.

Remarkable discoveries made at Adittanallur in the Tinnevelly District have thrown a flood of light on a different phase of prehistoric culture of South India. It is possible that the Dravidians were the authors of this culture, as has been suggested by M.Lapicque after an examination of the remains.¹ Dr. Burgess rightly remarked that Adittanallur is 'the most extensive and most important burial place known in India.'² It appears to have been a flourishing river-side town doing considerable trade in pearls and conch-shell with the outside world. The people were highly civilized and cultured, and were acquainted with agriculture and the use of metals. No light is thrown upon the nature of their religion by the evidence at hand, except on their burial customs. A waste or rocky ground was usually chosen for burials, apparently because it was useless for purposes of cultivation. Bodies were

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1. Rea: Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities, Preface.
 2. J.R.A.S., 1901, p.925 f.

mutilated before being placed in the urns. Swords, spears and other weapons were thrust by the side of the grave. Rich people's graves are to be distinguished by the find of gold frontlets bound over the dead bodies. Ornaments of bronze and thin gold leaf, obviously imitations of genuine articles, are also^a distinguishing feature of the richer class of graves. It is said that the custom of tying a strip of gold on the forehead of the dead is still prevalent among some tribes in the Madura District.

We may now take into consideration their knowledge of metals like gold, bronze and iron. In the words of Mr. Alexander Rea, 'the bronzes exhibit a very high degree of skill in workmanship and manipulation of the metal, this is also the case with iron implements.'¹ The objects in bronze are unique on account of their beauty and variety. They include bowls, jars, cups, lids, ornamental vase stands dishes and animals. One of the lids has attached to it 'the grotesque image of a cock.' Bronze was in use for the purpose of making cooking utensils, such as sieve cups and strainers used for straining rice. They are nearly the same as those in use to-day in India, and are very

1. A.S.I.-A.R., 1902-03, p.117 f.

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finely made. The metal was utilized also for the purposes of personal ornamentation. Thus we meet with necklaces, ear ornaments, and diadems. Dancing girls were probably invited at social functions, as bangles with bells attached have come to light. The people were also familiar with the art of distilling scents, as scent-bottles of bronze have been found. Animals represented in this metal are - (1) elephant; (2) antelope; (3) tiger; (4) buffalo; (5) cock; and (6) goat. The more precious gold was used only for ornaments, such as armlets, worn by princes and high officers. Iron was in common use for the purposes of weapons, lamps, chains, hangers, and agricultural implements. The small iron saucer lamps discovered are exactly similar to those used by poor people in India even to day. Eight lamps could be hung from a large hanger at once. It is interesting to note that a gold-plated ring of iron has been discovered. People were acquainted with the mineral known as mica, but whether they had put it to any practical use may be doubted.

They practised the arts of weaving and moulding pottery with great skill. Pottery has also been discovered at Perungulam near Tellicherry in the Malabar District.¹

1. A.S. Southern Circle - A.R., 1910-11, p.10 f.

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A polished red jar with four legs is one of the interesting objects. The people of Adittanallur beautified their body by the use of sandal wood. In cooking they were acquainted^a with the use of curry powder, as we come across a curry-grinding stone. The practice of urn-burial seems to have lasted into historical times, as is apparent from the following ancient Tamil poem quoted by Sewell.

"O potter-chief! maker of vessels!

Thou whose furnace sends up thick clouds of smoke,
veiling the^outspread heavens,
.....

Valavan the great

Hath gained the world of gods. And so

'T is thine to shape an urn, so large

That it shall cover the remains of such a one."

Let us now turn our attention to the discovery of silver and copper objects at Gungeria, in the Balaghat District, a corner of Eastern Maharashtra.² Dr. Vincent Smith holds that although the relics were discovered south of the river Narmada, they belong more to northern India than to southern India.³ It is true, as Dr. Vincent Smith maintains, that there was no copper age in Southern India. The Gungeria finds clearly indicate a constant cultural intercourse

1. J.R.A.S., 1902, p.166.

2. Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1870, p.131

3. I.A., ~~X~~ 1905, p.229 f. (f.

between Northern India and Eastern Maharashtra. The treasure consisted of 424 copper implements, weighing 829 lb, and 102 thin silver plates weighing 6 lb. Sir John Evans believed that it was 'the most important discovery of instruments of copper as yet recorded in the Old World.'

The copper implements discovered are of a great variety and were used for domestic, agricultural as well as warlike purposes. The remarkably good style of workmanship exhibited in their manufacture suggests that copper was in ordinary use for a considerable length of time.¹ The silver articles comprise circular plates and ornaments shaped like a bull's head. Dr. Vincent Smith assigns the Gungeria hoard to c. 2,000 B.C. If this date is accepted, it is clear that the Aryans must have come into contact with the people of the copper age and evidently had no difficulty in conquering them owing to the superior hardness of their bronze and iron weapons.

Aryan colonisation of Maharashtra.

The Aryans when they invaded Maharashtra came into contact with the Dravidians, Gonds and other non-Aryan tribes, some of whom were civilized. The Aryan conquest

1. Sir John Marshall in C.H.I., Vol.I., p.614.

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of Maharashtra, unlike that of the Punjab, was partly physical and partly cultural. The non-Aryans in course of time learnt to speak the Aryan language and adopted the Aryan religion. On the other hand, the Aryans also received some of the non-Aryan deities into the Aryan pantheon. The worship of Śiva, Durga and Khandoba is essentially non-Aryan. The orthodox Brahmans of Maharashtra accepted the principles of snake-worship and tree-worship. In Maharashtra, there are some temples of Śiva where a Sudra priest called Gurava is appointed to conduct the daily puja. This is obviously due to the fact that Brahmans regard it as ^{their} low dignity to worship the non-Aryan Śiva. It is probable that there is little Dravidian blood among the Brahmans whose strict duty it was to regulate Aryan life. The high class Marathas claim that they are Rajputs, and there is nothing to stamp them as Scytho-Dravidians, as Sir Herbert Risley does.¹ Mr. W. Crooke, who strongly opposed this view, believes that the claim of the high class Marathas is well justified.² The majority of the Marathas ^{are} ~~were~~ undoubtedly Aryans with a considerable amount of Dravidian blood. They are thus a mixed race. Baudhayana in his Dharmasutra

1. People of India, 2nd Edition, 1915.

2. J.R.A.I., Vol.XL, (1910), p.39 f.

44

asserts that the inhabitants of Dakshinapatha, i.e. Southern India, along with those of Anga, Magadha and Surashtra are of mixed origin.¹ It is needless to say that his opinion cannot lightly be brushed aside. The Gonds who retreated to the hills and forests of the Central Provinces seized the power in the 15th century A.D. The Brahmans at that time, wisely realizing the power of the Gonds, manufactured Puranic genealogies for them, and distinguished the princes by calling them Raj-Gonds. The Raj-Gonds then came under the influence of the Brahmans and were allowed to marry the daughters of Rajput princes. It would be out of place here to discuss further the racial question, which belongs to the domain of ethnology and not history.

The earliest provinces of Maharashtra where the Aryans first settled were Berar and Khandesh. Ancient Vidarbha was certainly a much larger tract than modern Berar, and stretched from the river Narmada to the Godavari. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar's¹ suggestion that the Aryans came to Vidarbha by the eastern route does not seem feasible. Dakshina Kosala is full of forests and difficult to traverse. The easiest way for them to cross the Vindhya lay through

1. E.H.D., Section III.

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Mandhata in the Nimar District. Invaders from the North usually entered South India at this point. There are no references to Vidarbha in the four Vedas, but the province appears to have been fully Aryanised in the period of the Brahmanas, immediately following the Vedic Age.

In the Aitareya Brahmana Bhima Vaidarbha (prince of Vidarbha) is said to have received instruction regarding the substitute for the Soma juice through a succession of teachers, from Parvata and Narada.¹ Bhima is also represented there as a great king who had obtained tribute from all the quarters. He is further said to have been a contemporary of Somaka Sahadevya, Babhru Daivavridha, and Nagnajit of Gandhara. From the above it is clear that Vidarbha was regarded as an essentially Aryan country even in 2000 B.C. It would follow therefore that the colonisation of Vidarbha must have begun a considerable time previously.

The Panchavimsa Brahmana, which is regarded by Prof. Winternitz as one of the oldest Brahmanas and containing some important old legends, alludes to a sacrificial session in Khandava by Driti.² Dr. Caland remarks that this

1. Ait. Brah. Translated by Keith, p.318.

Vedic Index, Vol.II, p.106.

2. H.I.L., Vol.I, p.191.

46

Khandava is the same as the famous Khandava forest of the Mahabharata.¹ We may reasonably identify it with the modern Khandwa, south of the Narmada, and a place of considerable antiquity. Cunningham identified it with the Kognabanda of Ptolemy and the Khandwa^ho of Biruni.² Our identification is quite in keeping with the mention of a man's name as Revottara in the Śatapatha Brahmana.³ Weber interprets the name as meaning a native of the country south of the river Reva, i.e. Narmada. But there is a delightful uncertainty in this case. The name may also mean a native of the country north of the river. The main point is that we have the earliest reference here to the river Narmada.

The Jaiminiya Upanishad Brahmana states that the Machalas (a species of dog) of Vidarbha are reputed to kill tigers.⁴ The Brihadaranyaka Upanishad brings to light the name of Vidarbhi Kaundineya, a pupil of Vatsanapat.⁵ This Brahman is clearly a resident of Vidarbha and his name Kaundineya is probably due to the fact that he belonged to the Kaundinya gotra. Another famous Brahman of Vidarbha was Bhargava, who was a contemporary of the sage

1. Panchavimsa Brahmana, p.629.

2. Nimar District Gazette, p.234.

3. Vedic Index, Vol.II, p.226.

4. J.A.O.S., Vol.XIX, (Second Half), p.100.

"And indeed among the Vidarbhans the Machalas, descendants of Saramā, kill even tigers."

5. Vedic Index, Vol.II, p.297.

Asvalayana according to the Prasna Upanishad.¹

The traditional account of the migration of Aryan tribes has been given in the Puranas. The Haihayas and the Yadavas appear to have played a prominent part in the colonisation of Maharashtra. The former occupied the region north and ~~a~~ south of the river Narmada.² Kartavirya Sahasrarjuna is said to have been a most powerful king among the Haihayas. He built a strong fortress at Mahishmati on the Narmada and made it his capital. The Puranas style him Samraj and Chakravartin, which indicate his high position.³ The Puranic story of the killing of Kartavirya by Parasurama and the latter's merciless extermination of the Kshatriyas has probably no historical value as such, but it points to the ancient struggle for supremacy between the Brahmans and ^{the} Kshatriyas in this part of the country. Pargiter suggests that Parasurama was helped by the Kshatriya kings of Ayodhya and Kanauj.⁴ But it is difficult to understand how they helped a Brahman like Parasurama against their own brethren Kshatriyas.

The Yadavas appear to have settled in nearly all parts of Maharashtra. This is attested by the fact that the

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1. Text, pp. 1, 14, (Poona) 1911.
 2. A.I.H.T., p.102.
 3. Ibid, pp. 41 and 266.
 4. Ibid, p.267.

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Yadavas founded a town of the name of Pratishthana, i.e. the modern Paithan on the Godavari, apparently after the ancient city of Pratishthana (Allahabad), which according to the Puranas they had formerly occupied. Vidarbha, son of Jyamagha, founded a kingdom named after himself.¹ One of his descendants called Madhu established himself in Banavasi.² Other Yadava princes like Padmavarna and Sarasa are said to have carved out principalities near Karavirapura, and the Sahya mountains. Harita made himself the master of an island on the Konkan coast. It is interesting to note here that the famous Rashtrakutas sometimes claimed that they were Yadavas. We do not know whether the Yadava tribe occupied other parts of South India besides Maharashtra.

The Mahabharata shows that Nishada, Vidarbha, Dasarna and Dakshina Kosala had become essentially Aryan countries at least before the eighth century B.C. The story of Nala and Damayanti is well-known and need not be repeated here. Nala, king of Nishada, has been identified with Nada Naishadha of the Satapatha Brahmana, where ~~xxx~~ he is represented as leading warlike expeditions to the south.³ Thus

1. A.I.H.T., p.102.

2. B.I.S.M.J., June, 1934, p.5 f.

3. Winternitz: H.I.L., Vol.I, p.383.

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there is no doubt about the historicity of Nala. The Mahabharata narrates that he served king Rituparna of Kosala, i.e. Southern Kosala, as a charioteer and a cook. It is instructive to note that Rituparna is referred to as king of Saphala in the Apastamba and Baudhayana Śrauta Sutras.¹ Saphala has been identified with Southern Kosala by Rai Bahadur Hiralal and Dr. Pradhan. Rai Bahadur Hiralal's suggestion that Bhandak in the Chanda District was the capital of Saphala at the time of Rituparna seems plausible.²

The late Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, arguing on the basis of Panini's Grammar, held that "the Indian Aryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ; they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no further, and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with."³ Panini, however, was a native of Gandhara, i.e. the region around the modern Peshawar, and therefore his knowledge of Southern India must have been very limited. Nevertheless, he must have learnt about South India, as he refers to Kalinga and Asmaka and also explains the formation

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1. Pradhan: Chronology of Ancient India, p.145 f.
 2. Saradasram Annual, 1933, p.2.
 3. E.H.D., p.16 (Third Edn.)

of the word Dakshinatya.¹ Moreover, we cannot agree with Sir R.G. Bhandarkar in assigning Panini to the seventh century B.C. Modern scholars are inclined to place Panini in the first half of the fifth century B.C., and this view may be accepted as correct.² It would be surely wrong to suppose that the Aryans had not invaded Southern India in the fifth century B.C. The references to Vidarbha in the Brahmanas which I have previously quoted directly contradict the above supposition. Pargiter after a careful study of the Epics and the Puranas concluded that the Vidarbha kingdom was in existence for some time before the date of the Bharata battle, i.e. c.950 B.C.³ Hence it may be safely assumed that the Aryans had crossed the Vin-dhyas in c. 1100 B.C. and settled in Vidarbha. It may be further pointed out that these dates appear incorrect if we accept the old view that the Aryans invaded North India in c. 1200 B.C. But modern research has shown that the Aryan invasion of Northern India took place somewhere about 2,000 B.C. and not in 1,200 B.C.⁴ The date 1,100 B.C. for the Aryan advance in Southern India is therefore quite feasible.

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1. Kāsika, Benares Edn., 1898, pp.292, 293, and 316.
 2. Prof. Jarl Charpentier in B.S.O.S., Vol.IV., p.343.
See also Prof. Macdonald in India's Past, p.137.
 3. A.I.H.T., pp.283 and 182.
 4. The whole question has been discussed by Prof. Winternitz in H.I.L., Vol.I, p.290 f.
See also Prof. Jarl Charpentier, B.S.O.S., Vol.IV., p. 167.

The first historical king of Vidarbha whose date can be fixed precisely was Pradyota Mahasena. He was a contemporary of Buddha, and his date may be fixed as c. 500 B.C. Pradyota was a ruler of Avanti with its capital at Ujjaini, and was feared by his contemporaries. Ajatasatru of Magadha is said to have fortified his capital Rajagriha through fear of a raid by Pradyota.¹ The Puranas say that he had the neighbouring kings subject to him and that he ruled for 23 years. It is probable that he had wrested some parts ^{from} of the kingdom of the Asmakasing. The districts of Hoshangabad, Betul, Nimar, Chhindwara and Nagpur may have formed an integral part of Pradyota's empire.

The Asmaka kingdom comprised parts of Berar and the north-western districts of ^{the} Nizam's Dominions. Its capital was Pratishthana, i.e. Paithan on the upper Godavari. The Puranas state that 25 Asmaka kings ruled before the Nandas. Pargiter has calculated that the average for one generation in this case is 18 years and hence the foundation of the Asmaka kingdom may be dated ~~at~~ c. 850 B.C.² Bhamaha, who flourished in c. 700 A.D., informs us that in his time there existed a work on the history of the Asmaka

1. P.H.A.I., p.136.

2. A.I.H.T., p.181 f.

family. But unfortunately this work has been lost.¹

Mahapadma Nanda may have extended the sphere of his influence over Maharashtra, as the Puranas say that he exterminated all the Kshatriyas and ruled as a paramount sovereign.² The Vishnu Purana compares him to the epic hero Parasurama. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela refers to the rule of Nanda over Kalinga, i.e. Orissa and Ganjam.³ Fargiter has shown that ^{the} accession of Mahapadma took place in the year 402 B.C.⁴ The Skanda Purana, to which Rao Bahadur Vaidya has drawn our attention, gives a slightly different date. The relevant verse runs thus:-

"Tatastrishu sahasreshu dasadhikasata traye
Bhavishyam Nandarajyam cha Chanakyo yan hani-
shyati."

The date for Nanda is here given as $3,000 - 310 = 2690$ of the Kaliyuga era, which corresponds to 411 B.C.⁵

Nanda was also the founder of an era which was used in the Southern Maharashtra even in the eleventh century A.D. The Chalukya emperor Vikramaditya VI gave orders that the Nanda and Saka eras should be abolished and a new

1. Ketkar: Prachina Maharashtra; p.75.

2. Dynasties of the Kali Age, p.69.

3. E.I., Vol.XX, p.71 f.

4. A.I.H.T., p.287.

5. Seventh All-India Oriental Conf. Report, p.575 f.

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era counted from the beginning of his reign.¹ According to the Puranas Nanda and his eight sons ruled for 88 years until they were supplanted by the Mauryas.

The Maurya dynasty was founded by Chandragupta with the help of a Brahman named Chanakya, who is sometimes also called Kautiliya, in c. 322 B.C. The empire of Chandragupta included the whole of Maharashtra, Konkan and Mysore. In his old age he abdicated the throne and retired to Mysore together with his Jain Guru Bhadrabahu. The latter died at Sravana Belgola and was tended by the emperor in his last moments. The emperor himself committed suicide by the Jain rite of Sallekhana after some years.² This traditional account is confirmed by the discovery of several inscriptions, the earliest of which belongs to the sixth century A.D.³

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara Amitrakshada in c 298 B.C. Chanakya continued in his office of Prime Minister during his reign. We have no information regarding the conquests of Bindusara, but it may be conjectured that he strengthened his hold on Maharashtra and annexed the country between the Krishna river and the

1. Fleet: D.K.D., p.447.

2. R. Narasimhachar: Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, p. 36 f.

3. Ibid, Inscription at Chandragiri, no. 1.

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Palare river. The reign of Bindusara appears to have been full of rebellions; Taranatha, a Tibetan author, tells us that Chanakya 'destroyed kings and ministers of about sixteen capitals and brought all the land between the eastern and western oceans under his control.'¹ The Divyavadana relates a story about the suppression of a revolt at Takshasila by Prince Ashoka.

Bindusara was succeeded by his son Asoka in c. 273 B.C. The formal coronation ceremony took place in c. 269 B.C. The reason for this delay may have been a struggle for the throne between Asoka and his brothers. The tradition embodied in the Ceylonese works like ~~the~~ Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa that Asoka caused to be killed some of his brothers need not be dismissed as fiction.² The Ceylonese tradition is corroborated by the evidence of the Indian work, Divyavadana.³ The stories of Asoka's cruelties such as his executions of 500 ministers may not all be true.

In c. 261 B.C. Asoka invaded the kingdom of Kalinga, which had become independent in the times of Chandragupta. It is probable that Asoka attacked the kingdom from all sides. The people of Kalinga vigorously resisted the

1. Ray Chaudhuri: P.H.A.I., p.200.

2. Dipavamsa, p.148.

Mahavamsa, part II, p.14.

3. Cowell's Edn., p.372 f.

aggressive emperor. Ultimate victory no doubt lay with Asoka, but only after a fearful carnage on both sides. The Kalinga country was absorbed into the Mauryan empire, and this fact suggests that members of the Kalinga royal family were put to the sword. This war put the finishing touches to the expansion of the Mauryan empire in South India.

The conquest of Kalinga was a turning point ~~in~~ in the career of Asoka. Henceforward, he abandoned the traditional policy of aggrandisement and devoted his attention to religious and social reforms. He appointed a special class of officers called the Dharma-mahamatras to preach the Law of Piety. They were also empowered to grant release to imprisoned persons.¹ Their appointment in semi-independent Maharashtra must have caused resentment among *the* local Rajas. Another class of officers called the Rajukas were posted in different parts of Maharashtra. Their functions were revenue settlement, and the award of honours and penalties. Although the office of Rajuka fell into disuse in Northern India, after the fall of the Mauryas, it survived in Berar as late as the fifth century A.D.

1. Ray Chaudhuri: P.H.A.I., p. 215 f.

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The Parindas are mentioned together with the Andhras in the thirteenth Rock Edict of Asoka.¹ Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar has identified the Parindas with the people of Varendri of Northern Bengal.² But the identification does not seem satisfactory. As the name of the Parindas is coupled with that of the Andhras, the former must be located somewhere in Southern India. There is a large village called Parenda in the Osmanabad District of the Nizam's Dominions. Parenda was an important town in the 15th century A.D. and is ^{famous} ~~reputed~~ for a fortress built by Mahmud Gawan, the famous Bahmani minister. Moreover, numerous ruins in the neighbourhood attest its importance in ancient days.³ It is very probable that ^{the} Parindas alluded to in the inscriptions of Asoka are the people in the neighbourhood of modern Parenda.

Asoka died in c. 232 B.C., and the empire declined thereafter. It is possible that Samprati, his grandson, who ruled from Ujjain, may have held parts of Northern Maharashtra. The last Mauryan king Brihadratha was killed by his Brahman Commander-in-chief Pushyamitra in c. 185 B.C.⁴ The usurpation of the latter must have been followed by

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1. Hultzsch: C.I.I., Vol.I, p.23 f.
 2. Asoka, Second Edn., p.31 f.
 3. Hyderabad State Gazetteer, p.19.
 4. Smith: E.H.I., p.204.

a general massacre of the remaining Maurya princes. ^{But some} ~~One~~ of them, ~~who was probably named Chandragupta after his illustrious ancestor,~~ escaped through Maharashtra and carved out a kingdom ~~for himself~~ in the Konkan. A new era called the Aguptayika era then came to be used in the Konkan and Southern Maharashtra. The Gokak plates of the Rashtrakuta king Dejjā or Devarāja are dated in the 845th year of this era.¹

1. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.289 f.

CHAPTER III.

THE IMPERIAL SATAVAHANAS AND

THE CHUTUS.

THE IMPERIAL SATAVAHANAS.

For a long time the Satavahana dynasty was called the Andhra dynasty by historians. This mistake was due to the fact that the Puranas name the family Andhras. Mr. Subramaniam explains that this mistake is to be attributed to the fact that the Puranic chroniclers knew the Satavahanas as the rulers of Andhradesa only in the third century A.D.¹ But this is not wholly correct. Five manuscripts of the Matsya Purana show that it was partly composed in the tenth regnal year of the last great Satavahana king, viz. Yajnasri Satakarni.² There is no doubt that he ruled in Western India as well in Andhradesa. The Purana writers could equally have described him as a king of Maharashtra. Hence some other explanation of the Puranic mistake will have to be found.

The fact that the Satavahanas were called Andhras was responsible for another mistake. Dr. Vincent Smith remarked that 'the new dynasty extended its sway with such extraordinary rapidity that in the reign of the second king, Krishna, the town of Nasik, near the source of the Godavari in the Western Ghats, was included in the Andhra dominions, which thus stretched across India.'³ We may rest

1. Q.J.M.S., Vol.XIII, p.591 f.

2. D.K.A., p.xiii, n.1.

3. E.H.I., p.218 (Fourth Edn.)

assured that the Satavahanas never held any part of Andhradesa at least until the second half of the first century B.C. The expansion of the Satavahana empire was no doubt from the west to the east down the valleys of the rivers Godavari and Krishna. This is confirmed by the evidence of the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, who 'disregarding Satakarni sent a large army to the Western Quarter.'¹ If the home of the Satavahanas had been really Andhradesa, Kharavela, king of Kalinga, would have despatched his forces to the south and not to the west. Rai Bahadur R.P. Chanda places Kharavela in the first half of the first century B.C., wherefore the Satavahana conquest of Andhradesa must be later than that date.²

The earliest inscriptions and coins of the Satavahanas are found in Western Maharashtra. Their earliest capital was no doubt the ancient Paithan on the upper Godavari. Nevertheless, the Kanarese country and not Western Maharashtra seems to have been their original home. The occurrence^{ce} of place names like Sāvāli, Sātibbegere, Sātanhalli and Sātimalabhoga in the ancient Kanarese country tend to strengthen this inference. Mr. Bakhle holds that

1. E.I., Vol.XX, p.71 f.
2. I.H.Q., Vol.V, p.613

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Western India was their original home.¹ The term Western India is too vague and hence cannot be properly used in this case. Dr. V.S.Sukthankar tackled for the first time this intricate but interesting question in his brilliant article 'On the home of the so-called Andhra kings.'² According to him, the home of the Satavahanas is to be located in the modern Bellary District. This theory is based on the fact that the Myakadoni inscription of Siri-Pulumayi refers to a province called Satavahani-hara, which no doubt corresponds to the region around Adoni in the Bellary District. Further, the Hirahadagalli copperplates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman allude to the country called Sātāhani-rat̥ṭha, which no doubt included the province called Sātāvāhani-hāra. The word 'rat̥ṭha' indicates a greater territorial division than the word 'hāra' (i.q. āhāra). At present we cannot determine the extent of the country called Satahani-rat̥ṭha, but it may be conjectured that it denoted a large part of the modern Bellary District. We may then accept Dr. Sukthankar's theory that the Bellary District was the original home of the Satavahanas.

The identity of the Satavahanas with the Satiyaputras

1. J.B.B.R.A.S., 1927, p.51.
2. A.B.O.R.I., Vol.I, p.21 f.

of the Edicts of Asoka is now well-established.¹ The Satavahanas probably represent a Brahman family of the Aryan tribe known as the Satiyaputras. There is a great divergence of views among scholars as to the location of the latter. Mr. V. Aiyar places them near Kanchi. Dr. Vincent Smith locates them in the Satyamangalam taluk of Coimbatore.² Dr. S.K. Aiyangar and Sir R.G. Bhandarkar say that the Satiyaputras are represented by the modern Satputes, a surname which occurs among the Marathas of the Poona District.³ I am unable to accept any of the above identifications. The name Satiyaputra is coupled with Choda, Pandiya, Keralaputra and Tambapani in the Second Rock Edict at Mansera.⁴ There is no doubt that the Aryan colonization of Southern India took place partly by land and partly by sea. We may then presume that the Satiyaputras were an Aryan tribe settled on the coast of North Kanara and Goa in c. 500 B.C., who extended their sway over the districts of Dharwar and Bellary. The early capital of the Satavahana family may have been somewhere in the Bellary District. No members of the Satavahana family earlier than Simuka are noticed in the Puranas. But from this it does not follow that he was the founder of the dynasty. Dr.

1. B.S.O.S., Vol.IX, p.329.

2. E.H.I., pp.194, 171.

3. P.H.A.I., p.224.

4. C.I.I., Vol.I. 72.

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Barnett rightly holds that 'he was the first Satavahana who extended the dominion of his race northward so as to bring it into the purview of the Puranic writers.'¹

Simuka.

According to the Puranas he reigned for 23 years. In his time the Satavahana empire included Konkan, Western Maharashtra and parts of the Karnatak. Vidarbha or Berar does not appear to have been under his domination. In the Nanaghat cave there is a statue bearing an inscription which reads 'Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhano śrīmato', i.e. 'king Simuka Satavahana, the illustrious one.'² The Puranic statement regarding Simuka and the conquest of Magadha will be discussed later on.

Krishna.

The next king mentioned by the Puranas is Krishna, the younger brother of Simuka. The Nasik cave inscription records the excavation of a cave by Samana, a minister of king Kanha (Krishna) of the Satavahana family. This minister seems to have been in charge of the Nasik District, as he calls himself a Nasikaka.³ The Matsya Purana says that

1. B.S.O.S., Vol.IX, p.329.

2. A.S.W.I., Vol.V, p.60 f. List No. 1113.

3. Senart translates the expression 'Nāsikakena Samanena māhamātena' as 'officer in charge of Sramanas at Nasik'. But I prefer to follow the translation of Prof. Luders (List No. 1144). E.I., Vol.VIII, p.93.

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Krishna ruled for a period of 18 years, while all the other Puranas assign him a reign of only ten years. I am inclined to accept the statement of the Matsya Purana, which is the oldest of all the Puranas. Pargiter's explanation that the word 'astādasā' of the Matsya is a misreading for 'abdam dasā' does not seem satisfactory.¹

It is instructive to note that there is no statue of Krishna in the Nanaghat gallery. Mr. Bakhle has suggested that this may be explained by the supposition that Krishna was ~~an~~ a usurper, who set aside Satakarni, the son of Simuka. We may accept the above suggestion provisionally.

Satakarni.

Krishna was succeeded by his nephew Satakarni, the son of Simuka. There are statues of Satakarni and his queen Nagenika in the Nanaghat gallery. Jayaswal rejects Buhler's view that the statues in the Nanaghat gallery are 'donor-statues.'² He prefers to regard them as devakula statues corresponding to those of the Kushan kings at Mathura. This suggestion is supported by the fact that a Sunga inscription at Ayodhya records the construction of a ketana (temple?) for the worship of the late king Phalgudeva.³

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1. D.K.A., Introduction.
 2. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XVI, p.285.
 3. I.H.Q., Vol.V, p.599.

It is ~~not~~ very likely that the various statues in the Nana-ghat cave were intended to represent the members of the family.¹ As Krishna was a usurper, he was not given a statue in this gallery.

The semi-historical events alluded to in Kalidasa's drama Malavikagnimitra may very well be located in the reign of Satakarni.² The Satavahanas were not actually ruling over Vidarbha at this time, but it ~~is~~ ^{is} ^m improbable that they were disinterested in the affairs of so near a neighbour. In the above drama Agnimitra of the Sunga family is represented as ruling in Vidisa, i.e. Bhilsa in Malwa, as his father's viceroy. He was in love with Malavika, a princess of Vidarbha and the sister of prince Madhavasena. While

1. See Aravamuthan: South Indian Portraits, pp.35, 75.

The Pratima-nataka, which may or may not be a work by Bhasa, refers to a statue-house of Ikshvaku kings. This statue-house was built probably as a devakula ~~of~~ to represent all the male members of the royal family past and present. The statue of Dasaratha in the devakula might well have been put up in his life time and not after his death as Mr. Aravamuthan thinks.

In the Nanaghat gallery we have portraits of Satakarni and his father Simuka, Queen Naganika, Prince Hakesiri, Prince Bhaya and Kumara Satavahana. I am inclined to believe that the statues were set up by king Satakarni to represent the members of his family after he had performed the Vedic sacrifices. Mr. Aravamuthan is wrong when he says that Satakarni was dead at the time the group was carved. The gallery of five generations of Nayaka kings at Madura and the Todar Mall groups at Kanchi and Tirumalai are perhaps the only parallels to the Nanaghat gallery.

2. Malavikagnimitra, Balamnorama Press, Madras, 1935.

the latter was proceeding to Vidisa to see Agnimitra, he was arrested on the way by Yajnasena, the king of Vidarbha.¹ Agnimitra was angry at this and demanded the release of Madhavasena. Yajnasena replied that he would agree to do this if his brother-in-law, a minister of the Mauryas, should be set free by the Sungas. Agnimitra was not pleased at this answer and remarking that the king of Vidarbha was a natural enemy of his, ordered Virasena, the commandant of a frontier fortress on the river Narmada, to march against Vidarbha. In Act V, we are told that Virasena had gained a victory over the king of Vidarbha, who was taken captive. Virasena seems to have reached the banks of the river Varada, i.e. the modern Wardha, and thus had penetrated into the heart ^{of the} Vidarbha country. This may be an exaggeration of Kalidasa or his sources. Agnimitra decided to preserve his influence in Vidarbha by following a policy of 'divide and rule'. Accordingly, he ordered that Vidarbha should be divided into two parts, the river Varada forming the dividing line. We do not know what part Madhavasena acquired, but it may be conjectured that he obtained the territory to the west of the

1. It may be ~~xx~~ suggested that Yajnasena was a scion of the Asmaka dynasty, which according to the Puranas ruled over Vidarbha from c. 700 B.C.

river Wardha, which is richer and more fertile than the country to the east of the river.¹

The Satavahanas perhaps suffered a diplomatic reverse at the hands of the Sungas, who thus prevented for the time being the expansion of the Satavahana power in northern and eastern Maharashtra. But we cannot be too sure about this. Kalidasa was a first-class poet and dramatist, but we have no evidence that he was a serious historian. The historicity of Agnimitra and Vasumitra is confirmed by Puranic and inscriptional evidence. Further details in the Malavikagnimitra are open to doubt. However, it is not impossible that Kalidasa has preserved for us a germ of genuine history.

The Nanaghat inscription of Queen Naganika begins by praising the Vedic gods Dharma, Indra, Varuna and Yama and proceeds to record the sacrifices performed by her husband Sri Satakarni. He is given the title 'Dakshināpathapati', the lord of Southern India. But it may be doubted whether Vidarbha was under his sway. As we have seen above, the Malavikagnimitra tends to indicate that it was included within the sphere of Sunga influence. Mr. Bakhle argues

1. Act V, v. 13.

It has been held by Buhler and Rapson that Sati=Sakti. Moreover, it has been suggested that Prince Haksiri of inscription No. 1117 (List) should be identified with Saktisri of the Jain legends.¹ Both the identifications are, however, open to doubt and cannot be accepted without further evidence. Sakti in early Prakrit could only become Satti and not Sati, much less Haku.

Satakarni did not live long, and his queen Naganika seems to have ruled as Regent after his death.

Purnotsanga.

Purnotsanga ascended the throne after Satakarni, but we do not know the exact relationship between the two. Buhler had suggested the identification of Vedasiri of the Nasik cave inscription with Purnotsanga. But as the reading Vedasiri has been proved to be the wrong one, it is unnecessary to consider this suggestion any more. I venture to make a suggestion that Purnotsanga may be identified with Kumara Satavahana of inscription No. 1118 (List). The words 'kumāro Sātavāhano' of the above inscription perhaps refer only to the heir-apparent of the Satavahana dynasty. Hence it is possible that Purnotsanga was the proper name

1. Catalogue, pp. xx, xlvi.

of this Satavahana Yuvaraja. The regnal period of Purnotsanga is given by the Puranas as 18 years.

Skandhastambhi.

He ruled for 18 years according to the Puranas. He seems to be identifiable with Khandasiri of the Nanaghat cave inscriptions.¹ He was thus the son of Satakarni. His relationship with Purnotsanga is not clear. It is possible that Purnotsanga was his elder brother.

Satakarni II.

He succeeded Skandhastambhi and had a long reign of 56 years. He was a contemporary of the great king Kharavela of Kalinga. The latter sent a vast army of elephants and horses to the west, disregarding Satakarni, who seems to have suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Kharavela. The latter also seems to have subdued Vajra (Vairagadh in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces) and the Bhojakas; and the Rathikas of Berar paid homage to him.² This statement suggests that Berar after the decline of the Sunga power came under the rule of local chiefs known as the Bhojakas and Rathikas. This defeat of the latter by Kharavela may have hastened the conquest of Berar by the Satavahanas.

1. A.S.I.-A.R., 1923-24, p.88.

Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri has shown that the correct reading of the Nanaghat inscription is Khandasirisa and not Vedasirisa.

2. E.I., Vol.XX, p.75.

Lambodara.

His son Lambodara is said to have governed the kingdom for 18 years according to the Puranas. It is very probable that the conquest of Berar by the Satavahanas took place in his reign. This may have paved the way for the further conquests of Apilaka.

Apilaka.

The Puranas state that Apilaka,¹ son of Lambodara, was king for 12 years. One of the coins of Apilaka has been found at Balpur in Chhattisgarh, and the palaeography of the legend, according to Mr. K.N. Dikshit, suggests that Apilaka ruled in the second century A.D.² But there is other evidence against this date. The Sanchi inscription of Satakarni has been assigned to c. 50 B.C. by Sir John Marshall.³ We may accept this view, and this Satakarni is thus to be equated with Apilaka, who accordingly would seem to have

1. Jayaswal makes an ingenious attempt to identify Apilaka with Pulumayi. Apilaka has been even denied his place in the genealogy compiled by Jayaswal. The discovery of the coin of Apilaka finally disproves both the above suppositions. (J.B.O.R.S., 1930, p.267 f.) The form Apilaka seems to be derived from an original Apadeva, cf. Marathi Apadevanaka of the Bedsa Buddhist cistern inscription. (List No. 1111.)

2. Dikshit: 'Coin of Apilaka', J.A.S.B., 1937-38, 94 N.

3. Prof. Rapson remarks that 'the inscription as it stands in Cunningham's eye-copy is evidently incorrect.' He proposes to connect the word Vāsīthiputasa with Sātakanisa, and reads the name of the king as Vasīshthiputra Sri Satakarni. But the metronymic Vāsīthiputa is to be joined to the name of the donor Anamda according to Sir J. Marshall and Rai Bahadur R.P. Chanda, who have made a very careful study of the inscription. Their reading is undoubtedly correct. (Rapson: Catalogue, xxiii f; Chanda: I.H.Q., Vol.V, and Marshall: Guide to Sanchi, pp. 13,52.) p. 599.

conquered Malwa. Moreover, the find-spot of the coin of Apilaka tends to indicate that he had conquered Dakshina Kosala as well.

Apilaka's Successors.

The period of Satavahana history after the death of Apilaka is marked by a complete lack of inscriptions and coins for nearly a century and a half. Hence we have no means of checking the information that we gather from literature. Apilaka's successor, according to the Puranas, was Meghasvati who ruled for 18 years. He in his turn was followed by Svati who reigned for 18 years. If the Puranic genealogy of the Satavahanas be correct, then Svati seems to have been the Satavahana king who destroyed the power of the Kanvas. The fall of the Kanvas is placed by all scholars in c. 28 B.C.

In this connection it would be well to take into consideration the light thrown by the Yuga Purana of Garga.¹ This work has been assigned to the second half of the first century B.C. by Mr. K.P. Jayaswal and Prof. K.H. Dhruva. It is true that the Yuga Purana account closes with the overthrow of the Kanvas in Magadha; but that is not a

1. J.B.O.R.S., 1930, p.18 f.

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a conclusive reason for assigning such an early date. Garga tells us of an invasion of Magadha by the mighty Saka king Amlata, who established himself in Pataliputra after slaughtering its population. After Amlata it appears that the succession was disputed. Gopala, Puspaka and Śarvila succeeded each other in less than five years. The name of Śarvila's successor is not mentioned, but he is said to have been wicked, unholy and hostile to Brahmanism. Being actuated by greed, he invaded the country of the Kalingas. "Attempting to seize the territories of the ruler of the Kalingas, belonging to the Śāta (i. e. Satavahana) family, he will lose his life (in the campaign); and the dense hordes of the detestable Śakas will, without fail, be destroyed by volleys of arrows. Then that king, who is the flower of the Śāta family, will with his forces conquer the Magadha land, and at the end of the tenth year (after the conquest) will give up the ghost."

From the above passage we learn of an invasion of Magadha and its conquest by a Satavahana king. Prof. Dhruva identifies the Saka king who invaded Magadha with Azes, who ruled from B.C. 58 to B.C. 11. This is merely a conjecture. Prof. Dhruva further argues that the last but one Kanva king Narayana lost his life in the war with

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the Saka king and that Susarman reigned for four years at Pataliputra after Satavahana killed the Saka king. But there is no evidence at all in support of this argument. The conquest of Magadha by the Satavahanas is a historical event, as it is noted in other Puranas. The Yuga Purana shows that Kalinga, i.e. Orissa, was in the possession of the Satavahanas before their annexation of Magadha. This is a new fact, and it is not likely to be unhistorical, although it is not confirmed from any other source. The passage in the Yuga Purana relating to the Yavana conquest of Saketa, Mathura, Panchala and Kusumadhvaaja has been accepted as historical by almost all scholars.¹ Hence there is no reason why we should not regard the Satavahana conquest of Orissa as a historical fact. King Svati may have marched into Magadha through Orissa. He thus made the Satavahanas a leading power in both the North and the South. According to the Yuga Purana he died ten years after the conquest of Magadha. Prof. Dhruva identifies the Satavahana king of the Yuga Purana with Pulumayi I, but he seems to have flourished in the first century A.D., according to the Matsya Purana. Hence I prefer to identify the Satavahana of the Yuga Purana with Svati.

1. Smith: E.H.I., p.228 (4th Edn.)

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According to the Puranas, Svati was succeeded by Skandavati, who ruled for 7 years.¹ The latter was followed on the throne by Mrigendra Svatikarna, who reigned for 3 years. He was succeeded by Kuntala Svatikarna, who ruled for 8 years, and was then in turn succeeded by Svativarna, who was king for one year. The short reigns of the above four kings and the occurrence of the name Svati among the five successors of Apilaka cast a doubt on the authenticity of the Puranic tradition. The names of these five kings may have been manufactured by the Puranic writers and imaginary regnal periods assigned to them. It is extremely improbable that all the successors of Apilaka had names in which the word Svati formed a part. Further, it is contrary to Hindu tradition that father and son should have names which are almost similar. The Puranic chroniclers have no doubt blundered in saying that Simuka destroyed the Kanva power. This mistake may be explained by the supposition that the authors of the Puranas had very scanty information regarding the successors of Apilaka.

Pulomayi is mentioned as the next king by the Puranas, and the Satavahanas probably lost Magadha in his reign.

1. Pargiter: D.K.A., p.71.

His regnal period is given as 36 years. Pulomayi's successor is stated to have been Arishtakarna, who ruled for 25 years. The name Arishtakarna of the Matsya Purana does not sound very auspicious. All the Mss. of the Vayu Purana give the variant form Nemikrishna, which may be provisionally accepted as correct. He was succeeded by Hala, who ruled for 5 years according to the Matsya Purana.¹ The Prakrit work known as Saptasati is ascribed by literary tradition to Hala. If it is a work composed in the time of Hala, it seems probable that the Satavahanas then ruled over a considerable part of the Nizam's Dominions and Andhradesa. This may be inferred from a stanza which says that there was no other kingdom which wielded power in the region from the source of the river Godavari and the place where it meets the sea.²

Hala's name was remembered for a long time and all the poets considered him to be the greatest of the Satavahana kings. From a passage occurring at the end of a manuscript of the Saptasati discovered by Prof. Peterson in the Royal Library at Bundi, we learn that Hala had the surname

1. Hala as a personal name is well-established. See List 1007, 1053. The derivation of the name from Sata seems rather unnecessary.

2. "Sachcham bhana Godavari puvvasamuddena sahiyasanti
Sālāhanakulasarisam jai te kule kulam atthi."
Saptasati, Kavyamala Edition, 1933, Introduction.

Satakarna (Sātakarni?) and that he was known as the lord of the town of Pratisthan and the master of Kuntala.¹ Further he is spoken of as the husband of Malayavati. Now a passage in the Kamasutra of Vatsyayana records a scandal that Satakarni, king of Kuntala killed his queen Malayavati by a stroke known as 'kartari'.² We may identify this Satakarni with Hala, as we learn from Prof. Peterson's Ms. that his queen was named Malayavati. However, Sir R.G. Bhandarkar and Dr. H.C. Chakladar have identified the Kuntala Satakarni of the Kamasutra with his namesake, who is mentioned as a predecessor of Hala in the Puranas.³ The death of Malayavati may not have been due to an act on the part of Hala; probably a rumour of murder was invented by some body to explain her sudden death, and was recorded by Vatsyayana.

If literary tradition is to be believed, Hala appears to have been a great patron of the Prakrit language. Rajasekhara, who flourished in the tenth century A.D. says that Hala introduced the Prakrit language even in his harem.⁴ King Bhoja writes that everybody in the kingdom of Adhyarāja spoke the Prakrit language.⁵ The commentary on Bhoja's

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1. Peterson: Third Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss., p.349.
 2. Kamasutra, p.154 (Bombay Edn.), 1891.
 3. Chakladar: Social Life in Ancient India, p.30.
 4. Kavyamimansa, (G.O.S. Third Edn.), p.50.
 5. Sarasvatikanthabharana, Kavyamala Edn., 1934, p.143.

work equates Adhyaraja with Salivahana. It is reasonable to suppose that Adhyaraja is simply a biruda of king Hala. The pointed statements of Bhoja and Rajsekharā would be meaningless if referred to Maharashtra, where Prakrit was spoken by the majority of the population. But they would not be meaningless if referred to Karnatak and Andhradesa. It is probable that Hala forced the Prakrit language on the peoples of those countries and thus tried to displace Kanarese and Telugu. Prof. Peterson's ms. of the Saptasati states that Gunadhya's Brihatkatha and the Kalapa Grammar were composed in the reign of Hala. This may or may not be true; the dates of the Brihatkatha and the Kalapa Grammar have yet to be fixed with certainty.

The successor of Hala is spoken of as Mantalaka in some of the Puranas. He was ^apowerful king and reigned for five years. There is a great difference of opinion among the Puranic Mss. regarding his correct name. The form Patalaka as given in the Vayu Purana seems authentic. He was succeeded by Sundara Satakarni, according to the Matsya Purana. The Bhagavata and Vishnu Puranas give the name of Sundara as Sunandana. Sundara seems more likely, as it is in common use even to-day. Sundara's regnal period is

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given as one year. He was followed on the throne by Chakora Satakarni, who ruled for 6 months according to most of the Puranas. But the Brahmanda Purana says that he ruled for six years. After Chakora, Sivasvati came to the throne, according to nearly all the Puranas and reigned for 28 years. But the Brahmanda Purana differs on this point and says that one Mahendra Satakarni was the successor of Chakora. Mahendra may have been a contemporary of Sivasvati ruling in the neighbourhood of Mahendra mountains, i.e. Andhradesa. Sivasvati's successor was Gautamiputra Satakarni.

Gautamiputra Satakarni.

The accession of Gautamiputra Satakarni opens a new page in the history of the Satavahanas, which is hereafter illuminated by numerous inscriptions and coins. A passage from Pliny's Natural History attests the growing strength of the Satavahanas in the latter half of the first century A.D. "The Andhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides villages and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry and 1000 elephants."¹ Dr. Vincent Smith and Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar have both assumed that Pliny's information regarding the Andhras is derived from the writings of

1. Smith: E.H.I., p.217.
I.A., 1918, p.70.

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Megasthenes, the celebrated ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. They have further argued that the statement of Pliny indicates the strength of the Andhra power in c. 300 B.C. I do not think that there are sufficient grounds for the above suppositions. It is equally probable that Pliny's statement is based upon the particulars furnished to him personally by a traveller who had visited India. Therefore I am inclined to believe that Pliny's account of the Andhra country really reflects the conditions in c. 75 A.D.

An inscription in the caves at Nasik dated in the 19th regnal year of ^k King Pulumayi narrates the exploits of his father Gautamiputra Satakarni.¹ The latter is spoken of as king of Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidarbha and Akaravati. He is further said to have been the lord of the mountains Vijha, Uhhavata, Parichata, Sahya, Kanhagiri, Macha, Siritana, Malaya, Mahida, Setagiri and Chakora. The identification of the countries referred to in the inscription is not a very easy task. M. Senart has suggested that Asika is the country of the Rishikas of the Mahabharata, where they are coupled with the Kambojas.

1. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.60 f.

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We may provisionally accept this suggestion and suppose that the Rishikas were residing in Northern Sindh. Regarding Asaka I venture to suggest that it is the country of the Assakenoi (Punjab) who were subjugated by Alexander the Great.¹ It is equally plausible that Asaka is the same as Asmaka, the country round Paithan. Mulaka appears to have been a part of the Nizam's Dominions. In the fifteenth century the name Muliki-nadu was given to a part of Andhradesa.² Kukura has been identified by all scholars with a portion of Eastern Rajputana. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar has identified Anupa with a country on the upper Narmada with Mahishmati as its capital.³ The identification of Aparanta Vidarbha and Akaravati presents no difficulty. The mountains Vijha, Chhavata, Sahya and Parichata are the same as Vindhya, Rikshavat (the Satpura Range), Sahyadri and the Pariyatra respectively. Pariyatra probably represents the modern Aravali range in Rajputana. Kanhagiri may be identified with the Kanheri hills. Macha may perhaps be the same as Machhindragadh in the Satara District. Siritana and Setagiri cannot be identified. Malaya denotes that part of the Western Ghats running approximately south of

1. Smith: E.H.I., p.57.

2. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.IV, p.25.

3. I.A., 1918, p. 149 f.

Mangalore. Mahida, i.e. Mahendra, is/well-known mountain of Kalinga. Chakora seems to have been a mountain somewhere near Kurnool; the name Chakora is joined with that of Sriparvata in the Brahma Purana.

Prof. R.D. Banerji and Dr. Dubreuil assume that all the countries mentioned in the Nasik Prasasti once formed part of the kingdom of Nahapana.¹ This assumption does not seem well-justified, at least in the case of Vidarbha (Berar), Mulaka and Asmaka.

We have no evidence to indicate that these three countries were ever conquered by Nahapana. The Nasik inscription states that Gautamiputra destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, rooted out the Khakharata race and restored the glory of the Satavahana family. The annihilation of the Khakharatas, i.e. the Kshaharatas, to which family the mighty Nahapana belonged, is confirmed by numismatic evidence. The hoard of Nahapana's coins discovered at Jogalthembu in the Nasik district of Maharashtra shows that two-thirds of the coins were re-struck by the victorious Satavahana king. The legend on the re-struck coins runs thus:- "Rāño Gotami-putasa Siri-Sātakanisa."² In connection with the phrase 'saka-yavana-pahlava-nisūdanasa' occurring in the Nasik

1. Hindu India, p.150.

A.H.D., p.23.

2. Rapson: Catalogue, p.68.

Prasasti, I may be permitted to refer to the tradition in the Punjab to which Mr. K.P. Jayaswal has drawn our attention. According to this tradition king Satavahana is said to have inflicted a crushing defeat upon a foreign king called Sir Kap and delivered the people from the latter's tyranny.¹ The famous Arab writer Biruni, writing in the early years of the eleventh century, records that a Saka king tyrannised over the Hindus of the country between the river Sindhu and the ocean. He further writes that the Hindus received help from Vikramaditya, who marched from the east and killed the Saka king in the region of Karur in the southern part of the Multan District. Biruni carefully distinguishes between this Vikramaditya and the founder of the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. Biruni's evidence carries back the tradition by nine centuries. Jayaswal proposes to identify Sir Kap of the tradition with Wima Kadphises. This identification may or may not be accepted. The important point is the defeat of a foreigner king who oppressed the Hindus of the Punjab by a Satavahana king. Jayaswal has however failed to take note of another equally important tradition which ascribes two ancient temples at Kilayat in the southern part of the Patiala State (Punjab)

1. *J. B. O. R. Sate*, 1932, pp. 72, Vol. XVII, A. Phulkian States, Patiala, p. 195. 1900 Edn.

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to Raja Salavahana.¹ It is unfortunate that the Sanskrit inscriptions in these temples have not yet been deciphered. Now the only Satavahana king who was capable of carrying a raid so far north seems to have been Gautamiputra Satakarni, whose empire, as we know from inscriptional evidence, included Ujjain and parts of Rajputana. There is no inherent improbability in this suggestion.

We may now turn our attention to the details contained in the Nasik inscription No. 2². The phrase 'Khatiya dapa-mānamadanasa', 'who crushed the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas', when taken together with 'ekabamhanasa', 'the unique Brahman', finally proves that Gautamiputra Satakarni was a Brahman. Ray Chaudhuri's view that he had a little admixture of Naga blood does not seem to be warranted by evidence.³ The Dvatrimśatputtalika, a Sanskrit ^{work} of probably the 14th century, cannot be adduced as a proof of Naga mixture. It seems to be simply a collection of marvellous stories which have no basis in history. Gautamiputra according to the inscription appears to have upheld the authority of Brahmanical Hinduism as well as Buddhism. The Samajas performed in his reign remind us of the days of

1. Punjab States Gazette^trs; Vol.XVII, A. Phulkian States, Patiala, p.195, 1909 Edition.

2. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.60.

3. P.H.A.I., p.280.

Asoka. Gautamiputra also 'stopped the contamination of the four varnas', i.e. he strictly enforced the rules of the caste system; and he equally promoted the interests of the twice born castes and the low caste. He was interested in the study of the Sastras and was greatly devoted to his mother. He is further said to have inherited from a long line of ancestors all the Rajasabdhas, i. e. the musical instruments appropriate to royalty. By his victories over his numerous enemies he raised his family to the height of glory. The expression 'tisamudatoyapītavāhanasa', 'he whose horses and elephants drank the waters of the three oceans', suggests that his empire included Telingana and perhaps Kalinga. Further, he^{is} styled 'Rājarāja', 'king of kings', and 'Mahārāja', 'the great king'. It is instructive to note that Gautamiputra is the first historical king of Southern India who used the above high-sounding titles, as far as is known.

Pulumayi II.

Gautamiputra Satakarni was succeeded by his son Vasishthiputra Sri Pulumayi.¹ From Ptolemy's Geography we learn that the latter's capital was Paithan.² In this connection

1. The spelling Pulomavi is equally correct.

2. Rapson: Catalogue, p.xxxix.

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we may note that Pulumayi styles himself 'Navanarasvāmi', 'the lord of Navanara', and not 'Benākāṭakasvāmi', 'the lord of Benakataka', the title borne by his illustrious father.¹ This suggests that Pulumayi transferred his capital from Benakataka to Navanara, which may or may not be the same as Paithan. His reign does not seem to have been successful from a political point of view. Some time during his reign he lost the provinces of Eastern and Western Malwa, Kathiawar and Eastern Rajputana to Chashtana, the founder^{of the} Western Kshatrapa dynasty. In the Nasik inscription No. 2 Pulumayi describes himself as Dakshināpatheśvara, 'the lord of Dakshinapatha'.² From this we may infer that Pulumayi did not claim any suzerainty over the provinces north of the river Narmada. Prof. Rapson remarks that the territories mentioned in the Nasik Inscription No. 2 had ceased to belong to Pulumayi before the 19th year of his reign.³ This is not wholly correct. The provinces of Vidarbha, Mulaka, Aparanta, Āsmaka, and Anupa were doubtless held by Pulumayi throughout his long reign.

Pulumayi is the first Satavahana of whom any inscription has been found in Andhradesa.⁴ His coins have been

1. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.65.

2. Ibid, p.60.

3. Catalogue, p.xxxviii.

4. Cf. Amaravati Buddhist stone inscription; List No. 1248.

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discovered in the districts of Chanda, Godavari, Kistna, Anantapur and Cuddapah. Moreover, his ship coins have been picked up at various points on the sea coast between Madras and Cuddalore.¹ The provenance of Pulumayi's coins leads us to infer that he conquered a large part of the Madras Presidency as far south as Pondicherry. He thus seems to have compensated for the loss of territory in Northern India. It is interesting to note that no coins of Pulumayi have yet come to light in Maharashtra proper.

Vasishthiputra Satakarni.

According to the Puranas Pulumayi had a reign of 28 years. We may accept this statement as correct in view of the fact that a Karle inscription is dated in the 24th year of his reign. He was probably succeeded by Vasishthiputra Satakarni, whose relationship to him is not clear.² His inscriptions have been found at Nanaghat and Kanheri. Most of the Puranas omit his name; this omission may have been due to the fact that the orthodox Brahmans who composed the Puranas looked upon him with disfavour because he was married to a foreigner's daughter and was also under the tutelage of his father-in-law. However, it is very

1. Catalogue, p.20 f.

2. The late Dr. Vincent Smith was of the opinion that Pulumayi and Satakarni are one and the same person. But inscriptional evidence shows that this view is clearly wrong. List Nos. 994, 1120, E.H.I., p.231.

gratifying to note that the unique e-ms. of the Vayu Purana mentions a Satakarni after Pulumayi and gives him a reign of 29 years.¹ The text reads "Ekonaṭṛimśatim bhāvyaḥ Sātakarnis tato nripaḥ."

The Kanheri inscription No. 11 registers the gift of a water cistern by Sateraka, an official of Vashishthiputra.² Moreover, it mentions the queen of Vasishthiputra Sri Satakarni and tells us that she was a daughter of the Mahakshatrapa Rudradaman and descended from the family of the Kardamaka kings. This shows that Satakarni had married the daughter of the Kshatrapa king Rudradaman. The marriage alliance proved to be invaluable to the Satavahanas in the long run. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman, dated 72 Saka, informs us that Rudradaman had twice defeated Satakarni but did not destroy him owing to the nearness of their connection.³ The Kanheri inscription of Satakarni is undated, but another inscription of his found at Nana-ghat is dated in his 13th regnal year.⁴ The latter records the gift of a well by a householder Damaghosha in the 13th year of king Vasishthiputra Chatarapana Satakarni. The title Chatarapana is probably a corruption of the

1. Pargiter: D.K.A., p.38 f.

2. List No. 994.

3. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.47.

4. List No. 1120.

Persian Kshatrapāna, and it seems very possible that this foreign title was accepted by Satakarni as a token of his relations with Rudradaman. The Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman, dated Saka 72, states that he was the lord of Aparanta. The province of Aparanta, i.e. Northern Konkan, was thus lost by the Satavahanas as a result of the conquest of Rudradaman.

The order of succession after the death of Vasishthi-putra Sri Satakarni is not clear. The Puranas mention Sivasri Satakarni and Sivaskandha Satakarni, each of whom ruled for seven years. Coins bearing the name of Vasishthi-putra Sivasri Satakarni have been found in the Kistna and Godavari districts.¹ The Amaravati inscription (List No. 1279) mentions a king called Siri Sivamaka Sada. I venture to suggest that we should read Sivakhada instead of the improbable Sivamaka. If this suggestion is accepted, the Amaravati inscription may then be supposed to confirm existence of the Puranic king Sivaskandha Satakarni.

Gautamiputra Yajnasri.

The next king of the Satavahana dynasty was Gautami-putra Yajnasri Satakarni. According to the Puranas he

1. Rapson: Catalogue, p.29.

reigned for 29 years, and this estimate seems very plausible when we remember that the Chinna inscription of Yajnasri is dated in the 27th year of his reign. There are two inscriptions at Kanheri mentioning the name of Yajnasri Satakarni, and one of them is dated in his sixteenth regnal year.¹ His silver coins have been discovered at Sopara in the Konkan and at Amreli in Kathiawar.² The coins and the inscription, thus prove that Gautamiputra Yajnasri had regained the provinces of Aparanta and Surashtra from the successors of Rudradaman I. Dr. Vincent Smith rightly remarks that the silver coins were struck by Yajnasri for circulation in the above provinces. The excavations at Besnagar in Malwa have brought to light a seal of Yajnasri.³ It is therefore reasonable to assume that he had extended his empire as far north as Ujjayini.⁴

The Nasik cave inscription No. 24 is dated the first day of the third fortnight of winter in the seventh year of Yajnasri. It records the grant of a cave to the Buddhist Samgha by Vasu, the wife of the great general (Mahāsenāpati) Bhavagopa.⁵ The Chinna stone inscription is dated in the 27th year of Yajnasri's reign and opens with an invocation

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1. List Nos. 1024, 987.
 2. Catalogue, p.45.
 3. A.S.I.-A.R., 1914-15, p.82.
 4. Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar writes that Yajnasri's coins have been discovered in Eastern Malwa. I.A., 1918, p.150 f.
 5. E.I., Vol. VIII, p.94.

of Bhagavat Vasudeva¹. The object of the epigraph is to record some meritorious work performed by the king's Chamberlain (mahattarakā) and Field-marshal (mahādanda-nāyaka). A wooden pillar discovered at Kirari in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces may be attributed to the reign of Yajnasri.² The pillar contains several inscriptions in Prakrit, and may be assigned to the second century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Dr. Hiranda Sastri has surmised that the pillar might be connected with the performance of some sacrifices by a great king. The only king who ruled in the second century over the Central Provinces and was capable of celebrating the Vedic sacrifices was Yajnasri Satakarni, who restored the fallen fortunes of his family. In fact the name Yajnasri itself suggests that he had a reputation for making sacrifices. The Besnagar seal contains the word hotri and seems to show the king's interest in Vedic sacrifices.

Yajnasri Satakarni was the last great emperor of the Satavahana family. His death was a signal for the disintegration of the empire. Parts of Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar which had been conquered by him were soon lost to

1. J.A.S.B., 1920, p.327.
2. E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.154.

the Abhiras and the Kshatrapas. The rest of the Satavahana empire was apparently divided into three parts; Andhradesa, Maharashtra and the Karnatak. None of the successors of Yajnasri seems to have exercised supremacy over all the three parts at the same time.

Vijaya.

Yajnasri was succeeded by Vijaya who ruled for six years, according to the Puranas. Neither inscriptions nor coins of the latter have come to light. There are two inscriptions in the caves at Kanheri which disclose the name of king Madhariputra Svami Sri Sata.¹ One of them is dated in the eighth regnal year of Madhariputra and records the establishment of a cave by a merchant of Kalyan. It is significant that Madhariputra's name has been omitted by the Puranic chroniclers. However, we may surmise that Vijaya and Madhariputra are identical. Objection may be raised on the ground that Madhariputra ruled for more than 8 years according to the Kanheri inscription, while Vijaya's regnal period is stated to be 6 years in the Puranas. But it is very probable that the Puranas are mistaken in assigning 6 years to Vijaya.

1. I.A., 1918, p.155.
Dist No. 1001.

Chandasri.

The Puranas say that Vijaya was succeeded by his son Chandasri Satakarni, who reigned for ten years. An inscription of the latter has been discovered on a rock at Kodavali near Pithapuram.¹ It records the construction of a well by Sasa, the minister in charge of Khaddavali, i.e. Kodavali. According to Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri the date of the inscription corresponds to December 210 A.D., which was also the second year of the king's reign. This is the first exact date that we obtain regarding a Satavahana king. Coins bearing the legend 'Raño Vāsithiputasa Siri Chada Sātisa' have been discovered in Andhradesa.²

The successor of Chandasri according to the Puranas was Pulomay^vi, who ruled for 7 years. The coins discovered at Chanda and in Andhradesa with the name of Sivasri Pulomay^vi may be attributed to him.³ Potin coins of Sri Rudra Satakarni and Sri Krishna Satakarni have been discovered in Andhradesa and the Chanda District of the Central Provinces.⁴ Pulomay^vi, Rudra and Krishna appear to be the last kings of the Satavahana dynasty in the eastern half of the empire.

1. E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.317.

2. Catalogue, p.30.

3. J.A.S.B., 1934, 61 N.

4. Catalogue, p.46 f.

Chutus of Banavasi.

The Chutus, an offshoot of the Satavahanas, now rose to power in the Karnatak. Vaijayanti (Banavasi in the North Kanara District) appears to have been one of the Chutu capitals. The Malavalli pillar inscription opens with an invocation of the God Mattapatti and records the grant of the village of Sahalatavi to a Brahman named Kondamana, a Haritiputra of the Kaundinya gotra. The grant was issued by the king Vishnu-kada Satakarni, king of the city of Vaijayanti (Banavasi), of the Chutu family, of the Manavya gotra and a Haritiputra like the donee. The inscription is dated the first year of the reign, second fortnight of summer and the first day.¹ A land revenue official (Rajjuka) of the king named Mahavallabha is also mentioned here. It is interesting to note the survival of the office of Rajjuka² in the Karnatak since the days of Asoka Maurya.

The Banavasi inscription is dated the first day of the seventh fortnight of winter in the 12th regnal year of king Vishnu-kada Satakarni.³ It records the grant of an image of a Naga, a tank and a monastery by the king's daughter, who was married to a Maharathi chief. Bühler says that

1. E.C., Vol.VII, Sk. 263.

2. Cf. "Rajjugāhako amacco", the rope-holding officer in the Kurudhamma Jataka. See Ghosal: Hindu Revenue System,

3. I.A., Vol.XIV, p.331.

p. 54.

Sivaskanda-Nagasri is the name of the princess who made the grant. On the other hand Rapson thinks that Sivaskanda-Nagasri is the name of her son. He further affirms that the name of the princess is not mentioned in the inscription. This is highly improbable, as it would be unnatural not to mention the donor's name. It appears that Sivaskanda-Nagasri is not the name of one person only. Two names seem to have been joined into one. I wish to suggest that Sivaskanda is the name of the prince and Nagasri the name of his mother, the donor. In this connection I wish to point out that the Banavasi inscription has been imperfectly deciphered. A minister named Skandasvati was deputed to superintend the work in connection with the grant.

The Kanheri cave inscription registers the gift of a lēna (cave) by Nagamulanika, the daughter of a Maharaja, who is probably no other than Vishnu-kada Satakarni.¹ Nagamulanika seems identical with the donor of the Banavasi inscription. She is further mentioned as the mother of Skandanāga Sātaka (Satakarni?), who is perhaps the same as Sivaskanda of the Banavasi inscription. The Kanheri inscription is probably dated in the 9th year of the reign of king Vishnu-kada Satakarni.

1. List No. 1021.

The provenance of the above inscriptions suggests that the kingdom of the Chutus included North Kanara, parts of Mysore and the Konkan. The Maharathis of the Poona and Satara Districts may have been subordinate to them. The Mahabhojas were probably occupying a part of Southern Maharashtra. Princess Nagamulanika is said to have been the daughter of a Mahabhoji in the Kanheri inscription. From this it may be deduced that she was a Mahabhoji on her mother's side. It may be conjectured that the Chutus maintained themselves in power by their matrimonial alliances with the Maharathis and Mahabhojas. The northern parts of the Chutu kingdom were probably wrested from them by the Kshatrapas and the Vakatakas some time in the third century A.D. The Chutu dominions in the Karnatak were seized by the Pallavas at an opportune moment.¹ With the fall of the Chutus, the Satavahanas finally disappear from the scene of history.

Chronology.

The chronology of the Satavahanas is one of the knottiest problems of Indian history. Let us first consider the light shed upon this puzzle by the Puranas. The

1. Cf. Talgund inscription, E.I., Vol.VIII, p.32.

verse in the Vayu Purana relating to Simuka (Sindhuka) runs as follows:-

"Kanvāyanamathoddhṛitya Sūśarmānam prasahya tam
Sungānām chāpi yachchhishtam kshapayitvā balam
Sindhuko hyandhrajātiyah prāpsyatīmām vasundha-^{tadā}
rām."¹

The above verse may be translated thus:-

"Sindhuka (a variant of Simuka) of the Andhra tribe, having uprooted the Kanvayana and overcome Sūśarman and having destroyed whatever was left of the Sunga power, will obtain possession of the earth." The fall of the Kanvas is placed in c. 28 B.C. by all scholars. If we are to accept the Puranic statement as correct we have to suppose that Simuka was the Satavahana king responsible for the destruction ^{of} ~~of~~ the Kanva power. Jayaswal makes an ingenious but fruitless attempt to put a different interpretation ^{on} ~~of~~ the Puranic passage. He argues that the Puranic statement leaves the Andhra king unnamed.² But no such interpretation is permissible. Mr. Bakhle also tries to save the face of the Puranic chroniclers. According to him there is a statement in the Matsya Purana that, "As to the Andhras, they are the Pulomas, that is, those

1. Vayu Purana, p.383 (Poona Edition).

2. J.B.O.R.S., 1930, p.267.

succeeding king Pulomavi."¹ But there is no such statement in the Matsya Purana. The Puranic passage simply says that the interval which elapsed from Mahapadma Nanda to the last Andhra king Pulomavi was 836 years. Thus there is no authority for Mr. Bakhle's supposition that Pulomavi I, the fifteenth king in the Puranic list, was the conqueror of Magadha. We must admit that the Puranas made a honest mistake in attributing the conquest of Magadha to Simuka.

Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri, however, accepts the Puranic statement in toto.² But Simuka could not have flourished c. 28 B.C., as the epigraphic evidence is against this date. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela mentions the defeat of Satakarni, a successor of Simuka. Now Rai Bahadur R.P. Chanda has shown that Kharavela at the latest began his reign in c. 80 B.C. Satakarni was defeated in the second regnal year of Kharavela, i.e. c. 78 B.C.³ Raychaudhuri argues that Kharavela's accession took place in c. 28 B.C. Assuming for the sake of argument that Raychaudhuri's chronology is correct, we have to suppose that Kharavela defeated Simuka and not his son Satakarni. This is improbable

1. J.B.B.R.A.S., 1927, p.49.

2. P.H.A.I., p.276 f.

3. I.H.Q., Vol.V, p.599 f.

in view of the clear statement of the Hathigumpha inscription. Further, Dr. Raychaudhuri quotes Rai Bahadur R.P. Chanda as his authority for the supposition that the Nanaghat inscriptions of the reign of Satakarni I belong to the latter half of the first century B.C. Rai Bahadur Chanda, however, assigns the Nanaghat inscriptions to the second century B.C. According to him, 'the Nanaghat script agrees with the Brahmi legends on the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon, and the Besnagar inscription of the time of Antialkidas - documents that may be assigned with tolerable certainty to the second century B.C.'¹ Dr. Bühler also placed the Nanaghat inscriptions in the second century B.C.² Thus both Dr. Bühler and R.P. Chanda, two scholars whose knowledge of palaeography is unrivalled, agree that the Nanaghat inscriptions should be assigned to the second century B.C. Further evidence to demonstrate the Puranic mistake, if necessary, is furnished by the Sanchi inscription of Satakarni, which cannot be later than c. 50 B.C.³

There are two more Puranic statements to be considered before we finally arrange the chronology of the Satavahanas. Firstly, the Puranas betray a good deal of confusion re-

1. Ibid.

2. A.S.W.I., Vol.V, p.66 f.

3. Marshall: Guide to Sanchi, p.13.

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regarding the exact number of the Satavahana kings. The Matsya Purana says that there were 29 kings who ruled for 460 years.¹ But in three mss. we find that 30 kings are actually named. All the Vayu mss. with one exception name only 19 kings. The e-Vayu ms. names 25 kings. One of the Vayu mss. referred to by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar gives the total number of years for which the Andhras (Satavahanas) ruled as 300 years.² The Brahmanda, Vishnu and Bhagavata Puranas give the total duration as 456 years. The first Purana gives only 17 names of kings, the second names 24, and the third records 23 names. It is thus evident that no reliance can be placed upon the statements of the Puranas for determining the chronology. Prof. Rapson writes: "There can be no doubt that, corrupt as they now are, the puranas were originally accurate historical documents."³ Prof. Rapson's estimate of the Puranas seems rather exaggerated. Two examples will suffice to show the unhistorical attitudes of the Puranic writers. Gautamiputra Satavahana is said to have ruled for 21 years, but inscriptional evidence proves that he reigned for more than 24 years. Further, the interval which elapsed between Mahapadma Nanda

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1. Fargiter: D.K.A., p.36 f.
 2. E.H.D., Section VI.
 3. Catalogue, p.xxv.

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and Pulomavi, the latest Andhra, i.e. Satavahana king is said to have been 836 years.¹ In any case this period ~~x~~ could never have been more than 600 years, when we remember that Mahapadma Nanda lived c. 350 B.C. and Pulomavi c. 225 A.D. A mistake of 236 years cannot be justified on any grounds. Finally, the Puranic list regarding the successors of Apilaka down to Sivasvati appears to be untrustworthy. The duration of their reigns according to the Puranas is 171 years. Epigraphic and other evidence shows that this period could not be approximately more than 125 years. The historicity of the successors of Apilaka is not confirmed by any other evidence. Only Pulomavi and Hala appear to be historical persons.

We may finally arrange the genealogy and chronology of the Satavahanas as follows:-

- (1) Simuka c. 215-192 B.C.
- (2) Krishna, brother of No. 1. c. 192-174 B.C.
- (3) Satakarni, son of No. 1. c. 174-164 B.C.
- (4) Purnotsanga c. 164-146 B.C.

1. Pargiter: D.K.A., p.74.

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- (5) Skandhastambhi, son of No. 3. c. 146-128 B.C.
 - (6) Satakarni II c. 128-72 B.C.
 - (7) Lambodara, son of No. 6. c. 72-54 B.C.
 - (8) Apilaka, son of No. 7. c. 54-42 B.C.
 - (9) Meghasvati c. 42- 30 B.C.
 - (10) Svati c. 30-15 B.C.
 - (11) Skandasvati c. 15-8 B.C.
 - (12) Mrigendra Svatikarna c. 8-5 B.C.
 - (13) Kuntala Svatikarna c. 5 B.C. - 3 A.D.
 - (14) Svatikarna c. 3-4 A.D.
 - (15) Pulomavi I c. 4-40 A.D.
 - (16) Nemikrishna c. 40-50 A.D.
 - (17) Hala c. 50-55 A.D.
 - (18) Pattalaka c. 55-60 A.D.
 - (19) Sundara Satakarni c. 60-61 A.D.
 - (20) Sivasvati c. 61-75 A.D.

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- (21) Gautamiputra Satakarni c. 75-100 A.D.
- (22) Pulomavi II c. 100-128 A.D.
- (23) Vasishthiputra Satakarni c. 128-157 A.D.
- (24) Vasishthiputra Sivasri Satakarni c. 157-165
A.D.
- (25) Gautamiputra Yajnasri Satakarni c. 165-194
A.D.
- (26) Madhariputra Siri Sata or c. 194-209 A.D.
Vijaya
- (27) Vasishthiputra Chanda Sati c. 209-219 A.D.
- (28) Sivasri Pulomavi c. 219-229 A.D.
- (29) Rudra Satakarni c. 230-240 A.D.
- (30) Krishna Satakarni c. 240-250 A.D.
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The Chutus.

Maharaja Vishnu-kada Satakarni.
c. 230-255 A.D.

Nagamulanika

Sivaskanda c. 255-270 A.D.

CHAPTER IV.

MAHARASHTRA UNDER THE SCYTHIANS
PARTHIANS AND THE ABHIRAS.

INTRODUCTORY.

The downfall of the Mauryan empire in c. 200 B.C. seems to have opened the gates of India to foreign invasions.¹ The Greeks in Bactria declared their independence in c. 250 B.C. and separated from the Seleucid empire. Antiochus the Great of Syria invaded India in c. 206 B.C. and defeated Subhagarsena, the king of Kabul. The example of Antiochus was followed by his son-in-law Demetrius, who made himself the master of Kabul, Sindh and the Western Punjab. The absence of Demetrius in India prompted his provincial governor Eucratides to revolt and declare his independence. After the death of Demetrius, Eucratides marched into the Indian dominions of the former and annexed them.² But Eucratides did not live long to enjoy his conquests. He was brutally murdered by his own son Apollodotus in c. 156 B.C. Meanwhile the Sakas were forced by the movements of the Yuechi tribe to migrate south of the river Jaxartes. The Greeks in India could not hold their own against the invasions of the barbarian Sakas. The cities of Pushkalavati and Kapisa were occupied by the Sakas, who finally settled in Seistan, i.e. Sakastana. Branches of the Saka tribe ultimately established themselves at Taxila and Mathura.

1. See Dr. Vincent Smith: E.H.I., p.233 F.

2. Banerji: Hindu India, p.110.

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Dr. Vincent Smith believes that another section of the Sakas again invaded India in c. 50 A.D. and occupied Surashtra or Kathiawar.¹ This hypothesis seems unnecessary; the Sakas who established themselves in Kathiawar may have emigrated from Mathura or Southern Sindh.

In c. 140 B.C. the Parthians, i.e. the Pahlavas of the Indian writers, appear on the scene. The Parthian emperor Mithradates I established his hegemony in India as far south as the Indus. The incursion of the Parthians naturally resulted in a considerable mixture of the Sakas and the Parthians. It is difficult to state precisely whether Maues (Moga) was a Saka or a Parthian. The coins of Maues "are found all over Afghanistan and the Western Punjab."² He was succeeded by Azes I, who ruled over Taxila as a viceroy of Mithradates II, the Parthian emperor. Azes II, a grandson of Azes I, was succeeded by one Gondophares in c. 20 A.D.³ The latter conquered Sindh and Arachosia, and made himself master of a large part of the Punjab.

Bhumaka.

It is probable that Bhumaka, who founded the Kshaharata dynasty in Central and Western India, was one of the

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1. E.H.I., p.241.
 2. Banerji: Hindu India, p.123.
 3. Smith: E.H.I., p.244.

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generals of Gondophares.¹ Copper coins of Bhumaka have been discovered near Ajmer and in Gujarat, Kathiawar and Malwa,² but it does not follow that Bhumaka's kingdom was so extensive. Two statues of his reign have come to light at Bheraghat, near Jabalpur in the Central Provinces. The inscriptions on them are nearly illegible, but suffice to prove that they were installed by his daughter.³ The find-spot strongly suggests that the region around Jabalpur was in the possession of Bhumaka. The aggrandizement of Bhumaka in this part of Central India must have been carried out at the expense of the Satavahanas. On his coins Bhumaka calls himself a Kshaharata and a Kshatrapa. The Indian title rajan or king is conspicuous by its absence. Prof. Rapson writes that "considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin-legends, leave no room for doubting that Bhumaka preceded Nahapana."⁴

Dr. Sten Konow has suggested that Bhumaka and Ysamotika the father of Chashtana are identical.⁵ This suggestion does not seem feasible. First, Bhumaka ruled and issued coins, but we have no evidence that Ysamotika ever ruled.

1. Ibid, p.220.

2. Catalogue, p.cvii.

3. Hiralal: Inscriptions in C.P., p.38.

4. Catalogue, p.cviii.

5. C.I.I., Vol.II, p.lxx.

Secondly, Bhumaka was a member of the Kshaharata family, while we do not know ^{to} which family Ysamotika belonged.¹ Thirdly, Dr. Konow's argument that Bhumaka is a translation of the Scythic Ysamotika has no force. It is improbable that Ysamotika consulted an authority on comparative philology and then changed his name into Bhumaka. They are essentially two different persons.

Nahapana.

The next prince of the Kshaharata family known to us is Nahapana. It is uncertain whether he was a son or other relative of Bhumaka. It is probable that the surname Kshaharata has some connection with 'Karatai', a Saka tribe alluded to in Ptolemy's Geography.² An inscription at Ganeshra near Mathura reveals the name of Ghataka, a Kshaharata.³ This suggests that Nahapana and Ghataka belonged to the same family. The Taxila copperplate of Patika reveals that Liaka Kusulaka and his son Patika were members of the Chhaharata (Kshaharata) family.⁴ They were both subordinate to Maharaja Moga (Maues). I am unable to agree with Mr. Bakhle when he says that Kshaharata is a Sanskrit form of the word ^h _h ^h _h Karaosta occurring in the Mathura Lion-capital inscription.⁵ Professor Rapson has shown that

1. J.B.O.R.S., 1930, p.230.
 2. P.H.A.I., p.330.
 3. A.S.I.-A.R., 1911-12, p.128.
 4. E.I., Vol.IV, p.54 f.
 5. J.B.B.R.A.S., 1927, p.61.

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Kharaosta^k is the personal name of the son of Rajula^l. Kshaharata is a family name, and I can see no evident connection between Karaosta^k and Kshaharata. A variant form of the name Kshaharata is Khakharata, which is met with in the Nasik inscription of the Satavahana king Pulumayi.

The name Nahapana is not Indian. It is certainly an Iranian name, naha=people, pāna=protector.² Thus Nahapāna means a protector of the people, corresponding to the Indian janapāla. We do not know from what part of Iran Nahapana came. He may have been either a Saka or a Parthian by race. His son-in-law Ushavadāta probably bears an Iranian name. It has been generally assumed by scholars that it is a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Rishabhadatta. But this appears to be a mistake. In the inscriptions we come across only two forms, Ushabhadāta and Ushavadāta. If Ushavadāta had been a Prakrit form of Rishabhadatta, we should expect the form Ushabhadata, and not Ushavadāta. Moreover, the Nasik inscription No. 10, which is almost wholly in Sanskrit, gives the name as Ushavadāta, and not Rishabhadatta. It is evident that the Sanskrit Pundit here gave the correct form of the name as known to him. The long vowel in 'dāta' definitely precludes an Indian name. Above all, 'dāta' is

1. J.R.A.S., 1894, p.549 F.

2. J.R.A.S., 1906, p.181 f.

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well-known as a termination in old Persian, Parthian, Sogdian and Khotanese. Although we cannot explain the word Ushava, Ushavadāta seems to be a genuine Saka name. The Nasik inscription No. 14 distinctly says that he was a Saka. His father Dinika also bears a Saka name. Dinika may be derived from Middle Persian dnyk, which is from a lost old Iranian Dainiyaka. Dinika may be taken as meaning faithful or godly. Ushavadata's wife Dakshamitrā, the daughter of Nahapana, has a purely Indian name. This suggests that Nahapana had married an Indian lady and adopted the Indian style of living.

Nahapana ruled over an extensive empire and had a long and glorious reign of nearly fifty years. His empire included Malwa, Gujarat, parts of Rajputana and Kathiawar, Northern Konkan, the districts of Poona, Nasik and Ahmadnagar. It seems probable that ^{Nahapana} ~~Nahapana~~ held the Khandesh division too; otherwise it is difficult to understand his domination of Malwa from Broach, one of his capitals. Ujjayini, Bharukachchha, Sopara, Govardhana, Dasapura (Mandasor in Malwa) and Pushkar near Ajmer are mentioned in his inscriptions, and appear to have been towns of prime importance. In c. 85 A.D. Nahapana suffered a crushing defeat at the

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1. E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 86.
 2. Ibid, p. 78 f.

hands of the Satavahana king Gautamiputra Satakarni. An old Jain gatha states that Bharukachchha is famed for the religious teachers Jinadeva and Kunāla, Sālāvāhana the king of Paithan, and Nahavāna.¹ This gatha is explained by two commentaries, one in Sanskrit and the other in Prakrit. The Sanskrit commentary gives the name of the Salavahana king as Hala, apparently because Hala was the only Satavahana king remembered by the later pandits. According to the commentaries Nahavana had amassed great wealth and was staying at Bharukachchha, his capital. King Salavahana at Pratishthana (Paithan) was famous for his powerful army. The latter invested Bharukachchha for two years, but was unable to subdue it. He then retired to Paithan. After some time one of the ministers of Salavahana went to Nahapana and said that he had been turned out. This was of course a clever ruse on the part of Salavahana. Nahapana, believing the minister, took him in his service. The minister then advised Nahapana to gain religious merit by spending his money on charities and secure a place for himself in the next world. Nahapana then spent a large amount from his treasury on religious benefactions. The next time Salavahana besieged Nahapana's capital, it fell owing to lack of funds, and Nahapana himself died during the siege.

1. J.B.O.R.S., 1930, p.283, f.

The historical value of the above tradition should not be underrated. It proves that Nahapana himself suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Satavahana king. The Nasik inscription No.2. states that Gautamiputra Satakarni "up-rooted the Khakharāta family and destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas and Paṇḍavas."¹ Khakharata, as I have already pointed out, stands for Kshaharata, the family name of Nahapana. Gautamiputra recalled the currency of Nahapana and restruck the coins with his own name and insignia. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar has conjectured that Gautamiputra killed all the heirs of Nahapana.² But it is not impossible that at least some of his heirs, if not all, escaped. Gautamiputra's success was so complete that he was able to annex almost all the province of Nahapana's empire.

Date of Nahapana.

The date of Nahapana is one of the most interesting but intricate problems of Indian History. Two outstanding theories have been advocated. The first is the one which places Nahapana in the first century B.C. and refers his inscriptions to the Vikrama era.³ Prof. Nilakantha Sastri,

1. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.60.
 2. E.H.D., Section VI.
 3. J.R.A.S., 1926, p.643 f.

Dr. Dubreuil and Mr. Bakhle are the chief exponents of this theory. The second theory is maintained by Professor Rapson, Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, his son D.R. Bhandarkar, and Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri. According to this view Nahapana has to be assigned to the second century A.D. and his inscriptions referred to the Saka era.

Let us now consider the first theory. It has been argued by Nilakantha Sastri and others that all the known events of Satavahana and Saka history cannot be compressed within the short period of five years from 124 A.D. to 130 A.D. The last known date of Nahapana is 46, which if referred to the Saka era corresponds to A.D.124.¹ The Andhau inscriptions of the conjoint reign of Rudradaman and Chashtana are undoubtedly dated in the year 52 of the Saka era, i.e. 130 A.D.² Moreover, it has been argued by Dubreuil and Bakhle that a reign of 46 years is rare and therefore the inscriptions of Nahapana are dated in the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.³ Further, the palaeography of Nahapana's inscriptions and the style of his monuments suggest a date earlier than the second century A.D. But this argument is not conclusive by itself to establish that Nahapana flourished in the first century B.C. Again, a reign of 46

1. A.S.W.I., Vol.IV, p.103.

2. E.I., Vol.XVI, p.19.

3. A.H.D., p.20 f.

J.B.B.R.A.S., 1927, p.66 f.

years is by no means rare. Numerous examples may be cited to refute the suggestion. Suffice it to quote the names of Amoghavarsha, Akbar, George III, Louis XIV and Queen Victoria. It is quite possible that Nahapana came to the throne at about 25, and then ruled for nearly fifty years. Finally, we have to consider the evidence furnished by the coins of Nahapana. Dubreuil and Bakhle argue that as the Jogaltembhi hoard of Nahapana's coins exhibits four different portraits, they could not all belong to one and the same person. The Rev. H.R. Scott suggests that "various members of the family caused their own likenesses to be engraved on them while keeping the inscription of Nahapana unchanged as he was the founder of the dynasty."¹ But the fact that among the restruck coins of Nahapana there was not a single one belonging to any other prince than Nahapana indicates that no other ruler intervened between Nahapana and Gautamiputra Satakarni. Besides, what was there to prevent Nahapana's successors from inscribing their own names on the coins if they could have their own features represented? Again, the ancient Jain tradition cited above leaves no room for doubt that Nahapana himself was defeated by Gautamiputra Satakarni. Moreover, how is it that Nahapana's successors,

1. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XXII, p.223 f.

if they ruled for about a century, have left not a single inscription of their own in the caves at Nasik and Karle? The inscriptions there prove that the rule of Nahapana was immediately followed by that of the Satavahanas.¹ Some other explanation regarding the diversity of portraits has to be sought. It is unreasonable to suppose on this ground only that several princes of the Kshaharata family succeeded Nahapana. The silver coins of Helicocles clearly show two different portraits of the king.² Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar also informs us that every ruler in the Sarvania hoard is represented by two or three different types of portrait.³ Hence the Jogaltembhi hoard of coins may very well belong to Nahapana alone.

The theory that Nahapana's inscriptions are all dated in the Saka era cannot be maintained. The discovery of the Andhau inscriptions shows that we have only a period of six years within which we have to condense the following events:-

- (1) The fall of Nahapana
- (2) The defeat of Gautamiputra Satakarni by Chashtana;
- (3) The annexation by Chashtana of Kathiawar, Gujarat and Malwa;

1. E.I., Vol.VII, Karle Inscriptions.
 E.I., Vol.VIII, Nasik Inscriptions.
 2. Smith: Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, p.13.
 3. A.S.I. -A.R., 1913-14, p.229.

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- (4) The death of Chashtana's son Jayadaman after his association in his father's government for at least four years;
 - (5) The association of Rudradaman in the government of his grandfather;
 - (6) We know from Ptolemy's Geography that Chashtana was ruling at Ujjayini and Pulumayi at Paithan. Thus they were contemporaries. Now we know that Gautamiputra Satakarni reigned for at least 24 years, i.e. up to 130 A.D.¹ Therefore Chashtana and Pulumayi could not be contemporary monarchs in 125 A.D. Further, there would be no point in mentioning with pride the conquests of Gautamiputra Satakarni 20 years after his death if they were so short-lived. A defeat of king Gautamiputra Satakarni, and such a crushing defeat, is inconceivable.
 - (7) Finally, the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman, dated 72 Saka = 150 A.D., demonstrates that one Satakarni related to him was his contemporary.² Pulumayi, the son of Gautamiputra, was

1. J.R.A.S., 1926, p.646.

2. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.47.

not a Satakarni. It is a mistake to assume that the surname Satakarni was borne by every member of the Satavahana family. It was borne only by particular members of the family. I have shown in the last chapter that the Satakarni of the Girnar inscription was Vasishthiputra Sri-Satakarni. The chronology of the Satavahanas if we refer the dates of Nahapana to the Saka era, will then be -

Gautamiputra Satakarni c. 107-131 A.D.

Pulumayi c. 131-159 A.D.

Vasishthiputra Satakarni c. 159-188 A.D.

But Vasishthiputra Satakarni, the son-in-law of Rudradaman, was already on the throne a few years before 150 A.D., according to the Girnar inscription. Moreover, the above chronology would make Pulumayi a son-in-law of Rudradaman. This is improbable, as Pulumayi was a contemporary of Chashtana, the grandfather of Rudradaman.

Hence, we must give up the theory that Nahapana has to be placed in the second century A.D. I shall however suggest a different date for him. He may very well have lived in the first century A.D. First, we have the

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contemporary evidence of the author of the Periplus on this point. The Periplus mentions 'Mambanos' as the king of Ariaka and the country around Barygaza (Broach). "The metropolis of this country is called Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza." Ariaka¹ may possibly be equated with Aparanta. Prof. D.R.Bhandarkar's identification of Minnagara with Mandasor may be accepted for the present. Boyer and Fleet have shown that Mambanos stands for Nambanos (Nahapana)². According to Dr. Vincent Smith the author of the Periplus composed the work in c. 70 A.D. Next, the Nasik inscription No. 12 of Nahapana states that 35 Karshapanas were equal to one suvarna.³ Prof. Rapson remarks that "the reference here must surely be to the contemporary gold currency of the Kushans."⁴ There is no denying the fact that Wima Kadphises was the Kushan king who introduced gold currency in India for the first time.⁵ Nahapana may have been nominally subordinate to Wima Kadphises. Prof. Nilakantha Sastri, Bakhle and Dubreuil have all failed to take note of this important reference to gold currency in the Nasik inscription No. 12. Moreover, the occurrence of the word

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1. Schoff: Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, Para 41.
 2. J.R.A.S., 1907, p.1043.
 3. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.82.
 4. Catalogue, p.clxxv.
 5. J.A.S.B., Vol.XXIX, p.7, n.

'Kúśanamūla' in the Nasik inscription No. 12 of Nahapana is not without significance. Senart's explanation of the word 'Kúśanamūla' as 'money for outside life' does not seem satisfactory., Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar's translation of it as 'value of the Kúśanas' is probably correct.¹ He further suggests that the word Kúśana denotes the silver coinage issued by Nahapana in honour of his Kushan suzerains. If we accept this suggestion, we have further evidence that Nahapana was a contemporary of the Kushanas, which seems to support our view of his date. Sir John Marshall has shown that the conquest of Taxila by Wima Kadphises probably took place in 64 A.D.² Prof. Rapson's theory that Kanishka ascended the throne in 78 A.D. may be accepted provisionally. As the coinage of Wima Kadphises was prevalent in the empire of Nahapana, we may assign Nahapana to c. 37-85 A.D. This view seems very plausible, as we have seen that Nahapana's inscriptions can neither be referred to the Vikrama era nor to the Saka era. Moreover, according to our scheme of chronology we have then a long period of 45 years to account for the rise of Chashtana, the death of Jayadaman, the association of Rudradaman in the government, the reverses of Pulumayi and other events.

1. I.A., 1918, p.76.

2. A.S.I.-A.R., 1929-30, p.55 f.

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An inscription at Junnar in the Poona District is dated in the 46th year of Nahapana's reign and registers the gift of a mandapa and cistern by Ayama (Aryaman)¹. We are also told here that he was the Amatya, a leading minister of Nahapana, who is styled rajan, mahakshatrapa and svamin. Ayama appears to have been a Brahman of the Vatsa gotra. It is interesting to note that Nahapana had assumed the higher title of Mahakshatrapa in the 46th year of his reign. The appointment of a Brahman to an important office in the government by Nahapana indicates that Brahmans had great influence at his court.

The Nasik inscription No.10 is of importance, as it refers to an historical event in the reign of Nahapana.² We are told here that the chief of the Uttamabhadras had been besieged by the Malayas for the rainy season. Ushavadata was ordered by his overlord Nahapana to march against the Malayas, and "the Malayas fled as it were at the sound (of Ushavadata's approach) and were made prisoners by the Uttamabhadras." After subduing the Malayas, Ushavadata went to the holy place of Pushkara, and after performing puja there he made a gift of 3000 cows and a village. The

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1. List No.1174. A.S.W.I., Vol.IV, p.103.
 2. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.79.

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Uttamabhadras appear to be the Uttamarnas of the Markandeya Purana and ^{the} ¹ Mahabharata. They are coupled there with the Dasarnas, Bhojas and Kukuras, tribes of Central India. The Malayas are very probably the Malavas, a republican tribe, whose coins have been discovered at Nagar in the Jaipur State. ²

Chashtana.

He was the son of Ysamotika and the founder of a new dynasty. His statue has been discovered at Mathura in the Kushan devakula containing the statues of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka. ³ The inscription on the statue reads Sashtana; Dr. Bhattacharya rightly says that Chashtana's name might have been pronounced as Sashtana in Gujarati. The fact that Chashtana's statue was found in the same devakula as the statue of Kanishka suggests that he was a near relative of Kanishka. It may be conjectured that he may have married a daughter of Kanishka. Chashtana rose to power under the supremacy of the Kushans. In c. 105 A.D. the Kushan king Vasishka wrested Eastern Malwa from Pulumayi of the Satavahana ⁴ dynasty. A stone inscription at Sanchi mentions Vasishka as the reigning emperor, and is dated in the year ⁵ 28. On the assumption that the year 28 is a Saka date,

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1. Mark. P., Pargiter's translation, p.342. MBH., Bhishma Parva, p.15, (Bombay 1907 Edn).
 2. P.H.A.I., p.371, n.3. Also J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XVI, p.251.
 3. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.VI, p.51.f.
 4. Banerji: Hindu India, p.129.
 5. Marshall: Guide to Sanchi, p.16.

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we have evidence of Kushan rule in Central India as early as 106 A.D. It is therefore probable that Vasishka appointed Chashtana as the viceroy of Eastern Malwa in the same year.

Ptolemy in his Geography states that Tiastanes (Chashtana) was ruling at Ozene, i.e., Ujjayini. The first recorded observation of Ptolemy was made in 127 A.D. and his information about Chashtana may have been about two years old. Thus in c. 125 A.D. we find Chashtana in possession of Western Malwa as well. He soon extended his power to Gujarat, Kathiawar, Cutch and Rajputana. Dr. H.C. Ray-Chaudhuri says that the Andhau inscriptions merely imply the possession of Cutch by the House of Chashtana. But there are no good grounds for restricting the dominions of Chashtana to Cutch only, in 130 A.D. I have already indicated the extent of his empire before that date. Chashtana does not seem to have been in possession of any part of Maharashtra during the whole of his reign.

The Andhau inscriptions are dated in the year 52 of the Saka era, and may be referred to the joint reigns of Chashtana and his grandson Rudradaman. Mr. R.D. Banerji, Dr. Dubreuil and Mr. Bakhle argue that they refer to the

reign of Rudradaman alone. On the other hand, Prof. (R.D.) Bhandarkar, Prof, Nilakantha Sastri and Dr. Raychaudhuri affirm that the inscriptions should be referred to the conjoint rule of Chashtana and Rudradaman. The text of the inscriptions is as follows:

"Rājno Chashtanasa Ysamotikaputrasa rājno Rudra
dāmasa Jayadāmaputrasa Yvarshā^e dvipanchāśe 50 2."

Mr. R.D. Banerji's translation of the above passage is wrong. The correct rendering is - "In the year 52 of king Chashtana, son of Ysamotika; of king Rudradaman, son of Jayadaman." This proves that Chashtana and Rudradaman were reigning jointly in 52 Saka. We may therefore accept Prof. Nilakantha Sastri's suggestion that Rudradaman was holding the office of Kshatrapa in 130 A.D.¹

Jayadaman.

He was the son of Chashtana. Prof. Nilakantha Sastri holds that Jayadaman became a Kshatrapa when his father was Mahakshatrapa and that he died before 130 A.D., the date of the Andhau inscriptions. This view may be accepted, as it is supported by the fact that we have no coins of Jayadaman as Mahakshatrapa. Moreover, he is not styled rajan in the Andhau inscriptions and he is not described as Mahakshatrapa

1. J.R.A.S., 1926, p.660.

and bhadramukha in the Gadha pillar inscription dated Saka
 127.¹ It is therefore clear that he did not live to succeed
 to the dignity of Mahakshatrapa. Pandit Bhagvanlal
 Indraji had assigned a reign of ten years to Jayadaman
 alone.² But as we now know that he predeceased his father,
 it is a mistake to suppose that Jayadaman ruled for ten
 years after the death of Chashtana. Of course it is
 probable that Jayadaman was associated in the government as
 a Kshatrapa for ten years during the reign of his father.
 The coins of Jayadaman have been found at Hathab, Junagadh
 and Pushkar. The Kharoshthi script is conspicuous by its
 absence from his coins. The rectangular copper coin from
 Hathab has the Brahmi legend 'Rājno Kshatrapasa svāmi Jaya-
 dāmasa'³ and the Chaitya of 10 arches on the reverse. Mr.
 K.N. Dikshit remarks that "the Chaitya of 10 arches on the
 reverse is not known from any other Kshatrapa coins and
 must have been imitated from Andhra coinage." From this
 it may be inferred that Jayadaman succeeded in aggrandizing
 himself at the expense of the Andhras.

Rudradaman I.

We have already seen that he was ruling as a Kshatrapa
 during the reign of his grandfather. As we have no coins of

1. E.I., Vol.XVI, p.238 f.
 2. Bombay Gaz., Vol.I, Part I, p.32 f.
 3. I.A., 1919, p.121 f.

Rudradaman as Kshatrapa, it may be conjectured that he held the office of Kshatrapa only for a short time. However, we have no evidence to determine the correct date of Chash-tana's death and the precise date of Rudradaman's accession as Mahakshatrapa. The Girnar inscription shows that Rudradaman's reign as Mahakshatrapa must have begun some time before Margasirsha, 72 Saka, i.e. November 150 A.D.¹

From the Girnar inscription we learn that Rudradaman "earned fame because he in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinapatha, on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him." I have already shown in the last chapter that this Satakarni was no other than Rudradaman's son-in-law Vasishthiputra Sri-Satakarni. The empire of Rudradaman is stated in his Girnar inscription to have comprised Akaravanti, Anupa, Surashtra, Svabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindhu-Sauvira, Kukura, Aparanta and Nishada. Rudradaman must have acquired Aparanta from Vasishthiputra Satakarni. The fact that he ruled over Aparanta or Northern Konkan from his capital Ujjayini in Malwa implies that he must have controlled the Khandesh division and the districts of Nasik and Poona. Akaravanti is

1. Diskalkar: Sanskrit Inscriptions, Part II, p.2 f.

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identical with Eastern and Western Malwa. The provinces of Surashtra and Kachchha can be easily identified with Kathiawar and Cutch. Maru seems to be the same as modern Marwar in Rajputana. Although Sindhu-Sauvira is famous in Sanskrit and Pali literature, there is no clue to its precise identification. It may be conjectured that it more or less corresponds to the modern province of Sindh. The name of Kukura seems to survive in the Kukuresvara district of the Indore State. ¹ As Kukuresvara is situated north-east of Mandasor, it is possible that ancient Kukura included parts of the native states of Kotah and Bundi. Svabhra is probably the country on the banks of the river Svabhrmati, i.e., the Sabaramati, which flows through Central Gujarat. Anupa was the country around Mahishmati, and may have included the southern districts of the Baroda State. Nishada was the name applied to the country of the Bhils, an aboriginal tribe; it may perhaps designate here the native States of Banswara and Dungarpur, which abound with Bhils to the present day. The vast empire of Rudradaman thus stretched from the Indus to the Upper Godavari.

Rudradaman's son Damajadasri probably came to the throne in c. 156 A.D. The provinces of Northern Maharashtra

1. Ibid, p.11.

and Northern Konkan were reconquered by Gautamiputra Yajnasri Satakarni in c. 170 A.D. None of the successors of Damajadasri appears to have ruled over Maharashtra. Their history therefore is outside the limits of the present thesis.

Isvarasena.

A tribe possibly foreign and known as Abhira appears in India in the third century B.C. Their name is coupled with that of the Sudras in the Mahabhasya¹ of Patanjali and in the Mahabharata. The Greek work Periplus² of c. 70 A.D. mentions Abiria, the Abhira country. After speaking of the kingdom of Nambanus the Periplus says: "That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria, but the coast is called Syrastrene." From this it would appear that Abiria corresponds to the south-western part of the Jodhpur State. The Vayu Purana mentions the Abhiras together with the Pulindas and the Sabaras. In the time of Samudragupta the Abhiras appear to have settled in Central India. In the beginning of the third century they are found in Northern Maharashtra. The Gunda inscription of 103 Saka shows that Rudrabhuti, an Abhira, was the general³ of king Rudrasimha of Kathiawar. Thus by the end of the

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1. Raychaudhuri: P.H.A.I., pp.173, 372.
 2. Schoff: Periplus, Para 41.
 3. E.I., Vol.XVI, p.234 F.

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fourth century A.D. the Abhiras had moved southwards and established their colonies as far south as the source of the river Godavari.

The ^NNasik cave inscription No.15 is dated in the ninth regnal year of king Madhariputra Isvarasena, son of the Abhira Sivadatta¹. As Sivadatta is not styled rajan, it appears that Isvarasena came to the throne by reason of his own prowess. The inscription states that on the 13th day of the 4th fortnight of summer, Vishnudatta, a lay votress (upāsikā), invested a sum of money with the guilds to provide medicines for the monks living in the monastery on Mount Trirāśmi. We are further told that Vishnudatta was the daughter of the Saka Agnivarman and the wife of the Ganapaka Rebhila, who seems to have been the head of some kind of corporation.

The above inscription indicates that an Abhira king called Isvarasena ruled in the Nasik district for at least nine years. We have seen in the last chapter that Yajnasri Satakarni and Vijaya were ruling over the Nasik district up to c. 205 A.D. The palaeography of ^{the}Nasik inscription No.15 suggests that Isvarasena was the immediate successor

1. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.88 f.

of Vijaya in the Nasik region. We may therefore assign Isvarasena to c. 210 A.D. Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar places Isvarasena in c. 188 A.D., but this date is impossible, as ¹ Yajnasri was reigning at that time. Bhandarkar's identification of Isvarasena with Isvaradatta of the coins does not seem feasible. Isvaradatta ruled only for two years, and he never calls himself an Abhira. Besides, his coins have not been found in Maharashtra. Moreover, one cannot understand why he should call himself Isvaradatta on the coins if his real name was Isvarasena according to Nasik inscription No.15. Sena and datta are two entirely different terminations and are not interchangeable. Hence Prof. Bhandarkar's identification is untenable, and Isvarasena of Nasik is a totally different person from Isvaradatta of Kathiawar. We know nothing more regarding the successors of Isvarasena; it is very probable that the Nasik region was conquered from them by the Chutus in c. 230 A.D.

1. A.S.I.-A.R., 1913-14, p.230.
I.A., 1918, p.154.

CHAPTER V.

THE VAKATAKA MAHARAJAS.

THE VAKATAKA MAHARAJAS.

Origin.

Dr. Vincent Smith was the first scholar to give a connected account of the dynasty. He was unable to explain the name Vakataka and wondered "whether the kings were indigenous or of foreign descent".¹ Dr. Bühler remarked that the word Vakataka "does not admit of any etymological explanation".² Moreover, he took it as meaning the name of a country and the Rajput tribe governing it. Dr. Fleet had rightly conjectured that "the name Vākātaka must be derived from an original vākāṭa", and he further pointed out that it is similar to names like Kausalaka, Paishapuraka and Traikutaka.³ Mr. K.P. Jayaswal has succeeded in tracing a village called Bāgāt in the northernmost part of ^{the} Orchha State, Bundelkhand.⁴ It is probable that Vindhya-Sakti was a resident of this place and adopted the name Vakataka as his family name, which means 'of the place Vākāṭa'. This ancient custom of adopting a family name from the village to which one originally belonged is still prevalent in the Deccan. Jayaswal contends that the town of Vakata is as old as the second century B.C.⁵ For this view he

1. J.R.A.S., 1914, p.317.
 2. I.A., Vol.XII, p.239.
 3. C.I.I., Vol.III, p.234.
 4. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XIX, p.67.
 5. Ibid, p.68.

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relies upon the Amaravati inscriptions, in which Vakataka occurs as the name of a householder. This inscription, i.e. No. 27, is assigned on palaeographical grounds to the third century A.D. by Rai Bahadur R.P. Chanda.¹ It is improbable that the name Vakataka in this inscription is the same as Pakotaka, which is met with in No. 8, which belongs to the second century B.C. If then Vakataka and Pakotaka are entirely different names, the former cannot be as old as the α second century B.C. Hence the name Vakataka is as late as the third century of our era.

The view that the dynasty was Central Indian in origin is confirmed by the Puranas and the inscriptions. Vindhya-sakti and his son Pravira are enumerated in the Puranas along with the rulers of Vidisa. Jayaswal has identified the river Kilakila mentioned in the Puranas with κ a river of the same name near Panna. As the Vakatakas first came to power in the country around the Kilakila river, they were called Kilakila Yavanas by the Puranic writers, and a native dynasty was supposed to be a foreign one. The stone inscriptions are found at Dureha, Ganj and Nachane-ki-talai in Bundelkhand, and most of the grants are from the Central Provinces and Berar.

1. E.I., Vol.XV, p.261.

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The dynasty was founded by Vindhyaśakti in the region of Vidisa or Bhilsa, according to the Puranas. The following is the text of the passage relating to the Vakatakas:-

"Vindhyaśakti-sutaśchāpi Pravīro nāma vīryavān
bhokshyate cha samāḥ shasṭim Purim Kāñchanakām cha vai
yakshyate Vājapeyaischa samāptavaradakshinaiḥ.
tasya putrāstu chatvāro bhaviṣhyanti narādhipāḥ."¹

The passage may be translated as follows:-

"Vindhyaśakti's valiant son named Pravira will enjoy for sixty years (the cities of) Puri and Kanchanaka. He will celebrate the Vajapeya sacrifices, each one completed by the distribution of excellent gifts to Brahmans. His four sons will become kings."

From the Puranic passage, it is clear that Vindhyaśakti and his famous son Pravira established a powerful empire. The name of the former has been omitted in all the copper-plate grants. The only inscriptional reference to him is the one contained in the Ajanta record, where he is represented as a brave warrior who fought great battles and pleased the Brahmans by constant gifts. He seems to have

1. Pargiter: Dynasties of Kali Age, p.50.

been a Brahman by birth, as he is called a dvija.¹ In the Chammak copperplates the Vakatakas are said to be of the Vishnuvridha gotra, and this^{is}/exclusively a gotra of the Brahmans.² Brahmans of this gotra are to be met with in the Maratha country. Dr. Bühler points out that the Vishnuvridhas are a subdivision of the Bharadvajas according to Baudhayana's Gotrapravaraniiraya. Moreover, in the copperplate grants Pravarasena I is credited with the performance of the Brihaspatisava sacrifice. Jayaswal writes that this sacrifice is 'intended for and open to Brahmans only.'³ A Brahman dynasty could hardly pass unnoticed by the Puranic writers.

The Ajanta inscription gives only a conventional description of the early adventures of Vindhyaśakti. He probably took advantage of the break-up of the Satavahana empire and made himself independent. The name of his grandson Gautamiputra also points to the same conclusion. The name was given sepcially to show to the people that the Vakatakas had succeeded to the empire of the greatest Satavahana prince, Gautamiputra Satakarni. The Ajanta inscription states that Vindhyaśakti equalled Indra and Vishnu

1. A.S.W.I., Vol.IV, p.124 f.
 2. Ibid, p.116 f.
 3. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XIX, p.67 f.

in majesty and became the banner of the Vakataka family. He perhaps did not live long, as we are told that he strenuously exerted himself to gain spiritual merit after conquering his enemies.

He was succeeded by his son Pravarasena. Pravira of the Puranas is a slight variant form of his name. He was probably not more than twenty at the time of his accession, as he had a long reign of sixty years. During his rule the empire grew by leaps and bounds until it touched the sea on its eastern and western frontiers. The Puranas record that he performed the Vajapeya sacrifices and distributed gifts among the Brahmans. This is confirmed by the Chammak copperplates, where he is credited with the performance of the Agnistoma, Aptoryama, Ukthya, Atiratra, Vajapeya, Brihaspatisava, Sadyaskra and four Asvamedha sacrifices. The performance of all those sacrifices indicates a revival of Brahmanism. Moreover, if Pravarasena did really perform four Asvamedhas, each one of them must have been preceded by the customary Digvijayas or expeditions of conquest. The Puranic statement that he enjoyed the cities of Puri and Kanchanaka for sixty years need not be taken too seriously. I suggest that the town of Puri should be

identified with Puri in the Konkan, as it is mentioned as an important town in the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. The town of Kanchanaka is probably the same as Kanchi, the famous capital of the Pallava kings. Puri and Kanchi may have been occupied for a short time by Pravarasena during the course of his victorious expeditions. But whether Puri and Kanchi formed part of his empire for sixty years, as the Puranas imply, may be seriously doubted. The Pallavas had established themselves at Kanchi as an independent power in the second half of the third century A.D., and there is no reason to assume that they had become feudatories of the Vakatakas.

In the inscriptions, Pravarasena I alone is given the imperial title of Samraj or 'universal king.' The claim to this exalted title probably arose from his occupation of the holy cities of Prayaga, Varanasi and Ujjayini. It is significant that the title Samraj was dropped by all the successors of Pravarasena, and this indicates that they lost their hold on the three holy cities. Moreover, from the Puranas we learn that four sons of Pravarasena rose to the position of kingship. There is nothing impossible in this; the Vakataka empire was an extensive one during the

reign of Pravarasena and his four sons may have been appointed viceroys in different provinces. We do not know the names of his sons, except that of one, viz., Gautami-putra, who was married to a daughter of Maharaja Bhavanaga of the Bharasiva family. The Bharasivas are said to have performed ten Horse Sacrifices and were anointed with the holy water of the Ganges acquired by their valour. This clearly suggests that they were ruling somewhere in the modern United Provinces as independent kings. Gautami-putra died during the life time of his father and never came to the throne. He appears to have worshipped the God Siva in the form of the fearful Bhairava. Pravarasena had a long reign of sixty years, and died in c. 320 A.D. He was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasena I.

Rudrasena I.

The Vakataka empire seems to have fallen on evil days during his reign. Prayaga (Allahabad), Varanasi and Ujjayini were lost by the Vakatakas, and they could no more assume the title of Samraj or Universal King. The first two cities passed into the hands of Chandragupta I in c. 325 A.D. The city of Ujjayini was probably recovered by the Western Kshatrapas. The reign of Rudrasena was partly

coeval with that of the Gupta emperor, Samudragupta, who desired to dominate the whole of Northern as well as Southern India. In Northern India he no doubt achieved his ambition, but in the south he does not seem to have made any permanent conquests. The Vakatakas were too strong to submit without a fierce and prolonged struggle. Nevertheless, ^{it} seems probable that several feudatories of the Vakatakas in Malwa and Bundelkhand transferred their allegiance to Samudragupta.

Southern Campaigns of Samudragupta (c. 340 A.D.)

The Southern Campaign, in the words of Dr. Vincent Smith, was 'a task which demanded uncommon boldness in design, and masterly powers of organization and execution.'¹ Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar inscription gives an almost accurate version of this campaign. The composer of the Prasasti, Harishena, was himself a very high government official.²

Mahendra of Kosala, i.e. Southern Kosala, was the first prince to be subdued. He was probably ruling over the territory now represented by Sarguja and Bilaspur in north-eastern part of the Central Provinces. The Gupta

1. E.H.I., p.300 (1924 Edn.)
 2. C.I.I., Vol.III, p.1 f.

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king then subdued Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara. Jayaswal has identified this province with the native States of Kanker and Bastar. Samudragupta then marched through the modern district of Vizagapatam and reached ^aKaurala. (the same as modern Korada, a village near Ganjam). Mahendragiri, king of Pishtapura (modern Pithapuram) and Svamidatta of Kottura then submitted to the Gupta emperor, who does not appear to have advanced south of the river Krishna. The decisive battle of the campaign was probably fought on its banks. A formidable coalition was formed against the invader. The coalition included such kings as Vishnugopa, king of Kanchi, belonging to the illustrious Pallava dynasty, Hastivarman of the Śālankāyana family and king of Vengi, and Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura. Other prominent members of the confederacy were Kuvera of Devarashtra and Damana of Erandapalla. Dr. Fleet's view that Devarashtra should be identified with Maharashtra, and Erandapalla with Erandol in the Khandesh District does not seem correct. Dr. Dubreuil has traced both the places on the coast of Orissa. Samudragupta claims to have captured all the kings mentioned above, but probably suffered a severe check in the battle which compelled him to retire to his own dominions.

The relations of the Vakatakas and the Guptas in this period are shrouded in obscurity. Samudragupta's campaign in the south does not seem to have seriously affected the Vakatakas. Mr. Jayaswal and Rai Bahadur K.N. Dikshit identify Rudradeva of the Allahabad inscription with Rudrasena of the Vakataka dynasty. Dr. S.K. Aiyangar does not accept this view.¹ He has rightly argued that it is doubtful whether Rudrasena could^{be} referred to as Rudradeva in official records. Harishena, the author of the Allahabad Prasasti, could as well have written Rudrasena instead of Rudradeva. Secondly, Harishena would have been very proud to record that his master had conquered Vidarbha, a country famous from the times of the Aitareya Brahmana. Since he omits any reference to Vidarbha, it does not seem probable that Rudrasena was 'violently exterminated' by Samudragupta.

A stone inscription discovered at Deotek near Nagpur has been assigned to the reign of Rudrasena I by Sir Alexander Cunningham and Prof. Mirashi.² It consists of five lines inscribed in the box-headed alphabet of the fourth century A.D., and records the construction of a sanctuary by the Vakataka king Rudrasena at a village called

1. Vakatakas, p.53.
 2. Proceedings of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, p.613 f.

Chikambari, i.e. the modern Chikamara.

Prithivishena I.

Rudrasena was succeeded by his son Prithivishena in c. 345 A.D. He succeeded to an empire much diminished in lustre. It appears, however, that he restored a part of the former glory of his family. According to the Ajanta inscription he conquered the king of Kuntala, who was probably Kangavarma of the Kadamba dynasty. Kuntala, as is well-known, corresponds to Southern Maharashtra, stretching beyond the rivers Krishna and Bhima. The reign of Prithivishena was partly contemporary with that of Samudragupta and his son Ramagupta. The Gupta empire was disturbed in the reign of Ramagupta by the invasions of foreigners. These foreigners were probably no other than the Scythians. From literary references, it has been conjectured that Ramagupta was surrounded by the enemies' troops and compelled by the Scythian king to send the queen Dhruvasvamini to him.¹ His younger brother Chandragupta, who was present, did not like the idea and disguising himself as the queen murdered the Scythian king. Ramagupta, who was incapable of pursuing a vigorous foreign policy, was murdered by

1. Banerji: Age of the Imperial Guptas, 1933 Edn. This story together with the name of Ramagupta himself is based upon the plot of the drama Devi-Chandraguptam, which may or may not be entirely historical. The inscrip-tional references, however, indicate that Samudragupta was succeeded by a son who in turn was ousted by Chandragupta II.

Chandragupta. After his accession Chandragupta married his brother's widow Dhruvasvamini. The earliest available date for Chandragupta is 380 A.D., and hence his accession may be placed in c. 375 A.D. The Vakatakas seem to have made themselves considerably stronger while the Gupta empire was passing through this period of turmoil.

As Prithivishena is compared to the epic hero Yudhis-thira, it may be conjectured that he ruled righteously and augmented his kingdom. He was a great devotee of Siva like his father Rudrasena. From the Chammak plates it appears that Prithivishena had a long reign and was blessed with sons and grandsons.¹

Rudrasena II.

Prithivishena was succeeded by his son Rudrasena in c. 380 A.D. Tradition records that the poet Kalidasa was sent on a mission by the Gupta king Chandragupta to the court of the 'lord of Kuntala', i.e. Rudrasena II. It appears that the latter did not honour the great poet in a fitting manner at his court. At this, there was a great sensation among the other pundits who were present. It is said that Kalidasa took his seat on the floor, remarking

1. I.A., Vol.XII, p.239 f.

that it was a proper seat for pundits.¹ The purpose of Chandragupta's proposals was to secure the benevolent neutrality of the & Vakatakas before he embarked upon his expedition against the Western Kshatrapas. Had the Vakatakas made common cause with the Western Satraps, the Gupta empire would probably have been overthrown. Chandragupta, recognising this possibility, conciliated the Vakatakas by giving his daughter Prabhavatigupta in marriage to Rudrasena II. This matrimonial alliance seems to have been a factor of great political importance; and Chandragupta was left free to pursue his policy of aggrandisement.

Divakarasena.

The Vakataka king seems to have died about ten years after the marriage. He had two sons, Divakarasena and Pravarasena. The eldest son Divakarasena was declared Yuvaraja or Crown Prince, and the administration carried on in his name by the dowager queen Prabhavatigupta acting as Regent. The death of Rudrasena and the position of the Gupta princess as Regent must have resulted in the spread of Gupta influence throughout the Vakataka kingdom. This may be inferred from the fact that both the copperplates of

1. Setubandha, Introduction; (Bombay, 1935).

Prabhavatigupta open with a pedigree of the Guptas instead of the Vakatakas, who could boast of an older pedigree. Apparently, the queen was more proud of her father's family than of her husband's.

The Poona Plates.

They were found with a coppersmith of Poona.¹ The exact findspot cannot be ascertained. The inscription records the grant of a village named Danguna in the Supratishta division by Prabhavatigupta to a learned Brahman Chanala-svamin. It was issued from Nandivardhana, which has been identified by R.B. Hiralal with Nagardhan in the Nagpur District.² The date is given as the 12th of the bright half of Karttika in the 13th year, which may be the regnal year of her husband Rudrasena. It is interesting to note that the seal describes the queen as the mother of the Yuvaraja. This clearly shows that she was governing the kingdom in the name of her son and not in her own right, like the queens Vijayamahadevi and Silamahadevi.

Pravarasena II.

Divakarasena does not seem to have lived long enough to ascend the throne. His younger brother, Pravarasena,

1. E.I., Vol.XV, p.39 f.

2. Hiralal: List of Inscriptions, p.4 (1932 Edn.)

also known as Damodarasena, was then placed upon the throne. It is possible that Prabhavatigupta acted as Regent for him for some time. It may be noted here that the Riddhapur copperplates were issued by her not as Regent for Pravara-sena, who was already a Maharaja since two years earlier, but under his authority. They record a grant of land to Brahmans of the Asvattha gotra by the queen from Ramagiri, i.e. the modern Ramtek, 24 miles north of Nagpur. The charter was written by Prabhusingha and dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena.¹

Tradition records that Pravarasena composed a work in Maharashtri Prakrit called the Setubandha.² It is said that the work was revised and finished by the great poet Kalidasa. Ramadasa in his commentary on the Setubandha tells us that it was composed by Kalidasa for Pravarasena under orders from the Gupta king Chandragupta II Vikramaditya. Rajasekhara, who flourished in the tenth century A.D., quotes a stanza which records that the king of Kuntala, depositing the burden of government upon Vikramaditya, was busy looking at the court damsels.³ The literary tradition that Pravarasena was a contemporary of Vikramaditya is confirmed by epigraphic evidence. It is quite possible that

1. J.A.S.B., Vol.XX, p.53 f.
 2. E.I., Vol.XXIII, p.81 f.
 3. Aiyangar: Vakatakas, p.21.

Pravarasena started to write the Setubandha at an early age, but finding the task too difficult, he may have called to his aid some scholar, who might conceivably have been Kalidasa.

Pravarasena issued a large number of copperplate grants, of which a few can be noticed here. The Chammak charter is dated in the 18th year of his reign, and is interesting as it brings to light an important feudatory named Kondaraja, and the royal commander Chitravarman.¹ The Indore copperplates supply us with a new date in the reign of Pravarasena, i.e. the 23rd year.² It is instructive to note that the Mauryan office of Rajuka had survived for seven centuries, and Kottadeva is mentioned here as ^aRajuka. The Pattan records are important inasmuch as it furnishes the last date in the reign of Pravarasena, i.e. the 27th year.³ It registers a grant of 400 nivartanas of land in the village of Asvatthakhetaka for the maintenance of a charitable hall. Another royal commander named Katyayana is mentioned here. Pravarapura appears to have been a capital of Pravarasena, and its identification with Pavanar in the Wardha District seems satisfactory.

1. Fleet: C.I.I., Vol.III, p.235 f.
2. E.I., VolXXIV, p.52 f.
3. E.I., Vol.XXIII, p.81 f.

Narendrasena.

He succeeded to the throne after the death of his father Pravarasena. Dr. S.K. Aiyangar assumes that there was a disputed succession after the death of Pravarasena. There is no justification for this assumption. The Balaghat copperplates record that Narendrasena was 'presented with the dynastic majesty on account of the confidence placed in the good qualities, which he had previously acquired'.¹ He was married to a Kuntala princess Ajjhitabhatarika, who was in all probability the daughter of a Kadamba king. We are further told that Narendrasena's 'commands were honoured by the lords of Kosala, Mekala and Malava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.' Kosala is the modern Chhattisgarh, and Mekala corresponds to the present district of Mandala, through which the Mekala hills run. Malava is well-known. It would thus appear that Narendrasena had succeeded in extending the sphere of his influence.

^h
Prithivishena II.

He succeeded his father Narendrasena. Some calamity appears to have befallen the Vakataka kingdom during the last days of the latter, as Prithivishena in his Balaghat plates is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and

1. E.I., Vol.IX, p.267 f.
 J.I.H., Vol.XIV, p.5.

forbearance, who raised his sunken family.' It is possible that he may have received help from his relatives the Kadam-bas in the task of restoring the fallen glory of his family. The Uchchakalpa king Vyaghradeva of the Jabalpur District was subdued by him. An Assbstone inscription at Ganj refers to Vyaghradeva as a feudatory of the Vakataka king Prithivishena¹. It is^a significant coincidence that Vyaghradeva's wife was called Ajjhitadevi after Ajjhitabhattarika, the mother of Prithivishena.² This incidentally helps us in determining the date of the latter. The Karitalai plate of Vyaghra's son Jayanatha is dated in the Gupta year 174, i.e. 493 A.D.³ The date of Vyaghra and his suzerain Prithivishena may therefore be fixed as c. 470 A.D.

Devasena.

Prithivishena was succeeded by an uncle, whose name has been lost in the Ajanta epigraph. He had a short reign of eight years, and there is nothing unnatural in this when we remember that he must have been an old man at the time of his accession. He was succeeded by his son Devasena. Jayaswal's suggestion that the latter abdicated the throne in favour of his son Harishena and dedicated his life to

1. E.I., Vol.XVII, p.362.
 2. Hiralal: List of Inscriptions, p.23.
 3. Ibid.

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pleasure is wholly unwarranted.¹ Further, we have one copperplate issued by Devasena from a capital called Vatsagulma, which I have identified before with the modern Vasima in Berar. It records a grant of a village by Devasena to a Brahman Bhavasvamin of the Sandilya gotra.² Hastibhoja was the chief minister of of Devasena.³

Harishena.

Devasena was succeeded by his son Harishena. Hastibhoja's son succeeded to the office of chief minister during his reign. The Ajanta inscription states that Harishena, who was brave like a lion, caused dejection to the kings of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kosala, Trikuta, Andhra and Lata.⁴

A Vishnukundin king, Madhavavarman I of Andhradesa, is said to have married a Vakataka princess. It is probable that she was a daughter of Harishena.⁵ The world-famous paintings ^{in the} of Ajanta caves, which attest the grandeur of Maharashtra under the Vakatakas, were executed in his reign.⁶

Nothing is known to us regarding the fall of the Vakataka empire after the death of Harishena. I suggest that it was directly or indirectly due to the invasions of the

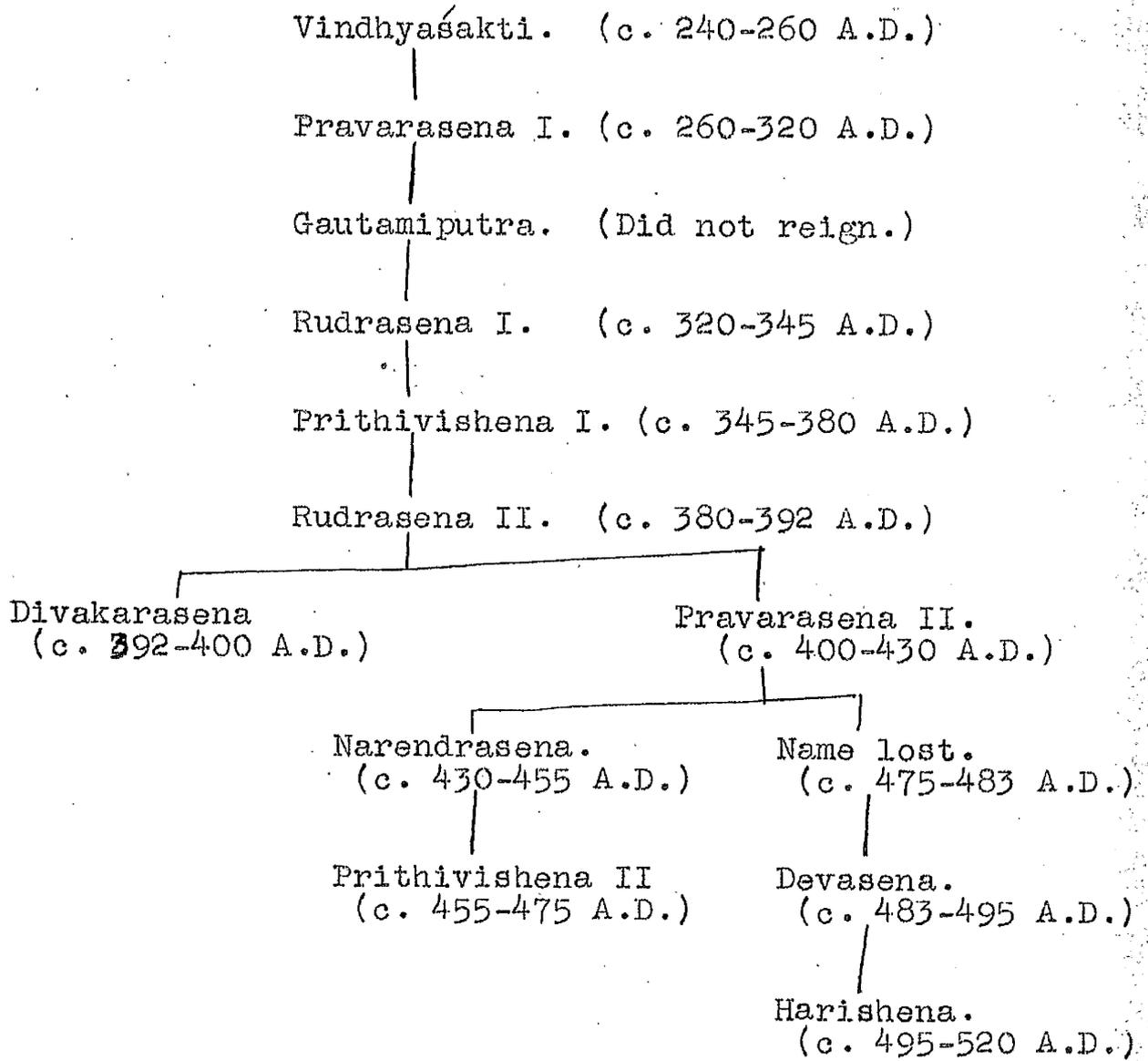
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1. History of India, p.77.
 2. New Indian Antiquary, June, 1939, p.177 f.
 3. A.S.W.I., Vol.IV, p.124 f.
 4. Ibid.
 5. E.I., Vol.IV, p.193.
 6. Smith's History of Fine Art, Chap.VIII, (1930).

Huns under Toramana and Mihirakula. It is also possible that a successor of Harishena was conquered by the great Malava king Yasodharaman, who in his Mandasore inscription of c. 535 A.D. claims to have ruled over the country from the river Lauhitya to the Western Ocean, and from the Himalaya mountains to the mountain Mahendra. Two powers, viz. the Nalas and the Kalachuris, came to the front in Maharashtra after the fall of the Vakatakas, and will be treated later on. A copperplate grant discovered at Khanapur in the Satara District brings to light the name of king Madhavavarman who is not known to us from any other sources.¹ The inscription records the grant of the village of Retturaka, south of the river Krishna-Venna. We do not know to which family Madhavavarman belonged as the first copperplate has been lost. The record has been assigned to the sixth century A.D. by Mr. Y.R. Gupte, and it is quite possible that Madhavavarman was a successor of the Vakataka king Harishena.

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1. B.I.S.M.J., Vol.VIII, p.163.
 J.B.B.R.A.S., 1928, p.89.

Genealogy.



CHAPTER VI.

THE KADAMBAS IN SOUTHERN MAHARASHTRA.

THE KADAMBAS OF BANAVASI.

Origin.

The Kadambas were a Brahman family resident somewhere in the Karnatak. They claimed that they belonged to the race of Manu and were the sons of lady Hariti. The Talgund inscription describes them as tryārshavartma, and the Banavasi grant of Mrigesavarman implies that they belonged to the Angirasa gotra.¹ Now it is to be noted that the two sets of pravaras in the Harita gotra are: (1) Angirasa, Ambarisha, Yāuvanaśva; (2) Mandhata, Ambarisha, Yāuvanaśva.² The first set is evidently to be preferred, as it includes the name Angirasa. However, it is possible that the Kadambas may have sometimes connected themselves with the second set. This is suggested by the fact that the name of Mandhata occurs twice in the Kadamba genealogy. The successors of Mayurāsarman gradually became Kshatriyas, as is clear from the fact that their names end with varman, a termination distinctive of the Kshatriyas. However, almost all the Kadamba kings claim that they had studied the Vedic texts, which shows that they had not forgotten their Brahman origin. It is interesting to note that the

1. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.31.
 I.A., Vol.VII, p.35.
 2. Origin of the Chalukyas, p.93.

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modern Kadambas, who are probably descendants of the ancient Kadambas, claim that they are of the Suryavamāaa, i.e. the Solar race. Moreover, the occurrence of such names as Bhagiratha, Raghu, Kakustha and Ravivarman among the Kadambas strengthens the supposition that they were of the Solar dynasty. The Talgund inscription explains that the name Kadamba was applied to the family because it tended a Kadamba tree which grew near the house. The custom of taking a surname from the name of a tree has survived into modern times in the Maratha country, where such names as Pimpale, Mogare, Kavathe etc are common.

The Talgund inscription gives a historical account of the rise of the Kadambas. In the words of Professor Rapson, it is a most valuable document for the history of the Kadambas.¹ The poet Kubja who composed it narrates that a member of the Kadamba family named Mayurasarman went with his preceptor Virasarman to Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas. It is not difficult to guess the reason of their visit. The great Pallava king Sivaskandavarman in his Hirahadagalli plates records his performance of the Agnishtoma, Vajapeya and Asvamedha sacrifices.² Evidently,

1. Catalogue of Indian coins, p.lv.
2. E.I., Vol.I, p.2 f.

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Mayurasarman and Virasarman had travelled to Kanchi in the hope that the Pallava sovereign might bestow some gifts upon them. But their hope was not fulfilled. It appears that the king did not show proper respect to them. Naturally the young Brahman Mayurasarman felt mortified at this insult to himself and his Guru and resolved to found a Brahman kingdom as opposed to that of the Kshatriya Pallavas. He then collected a band of warriors, and defeated the frontier guards of the Pallava king, and occupied the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Sriparvata, which may or may not be identical with the modern Srisaillam in the Karnul District. The Pallava king Sivaskandavarman took the field in person against this bold adventurer, but was unable to subdue him. He therefore conciliated Mayurasarman by granting him as a military fief the territory between the western sea and the Prehara river. The Prehara river, which indicates the eastern boundary of the latter's dominions, may possibly be identified with the modern Hagari, although there is no phonetic resemblance. The Kadamba kingdom at this time comprised the modern Districts of Dharwar, Bellary, Shimoga and Chitaldroog.

Mayurasarman probably continued to rule his kingdom as

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a loyal feudatory of the Pallava king for some time. But he soon grew tired of this and declared his independence. His Chandravalli inscription records the construction of a tank and his victories over ^{the} Abhiras, Traikutakas, Pallavas, Sendrakas and the king of Punata.¹ The defeat of the first two powers suggests that Mayurasarma successfully raided the country south of the Narmada. This brought him into conflict with the powerful Vakatakas, who forced him to retire to the south of the river Krishna. The Talgund inscription states that he levied tribute ~~from~~ ^{upon} the great Bana king, who probably governed the modern Districts of Kolar and Cudappah.^d

Sivaskandavarman.

He was the son of Mayurasarma, and was probably so named by his father out of devotion for his Pallava suzerain Sivaskandavarman. In the fourth year of his reign he confirmed the grant of the village of Sahala to a Brahman Nagadatta. The Malavalli pillar inscription styles Sivaskandavarman as the Dharma-maharajadhiraja of Vaijayanti.² Four coins bearing the name of Skandha have been found in the Satara District, and may be assigned to the reign of Sivaskandavarman.³

1. M.A.S.-A.R., 1929, p.50 f.

2. E.C., Vol.VII, p.252.

3. Moraes: Kadambas, p.382.

Kangavarman.

He succeeded his elder brother Sivaskandavarman. The expansion of the ~~Ka~~ Kadamba kingdom was checked in his reign, and he suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Vakataka emperor Prithivisena I.

Bhagiratha.

He ascended the throne after the death of his father Kangavarman. His description in the Talgund record is purely poetical.

Raghu.

He was the son of Bhagiratha. No historical events of his reign have been recorded. He was well-versed in the Sastras and a poet also.

Kakusthavarman.

He succeeded his elder brother Raghu. He showed special favour to Brahmans and honoured them by the bestowal of money and land. Verse 29 of the Talgund inscription suggests that he gave shelter to his kinsmen who were ousted from their homes by neighbouring kings. Verse 31 tells us that he gave his daughters in marriage to ~~xxx~~ 'the royal families of the Guptas and others.'¹ Verse 33 records

1. E.I., Vol VIII, p.36.

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that he caused to be constructed a reservoir for the supply of abundant water. The same verse also refers to a Śiva temple which was visited by Satakarni and other pious kings in ancient times.

The fact that the above inscription is engraved in the box-headed alphabet leads ~~to~~ us to infer that there was considerable intercourse between the Vakataka and Kadamba kingdoms. The alphabet is similar to that of the inscriptions of the reign of Pravarasena II, and was imported into the Kanarese country from Berar. The Talgund inscription is not dated, but may be assigned to c. 430 A.D.

Another inscription of Kakusthavarman has been recently discovered at Halmidi near Belur! Its importance lies in the fact that it throws new light on the history of the Kadambas. It refers to a struggle for supremacy between the Pallavas and the Kaikeyas on the one hand and the Kadambas, Banas and the Sendrakas on the other. Apparently the Kadambas and their allies came out victorious. Vijarasa is said to have distinguished himself in this battle, and was rewarded with the grant of two villages. Moreover, Kakusthavarman is described as the enemy of the Kalabhora,

i.e. probably the Kalabhras. Mrigesa, a chief of the Naradavile province, may or may not be identical with Mrigesa, the grandson of Kakusthavarma.

Santivarman.

Kakusthavarma was succeeded by his favourite son Santivarman. Verse 34 of the Talgund inscription speaks of the latter as 'the wide-famed glorious king whose beautiful body is made radiant by putting on three fillets.' This ^esuggestion of Mr. Moraes that he had imposed his suzerainty over three neighbouring petty kings is clearly unfounded.¹

The Birur copperplates of Vishnuvarman speak of Santivarman as the 'master of the entire Karnata region of the earth, adorned by Vaijayanti, which was glorious with a eighteen chieftains enriched with the swift spoils of war!'² However, there is no evidence to prove his supremacy over ~~xx~~ the whole of Karnatak. His relations with his northern neighbours, the Vakatakas, were of a friendly character. It is very probable that Ajjhitabhattarika, the queen of the Vakataka emperor Narendrasena, was ^a daughter of Santivarman.³

1. Kadambas, p.28.

The word 'patta-traya' in v.34 of the Talgund inscription may lead us to the inference that Santivarman held three royal offices.

2. E.C., Vol.VI, Kd. 162.

3. E.I., Vol.IX, p.271.

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A word may now be said about the following remarks of Mr. Moraes. He writes: "Another inscription of Santivarman [↑] _^ states that he assisted at the opening ceremony of two temples built by Kannaya, and that he granted on this occasion a mattal of rice-land to the priest. These facts bear witness to both the generosity and popularity of Santivarman."¹

But it is necessary to point out that the above inscription is dated Saka 894, i.e. 971 A.D., and the Santivarman mentioned therein was a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas. It is absurd to identify this Santivarman with his illustrious Kadamba namesake. Perhaps the similarity of names confused Mr. Moraes and he paid no attention to the date of the record.

Krishnavarman. I.

There is a great confusion regarding the immediate successors of Santivarman. The Birur grant was made by his nephew Vishnuvarman with the express permission of his 'jyeshtha-pitri Śāntivaravarma Dharmamahārāja'. The word jyeshth^a-pitri has been rightly taken to mean father's elder brother by Professor Kielhorn.² It is difficult to under-

1. Moraes: Kadambas, p.29.

2. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.30.

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stand the reference to Santivarman in the above grant, if we suppose that he was dead. No one would make a grant with the permission of a dead person. Here it may be remembered that Vishnuvarman was preceded by his father Krishnavarman I. I venture to suggest that Santivarman reigned for ten or fifteen years, but owing to the growth of religious spirit in him, he abdicated in favour of his younger brother Krishnavarman. It is feasible to suppose that the latter ruled for about ten years and was succeeded by his son Vishnuvarman, who made the Birur grant with the permission of his/^{aged}uncle Santivarman. The death of Santivarman may have taken place some time in the early years of Vishnuvarman's reign.

Krishnavarman I, unlike his elder brother, paid more attention to secular affairs. He married a princess of the Kaikeya family and performed a horse-sacrifice, which was probably preceded by a digvijaya.¹ The Birur grant styles him Dharmamaharaja and the sovereign of Dakshinapatha.² This suggests that he had gained victories over *his* neighbours, the Vakatakas, Alupas, and the Gangas. But his successful career was marred by a severe defeat at the

1. E.I., Vol.VI, p.17 f.
2. E.C., Vol.VI, p.91.

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hands of a Pallava king. The Anaji stone inscription records that Sivanandavarman of the Atreya gotra and the Kaikeya family went to heaven ^{after} having led a life of retirement.¹ It appears that he had been exiled from his country, which was conquered by the Pallavas. His brother-in-law Krishnavarman gathered a large army and marched against the Pallavas. In a battle which was probably fought somewhere in the Davanagere Taluk, Krishnavarman's army was routed by the Pallavas. This event may be placed in c. 465 A.D.

Krishnavarman was succeeded by his eldest son Vishnuvarman in c. 466 A.D. The Birur copperplates were issued by the latter in the third year of his reign. They record the grants of land to 85 Brahmans in a village in the Sindhu-thaya-rashtra, i.e. the Bijapur District. The fact that the donation was made by Vishnuvarman Dharmamaharaja with the permission of his uncle Santivarman suggests that he was not the rightful heir to the throne of Banavasi. Mrigesavarman, the eldest son of Santivarman, had undoubtedly a better claim to the throne than Vishnuvarman.

Mrigesavarman.

He ascended the throne in c. 470 A.D.² We have no

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1. E.C., Vol.XI; Dg. 161.
 2. J.I.H., Vol.XIV, p.345.

information regarding his relations with his cousin Vishnuvarman. The former married a Kaikeya princess named Prabhavati, of whom was born a son Ravivarman. Mrigesa had a short reign of ten years, and the only important event of his reign was the defeat of the Gangas and the Pallavas. This we learn from an inscription of his dated in the eighth regnal year.¹ There he is described as 'Tunga-Gaṅga-kulotsādi', i.e. 'he who uprooted the family of the lofty Gangas', and 'Pallava-pralayānala', i.e. 'a fire of destruction to the Pallavas'. Mrigesa's campaign against the Pallavas was probably an act of revenge for the defeat of his uncle Krishnavarman. Mr. Moraes has suggested that Harivarman's removal of the Ganga capital from Kuvalala to Talakad was due to the encroachments of Mrigesa on the northern parts of his kingdom.² This seems quite reasonable in view of the fact that Harivarman's grandson Madhava II was ruling in c. 510 A.D.

Ravivarman.

Mrigesa died in c. 480 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Ravivarman. The early years of his reign were marked^a by a civil war with Vishnuvarman and a struggle with

1. I.A., Vol.VI, p.24.

2. Kadambas., p.32.

Chandadanda, the Pallava king of Kanchi. The Halsi grant dated in the fifth year of his reign states that 'having slain Vishnuvarman and other kings, and having uprooted Chandadanda, the lord of Kanchi, he established himself at Palasika.'¹ It is possible that Chandadanda is a biruda of the famous monarch Trilochana Pallava, who was a contemporary of Ravivarman.

The Sirsi copperplates are dated in the 35th regnal year of Ravivarman and record a grant by him to a temple of Siva built by his dear physician Nilakantha.² Another copperplate grant of the 34th year of the reign of Ravivarman has recently come to light at Davanagere. It records a donation of lands in Asandi, Koramanga and Samana for worship in a Jain temple at the request of one Haridatta.³

The Nilambur copperplates were issued by Dharmamaharaja Ravivarman in his fifth regnal year from his capital Vaijayanti.⁴ They record the grant of two hamlets named Multagi and Malkavu to a Brahman named Govindasvamin of the Kasyapa gotra, who had mastered the Yajurveda. Multagi is about six miles south of Talakad, the Ganga capital. Moreover,

1. I.A., Vol.VI, p.32.
 2. E.I., Vol.XVI, p.268.
 3. M.A.S.-A.R., 1933, p.114.
 4. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.147.

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Nilambur, the find-spot of the inscription, is situated in the Ernad Taluk of the Malabar District. This suggests that Ravivarman had before the fifth year of his reign annexed parts of the Ganga dominions. Talakad, the Ganga capital, seems to have fallen into the hands of the Kadambas.

Harivarman.

Ravivarman was succeeded by his son Harivarman. The date of his accession is fixed by an astronomical phenomenon mentioned in his Sangoli copperplates.¹ Rao Bahadur K.N.Dikshit has shown that it could have taken place only during the years A.D. 507, 526 and 545. According to our chronology the year 526 seems a reasonable date for Harivarman. As it was his eighth regnal year, his accession took place in the year 519 A.D.

Harivarman does not impress us as a monarch of great ability. His inscriptions throw no light on the events of his reign. A copperplate record from Halsi shows that king Bhanusakti of the Sendraka family was one of his important feudatories.² The Sangoli copperplates of Harivarman record the grant of the village of Tedava to 23 Brahmans, all well-versed in the Atharvaveda. The first

1. E.I., Vol.XIV, p.163 f.

2. I.A., Vol.VI, p.32.

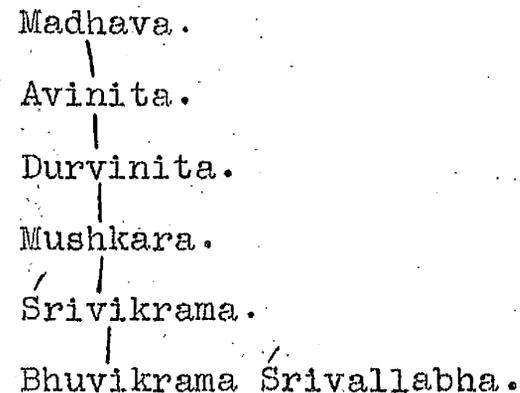
verse is in praise of Śambhu; and as Harivarman calls himself a parama-māheśvara, it is evident that he was a worshipper of Śiva. However, Harivarman respected Hari and Brahma as well; the inscription closes with a bow to all the three gods. The plates were issued from the victorious city of Vaijayanti on Tuesday the 22nd of September, 526 A.D. It is very interesting to note that nearly all the donees had Vedic names, e.g. Tvaśtrīśarma, Prajapatisarma etc.

Krishnavarman II. II.

He was the son of Simhavarman and the grandson of Vishnuvarman. It is highly probable that Simhavarman was a subordinate of Ravivarman for the whole of his life. Not a single inscription of his has come to light. It is significant that ⁱⁿ the inscriptions of his son he is styled Maharaja and not Dharmamaharaja. The only noteworthy event of his reign was the marriage of his daughter with the Ganga king Madhava-mahadhiraja II, son of Vishnugopa. The Ganga inscriptions give great prominence to this event by stating that Avinita was the son of the beloved sister of the Kadamba Krishnavarman mahadhiraja.¹ This suggests that the latter was a contemporary of the Ganga king Avinita.

1. Moraes: Kadambas, p.55.
 See also the Kodunjeravva copperplates of Avinita, M. A. S.—A. R., 1924., p. 67.

The date of Avinita is determined by the discovery of the Bedirur copperplates, which give the following genealogy:-



Now the Bedirur copperplates of Bhuvikrama are dated Saka 556, i.e. 633 A.D., and were issued in the 25th regnal year.¹ His accession thus took place in c. 608 A.D. Assuming that ~~each king ruled for~~ ^{the reigns averaged} 25 years, it is obvious that the marriage of Madhava took place in c. 500 A.D.

The Bannahalli copperplates were issued by Krishnavarman in his seventh regnal year.² They record a grant in the Vallavi-vishaya, i.e. the region around the modern Ballavi in the Tumkur District. As this is the earliest charter of Krishnavarman, it may reasonably be assumed that he was ruling in the vicinity of Tumkur before his conquest of Banavasi. A rich merchant named Haridatta had great

1. M.A.S.-A.R., 1925, p.85.
 2. E.I., Vol.VI, p.16.

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influence with the king and may have helped the latter with money in gaining the throne of Banavasi. Some time between his 7th and the 19th regnal years, Krishnavarman defeated Harivarman and occupied Banavasi. The Bennur copperplates style him Dharmamaharaja and the fifth lokapala, which suggests that Banavasi was in his possession before he issued them.¹ Further, the inscription states that he was returning to Vaijayanti from a victorious expedition. It was a general custom among Hindu kings to undertake warlike expeditions once a year. It may be conjectured that Krishnavarman's expedition was directed against the Sendrakas, as the inscription records the grant of a village in the Sendraka-vishaya.

The Sirsi copperplates were issued from his capital Vaijayanti in his 19th regnal year. Here he is stated to have 'gained fame and the fortune of royalty by virtue of successes in many battles.' This may be taken as a veiled reference to his war with Harivarman. The inscription records the grant of a village to the Brahman Somasvamin, who had mastered the Rigveda.²

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1. E.C. Vol.V; Pl. 245.
 2. E.I., Vol.XVI, p.270.

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Ajavarman.

Krishnavarman was succeeded by his son Ajavarman. The Kadamba kingdom fell on evil & times during his reign. In c. 550 A.D., the Chalukya king Pulakesin I defeated Ajavarman and annexed a large part of his kingdom. It is possible that the latter ruled as a feudatory of Pulakesin for the rest of his life. The Tagare copperplates do not give the title Maharaja to Ajavarman, while both Krishnavarman and Bhogivarman are styled Maharaja.

Bhogivarman.

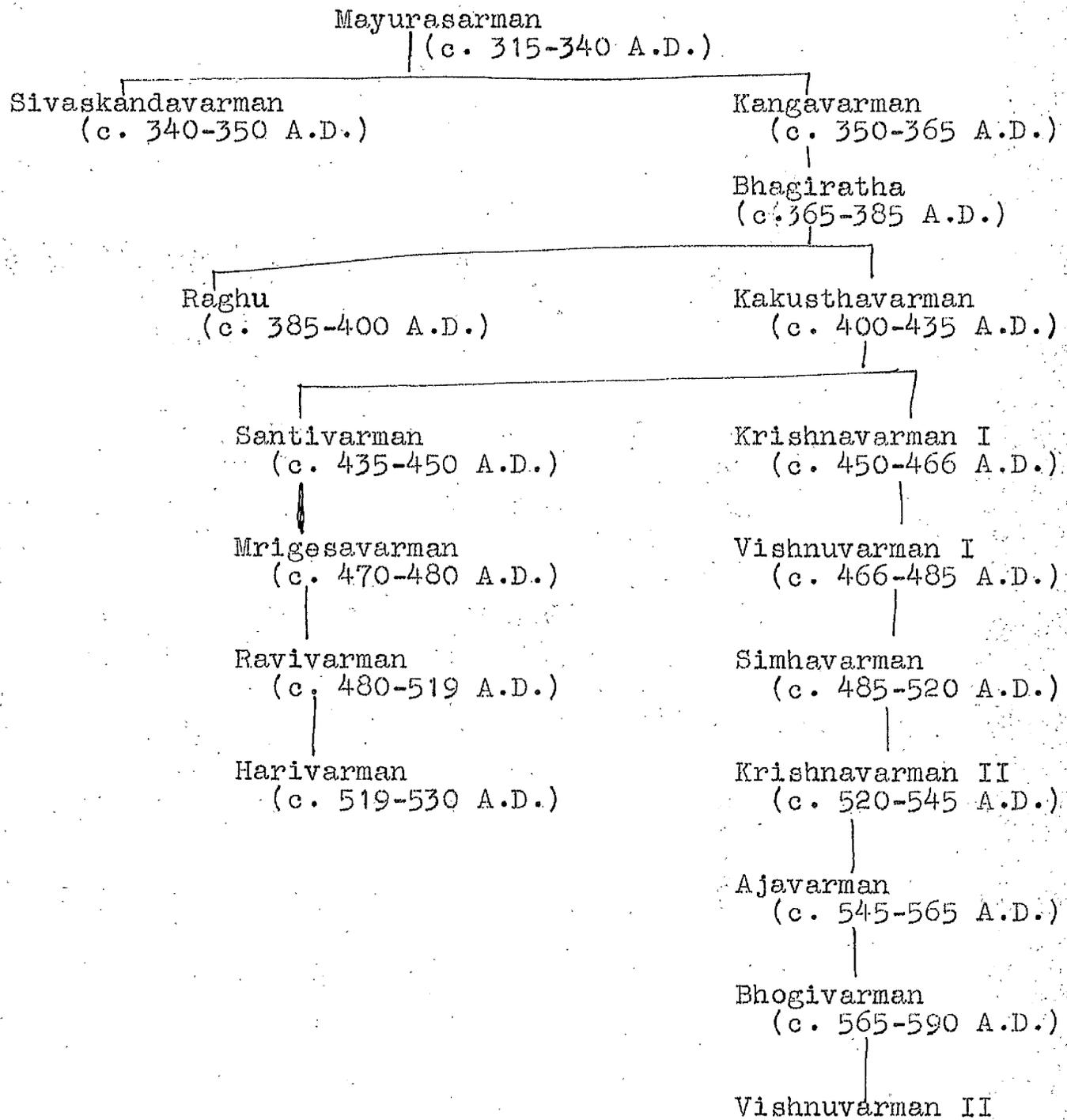
He was the son and successor of Ajavarman. In the early years of his reign he may have suffered reverses at the hands of the Chalukya king Kirtivarman I. But ^{he} Bhogivarman rose equal to the occasion. The Tagare copperplates¹ relate that he 'acquired an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arms and subdued his enemies.' This suggests that he succeeded in regaining a part of the Kadamba dominions. It is interesting to note that the inscription opens with a verse in praise of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu. The worship of Vishnu in this form was evidently borrowed by Bhogivarman from the Chalukyas.

1. M.A.S.-A.R., 1918, p.35 f.

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We do not know whether Bhogivarman's son Vishnuvarman ascended the throne. The whole of the Kadamba kingdom was absorbed into the Chalukya empire by Pulakesin II in c. 615 A.D. The history of the Kadambas for the next four centuries is shrouded in darkness.

Genealogy.



CHAPTER VII.

MINOR DYNASTIES DOWN TO CIRCA 600 A.D.

The Puranic verse clearly suggests that the Nala dynasty was reigning over Nishadha, i.e. Southern Malwa, in the third century A.D. The Bhagavata Purana adds the detail that the Nalas were the lords of the Vaidurya mountain, i.e. the modern Satpura range. From this it may be inferred that the original home of the Nala family was the Hoshangabad region, and that they possibly migrated southwards in c. 400 A.D.

The earliest prince of the Nala dynasty ~~who is~~ known to us from the inscriptions is Maharaja Bhavattavaram. It is probable that he was originally a feudatory of the Vakatakas and may have declared his independence after the fall of that power. His Rithapur plates¹ are engraved in box-headed characters and have been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the first half of the sixth century A.D. by Mr. Y.R. Gupte. Nandivardhana is mentioned as the capital, and it may probably be identified with Nandur in the Yeotmal district of Berar. The inscription states that the glory of royalty was bestowed upon Bhavattavarman by Mahesvara and Mahasena, and this indicates that the Nala king was a devotee of Siva. The copperplates record a grant

1. E.I.; Vol.XIX, p.100 f.

by Maharaja Bhavattavarman while he was staying at the holy city of Prayaga, i.e. Allahabad, to a Brahman named Matradhyaryya and his eight sons. The village granted was Kadambagirigrama, i.e. Kalamba in the Yeotmal district. The charter was written at the king's oral command by Chulla, the confidential officer, in the eleventh regnal year.

Bhavattavarman was succeeded by his son Skandavarman.¹ It appears that the Nala kingdom had fallen upon evil days either during the last years of Bhavattavarman or the early years of Skandavarman's reign. Skandavarman moved his capital from Nandivardhana to Pushkari, a place which has defied all attempts at its identification. It seems probable that the reason for this sudden reverse was the aggressive policy of king Krishna of the Kalachuri dynasty. We have already seen that Krishna was a powerful king and that his dominions included the whole of Northern Maharashtra. In all probability the Nalas then retired to the eastern part of their dominions, i.e. the Bastar State, which on account of its forests and the nature of the hilly country afforded a safe refuge. The Podagadh stone inscription describes the recovery of the lost sovereignty by Prince

1. In the Podagadh inscription the name of Bhavattavarman is spelt as Bhavadattavarman. Both the forms may be correct. E.I.; Vol. XXI, p.153 f.

Skandavarman and his repopulation of the capital Pushkari.¹
 The kingdom of Skandavarman seems to have included the Chanda district and the Bastar State. Podagadh, where the stone inscription was discovered, is situated in the Jeypore Agency adjoining the Bastar State. The inscription records the foundation of a sanctuary over a pādāmūla by Skandavarman. As the inscription opens with a verse in praise of Vishnu, it appears that Skandavarman had possibly given up the worship of Siva carried on by his father and made Vishnu his family deity. A senapati or general named Pritibhagavata is also referred to in verse 11. The stone inscription was set up on the 27th day of the month of Vaisakha in the 12th year, which was probably the 12th regnal year of Skandavarman.

It seems likely that Skandavarman had conquered some parts of the Adilabad division of the Hyderabad State. The Nala prince defeated by the Early Chalukya king Kirtivarman I in c. 570 A.D. was perhaps a son of Skandavarman. ~~A~~ The Chalukya king may have annexed the dominions of the Nala family, and henceforward the dynasty disappears from the pages of history.²

1. E.I. Vol.XXI, p.153.
 2. In the Kauthem grant of A.D. 1009, Kirtivarman I is spoken of as destroying the habitations of the Nalas. The Aihole inscription says that he was the night of doom to the Nalas.

The Jain work Kathakośa,¹ probably composed in the tenth century A.D., contains the story of Nala, which is evidently borrowed from the Mahabharata. The name of Nala's wife Damayanti has been changed into Davadanti by the Jains. It is interesting to note that the Jain version gives an account of a battle between Nala and the Kadamba king. There is no reference to this battle in the Mahabharata, and it is possible that the Jain story contains an element of historical truth. The Kadambas were ruling in Southern Maharashtra in the sixth century A.D., and perhaps the Jain story preserves an account of a real fight between the Nala king and the Kadamba king. The story tells us that the Kadamba king was defeated and that Jayasakti, a relative of his, was placed on the throne by the Nala king.

Genealogical table.

Bhavattavarman	c. 520 A.D.
Skandavarman	c. 540 A.D.
Son (?)	c. 560 A.D.

1. Translated by Tawney, 1895, p.200 f.

Bhagadatta.

One of the princes who seems to have asserted his independence after the collapse of the Satavahana empire was the Bhāra king Bhagadatta. He is known to us from a stone inscription discovered at Pauni in the Bhandara District of the Central Provinces.¹ "The object of the inscription is to record the dedication of a slab with foot-prints by Bhagadatta, king of the Bhara clan".² We do not know whose foot-prints were carved on the slab, but Professor Mirashi has conjectured that they were probably those of Buddha.³

Professor Mirashi's attempt to connect this insignificant Bhara Raja with the great Bharasīva kings who are mentioned in the Vakataka copperplates does not seem very convincing. The Bharasīva kings were apparently reigning in the Gangetic plains and are said to have performed ten Asvamedhas, which is an indication of their supreme power and glory.⁴ It does not seem probable that this Bhagadatta, who was merely a local Raja in a corner of Eastern Maharashtra, was connected with the great Bharasīva kings.

THE KATACHCHURIS.

This important dynasty ruled over a large part of Maharashtra immediately after the fall of the Vakatakas in the

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1. E.I.; Vol. XXIV; p.11 f.
 2. Ibid; the text is - 'Bhārarāyasa Bhagadatasa pājugāpate.'
 3. But it is not unlikely that the foot-prints were of Rama or Vishnu. Cf. Podagadh inscription, E.I.^v 21, p.153.
 4. J.B.O.R.S.; Vol. XX. p.7.

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sixth century A.D. Professor D.R. Bhandarkar is of the opinion that the capital of the Katakchuris was Mahishmati, the ancient capital of the Puranic hero Kartavirya Arjuna.¹ This city has been satisfactorily identified by Dr. Fleet with Mandhata in the Nimar District.² It may be assumed that the form Katakchuri which occurs in the inscriptions of this dynasty is the correct one, as it is the earliest. The later forms like Kalachuri, Kalatsuri and Kalachuri are merely variants of the authentic Katakchuri.³ The earliest form Katakchuri may have changed into Kadachchuri, Kalachchuri and Kalachuri. As 'cha' is pronounced as 'tsa' in Telugu and Marathi even to-day, the form Kalachuri was easily changed into Kalatsuri, which occurs in the early Chalukyan inscriptions.

Origin.

Nothing is known to us about the origin of this dynasty. However, I shall make a suggestion. The Puranas deal with the dynasties of the third century A.D. The following passage may be noted.

"Śakyamān-abhavad rājā Mahiṣinām mahīpatih.

Pushyamitrā bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās trayodaśa." ⁴

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1. I.A., 1911, p.19f.
 2. J.R.A.S., 1910, p.445.
 3. E.I. Vol. XII, p.32.
 4. Dynasties of the Kali Age, p.51.

We are not concerned here with the second line. The first line tells that Sakyaman was the king of the Mahisis.¹ They may have been the people of Mahishmati or Mandhata.¹ Thus Sakyaman was ruling at Mandhata in Central India. We know that the Kalachuris were also ruling over the same area. Sakyaman may have been a prince of the Kalachuri family, who took advantage of the fall of the Satavahanas in the third century. The variants Sakyamima and Sankamana are found in some Puranic manuscripts.²

Krishnaraja.

He is the earliest king of the dynasty known to us. He was a very powerful prince, and his coins were found in the Nasik District, Rajputana, Bhilsa and the Marathi - speaking districts of the Central Provinces.³ Perhaps the royal emblem of his dynasty was the bull, which we find on his coins. His coins bear the legend: "Paramamahesvara matapitripadanudhyata srikrishnaraja."⁴ This clearly shows that Krishnaraja was a devotee of the god Siva.

The inscriptions unfortunately do not tell us anything more about him. All they write about Krishnaraja is merely poetical. But it may be admitted that he was a very

1. Dynasties of the Kali Age. p.50.

2. Ibid. p.51, note 10.

3. Report A.S.I., Western Circle, 1915, p.60.
Altekar, R.T. p.364. Some coins are of silver.

4. I.A. Vol. XIV. p.68.

The fact that Krishnaraja mentions his father may be taken to mean that the latter was a man of some importance.

liberal prince, that he attracted capable men by his virtues and humbled the pride of his enemies. "He is said to have furthered the prosperity of his family as the moon revives the beauty of a bed of night lotuses."¹

Sankargana

Krishnaraja was succeeded by his son Sankaragana, who soon proved that he was more capable than his father. In his time the Katachchuri kingdom reached the borders of the Arabian Sea, as we find a feudatory of his ruling near Broach about 580 A.D. His Abhona plates state that he uprooted those princes who were too proud and reinstated the families of kings who had long been dethroned. The same plates inform us that he was the lord of the countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean.² Sankaragana's claim that his kingdom reached the Eastern Seas does not seem plausible, because the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga and the Vishnukundins of Andhradesa were powerful enough to defend their own interests. The poet who composed the Vadner plates compares his sovereign with such gods as Dhanada, Varuna, Indra and Antaka.³

Sankaragana is mentioned in a list of famous kings of South India preserved for us in the Manju-sri-mulakalpa.⁴

1. E.I., Vol. 12. p.35.

2. E.I., Vol. IX, pp.297-98.

3. E.I., Vol.XII. p.35.

4. Jayaswal. Imperial History, Sanskrit text, p.46.

His name is mentioned therein as Ganāsankara, which is a mistake for Sankaragana. The author gives us nothing more than a list of the names of celebrated kings, but Mr. K.P. Jayaswal remarks that 'his information of the period is detailed and accurate for the whole of India'.¹

Two copperplate grants of Sankaragana are known to us. The Abhona plates record the grant of a hundred nivartanas of land in the village^{of} Vallisika to a Brahmanā named Ahmanasvamin, resident of Kallavana.² The grant was issued by Sankaragana while he was encamped at Ujjain in Malwa at the request of Gogga. Mr. Pathak surmises that she was probably the queen of Sankaragana.³ But it is noteworthy that the epithet Rājñī, i.e. queen, is conspicuous by its absence. It may be suggested that Gogga was a mistress of the king. A parallel instance of a king making a donation at the request of a courtesan may be found in the case of Amma II of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty.⁴ The date mentioned in the grant is calculated by Mr. Pathak as the 27th July, A.D.595. Of the localities mentioned, Kallavana is the same as the modern Kalavana in the Nasik District, and the province of Bhogavardhana is the modern Aurangabad District of the Nizam's Dominions.

1. Jayaswal. Imperial History, p.31.
2. E.I. Vol. IX. p.297.
3. Ibid. p.297. n.3.
4. Ganguly. Eastern Chalukyas. p.84.

Bhogavardhana is represented to-day by the small town of Bhokardan.¹

The other grant comes from the Baroda State and is a record of his feudatory Nirihullaka, who 'meditates on the feet of the illustrious Sankaragana'. It refers to the donation of a field to a Brahman. It also mentions Santilla, a general of Nirihullaka. It is interesting to note that Sankaragana is called a paramabhattaraka in this grant alone.³ Dr. Dubreuil has suggested that Nirihullaka was perhaps a descendant of Sangamasimha, who ruled in the Broach District in 540 A.D.⁴ The latter was, in the opinion of Mr. Jackson and Dr. Sten Konow, a feudatory of the Kalachuris.⁵ It is obvious, then, that Sangamasimha was a vassal of Krishna, the first of the Kalachuri monarchs. It also proves that the Kalachuri kingdom had reached the borders of the Arabian Sea even in the lifetime of its founder. The Sunao-kala plates were issued by Sangamasimha in the year 292 of the Kalachuri era, and record the gift of a village to several Brahmans.

Buddharaja.

After the death of Sankaragana the succession passed

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- 1. See Chapter 1.
 - 2. E.I. Vol.II. p.22.
 - 3. The title 'paramabhattaraka' is usually associated with that of 'maharajadhiraja' or emperor.
 - 4. A.H.D. p.82. His correct name was probably Sangrama-simha.
 - 5. E.I. Vol.X. p.73.
He is styled Mahasamanta and Maharaja.

to his son Buddharaja. But the accession of Buddharaja portended evil days for the kingdom. About 600 A.D. Mangalesa, the uncle of Pulakesin II, conquered the Kalachuri king in a pitched battle, and it appears that Buddharaja lost a part of his kingdom,¹ - probably the modern Districts of Ahmadnagar and Poona. It is certain that Buddharaja was still in possession of Southern Gujarat, Malwa and Nasik even after the defeat.

The Vadner plates is the earliest inscription of Buddharaja.² They were issued from the victorious camp of the king ^{at} of Vidisa, i.e. Besnagar in Malwa. The donee was a Brahman named Bodhasvamin, a resident of Vatanagara, which has been identified with Vadner in the Nasik District. The date of this inscription probably corresponds to Friday, 19th August, A.D.609. The Vadner plates were issued at the request of queen Anantamahāyī. Perhaps her proper name was Anata Devi and mahāyī may possibly mean 'the great mother'. (cf. Āyī= mother, in Marathi)

It is possible that Buddharaja took advantage of the civil war between Mangalesa and Pulakesin II, and reconquered the territory which he had previously lost. The probable

1. E.I. Vol. VI. p.8.

2. E.I. Vol. XII. p.33ff.

date of the civil war according to Dr. Fleet is 608 A.D.¹

Buddharaja's second record available to us is the Sarsavni grant.² It reports the gift of a village to a Brahman named Bappasvamin in Gorajja-bhoga of the Bharukachchha vishaya. The plates were issued from the royal residence of Buddharaja at Anandapura—a place still bearing the same name in the Kaira District. Bharukachcha is obviously the modern Broach, and Gorajja has been identified with Goraj in the Panch Mahals. The probable date of the inscription according to Professor Kielhorn is A.D. 610.³

A few years later Pulakesin II defeated Buddharaja and annexed a large part of his dominions.⁴ It is probable that Buddharaja became a feudatory of Pulakesin II and the dynasty continued its chequered career until it rose to power again in the ninth century.⁵

Genealogy.

Krishnaraja
|
Sankaragana
|
Buddharaja.

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1. D.K.D., p.348.
 2. E.I. vol. VI. p.295f.
 3. Ibid. p.295. n.6.
 4. Ibid. Aihole Inscription. p.10.
 5. Ray. Dynastic History, Vol. II. p.753.

The Traikutakas.

This important and powerful dynasty held sway over Southern Gujarat and Western Maharashtra for a considerable length of time. It has not received the attention it deserves and has been passed over in silence by Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar.¹ The Traikutakas were probably Kshatriyas, as one member of the family performed the Ásvamedha sacrifice. There is hardly any reason to mix up the Traikutakas with the Abhira tribe, and there is nothing in the available inscriptions and coins which goes to prove their relationship.² Moreover, they are both separately mentioned in the Chandravalli inscription of Mayuráśarman³ of c. 320 A.D., which shows that the Abhiras and the Traikutakas are not identical with each other.

The dynastic name Traikutaka is undoubtedly derived from a certain Trikuta, which has not yet been identified. But Prof. Rapson's view that it was situated in ~~the~~ Aparanta (the Northern Konkan) appears to be correct.⁴ Moreover, Aparanta is clearly mentioned in a Traikutaka inscription.⁵ Dr. Fleet had promised to publish a satisfactory identification, but unfortunately he failed to do so. But I may be

1. E.H.D., (1928)Edn.) X
 2. Rapson: Catalogue, p.clkiii.
 3. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XIX, p. 220.
 4. Catalogue, p.clhx.
 5. E.I., Vol.XI, p.219 f.

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permitted to draw ~~the~~ attention to the references in the Skanda Purana. In this Purana, Trikuta is stated to be a holy place situated on the banks of the sacred river Narmada.¹ The way in which it is mentioned in the above Purana confirms the view that it is to be located in ~~the~~ Aparanta and the lower Narmada valley. A glance at the map makes it clear that Trikuta was situated on the banks of the Narmada in the modern Broach District of Bombay Presidency.

Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji and Professor Rapson have emphasised the reference to Trikuta in the Raghuvamśa of Kalidasa.² Raghu, a prince of the Ikshvaku family, is stated to have obtained tribute from the princes of Aparanta. "In those parts of the country he (Raghu) made the mountain Trikuta, bearing many distinct marks of his valour, in the shape of deep scars made by the tusks of his infuriated elephants, the best trophy of his conquest."³ If the date of Kalidasa be accepted as c. 400 A.D., it is manifest that the predecessors of Vyaghrasena, who ruled over this region and were members of the Traikutaka family, may have been reigning during the poet's lifetime. The prince who was the contemporary of the great poet may have been the father of Maharaja Indradatta.

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1. Reva khanda, p.181, vv. 15-17 (Khemraj's Edn.)
 2. Catalogue, p. clix, p. clviii, n.4.
 3. Raghuvamśa (Trans.), 1891, Bombay, p.90.

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One of the early members of this family was defeated by the Kadamba king Mayurasarman in c. 320 A.D. This fact is recorded in the recently discovered Chandravalli inscription.¹ It further proves that the Traikutaka dynasty was established at least in the third century A.D.

Indradatta.

His name is known to us only from the coins of his son Dahrasena² and is not alluded to in the copperplate inscriptions. Indradatta is called a Maharaja in the coins, and this is sufficient to show that he was an independent and powerful monarch. The short pedigree of the family is as follows :-

Indradatta (425-450 A.D.)
|
Dahrasena (450-475 A.D.)
|
Vyaghrasena (475-500 A.D.)
known year 455 A.D.
known year 490 A.D.

Dahrasena.

His Pardi plates are dated in the year 207 of the Kalachuri or Chedi era. They were discovered at Pardi in the Surat District of the Bombay Presidency.³ The Pardi plates tell us that Dahrasena had offered a horse-sacrifice,

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1. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.XIX, p.220.
 2. Catalogue, p.198.
 3. E.I., Vol.X, p.53.

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and this fact clearly indicates that he was an independent and powerful king. Moreover, Dahrasena is said to be meditating ^{at} ~~on~~ the feet of his mother and father, which shows that even his father was a powerful king. The plates record a grant of land to a Brahman named Nannasvamin residing in the district of Kapura. The plates were issued from the victorious camp of the king at Amraka. Dahrasena was a worshipper of Vishnu, and in the Pardi plates the term 'bhagavat-pādakarmakara' is applied to him. The date of this grant corresponds to the 4th April, A.D. 456, if the year 207 is taken as current.¹

Vyaghrasena.

Dahrasena was succeeded by his son Vyaghrasena, who issued the Surat plates in the year 241 from his capital, 'the victorious Aniruddhapura'.² In the opinion of Dr. Hultzsch, Aniruddhapura may be identified with Surparaka, the modern Sopara.³ As Vyaghrasena calls himself the lord of Aparanta in the Surat plates, the identification proposed by Dr. Hultzsch seems probable. It is possible that Vyaghrasena carried on the work of conquest which was begun by his father, and the Surat plates refer to the distribution

1. E.I., Vol.X, p.52.

2. E.I., Vol.XI, p.219 f.

3. Ibid.

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of the vast treasures which Vyaghrasena had acquired by conquest. He is also said to have repelled his neighbouring enemies. The title 'Aparāntādidesapati', applied to him, shows that he was master of Aparanta and other countries also. The inscription records the grant of a hamlet to a Brahman named Nagasarman of Bharadvaja gotra. The Kalachuri year 241 is equivalent to the date A.D. 490 or 491.

Traikutaka Coinage.

The coins of the dynasty have been found at Daman in Southern Gujarat, Indapura in the Poona District and Karad in the Satara District.¹ The provenance of the coins and the inscription makes it certain that the family ruled over an extensive tract of country. The legend on the coins of Dahrasena is as follows :-

"Mahārājendradattaputra paramavaishnavā śrīmahārāja²
Dahrasena."

The name of the king also occurs as Dahragana on 350 coins from the Indapur hoard. The coins of Vyaghragana have the inscription :-

"Mahārāja Dahraganaputra paramavaishnava śrīmahārāja³
Vyāghragana."

These coins make it clear that the synonym Vyaghragana was also used.

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1. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XXIII, pp.1-7.
 2. Rapson: Catalogue, p.198.
 3. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XXIII, p.2.

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Dr. Bird's Kanheri copperplate is dated in the year 245 of the Traikutakas, and this date probably falls in the reign of Maharaja Vyaghrasena. The plate records the erection of a chaitya at the great convent of Krishnagiri.¹ Vyaghrasena is mentioned in the list of names preserved in one of the Buddhist texts.² Harishena, the Vakataka king, claims to have conquered the king of Trikuta in his Ajanta inscription. As Harishena flourished in c. 500 A.D., the Traikutaka king whom he subdued may have been either Vyaghrasena or one of his descendants.³ The dynasty disappears from history after 500 A.D.

The Traikutaka era.

It appears that the so called Kalachuri or Chedi era was really the Traikutaka era, and probably marks the date of the foundation of the Traikutaka dynasty. This era may be regarded as beginning in the year A.D. 249.⁴ The earliest inscriptions to be dated in this era are found in Western India only. The dates of the inscriptions of the Uchchakalpa Maharajas, who ruled in Central India, are to be referred to the Gupta era according to Professor Mirashi.⁵

Dr. Fleet holds the view that the Traikutaka era was

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1. E.I., Vol.XX (App.), p.160.
 2. Manjusri-mulakalpa, See Imperial History, p.46 (Text)
 3. A.S.W.I., Vol.IV, p.125.
 4. J.R.A.S., 1905, p.566.
 5. E.I., Vol.XXIII, p.171 f.

not established 'by any Kalachuri king or king of Chedi.'¹
His view is supported by inscriptional evidence. The name
Kalachuri or Chedi is attached to ~~an~~^{the} era only in the ins-
criptions dated after the year 973 A.D. It is clear that
it was named Kalachuri or Chedi because it was used for more
than four centuries by the Kalachuri dynasty.

The question whether it was founded by the Abhira kings,
Sivadatta and Isvaradatta^{sena}, cannot be finally solved. But
the dates of these two kings are much earlier than the year
249 A.D. Prof. Rapson has shown that Isvaradatta^{sena} reigned
before 249 A.D.² Further, Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar has demon-
strated that the Abhira kings flourished circa 188-90 A.D.³
His views are based on the evidence of coins belonging to
the Sarvania hoard. Hence the theory that the era was
founded by the Abhiras seems unfeasible.

The Traikutakas have very good claims to the original
ownership of the era. They are mentioned in the Chandra-
valli inscription of ~~300~~^{c. 320} A.D., and may have been known to
Kalidasa. Further, the earliest inscriptions dated in the
era belong to the Traikutaka dynasty alone. Moreover, Dr.
Bird's Kanheri copperplate distinctly states that a Chaitya

1. J.R.A.S., 1905, p.567.

2. Catalogue, p.clix.

3. Vide Chapter IV.

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was erected 'in the year 245 of the increasing rule of the Traikutakas.'¹ It is noteworthy that Prof. Rapson was of the opinion that "the foundation of the era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Andhras."² There are no serious objections to the theory that the era may probably have been founded by a Traikutaka king, 'in which case such a king began to reign in A.D. 248 or 249.'³ In the light of our present day knowledge this theory alone appears to be the plausible one.

1. Catalogue, p.lxiii.

2. Ibid, p.clxii.

3. Dr. Fleet: J.R.A.S., 1905, p.567.

Devaraja of Goa.

A set of three copperplates was recently discovered at the village of Siroda in the province of Goa.¹ The seal bears in relief the figure of a swan, which may possibly be the emblem of the Gomins, the dynasty to which Devaraja belonged. The plates are of great importance, as they bring to light a wholly new dynasty that ruled in the westernmost parts of Southern Maharashtra. Besides, this is the earliest copperplate grant yet discovered in the Konkan.

Rao Bahadur C.R. Krishnamacharlu, the editor, assigns the Siroda plates to the fourth century A.D. But this date is rather too early. Dr. Barnett assigns them to Circa 500 A.D. on palaeographical grounds. Devaraja does not even style himself rajan or king. He merely seems to have been a local governor with considerable powers. It is not clear as to whose twelfth regnal year (rājya-sāmvatsara) the inscription refers to. It is highly probable that it was the regnal year of his suzerain, whoever he was, and not his own. I wish to draw the attention of readers to the fact that the phrase 'vachanāt' is characteristic of the Vakataka copperplates. We find that the same phrase

1. E.I., Vol.XXIV, p.143 f.

is used in the Siroda copperplates. Moreover, the expression 'Waktavyah' used by Devaraja to address his officers is found in the India Office Plate of the Vakataka king Devasena.¹ It may therefore be suggested that Devaraja was a feudatory of the Vakatakas, probably of the powerful Vakataka emperor Harishena (c. 500 A.D.).

The object of the Siroda Plates is to register the grant of a village to two Brahmans by the minister Prabhu Nagabhogika. Devaraja apparently sanctioned the above gift. Two other ministers of Devaraja are also mentioned. One of them was Amaresvara, who held the office of "Sarvatantrādhikṛita", i.e. "Superintendent of all Departments". The other minister was Prabhakara, who held the post of "Rahasyādhikṛita" or "confidential adviser" to Devaraja. Chandrapura, the place from which the copperplates were issued, appears to have been a capital of Devaraja. It has been rightly identified with the modern Chandor near Goa. We have no further information regarding the family of the Gomins. It is very possible that there is some connection between the Gomins and Gomantaka, the ancient name of the province of Goa.

1. New Indian Antiquary, June, 1939, p. 777 f.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI.

THE EARLY CHALUKYAS OF BADAMI.

Origin.

The earliest trace of the name Chalukya, according to some, occurs in the Śatapatha Brahmana of c. 700 B.C.¹, where a sage named Chelaka Śāṅḍilyāyana is mentioned. Chelaka may or may not be connected with the name Chalukya. In the Baudhayana Śrautasutra of c. 500 B.C., we come across the name Chaulukya among the Bharadvajas, which is perhaps a variant form of Chalukya. The Mahabharata refers to Panchasikha, who was also known as Chulika and belonged to the Parasara gotra. The Chalukyas in their inscriptions state that they came from Ayodhya and were of the Manavya gotra and Haritiputras. Moreover, in certain inscriptions, Manavya, Harita and Panchasikha are actually mentioned as the ancestors of the Chalukyas. Further, a Sanskrit work known as the Saddharma-chintamani describes a king Bhima as a Brahma-Chalukya, which indicates the Brahman origin of the Chalukyas. It may therefore be concluded that the Chalukyas were Brahmans at first, but like the Kadambas they became Kshatriyas when they acquired political power. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, tells us that Pulakesin II of the Chalukya family was a kshatriya.

1. The paragraph is based upon Mr. Ranjit Sing Satyarsaya's book 'Origin of the Chalukyas', Calcutta, 1937.

The Eastern Chalukya inscriptions of the eleventh century mention Vijayaditya as the first prince of the family. He was undoubtedly an insignificant adventurer, and his rebellion against his suzerain Trilochana Pallava was suppressed by the latter in c. 500 A.D.¹ Vijayaditya was killed in the battle, and his wife took refuge with Trilochana's priest Vishnubhatta Somayajin. She then gave birth to a posthumous son named Vishnuvardhana. The following is the genealogical table of the early ~~xxx~~ members of the family according to the Eastern Chalukya version.

Vijayaditya I.
|
Vishnuvardhana.
|
Vijayaditya II.
|
Pulakesin I.

The early inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas make no mention of Vijayaditya I. They give the following pedigree.

Jayasimha.
|
Ranaraga.
|
Pulakesin I.

1. See 'Trilochana Pallava and Karikala Chola' by Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya, Madras, 1929.

Jayasimha.

The Aihole stone inscription of Pulakesin II represents Jayasimha as a brave soldier, who in a pitched battle 'made Fortune his own, even though she is suspected of fickleness!¹ In the inscriptions of the eleventh century he is said to have defeated the Rattas under their king Indra. The inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas say that Jayasimha alias Vishnuvardhana gained successes over the Gangas and the Kadambas.² Prof. Dubreuil has suggested that our Jayasimha is identical with the Jayasimha who is mentioned as a commandant of Harivatsakotta in the Undikavatika grant of Abhimanyu.³ In a later chapter I have shown that Abhimanyu flourished in c. 525 A.D., and he was thus a contemporary of Jayasimha of the Chalukya dynasty. Moreover, the description of the latter in the Aihole inscription implies that he was a general. Hence Prof. Dubreuil's suggestion seems quite reasonable.

Ranaraga.

He may have been appointed as a general in succession to his father Jayasimha. Although the Aihole inscription calls him 'Jagadekanātha', one master of the world, we need not suppose that he founded an independent principality.

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1. E.I., Vol.VI, p.4.
 2. J.R.A.S., 1930, p.933.
 3. A.H.D., p.111.

We are further told that he had a well-built body.

Pulakesin I.

He was the son of Ranaraga and the real founder of the Chalukya kingdom. His name is spelt variously as Polekesin, Polikesin, Pulakesin and Pulakesin. He revolted against his Rashtrakuta superiors and succeeded in overthrowing them. With the modern district of Sholapur as his base and the brave Marathas as his soldiers, he launched a fierce attack against the Kadambas, his southern neighbours. He seized the region around Badami, i.e. the modern district of Bijapur, and made the former his capital. The find-spot of the Godachi copperplates suggests that parts of Belgaum and the Kolhapur State had also fallen into his hands.¹

Pulakesin set the seal on his achievements by his performance of a horse sacrifice, which was probably undertaken to impress the neighbouring princes and the Brahmans. The Godachi plates of 578 A.D. add the information that Maharaja Ranavikrama, i.e. Pulakesin I, purified his body by the ablutions after the performance of further sacrifices like the Agnishtoma, Agnichayana, Vajapeya, Bahusuvarna and Paundarika.

1. Journal of the Bombay University, Jan., 1937, p.165.

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The capture of Badami and the performance of the above sacrifices were events of great historical significance and remembered as late as the tenth century A.D.¹

Kirtivarman I.

He succeeded his father Pulakesin in c. 566 A.D. He seems to have embarked upon a career of aggrandisement and destroyed the power of the Nalas and the Mauryas.² The Nalas, as we have seen before, were ruling ^{over} parts of Berar and the Bastar State. The Mauryas were reigning in ^{the} Konkan, and it is possible that Kirtivarman annexed parts of their kingdom. The discovery of the ^kGoḍak copperplates suggests that the Mauryas established themselves in the Konkan in the second century B.C.³ It is very probable that they were a branch of the Imperial Mauryas of Magadha. Nothing is known to us about the Konkan branch except the fact that Suketuvarman was reigning some time in the fifth century A.D. This is proved by the discovery of a stone inscription of his reign at Vada in the Thana District.⁴

Following the policy of his father, Kirtivarman attacked the Kadambas, and in all probability reduced them to a state of vassalage. The Mahakuta pillar inscription informs

1. See Ranna's Gadayuddha.

2. E.I., Vol.VII, pp.4 f.

3. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.289.

4. Bombay Gaz., Vol.I, Part I, p.107.

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us that he conquered the kings of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Magadha, Kerala, Pandya, Choliya, Ganga, Aluka and Vaijayanti.¹ This claim is considerably exaggerated. About the first seven countries it is needless to point out that their frontiers never touched the boundaries of Kirtivarman's kingdom, and therefore as regards them the statement may be totally rejected. In this connection it will be well to remember that the Aihole inscription does not put forward such absurd claims for Kirtivarman. The king of Vaijayanti was no doubt a Kadamba, whose defeat is a well-known historical fact. It is also possible that Kirtivarman raided the dominions of his neighbours, the Gangas of Mysore and the Alupas (Alukas) of South Kanara. The Badami cave inscription says that his fame had reached the four oceans.²

Godachi Plates.

This is an important document, as it is the earliest one of the family. It is dated in the twelfth regnal year of Kirtivarman, who is here called Kattiarasa.³ It is curious that there is no reference to his victorious career. The document states that he was well-versed in the Sastras, and followed the caste rules in governing his subjects.

1. I.A., Vol.XIX, p.16 f.

2. I.A., Vol.III, p.305.

3. Journal of the Bombay University, Jan., 1937, p.
169 f.

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Vyaghrasvami, who was as clever as Brihaspati in the science of politics, appears to have been one of his chief ministers. At his request Kirtivarman granted the village of Nulgala to a Brahman Krishnasvami, an expert in the Vedas. The village in question cannot be traced to-day, but it was probably in the vicinity of Godachi, 48 miles east of Belgaum.

Mangalisa.

Kirtivarman was succeeded by his younger brother Mangalisa in c. 597 A.D.¹ Mangalisa, who had established his reputation as a general during the reign of his brother, decided to follow a vigorous foreign policy. With the aid of his powerful cavalry he raided the countries on the east and the west coasts. The Kalachuri king Buddharaja, who reigned over Northern Maharashtra and Malwa, was worsted by Mangalisa in a sanguinary battle.² What parts of the Kalachuri kingdom were wrested by the latter we do not know. This much is certain that Buddharaja was ruling as an independent prince ten years later, after this disaster. The Aihole inscription records the conquest of the island of Revati by Mangalisa. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar has identified Revati with the modern Redi in the Ratnagiri District.³

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1. I.A., Vol.XXXII, p.215.
 2. I.A., Vol.VII, p.161.
 3. E.H.D., p.85.

The Nerur copperplates of Mangalisa inform us that he killed Svamiraja of the Chalukya family.¹

Mangalisa tried to secure the throne for his son while overriding the claims of Pulakesin, a son of his elder brother Kirtivarman. From the Aihole inscription it may be inferred that Pulakesin spent a part of his early life in exile. He resisted with force the attempt of Mangalisa to deprive him of the Chalukya throne. His brilliant generalship was probably responsible for a victory ^{against} the overwhelming forces of Mangalisa. A modern parallel to this civil war may be found in the case of Madhava Rao I, who had to fight with his uncle Raghunath Rao for the throne.

Pulakesin II.

His accession may be placed in the year 610 A.D. Many of the old enemies of the Chalukya power attempted to oust Pulakesin from the throne. Two princes named Appayika and Govinda attacked the country ^{north} of the river Bhima, and partly by valour and partly by intrigue, Pulakesin managed to overthrow them. Govinda deserted to the side of Pulakesin and was wellrewarded. The latter, having secured the northern frontier from any further attack, embarked upon a policy of

1. E.I., Vol.VII, Appendix. No. 23.

aggression. He besieged the fortress of Vanavasi, the capital of the Kadambas, and with a vast army succeeded in storming it. This attack on the Kadambas was probably due to his lust for conquest. They had already been reduced to a feudatory status by Kirtivarman, and this time they lost the whole of their kingdom.

After the seizure of the Kadamba dominions, Pulakesin subdued the Gangas of Mysore and the Alupas of South Kanara. The Ganga contemporary of Pulakesin was no doubt Bhuvikrama Srivallabha, whose Bedirur copperplates are dated in his 25th regnal year and Saka 556, i.e. A.D. 634.¹ Whether this mighty Ganga king stooped so low as to attend personally upon Pulakesin as the Aihole inscription alleges, may well be doubted.

According to the Aihole inscription, Pulakesin next turned his attention to the Mauryas of Northern Konkan, who, taking advantage of the internal quarrels of the Chalukyas, had dared to revolt. A land attack on Puri, the Mauryan capital, was supplemented by a naval attack in which hundreds of ships took part. Puri soon fell into the hands of Pulakesin, and the Mauryas of Konkan henceforward disappear

1. M.A.S.-A.R., 1925, ~~at~~ p.85 f.

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from the scene of history. He then seems to have marched northwards, and the Malavas, Latas and Gurjaras submitted to him of their own accord. Verse 22 says that they 'became as it were the teachers of the lesson of the behaviour of feudatories.' From this we must not infer that Pulakesin was in actual possession of Malwa and Gujarat.

The next expedition of Pulakesin was directed against the kingdoms of Southern Kosala, Kalinga and Andhradesa. The Aihole inscription curiously omits the conquest of Andhradesa, which was handed over to his younger brother, Vishnuvardhana. After marching through Southern Kosala, i.e. Raipur, Sambalpur etc., Pulakesi laid siege to Pishtapura, the capital of Kalinga. Pishtapura soon fell into his hands, and it is very likely that the Eastern Gangas, who ruled over Kalinga at that time, may have become subordinate to him.

Relations with Harsha.

The greatest achievement of Pulakesin was undoubtedly the defeat of Harsha, the emperor of Northern India. Mayura, a court poet of Harsha, composed a stanza implying the latter's conquest of Kuntala, Chola and Kanchi, when he

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marched against Pulakesin.¹ Sasanka, the king of Eastern Bengal, was a bitter enemy of Harsha, and it is quite possible that he gave some sort of help to Pulakesin in his war against Harsha. Prof. R.D. Banerji has suggested that the Gurjara king Dadda Prasantaraga, who had given shelter to Dhruvasena II of Valabhi against the attacks of Harsha, may also have joined hands with Pulakesin.² Harsha, however, conciliated Dhruvasena by giving him a daughter in marriage. The inscriptions of Pulakesin's successors state that he 'obtained the secondary name Paramesvara owing to his victory over Harshavardhana, the lord of Northern India.'³ Henceforward, the river Narmada became the final frontier between the two kingdoms. The defeat of Harsha is confirmed by Hiuen Tsang, who writes that Harsha was unable to vanquish the warlike people of Maharashtra.⁴

Relations with the Pallavas.

The Aihole inscription shows that the Pallava king had taken refuge behind the ramparts of Kanchi when Pulakesin invaded the country of Tondai-mandalam with a large army. Prof. R.D. Banerji has assumed that the latter stormed Kanchi.⁵ But this supposition is wholly groundless. The

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1. Quackenbos: Sanskrit poems of Mayura, Introduction.
 2. Hindu India, p.201.
 3. I.A., Vol.VI, p.75 f.
 4. E.H.D., p.89.
 5. Hindu India, p.207.

Pallava contemporary of Pulakesin was Mahendravarman I, who ruled from c. 600-630 A.D. Although the Aihole inscription has not a word to say about a defeat of Pulakesin by the Pallavas, on the other hand the Kasakudi copperplates of the Pallava king Nandivarman state that Mahendravarman annihilated his chief enemies at Pullalura¹, and the phrase 'chief enemies' very probably denotes the Chalukyas. Despite the serious reverse in the battle of Pullalura, Pulakesin succeeded in crossing the river Kaveri and entered the Chola country. Verse 31 of the Aihole inscription suggests that he succeeded in gaining the friendship of the Cholas, Keralas and Pandyas, all of whom were included in the zone of Pallava influence. The same verse describes Pulakesin as 'the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost in the form of the army of the Pallavas', but this need not be taken to mean that he had inflicted a crushing defeat upon the mighty Pallava Mahendravarman.

The relations of the two powers were probably friendly for about twelve years. Meanwhile, the Pallava Mahendravarman died and was succeeded by his brave son Narasimhavarman I Mahamalla. We do not know why Pulakesin marched

1. S.I.I., Vol.II, p.353 f.

for a second time against the Pallavas. But fortune did not favour him on this occasion. He was confronted by Narasimhavarman and the Ceylonese prince Manavamma, who were generals of no mean ability.¹ The Chalukya armies were routed in the pitched battles of Pariyala, Manimangalam and Suramara.² Manimangalam is situated at a distance of only twenty miles from Kanchi, the Pallava capital. Perhaps it was the strategy of the Pallava king to let the Chalukya armies enter the heart of the Tamil country and then deliver a fierce counter-attack. Pulakesin hastily retreated to Vatapi, his capital. But he was hotly pursued by the Pallava armies under the command of Siru-Tonda alias Paranjoti. The latter succeeded in capturing the Chalukya capital for his master, who then assumed the biruda of 'Vātāpi-konda', the conqueror of Vatapi. A pillar inscription at Badami records the name of Mehamalla, thus proving his conquest of the city. The region around Dharwar and Bijapur was plundered and laid waste by the Pallava forces. It is very probable that Pulakesin died in this disastrous war with the Pallavas. This event may be placed with approximate certainty in the year 643 A.D.

1. Q.J.M.S., Jan., 1939, p.287.

2. Gopalan: Pallavas of Kanchi, p.97 f.

Ambera.

A copperplate inscription discovered at Hosur, 50 miles north of Bangalore, brings to light the name of Ambera, a daughter of Pulakesin II.¹ The seal bears a small stamp of a boar, the Chalukya emblem. The record is inscribed in Hale Kannada characters of the seventh century A.D. and registers the grant of the village^q Periyali in the Konikal District to thirty-one Brahmans. Mr. Rice has identified Konikal with the modern Kunigala, 30 miles west of Bangalore. Dr. Fleet has denounced the record as spurious, but without putting forward any reasons.² On the other hand, Mr. Rice is of the opinion that it is a genuine record. There is nothing in the inscription which may lead us to stamp it as spurious. It is not dated, but as it mentions the defeat of Harsha by Satyasraya, it may be assigned to c. 635 A.D.

The Pallava Interregnum - c. 643-654 A.D.

The death of Pulakesin resulted in a division of the empire. One of his sons, Adityavarman, assumed the Imperial titles of Prithivivallabha, Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara. The Karnul copperplates are dated in the first year of his reign and record his performance of the

1. I.A., Vol.VIII, p.89 f. For a litho, see I.A., Vol.IX, p.304.
 2. D.K.D., p.358.

Hiranyagarbha ceremony.¹ It may be conjectured that he succeeded to some extent in driving out the Pallavas from the country around Karnul. Another son of Pulakesin named Chandraditya declared himself a Maharajadhiraja in the neighbourhood of ^{the} Savantavadi State. In the first year of his reign he made a grant together with his queen Vijayamahadevi.² Vikramaditya, the third son of Pulakesin, probably seized the province of Vidarbha and the modern districts of Poona, Nasik etc. He succeeded in re-establishing the power of the Chalukyas. Chandraditya, the elder brother, accepted Vikramaditya as suzerain. In the Nerur copperplates issued by the former, we find that he is merely a Maharaja, and his wife simply Bhattarika and not Mahadevi.³ They are dated in the fifth year of his reign, which was equivalent to Saka 581, i.e. 659 A.D.

Vikramaditya I.

His authority was probably a well-established before the year 655 A.D. The Dhulia copperplates of his feudatory Nikumbhallasakti of the Sendraka family are dated Saka 577, Ananda, i.e. A.D. 655.⁴ The Bagumra grant of the same year shows that the Sendrakas ruled over Southern Gujarat, which was formerly held by Vijayaraja, a Chalukya prince.⁵

1. I.A., Vol.XI, p.66.
 2. E.I., Vol.VII, Appendix, no.24.
 3. Ibid, no.23.
 4. New Indian Antiquary, March 1939, p.747.
 5. I.A., Vol.XVIII, p.266.

The fact that Vikramaditya removed Vijayaraja, a relative of his, from the governorship of Southern Gujarat, suggests that the latter had defied his authority during the Pallava interregnum. With the aid of his noble horse Chitrakantha and his mighty sword, Vikramaditya succeeded in regaining Badami, the Chalukya capital, from the hands of the Pallavas. In a few more years he succeeded in expelling them altogether from his hereditary dominions and restored the fallen fortunes of his family. The next fifteen years of his life were devoted to strengthening his army and reforming the administration, which had been ruined by the Pallava plunderers. Having accomplished this, he decided to declare war on the Pallavas and take revenge for his father's death. His Gadval plates show that he had defeated the Pallava king Isvara-Potaraja, and captured his capital Kanchi. They were issued by him from Uragapura on the Kaveri in 674 A.D., and bring to light the names of Ganga mahadevi, his queen, and Jayasena, his foreign minister.¹

Vikramaditya I had won great military successes; he had succeeded in capturing Kanchi, the Pallava capital, and had advanced as far as Uragapura. According to Rao Bahadur Venkayya, Uragapura is the same as Uraiyyur near Trichinopoly.²

1. E.I., Vol.X, p.106 f.
 2. Ibid, p.102.

Professor Hultzsch would identify it with N^agapattanam or Negapatam on the east coast; but the phonetic resemblance between Uragapura and Uraiyr strongly supports R.B. Venkayya's identification. Vikramaditya had made a mistake in advancing so far from his base^m Maharashtra, and at this time he was encamped in the heart of the Tamil country. He soon realized his mistake when he found himself faced with a powerful combination of enemies against him. The confederacy against him included five important powers, the Pallavas, Pandyas, Cholas, Keralas and Kalabhras. It was claimed later that he achieved a crushing victory over all these powers. The Kendur platesⁿ of Kirtivarman II¹ record that Vikramaditya 'had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the Pandyas, Cholas, Keralas, Kalabhras and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt.' The words, 'whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of Kanchi who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth etc.', occurring in the same inscription, indicate that Isvarapota alias Paramesvaravarman was thoroughly subjugated by the Chalukya emperor. The humiliation of the Pallava monarch was complete when he was forced to bow before the

1. E.I., Vol.IX, p.205.

Chalukya emperor. It was however only a diplomatic move of the Pallava king to submit for the time being.

Nevertheless, it seems probable that these victories of Vikramaditya were only temporary, and his conquests so far south as Trichinopoly in the Madras Presidency were short-lived. The Udayendiram plates claim that at the battle of Peruvalanallur Vikramaditya was defeated.¹ Peruvalānallur, where this battle took place, still bears the same name, and is situated in the Lalgudi taluk of the Trichinopoly District.² The inference may then be drawn that the Chalukya-Pallava conflict centred around Trichinopoly. It is a strange coincidence that after more than a thousand years the English and the French also had to fight near Trichinopoly for supremacy in South India. From the Kuram plates we learn that the names of Paramesvaravarman's elephant and horse were Arivarana and Atisaya respectively.³ The same plates say that the army of Vikramaditya numbered several lakshas, and that it was a bloody battle in which the infantry, cavalry and elephants on both sides played an important part. The issue was for a long time undecided, the goddess of victory favouring the Pallavas at one moment

1. S.I.I., Vol.II, p.366, ll.16-17.

2. Gopalan: The Pallavas, p.105.

3. S.I.I., Vol.I, p.154.

and the Chalukyas at another. In the words of the inscription itself, it was a battle 'in which the ground was thickly smeared with saffron as the blood was mixed with copious rutting juice of the elephants that issued in consequence of their considering each other as equals, or despising each other.'¹ At last the tide turned in favour of the Pallava monarch, who 'unaided, made Vikramaditya, whose army consisted of several lakshas, take to flight, covered only by a rag.'

Vikramaditya I then retired to his dominions, probably through the Mysore State. In spite of the reverses at the hands of the Pallavas, he seems to have annexed the districts of Bellary, Kurnool and Nellore.² The acquisitions of Vikramaditya were of considerable importance, and the Chalukya empire again stretched from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. It is surprising to find that Professor D.R. Bhandarkar has not even a line to say about the defeat suffered by Vikramaditya.

The late Dr. Fleet was under the impression that the conquests and defeats of Vikramaditya and his subsequent victories are all to be placed before A.D. 671.³ This

1. S.I.I., Vol.I, p.153.
 2. This is proved by the fact that several inscriptions of Vikramaditya have been discovered in those districts.
 3. D.K.D., p.363.

view however is clearly mistaken. The Nausari plates quoted by Dr. Fleet, simply mention that Vikramaditya 'by unchecked prowess had overcome the Pallava family.'¹ This is only a reference to the restoration of the fortunes of the family of Vikramaditya. Besides, the discovery of the Gadval plates proves that the defeat of Vikramaditya and his subsequent triumphs must be placed later than the year 674 A.D. In that year Vikramaditya was encamped at Uragapuram on the southern bank of the Kaveri river.

The Jejuri plates of Vinayaditya state that he vanquished 'the proud army of the confederacy of the three kings and the lord of Kanchi at the command of his father, just as Karttikeya, at the command of Śiva, defeated the very insolent host of demons.'² From this it may be gathered that these victories were won during the life-time of his father. Vikramaditya was probably too old to undertake any more expeditions and appointed his favourite son Vinayaditya as the commander-in-chief of this new expedition. He marched against the Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas, and Keralas, who retired before the advancing Maratha armies.³ By this campaign Vinayaditya succeeded in revenging the defeat of

1. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.230.
 2. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.64, ll.15-17.
 3. E.I., Vol.IX, p.205.

his father at Peruvalanallur, and the prestige of the Chalukyas was re-established. This expedition of Vinayaditya may be dated roughly about the year 678 A.D.

Father Heras, without any evident reasons, assumes that this campaign of Vinayaditya is the same as the march on Kanchi mentioned in the Gadval plates of his father. In the opinion of Father Heras, 'Vikramaditya I sent ahead his son Vinayaditya at the head of a considerable contingent of his army, and Vinayaditya inflicted the first defeat upon the Pallava king; and after the arrival of the bulk of the army headed by Vikramaditya himself, they invested Kanchi and finally took it by storm.'¹ If that was the case, why is this fact then omitted in ^{all} the inscriptions of Vikramaditya? The Kendur plates of Kirtivarman II simply copied the account of this campaign from the inscriptions of Vinayaditya. The fact that this campaign is recorded in the Jejuri plates of Vinayaditya, after mentioning the victories of Vikramaditya and the capture of Kanchi, is a positive proof that it was undertaken by Vinayaditya in the last years of his father's reign.² Therefore, it is perfectly natural to assume that Vinayaditya reorganized

1. Studies in Pallava History, p.50.
2. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.64.

his forces at home, led an expedition to wipe out the memories of the previous defeats and 'gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of peace and quiet.'¹ All this shows that the view held by Father Heras is erroneous and should be rejected.

A word may be said about the discovery of a hero-stone with an inscription which has been assigned to the time of Vikramaditya. The stone 'bears a good representation of the hero holding a dagger, in whose memory the monument was set up.'² It is interesting to note that the hero is wearing the sacred thread. The language of the inscription is early Telugu, and on palaeographical grounds it may be assigned to the time of Vikramaditya I. The record "states that in the reign of the illustrious Vikramaditya, Maharaja of the glorious Chalukya family, impediments having arisen to the enjoyment of the earlier holding, which was a gift of the Pallava king, Viddamaya, 'the armour of the Brahmanas', made and set up a sculpture of Annuvaya."³ This indicates that the Nellore District, where this hero-stone is situated, was formerly in the hands of the Pallavas, and that it was snatched away from them by the Chalukyas. It is possible that Annuvaya, who defended his right, was a Brahman, as he is seen wearing the sacred thread.

1. Fleet: D.K.D., p.368.
 2. A.R.S.I.E., 1934, p.29.
 3. Ibid, p.29.

Vinayaditya.

He succeeded his father in the year 680 A.D. but it is probable that he was either appointed as yuvaraja, crown prince, in the year 678 A.D., or that he was associated with the government of the kingdom during his father's lifetime. The Jejuri plates of Vinayaditya are dated in the Saka year 609 (expired), corresponding to A.D. 687.¹ The inscription refers itself to the ninth year of the reign of Vinayaditya, which makes it clear that A.D. 678 was the first year of his reign. According to Dr. Fleet and Sir R.G. Bhandarkar Vinayaditya ascended the throne in the year 680. The difference of two years may be explained by the suggestion made above. He was made the virtual ruler, while the old man had retired from government. While the old man died, the son succeeded according to common practice.

Some time before the ninth year of his reign, i.e., A.D. 687, Vinayaditya is said to have subdued the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Malavas, Cholas, Pandyas and others.² The claim that the Pallavas were reduced is based on the victories achieved by Vinayaditya when he was a yuvaraja. There is nothing unusual in the

1. E.I., Vol. XIX. p. 62 f.
2. Ibid.

reference to the submission of the Keralas, Cholas, Pandyas and Kalabhras. Almost every one of the western Chalukya kings declared that he had gained victories over these four countries, and there is probably no substance in the claim put forward by Vinayaditya. We do not know who the Vilas were and what part of India they occupied. The Malavas were evidently the people of Malwa, and the Haihayas probably are the Kalachuris who were in possession of ^aJubb~~h~~a-^ulpore and southern Bundelkhand. The Harihar Copperplates state that all these princes 'were brought into his service equally with the Aluvas, ^{and} Gangas of old standing'. This has been interpreted by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar as meaning that Vinayaditya succeeded in making all the princes referred to into steadfast allies of the Chalukya crown.¹ The Pallavas, we know, were the inveterate enemies of the Chalukyas, so they could never be expected to become the 'steadfast allies' of the Chalukyas. As to the Kalabhras, Cholas, Pandyas and Keralas, they had to be subdued again by Vikramaditya II.² Sir R.G. Bhandarkar's suggestion probably holds good only in the case of the Gangas, ~~and~~ Alupas, Haihayas and Malavas. The Gangas and Alupas were feudatories of the Chalukyas.

1. E.H.D. p.98.

2. E.I. Vol.XIV. p.338.

The Haihayas and Malavas also agreed to accept the suzerainty of Vinayaditya; and this is proved by the fact that Vinayaditya in the last years of his reign inflicted a crushing defeat upon a king or kings of Northern India. The Ganga king, who was a feudatory of Vinayaditya, was in all probability Prithivi Kongani Sivamara, whose Hallegere Copperplates are dated Saka 635 i.e. 713 A.D. The Alupa king who owed allegiance to Vinayaditya was Chitravahana,¹ son of Gunasagara.

The inscriptions of Vinayaditya's successors state that he obtained tribute from the chiefs of Simhala, Kamera and Parasika. Simhala is undoubtedly Ceylon, and the reference may be to presents sent by the ruler of Ceylon to facilitate trade with the Chalukya dominions. We have already seen that the Chalukya empire extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal; hence it seems probable that the Raja of Ceylon wished to be friendly with the most powerful State in Southern India. Nothing definite is known to us about the Kameronas or the Kaveras. The Parasikas were the Syrians settled on the Coast of² Malabar, in the opinion of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar. But

1. I.A. Vol. XIX. p.152.
2. E.H.D. p.98.

later on the same scholar wrote that his suggestion was a 'mere conjecture'.¹ It is improbable that the Parasikas are the Parsis, who came to India as refugees.

There is only one reference to the Parasikas in Sanskrit literature, and that is in the Raghuvamśa of Kalidasa. Raghu is represented to have conquered the Parasikas after he had subdued the people of Aparanta and Trikuta. The poet tells us that Raghu marched by an inland route to conquer the Parasikas. It is probable that some time in the third century A.D., a period in which the history of Northern India is obscure, some Persians invaded Sindh and carved out a small principality for themselves. The verse which refers to the horses of Raghu's Army moving on the banks of the Indus, strongly suggests that the Parasikas were occupying a part of southern Sindh. Therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the chief of the Parasikas or the Persians sent a tribute to the Chalukya emperor Vinayaditya, either for the purposes of trade or for gaining his support against an aggressor.

1. Hodivala. Parsis of Ancient India. p.48.

The Rayagad plates of Vinayaditya's son Vijayaditya relate that the former had come into conflict with kings of Northern India.¹ Dr Fleet suggested that one of them may have been Vajrata, who is mentioned in some of the Rashtrakuta records.² But this suggestion does not take us very far, as Vajrata is unknown to us from any other sources. It seems probable that Adityasena, or his son Devagupta III, was defeated by Vinayaditya. Adityasena is styled Mahara-jadhiraja in the Mandara inscription.³ The reason for this enmity between the later Guptas of Magadha and the Chalukyas was probably due to the fact that the latter had started to interfere in Central Indian affairs, e.g. the subjugation of the Haihayas and the Malavas. The inscriptions of the Chalukyas state that 'by churning all the kings of Uttarapatha, he had acquired the exalted pali-dhvaja and, all the other signs of supreme power'.⁴ As the defeat of North Indian princes is not alluded to in the Harihar copperplates of Vinayaditya, dated 9th October, A.D. 694, it may be reasonably assumed that this event took place in the year 695 A.D.

1. E.I. Vol.X. p.16.

2. D.K.D. p.368.

3. Dr. H.C. Raychaudhuri assumes that 'the records of the Western Chalukyas of Vatapi testify to the existence of a Pan-North Indian empire in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D.' In my opinion the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas do not warrant such a supposition.

4. E.C. Vol.X. Trans. p.15.

In the year 1936, a copperplate grant was discovered at Mayalur in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. This charter is dated in the Saka year 614 (expired), i.e. A.D.692, and the eleventh year of the reign of Vinayaditya.¹ It records a grant of 108 nivartanas of land in the village Alikunda to a Brahman Trivikrama Sarma, son of Haridatta Sarma, well-versed in the Vedas. The king was encamping at Mahakotitirtha, which may be Mahakuta near Badami.

Vijayaditya.

Vijayaditya, the 'dear son' of Vinayaditya, ascended the throne in the year 696 A.D. The biruda Samastabhuvanāsraya makes its appearance for the first time in the genealogy of the Western Chalukyas.² It may be conjectured that the biruda samastabhuvanāsraya, 'asylum of the universe', was assumed by Vijayaditya after the defeat of North Indian princes. The title 'paramabhattacharaka' also appears for the first time in the records of the western Chalukyas. Vijayaditya is styled paramabhattacharaka in the Badami inscription of 699 A.D.² It is tempting to suggest that it was borrowed by the Chalukyas after the defeat of the later Guptas of Magadha, who had used it for a long time.⁴

1. J.O.R. 1936. Part 1. p.27f.
 2. E.I. Vol.X. p.16. l.27.
 3. I.A. Vol. X. p.60.
 4. Fleet. C.I.I. Vol. III. p.212, 217.

Dr. Fleet writes: 'It seems that while his grandfather was engaged in reducing the southern countries, he himself was employed in maintaining peace and order in the home provinces.'¹ We do not know on what authority this view is based. But as Vijayaditya had a long reign of 36 years, it is probable that he was too young to maintain peace and order in the home provinces on his own behalf. Nevertheless, it is plausible that Vijayaditya had nominal charge of the home provinces and that too under the supervision of aged and experienced ministers. Mr. R.D. Banerji asserts that Vijayaditya was also 'engaged in the extensive campaigns of his grandfather', and this assertion, groundless as it is, does not merit attention.

The Vokkaleri plates, which are of great historical value, inform us that Vijayaditya had mastered all the sciences and arts of weapons at an early age.² The same plates tell us that he was the commander-in-chief of the vanguard when his father led an expedition into Northern India. The passage runs thus: 'Uttarāpathavijigīshor gu²or agrata evāhavavyāpāraṃ ācharann'. This passage means that Vijayaditya carried out the operations of war even in front of his father, who desired to conquer the whole of

1. D.K.D., p.371.
 2. E.C., Vol.X. p.15. (Trans.)

Northern India. And as there was no paramount power in ~~the~~ Northern India at that time, the Chalukyas easily succeeded in their adventure, and advanced as far as the Ganges and the Jumna. The Chalukyas had therefore pushed back their enemies as least up to Prayaga (Allahabad) in the United Provinces. The inscriptions state that Vijayaditya acquired the emblems of Ganga and Yamuna, palidhvaja, the insignia of the dhakka and mahasabda. Rubies, elephants and other spoils were obtained in plenty. It appears that Vijayaditya had a miraculous escape after having fallen into the hands of his enemies. The inscriptions compare him to Vatsaraja, which suggests that he was an excellent horseman. Vijayaditya returned successful from his campaign and reigned peacefully for a long period of 36 years. Credit should be given to him for having kept his country at peace for such a long time, and the country must have been flourishing and prosperous.

Some time in the year 703 A.D., Vijayaditya was encamped at Karahataka, i.e. Karad in the Satara district. In the eighth year of his victorious reign, the king granted two villages named Jala and Vinirulana, situated in the Talitatahara vishaya, to a brahman of the Sandilya gotra. The charter was written by Niravadya Punyavallabha.¹

1. E.I. Vol. X. p. 16 f.

The Elapura grant was issued by Vijayaditya Satyasraya in the ninth year of his glorious reign from the victorious camp at Elapura.¹ The find-spot of the inscription is not known and it has therefore been named after the place where the royal camp was located. Elapura has been identified beyond doubt with Ellore in the Aurangabad district of the Nizam's Dominions. The charter announces the gift of the village of Bahmanavata in the Alakuka vishaya or district to a Brahman named Kesavasvami of the Bharadvaja gotra and a resident of Kollagira.² The localities mentioned cannot be identified. The date of the grant is stated to be Pausa^h Purnima, Saka year 626 expired which corresponds to A.D. 704-705. It was written by the Foreign Minister Niravadya Punyavallabha, who figures in several other inscriptions of Vijayaditya's reign. The birudas Niravadya and Samastabhuvanarasraya are applied to Vijayaditya in the present record.

1. I.H.Q. Vol.IV, p.425 f. Edited by Dr. H.C. Chakladar.
2. Ibid. p.430.

VIKRAMADITYA II.

After the death of Vijayaditya, the sceptre passed into the hands of his son Vikramaditya, who was already governing the Puligere province as a viceroy in the year 725 A.D. ¹ Puligere is the ancient name of Lakshmesvar in the Dharwar district, Bombay Presidency. As the Lakshmeswar pillar inscription mentions Vikramaditya as a yuvaraja, it shows that he was selected as the heir-apparent by his father. "The purport of the inscription is to record the mutual obligations and rights of the Royal authorities, represented by the Heir-Apparent Vikramaditya, and of the Mahajanas (Brahman householders) and burgesses of ² Lakshmeshwar."

War with the Pallavas.

Vikramaditya was perhaps not as peace-loving a monarch as his illustrious father. The great Pallava contemporary of Vikramaditya was Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Vikramaditya was determined to uproot completely the Pallava king and he was spurred into this decision by his desire to punish the Pallavas, who had been the prime

1. E.I.; Vol.XIV, p.189.
 2. Ibid.

cause of obscuring the splendour of former Chalukya kings.¹
 In all probability he recollected the death of his ancestor
 Vijayaditya, the father of Jayasim^hja, the sack of Badami
 and the defeat at Peruvalanallur. Moreover, the
 Pallava king was a 'prakrityamitra', i.e., a natural
 enemy of the Chalukyas.

Vikramaditya was completely successful in
 this campaign against the Pallavas. The Chalukya
 forces quickly marched into the Tundaka vishaya or Tondai
 Mandala, i.e., the region around Madras and Conjeevaram.
 Vikramaditya himself took part in ^{the} fighting on the front of
 the battlefield. Nandivarman was severely defeated, and
 fled from the battlefield. The Katumukhavaditra or the
 harsh-voiced trumpet, the special conch called samudraghosa,^h
 or 'roar of the sea', and the royal flag called khatvānga-
 dhvaja, i.e., a banner representing Śiva's club, fell
 into the hands of Vikramaditya.² He also obtained rich
 booty in the shape of 'intoxicated elephants and
 excellent clusters of rubies which by their own brilliant
 rays dispelled the darkness.' He then entered Kanchi itself,
 the glorious capital of the Pallavas, but wisely refrained
 from destroying it. He pleased the Brahmanas, the

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1. E.I.; Vol.IX. p.200 f.
 2. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.206.

destitute and the helpless with continual gifts. We are further informed that Vikramaditya II acquired great merit by presenting heaps of gold to the Rajasimhesvara and other temples in stone built by Narasimhapotavarman.¹ That the conquest of Kanchi and the liberality of Vikramaditya are actual facts is proved by the discovery of a short inscription in Kanarese written by Anivarita Punyavallabha, a Chalukyan officer.² It is engraved on the back of a pillar of the Mandapa in front of the Rajasimhesvara shrine and states that Vikramaditya Satyasraya, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the king of kings, the supreme lord, having captured Kanchi and having inspected the riches belonging to the temple of Rajasimhesvara, restored them to the god. A superior officer named Vallabha-durjaya is referred to in the last line.

The Kendur charter states that Vikramaditya defeated the Pandyas, Cholas, Keralas and Kalabhras, and other kings. We are further told that he advanced as far as the dakshinārnava or southern ocean, and erected a pillar of victory overlooking the southern ocean.³ After

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1. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.206.
 2. Kanchi inscription of Vikramaditya, edited by Dr. Hultzsch. E.I.; Vol.III, p.359 f.
 3. E.I. Vol.IX; p.203, ll.41-44.

this, Vikramaditya returned to his own dominions. Father Heras has suggested that Vikramaditya appointed Chitramaya, a member of the Pallava royal family, as the king of Kanchi.

Date of the Pallava campaign.

This was the last campaign undertaken by a Chalukya king against the Pallavas of Kanchi. Hence, it is important to fix as accurately as possible the date of this campaign. Father Heras contends that it should be assigned to the year 735 A.D. For this view he seeks support in the Udayendiram plates of Nandivarman, which are either a forgery or a copy in the opinion of Professor Hultzsch. There is no reference at all to Vikramaditya's campaign in the Udayendiram plates. They simply state that General Udayachandra effected the release of his master Nandivarman while he was besieged in the fortress of Nandipura by the Dramila kings. Mr. Gopalan has identified Nandipura with a town called Nathan-Kovil near Kumbhakonam. It seems very unlikely that Vikramaditya should have been stamped as a Dramila or Tamil king.

1. Studies in Pallava History, p.57.
2. Ibid, p.64.
3. S.I.I.; Vol.II, p.362 f.
4. Pallavas of Kanchi, p.124.

Moreover, there is no evidence to show that the armies of Vikramaditya had advanced so far south as Kumbhakonam. Prof. Hultzsch has rightly remarked that "it is not impossible that the Dramila princes whose leader was Chitramaya, were the relations and followers of Nandivarman's predecessor Paramesvaravarman ¹ II". The attempt of Father Heras to determine the date of the Pallava campaign with the aid of the Udayendiram Charter is altogether unconvincing. This record has no bearing at all on the question.

Another scholar, Mr. Gopalan remarks as follows:

"When did this expedition on Kanchi start? Though no definite answer is possible, it is presumable that this took place in the earlier half of Nandivarman's reign, in all probability between A.D. 733 to 746, when the Pallava king was pre-occupied with wars against the southern powers."² Father Heras has aptly remarked that Mr.

Gopalan "could say it in all certainty, for these two dates mark the beginning and the end of Vikramaditya's reign."³ But with the discovery of the Naravan copper-plates³ of Vikramaditya II, it is possible to be more

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1. S.I.I.; Vol.II, p.364.
 2. Pallavas of Kanchi, p.122.
 3. BIS.M.J.; Vol.X, No.1., p.9.

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precise. The inscription is of great importance as it is the only copperplate grant of Vikramaditya II which has come down to us. There is a full account of the Pallava campaign of Vikramaditya II, and it has been copied word by word in the later inscriptions of Kirtivarman II. The plates are dated Saka 664 (expired) which corresponds to A.D. 742. It is evident that the campaign against Kanchi was over some time before 742 A.D., the date of the grant. It is interesting to note that the charter brings to light the name of the Rashtrakuta feudatory Govinda, son of Sivaraja. This Govinda seems to have enjoyed the special favour of the king, and the grant was issued at his request. The charter records the gift of the village of Naravana in the Chiprarulana district to five Brahmans, one of them being Narayana Nannasvami of Kuntala. Chiprarulana is obviously the modern Chiplun in the Konkan. It is noteworthy that the inscription is dated in the eighth regnal year of the emperor, and shows that he was encamped at Adityavata or the modern Aitavade in the Satara district.

Another important event of the reign of Vikramaditya II was the crushing defeat inflicted by Pulakesin, a member of the Gujarat Chalukya branch, on

the powerful Arabs. The Arabs were a vigorous and virile race, and drunk with the nectar of fanaticism they had made themselves the masters of Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Persia in the seventh century. The conquest of Sindh by the ambitious General Muhammad bin Qasim had the effect of bringing western and southern India within the range of the aggressive policy of his successors. Biladuri tells us that Junaid, the Governor of Sindh under Khalifah Hashim (724 - 743 A.D.),¹ raided Ujjain, Jurz, Barwas, Bailman and Kiraj. Ujjain is well-known; Jurz may be identified with Gurjara, Barwas with Broach, Bailman with Vallamandala, and Kiraj is probably Cutch. However, the proposed identifications of Kiraj and Bailman cannot be considered as certain. Is Kiraj the same as the modern town of Kira, a few miles from Bhuj in Cutch? All these places except Ujjain are to be located in Kathiawad and Gujarat. One of these invasions is probably alluded to in the ^NMausari plates of Pulakesin.²

The date of the Arab invasion cannot be exactly determined, but as Pulakesin came to the throne

1. Dr. R.C. Mazumdar: J.D.L.; Vol.X, p.20.
 Dr. H.C.Ray: Dynastic History, Vol.I, p.6.
 2. Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, 1886, p.232 f. (Aryan Section).

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not before 731 A.D., and as his Nausari plates are dated K. 490 or 739 A.D., the invasion may be assigned with a good deal of probability to the year 736 A.D. The inscription states that the army of the Tajikas (Arabs) had 'destroyed by its brightly glittering very sharp swords the prosperous Saindhava, Kachchhela, Saurashtra, Chavotaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings'. The first three names of countries are easily recognised as Sindh, Cutch and Sorath or Kathiawad. Chavotaka refers to ¹ the Chapotakas or Chavadas of Northern Gujarat. The Mauryas are the princes of Northern Konkan, ² ruling at Thana near Bombay. We know that the Arabs were prevented from crossing the Tapi river and were severely defeated by Pulakesin, therefore the reference to the defeat of the Mauryas must be to a battle on the seas and not on land. Dr. H. C. Ray remarks that there was already a naval engagement between the Arab and ³ Mauryan fleets at Thana and Broach in 636 A.D. Then there is nothing unusual in a naval battle in 736 A.D. between the Arabs and the Mauryas. The Gurjara king

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1. Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress, 1886, p.223.
 2. D.K.D.; p.283.
 3. Dynastic History; Vol. I, p.6.

defeated was probably Jayabhata III.¹ Having conquered the above-mentioned kings, the Arabs, desirous of entering the Dakshinapatha, marched into the Navasarika country. It seems that they had already crossed the river Narbada, otherwise they could not have conquered Jayabhata. The decisive battle probably took place on the banks of the river Tapi. The inscription relates that the Arab army 'darkened the regions of the sky with dust from the ground, that was dug by the hard and noisy hoofs of its quick horses'. It appears that Pulakesin employed a large number of elephants against the Arabs.²

In a sanguinary battle the Arabs were routed by the Chalukya armies led by king Pulakesin himself. For this glorious victory Pulakesin certainly deserves credit. Perhaps it will not be too much to compare him with John Sobieski, the Polish king who in 1683 saved Western Europe from Muslim invasions. The sovereign lord of Pulakesin, Vikramaditya II, conferred upon him the titles of Dakshināpathasyādihāra, i.e., *the* Support of Dakshināpatha; Chalukakulālamkāra, the ornament of the Chalukya family; Avanihanāsraya, the refuge of men on earth; and Anivartakanivartayitri, the repeller of the

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1. Fleet: D.K.D.; p.314.
 2. Vienna Oriental Congress; p.237.

unrepellable.¹ But the emperor regarded all these honours as insufficient, and the Imperial title of "Prithvīvallabha", "the favourite of the earth" itself, was bestowed upon Pulakesin.² It is interesting to note that the Naravan copperplates (742 A.D.) of Vikramaditya II himself are altogether silent as regards the Arab invasion.³ From this it may be inferred that all the credit for checking the Arab advance should be given to Pulakesin alone.

Vikramaditya II was married to two sisters, Lokamahadevi and Trailokyamahadevi, of the Haihaya or Kalachuri family. Lokamahadevi is said to have built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokesvara at Pattadakal in the Bijapur district.⁴ This temple is now known as the temple of Virupaksha. The other sister, Trailokyamahadevi, built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyēśvara'.⁵ Dr. Fleet thinks that this temple does not exist now. The Chalukyas were worshippers of Vishnu, and the worship of Śiva was probably brought by the two queens from the

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1. Vienna Oriental Congress, p.236.
Also, E.H.D.; p.96.
 2. Ibid.
 3. B.I.S.M.J.; Vol.10, No.1; p.9.
 4. E.I.; Vol.III; pp.1-7.
 5. E.I.; Vol.III; p.3.

Kalachuri family. This is clear from the fact that while all the Chalukya inscriptions open with an invocation to Vishnu, the Pattadakal inscriptions begin with a verse in praise of Siva and Gauri. The epithet Mahadevi applied to Lokamahadevi in the above inscription shows that she was the chief queen. The inscription also tells us that Trailokyamahadevi was the younger sister, and she is simply styled a rajni or queen.

Kirtivarman II.

After the death of Vikramaditya, his son Kirtivarman II, born from Trailokyamahadevi, ascended the throne in 747 A.D.¹ Kirtivarman had assisted his father in the campaign against the Pallavas. He was chosen as Crown Prince on account of his good qualities. After his selection as yuvaraja, he requested his father to send him on an expedition to subjugate the king of Kanchi. Having obtained the necessary order he marched against the king of Kanchi, who fled to a hill-fort. The elephants, rubies and treasures of gold belonging to the Pallava king were seized by Kirtivarman and presented to his father. It is difficult to under-

1. E.H.D.; p.100.

stand how the Chalukya empire collapsed in the reign of a valiant king like Kirtivarman, who had proved his mettle during his yuvarajaship. A conjecture may be hazarded that the king's ministers had tendered wrong advice to him, or that they had turned treacherous and were in league with Dantidurga.² However, other causes will be considered below.

The Velvikudi grant of Nedun-jadaiyan, the Pandya king, refers to a defeat of the Maharathas at Mangalapuram,³ which may be identified with Mangalore. The Pandyan king, who is said to have 'attacked and destroyed the Maharathas'⁴ was Sadaiyan, the lord of the Konga country. It is possible that this event took place in the year 739 A.D., during the reign of Vikramaditya II. The Maharathas referred to are no other than the Marathas.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar writes that there was a struggle for supremacy between the Pandyas⁵ and the Pallavas in which the Pandyas were successful.

1. E.I.; Vol.V, p.204, ll.54-58.
2. This is suggested by ll. 23-25 of the Samagad copper-plates. The verse states that Dantidurga 'straightway conquered Vallabha with a spike of wild rice that served him as a mace'. The poet further narrates that this was accomplished by Dantidurga 'without any effort - by simply knitting his brows'.
3. E.I.; Vol.XVII, p.294.
4. IBID; p.307.
5. The Pallavas of Kanchi; p.xxxi.

From the Velvikudi grant we learn that the Pandyas had entered into a marriage alliance with the Gangas of Mysore. A person named Maran-Kari is mentioned in the above grant as having fought against the Vallabha army. The Vallabha probably denotes Kirtivarman II.¹ It is possible that he wished to marry the beautiful Ganga Princess but was foiled in this design. It seems likely that Kirtivarman tried to get by force what he could not gain by peaceful means. In self-defence, the Pandyas, Gangas and Purvarajar or kings of the eastern coast presented a united front to the aggressor. The Chalukya king was worsted at the battle of Venbai and probably retired to Badami, his capital.²

The Pandya king to whom the Ganga princess was married was Nedun-jadaiyan. R.B.Krishna Shastri writes that the Ganga king was Sivamara I.³ It is rather difficult to determine exactly who the Ganga king was. From the inscriptions noticed by Mr. Rice it is certain that the Ganga king was Sripurusha, who ruled from

1. The Pandyam Kingdom; p.58.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XVII; p.309.
 3. Ibid; p.296. It has been stated by the late R.B.Krishna Sastri that Kirtivarman's army is stated in his records to have defeated the army of the Keralas, the Cholas and the Pandyas. But no such claim has been put forward in the published inscriptions of Kirtivarman II. It seems to be a slight error on the part of Krishna Sastri.

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c. 730 - 780 A.D.

It may be suggested that the battle of Venbai should be approximately dated as 753 A.D. The Samangad grant of Dantidurga is dated 754 A.D. It is possible that Dantidurga, who was a powerful feudatory of Kirtivarman, took advantage of the fact that the king was far away from his capital and engaged in fighting with the Gangas and Pandyas. While the king's armies were busy in the far south, Dantidurga seized the northern provinces of the empire, i.e., Lata, Berar, Poona, Nasik and other districts.

Nevertheless, it appears that Kirtivarman II managed to keep his hold over the provinces south of the river Bhima for a few years more. The Vokkaleri copper-plates were issued from his victorious camp at the village named Bhandaragavittage on the northern bank of the river Bhima.² The village has been identified with Bhundarkowteh on the north bank of the river Bhima,³ and is 20 miles south-west of Sholapur. The donee was Madhavasarma, versed in the Rigveda and Yajurveda. Balavuru, the village granted, was situated in the Panungal vishaya, i.e., Hangal in the Dharwar district.

1. E.I.; Vol.XIV, p.338.
2. E.C.; Vol.X. p.17. (Trans).
3. Fleet: E.I.; Vol.VI, additions.

The date of the inscription is the 2nd September, 757 A.D. The grant was issued at the request of one Dosiraja.

The Kendur plates announce that Kirtivarman granted the village of Beppatti to a Brahman Ramasarma at the request of his chief queen. The king was encamped at Raktapura, which Mr. Pathak identifies with Lakshmesvara in the Dharwar district. ¹ Velvola vishaya, in which Beppatti was situated, is undoubtedly Belvola. The charter was issued in the Saka year 672 expired, which was the sixth year of the king's reign. The date corresponds to 750 A.D.

The earliest inscription of Kirtivarman II is the Ainuli grant discovered at the village of Ainuli in the Chincholi Taluk of the Gulbarga District. The inscription consists of five copperplates, and is written in the Hale-Kannada characters. The boar, the Chalukya emblem, is faintly visible on the seal. The document registers the grant of a village called Karavandar to two Brahmans named Bhavasarma and Sabbasvami and an additional grant to Bhavasarma. The charter was issued in Saka 671 expired, i.e., A.D. 749 and the fourth year of

1. This identification cannot be ungrudgingly accepted. Mr. Pathak adduces no evidence in support of his view.
2. M.A.S.-A.R.; 1909; pp.13-14.

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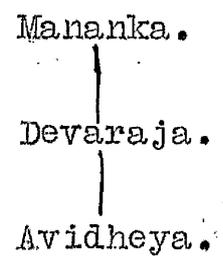
the king's reign. It also shows that Kirtivarman II was encamped at Nelavodige on the western bank of the river Bhima. The inscription is important since it brings to light for the first time ~~the name~~ Nagasakti, a scion of the ancient Sendraka family, at whose request the grant was made. The writer of the Ainuli copperplates is the Foreign Minister, Dhananjaya Punyavallabha, the same person who wrote the Kendur and Vokkaleri grants later on.

CHAPTER IX.

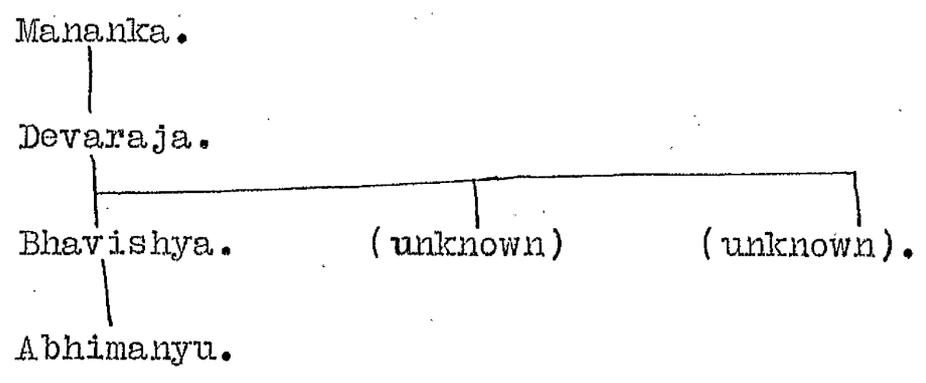
THE RASHTRAKUTAS DOWN TO THE
END OF THE REIGN OF GOVINDA III.

The Rashtrakutas of Sholapur.

This dynasty is known to us from only two copper-plate inscriptions. The first one is the Pandurangapalli grant of Avidheya.¹ The following genealogy is obtained from this charter:-



We get the following genealogy from the Undikavatika grant of Abhimanyu.²



If we compare the two lists of princes, it is clear that Avidheya was the second son of Devaraja and consequently a brother of Bhavishya. Jayasimha is mentioned in the Undikavatika grant of Abhimanyu as a commander of

1. M.A.S. - A.R.; 1929, p.197 f.
 2. E.I.; Vol. VIII, p.164 f.

the fort of Harivatsakotta. The Kauthem grant of Vikramaditya V refers to a victory of Jayasimha over a Rashtrakuta king, Indra, the son of Krishna. But as this grant belongs to the eleventh century, it can hardly be relied upon to give an accurate account of events in the sixth century. This is no doubt an anachronism. Taila II, the founder of the Later Chalukya dynasty, is known to have defeated Indra IV, a grandson of Krishna III, and in all probability the author of ^{the} Kauthem grant wrongly assigned the event to the reign of Jayasimha, the founder of the Early Chalukya dynasty. After all, the poet had nothing creditable to say about Jayasimha. We have already seen that the inscriptions of the Early Chalukyas of Badami have not even a word to say about the exploits of Jayasimha. Hence the ascription to Jayasimha of a victory over the Rattas (Rashtrakutas) in the other documents is no doubt an anachronism, as Dr. Fleet thought.

Mananka.

In the Pandurangapalli grant we are told that he had conquered Anga, Vidarbha and Asmaka. Whether Mananka had really conquered Anga or not, nothing definite can be said.

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1. I.A.; Vol. 16; p.151 f.
 2. Dr. Barnett in J.R.A.S.; 1930, p.934.

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Anga, which is the country around Bhagalpur in Bihar, lies hundreds of miles away from the kingdom of Mananka. Moreover the reading Anga is not certain. Vidarbha is already well-known and Asmaka is the country around Paitham in the Nizam's Dominions. The inscription further states that Mananka was the master of the Satkunta land. The word Satkunta, according to Dr. Krishna, refers to the Satpura mountains. But we have seen in the first chapter that this mountain was known as Rikshvat in Sanskrit literature. The identification is far from certain as the Satpura mountains are five hundred miles to the north from the Sholapur district where the inscription was discovered. The identification of Mananka with Manamatra, the son of Prasanna and a member of the dynasty known as 'kings of Sarabhapura' ruling over Southern Kosala i.e., the eastern part of the Central Provinces, is implausible. We have several inscriptions of this dynasty and not a single one states that they were Rashtrakutas. Therefore any connection between the two, as is suggested by Dr. Krishna, is highly improbable. Moreover, his identification of Devaraja Ra shtrakuta with Mahasudevaraja, the grandson

1. M.A.S. - A.R.; 1929, p.206.

2. Ibid; p.202. The Vakatakas were the undisputed masters of the Central Provinces where the Satpura Range is situated. Hence Mananka could never have been a lord of the Satpura Mountains.

of Prasanna, appears very uncertain. The Undikavatika grant does not mention any of the adventures of Mananka but simply records that, 'there was a king named Mamanka, an ornament of the Rashtrakutas by reason of his glory, which was adorned with numberless good qualities.'

Devaraja.

He is compared to Indra in the above-mentioned grant.

"The banner of his glory, resting on a high staff which is his lofty lineage, has been long observed and is (still) day by day observed - as if it were the river Ganga, with its pure stream, increasing in its onward course, - by other kings, shorn of their vanity". This description is purely poetical and is of little historical value to us. He had three sons, one was Avidheya, the other was Bhavishya, while the name of the third is not given.

Bhavishya.

He and his two brothers are said to have 'conquered in battle their haughty enemies', and 'became possessed of great royal fortune and of the earth'. The

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1. Arang Plates; E.I.; Vol.23, p.19.
 2. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol.XVI, p.91.
 3. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol.XVI, p.91.

name of Bhavishya is omitted from the Panduranapalli grant, because he was a collateral of Avidheya¹. The name of the latter has been omitted for the same reason in the grant of Abhimanyu². When Bhavishya died, he was succeeded by his brother Avidheya, probably because Abhimanyu, the son of the former, was too young.

Avidheya.

In the sixteenth year of his reign, he issued the Pandurangapalli plates. They record a grant by Avidheya to a Brahman named Jayadvittha of the Bhargava gotra. The villages granted were Pandurangapalli, Anevari, Chala, Kandaka etc. The first named has been rightly identified by Dr. Krishna with Pandharpur, the sacred town of the Hindus, on the banks of the Bhima river in the Sholapur district. Chala still bears the same name, and is about five miles east of Pandharpur. Anevari is probably Anevali, and Kandaka is perhaps Kondarki, both adjoining Pandharpur³. The seal of the grant bears in relief the figure of a 'lion standing to left with the right fore limb lifted up and thrust forward, head raised and tail arched over the back'. It may be remarked that

1. M.A.S. - A.R.; 1929; p.198.
 2. E.I.; Vol.8; p.165.
 3. M.A.S.- A.R.; 1929; p.206.

exactly the same sort of lion is represented on the seals of the Pallavas and the Vishnukundins.

Abhimanyu.

Avidheya was succeeded by his nephew, Abhimanyu, the rightful heir to the throne. The inscription compares him with the epic hero Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, and says that he was the equal of the former in valour, might and beauty.¹ The comparison suggests that Abhimanyu was quite young when he made the grant, because the epic hero died fighting at an early age., The portion of the inscription which refers to the donation has been translated by Prof. Hultzsch as follows: "He who was adorning Manapuram by residing at (it), gave, in order to increase the religious merit of his mother and father, the small village named Undikavatika to (the temple of) Dakshina-siva belonging to Petha-Pangaraka, by pouring water into the hands of the ascetic Jatabhara."² Jayasinha, the commander of the fort of Harivatsakotta was a witness on this occasion.

Dr. Fleet has identified the donated village with Oontia near Pachmarhi in the Hoshangabad district of the

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol.XVI; p.88f.

2. E.I.; Vol.VIII; p.164.

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Central Provinces. He further identified Manapuram with Manpur in Malwa, about 12 miles southwest of Mhow. The identifications suggested by Dr. Fleet are by no means the last word on the subject.

First, it may be strongly objected to on the ground that the findspot of the inscription is not known. Secondly, it is in the highest degree improbable that Abhimanyu and Avidheya were ruling over such a vast kingdom, about 500 miles in extent from Mhow to Sholapur. They are all styled simply Rajas and not even Maharajas. Undoubtedly, Abhimanyu and his ancestors were petty rulers. His kingdom probably stretched over the territory now represented by such towns as Osmanabad, Phaltan, Sholapur and Aundh. A moderately-sized state about 100 miles in extent and fertile was sufficient for a local Raja like Abhimanyu. I suggest that Manapura may be possibly identified with a town called Man, which is only 50 miles west of Pandharpur, the donated village in the Pandurangapalli plates. The village Pethapangaraka, where the Siva temple mentioned in Abhimanyu's grant was situated may be possibly Peth, only 60 miles south of Manapur or Man, the capital of Abhimanyu. ² However, the above identifications and the

1. D.K.D.; p.386.

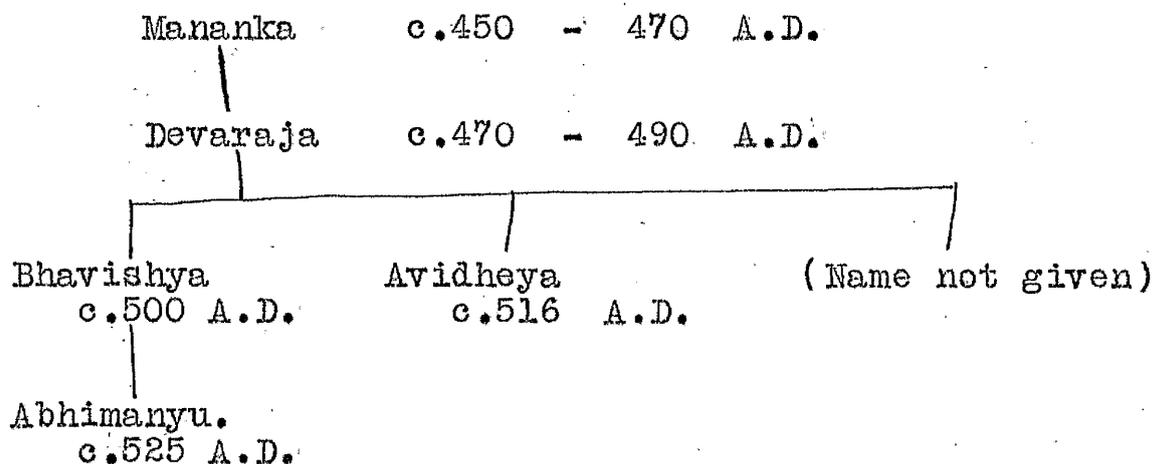
2. See Imperial Gazetteer; Atlas, Pl.39.

question whether Abhimanyu ruled over Mhow and Hoshangabad in Central India must be left as open in the present state of our knowledge.

Chronology.

Dr. Fleet has assigned the Undikavatika grant¹ of Abhimanyu to approximately the seventh century A.D. The Pandurangapalli plates have been assigned by Dr. Barnett to the first half of the sixth century A.D. In fact, the alphabet of the former corresponds to the Sirsi plates of Krishnavarman II, the Kadamba king.² Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji³ as well as Mr. Jackson,⁴ two noted Indologists, have assigned the Undikavatika grant of Abhimanyu to the fifth century A.D. Dr. Dubreuil has assigned it to the first half of the sixth century.⁵ On the whole, the dates c. 525 A.D. for the Undikavatika grant and 516 A.D. for the Pandurangapalli plates appear to be quite reasonable.⁶ The Genealogy may be finally arranged thus:-

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1. D.K.D; p.386
 2. I.I.; Vol.16; p.268.
 3. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol.XVI; p.89.
 4. Cited by Ray; Dynastic History; Vol.I; p.555.
 5. A.H.D.; P.111.
 6. Dr. Krishna; M.A.S. - A.R.; 1929; - p.205.



THE RASHTRAKUTAS OF ELLICHPUR.

Only two inscriptions of this dynasty have been discovered so far. The first one is a copperplate grant found at Multai in the Betul district of the Central Provinces.¹ The second one is a copperplate charter discovered at Tiwarkhed in the Multai Tahsil of the same district.² The following genealogy is obtained from the above records:

- (1) Durgaraja. c.550 - 570 A.D.
- (2) Govindaraja. c.570 - 590 A.D.
- (3) Svamikaraja. c.590 - 608 A.D.
- (4) Nannaraja. c.608 - 635 A.D.

The name of the last prince was wrongly read as Nandaraja by Fleet while editing the Multai plates.³ The correct reading is certainly Nannaraja.

1. I.A.; Vol.18; p.230 f.
 2. E.I.; Vol.11; p.276 f.
 3. R.T.; p.6.

About Durgaraja we are told that, "In the widely spread and pleasing glorious Rashtrakuta lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability, there was born a king, the illustrious Durgaraja, just as in the broad and charming ocean of milk was produced the moon". This description is purely poetical and he could not have ruled as an independent prince over the Betul district. If ever he ruled there, it must have been as a feudatory of the Kalachuri kings, who were the sovereign lords of that part of India.

Durgaraja was succeeded by his son Govindaraja. The latter's son was Svamikaraja, 'who never turned back from war and who was always victorious'. His son was Nannaraja Yuddhasura, who appears to have been the first prince of actual importance. He must have been a subordinate of Pulakesin II, the Chalukya emperor. The Tiwarkhed grant states that Nannaraja had obtained the panchamahashabda or the five great sounds, which shows that Pulakesin was pleased with the services rendered to him by Nannaraja in his numerous campaigns.

The Multai plates issued by Nannaraja record a grant of the village of Jalaukuha to the Brahman Sriprabha Chaturveda. The village granted is untraceable. The

1. E.I.; Vol.XI; p. 280

charter was written by the Sandhivigrahika Naula. The date of the grant cannot be correctly read. The writer was rather careless and the person who engraved it was no better than the former. A prose passage is suddenly introduced in lines 5-6, but the concluding portion of it, tasyātmavānātma¹jo, is again the fragment of verse.

The Tiwarkhed grant was issued by Nannaraja in the Saka year 553 or 631 A.D. It registers a grant of land in the village⁷ Tiverekheta and Chuikheta situated on the south bank of the Amveviaraka rivulet, to a Brahman named Mundibhatta of the Bharadvaja gotra. Tiverekheta is to be identified with Tiwarkhed, on the southern bank of the rivulet Ambhora. The grant was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse while the king had gone to bathe at the Kapila-tirtha, a holy place. The two important ministers of the king also did not miss the opportunity to gain merit. Govinda, the superintendent of religious affairs (Dharmānkusa) made a donation of nivartanas of land. Narasimha, the great minister for peace and war, is jointly associated as a donor with Govinda. The charter was issued from Achalapura, probably the capital of Nannaraja. Achalapura is to be identified with Ellichpur, an important

1. I.A.; vol.18; p.230 f.
R.T.; p.7.

town in the Amraoti district. The local pronunciation is still Alachapur. The transposition of letters cha and la in Achalapura to Alachapura is of the same category which changed the old name of Varanasi to Vanarasi.¹ This change is warranted by a sutra of Hemachandra, the celebrated Prakrit grammarian. The sutra, 'Achalapure cha loh' teaches us that by metathesis Achalapura becomes Alachapura.² A Marathi work of the thirteenth century gives the slightly different form, Alajapura.³ The identification of Alachapura with Ellichpur may now be accepted as proved.

The date of the Multai grant presents a serious difficulty. The passage runs as follows:

'Saka-kāla samvatsara-śateshu

shatchh-eka-trimsottareshu likhitamidam.'

The date of the Tivarkhed grant is October, 631 A.D., and the reading of that grant is beyond dispute. If the date of the Multai grant is to be accepted as correct, we are faced with a dilemma. Dr. Fleet reads 'shatsvekatrim-sottareshu', i.e., in the year 631 saka, or A.D. 709. This means that Nannaraja was living 78 years after issuing

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1. E.I.; Vol.XI; p.278.
 2. P.I. Vaidya; Prakrit Grammar of Hemachandra (1928) Text; p.56, Notes, p.14.
 3. Vividhajnanavistara, 1929, p.308.

his Tivarkhed plates. It would be absurd to say that the king lived up to the age of 103, because he must have been at least 25 if he helped Pulakesin in his wars and gained the dignity of 'pañchamahāśabda'. Hence, we are justified in assuming that the engraver of the Multai plates was a reckless person. We have already seen that he had committed a mistake. I suggest that the passage should be changed into 'panchasvekatrimśottareshu', which will then mean in the year 531 Saka era. It must be admitted that this is rather a violent change, but it is the only possible solution. The year 531 saka corresponds to 609 A.D., and assuming that Nannaraja ascended the throne in that year, it is feasible to suppose that he reigned for 25 years. Thus the date 631 A.D. falls within the reign of Nannaraja. Moreover, the alphabet of the Multai copperplates closely corresponds to that of the Tivarkhed plates, wherefore both of them must be closely related in time and not separated by 78 years.

Gokak Plates.

A set of three copperplates was discovered in 1926 at Gokak in the Belgaum District.¹ They are of great importance, as they throw fresh light on the early history of the Rashtrakutas. We learn for the first time the name of Maharaja Dejjā of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. Dejjā is the Prakrit form of the name Devaraja. It is tempting to identify Dejjā with Devaraja of the Undikavatika grant.² But two objections militate against this suggestion. First, Devaraja is not styled Maharaja in the Undikavatika charter. Secondly, Dejjā appears to have flourished in the seventh century rather than in the early decades of the sixth century, the probable date of Devaraja. The Gokak charter is dated the 845th year (expired) of the Ag^uap^uayika era. Mr. N.L. Rao, the editor of the inscription, admits that he is unable to find a suitable date for the beginning of this era. The palaeography of the charter suggests a date in the seventh century A.D. In my opinion the alphabet closely resembles the Gadval copperplates of Vikramaditya I, which are dated Saka 596, i.e. 674 A.D.³ Now we have to look for the establishment of an era which would give us a date approximately close to 674 A.D. in its 845th year.

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1. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.289 f.
 2. E.I., Vol.VIII, p.165.
 3. E.I., Vol.X, p.101 f.

I have already suggested in the second chapter that the Agaptayika era probably denotes the establishment of a new dynasty in Konkan and southern Maharashtra by a Maurya prince, possibly named Chandragupta after the founder of the Imperial Maurya dynasty. We have the evidence of the Puranas, Bana and Kalidasa regarding the persecution of the Mauryas by Pushyamitra, the founder of the Sunga dynasty.¹ Pushyamitra murdered his master Brihadratha, the last Maurya king and usurped the throne. From the Malavikagnimitra we learn that Pushyamitra had imprisoned a Maurya minister who was a brother-in-law of Yajnasena, the king of Vidarbha. It seems probable that several princes of the Maurya royal family, fearing death at the hands of Pushyamitra, escaped to different parts of India. There is inscriptional evidence to show that Maurya families were ruling in Konkan, Khandesh and Southern Rajputana from the fifth century onwards. Hence we may assume with a good deal of probability that a Maurya prince founded a kingdom for himself in Konkan and the adjacent districts of Southern Maharashtra in c. 180 A.D. This might have been the beginning of the Agaptayika era. Referring the Gokak copperplates to this

1. Raychaudhuri: P.H.A.I., p.252 f.
 Smith: E.H.I., p.208 (4th Edn.)

era, the year 845 in question would correspond to c. 665 A.D. It may be pointed out that this date is quite in keeping with the palaeography of the copperplates. We may therefore suppose that Dejjā Maharaja flourished about 665 A.D. Mr. N.L. Rao thinks that since Dejjā is called a Maharaja he was ruling before the rise of the Chalukyas. But there is nothing unusual in the title Maharaja of Dejjā. We know that the higher title Maharajadhiraja, signifying the rank of emperor, was assumed by Vikramaditya I soon after the death of his father Pulakesin II. It is reasonable to suppose that Dejjā of the Rashtrakuta family was a feudatory of Vikramaditya I, the Chalukya emperor.

Dejjā appears to have been a prince of great importance, as one Adhiraja Indrananda of the Sendraka family was his subordinate.¹ Besides, the fact that Dejjā ^{issued} ~~used~~ the Gokak copperplates without mentioning the name of his suzerain suggests that he enjoyed the personal favour of Vikramaditya I.

1. E.I., Vol. XXI, p. 291.

THE RISE OF THE IMPERIAL RASHTRAKUTAS.

The following genealogy is based upon the Dasavatara
 1
 Cave Temple inscription at Elura and the Sanjan copperplates
 2
 of Amoghavarsha.

Dantivarma I	c. 640 - 660 A.D.
Indraraja I, or Frichchakaraja	c. 660 - 680 A.D.
Govinda I	c. 680 - 700 A.D.
Karka	c. 700 - 725 A.D.
Indraraja II	c. 725 - 745 A.D.
Dantidurga or Dantivarma II	c. 745 - 757 A.D.

No definite historical facts are mentioned about
 3
 the predecessors of Indraraja II. About him we are told
 that he carried away by force the daughter of a Chalukya

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1. A.S.W.I.; Vol.V, pp.25, 88.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.235 f.
 3. E.H.D.; p.106. ---- Sir R.G.Bhandarkar has suggested that Govinda I may be identified with Govinda of the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II. Our Govinda I is rather too late for the date of that inscription, i.e. 654 A.D.

prince from the marriage pandal. But he was not allowed to go unchallenged and in a battle which followed he was victorious. He then married the princess by the Rakshasa form of marriage. The scene of these events was Khetaka, the same as Kaira in Northern Gujarat.¹ A son named Dantidurga was born of this union, who was destined to be the founder of the Rashtrakuta empire.

We do not know exactly the relation between the dynasty of Dantidurga and the two other Rashtrakuta families previously dealt with. The seal of the line of Abhimanyu is a lion, while that of the line of Dantidurga and of the line of Nannaraja is an eagle. The epithet 'Lattalūrapuraparamesvara' is applied to Amoghavarsha I in his Nilgund Stone inscription.² This implies that the Rashtrakutas were originally residents of the town of Lattalura, which has been rightly identified by Dr. Fleet with Latur in the Osmanabad division of the Hyderabad State. Two stone inscriptions have been discovered at Latur and have been assigned to the 12th century on paleographical grounds.³ They give the name of the town as Lattalaura, an

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1. E.I.; Vol. XVIII, p. 235 f. -- The name of the princess is given as Bhavagana in the Bhandak grant of Krishna I.
 2. E.I.; Vol. VI, p. 103.
 3. B.I.S.M.J.; Vol. XIV, p. 84.

intermediate form which changed into Latlur, Lattur and finally Latur.¹ Latur is only 65 miles north-east of Sholapur and it is probable that it was included within the jurisdiction of Abhimanyu in the sixth century. A descendant of his may have possibly migrated to Berar and Nannaraja who was ruling over a part of Berar may have had some connection with the dynasty of Abhimanyu. Dr. Altekar asserts that Nannaraja was the father of Dantivarman I, the first known member of the imperial dynasty.² There is no real evidence for connecting the two in this manner. Anyhow, this much is certain that the Rashtrakutas were originally residents of Latur, and very probably settled in Berar afterwards.

Dr. Altekar has put forward the view that Kanarese was the vernacular of the Rashtrakutas.³ No substantial arguments have been brought forward to justify this view. He says that Latur is a Kanarese speaking town. I do not know what authority is there for this statement. The Imperial Gazetteer plainly shows that the whole of the Osmanabad division, in which Latur is situated, is predominantly a Marathi-speaking area, 84% of the population

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1. E.I.; Vol.VII, p.226.
 2. R.T.; p.10.
 3. Ibid; p.24.

having Marathi as their vernacular.¹ It is therefore natural to infer that Latur is a Marathi-speaking town. Moreover, if the Rashtrakutas had settled in Berar, according to Dr. Altekar's own view, it is a legitimate inference that they spoke Marathi, which is the language in common use in Berar. Further, if Kanarese was their mother-tongue, why is it that the earliest inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas are written in the Devanagari alphabet, and not in the Kanarese alphabet? It appears that after the conquest of Karnataka, the Rashtrakutas patronised the Kanarese language. Dr. F.W. Thomas rightly objects to the view of Dr. Altekar and writes 'whether the mother-tongue of the Rashtrakutas was Kanarese may perhaps be doubted'.² Although Marathi has no ancient literature which Kanarese possesses, there is sufficient evidence to show that it was a spoken language in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. I have already referred to Marathi words in one of the eighth century works. The dramatist Rajasekhara and the great poet Pushpadanta have used a large number of Marathi words, and these words betray its existence in the tenth century. Pushpadanta was a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III and also a resident of Malkhed.³

1. Imp. Gaz.; Vol.XIX, p.271.
 2. Altekar: R.T.; opinions.
 3. Dr. P.L.Vaidya: Mahapurana, Vol.I, 1937.

This suggests that Marathi was used by the general public of Malkhed side by side with Kanarese. Further, Maharashtrai Prakrit - the mother of modern Marathi, was constantly used in the Sanskrit dramas centuries before the first book in Kanarese appeared. Hence, the conclusion that Marathi might have been the vernacular of the Rashtrakutas is the most probable one in the light of our present knowledge.

Some time before the year 753 A.D., Dantidurga revolted against his Chalukya overlord and secured the country between the rivers Godavari and Narmada for himself. He assumed the imperial titles of prithivivallabha, maharajadhiraja, and paramesvara. The biruda khadgavaloka, i.e., 'he whose glances are as sharp as the sword' is also applied to him in the Samangad copperplates¹. They record that 'Mankind gaze intently upon the tearing open and rending asunder of the high banks of the rivers Reva (Narmada), Mahanadi and Mahi, accomplished by his victorious elephants'. This shows that the scene of the early adventures of Dantidurga was southern Rajputana, western Gujarat and southern Kosala. This could hardly have been achieved, had his home kingdom been elsewhere than in Berar. The Dasavatara

1. I.A.; Vol.XI, p.110 f.

cave temple inscription, which perhaps belongs to his own reign, narrates his other exploits also. Here Dantidurga¹ is credited with the subjugation of the king of Kanchi, Sindhubhupa, or king of Sindh, and the lords of Kalinga, Kosala, Srisailla, Malava, Lata and Tanka. The king of Kanchi was the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla and Sindh was being governed at that time by Arab princes. The lord of Kalinga was the Eastern Ganga king Devendravarman II.² Southern Kosala was probably being governed at that time by Mahabhavaguptarajadeva, whose copperplates have been recently published. This prince calls himself the lord of Trikalinga.³ Srisailla is evidently the famous place in the Karnool district. The king of Malava was probably a member of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty. Lata is southern Gujarat and was probably under the control of a son of Pulakesin of the Gujarat Chalukya dynasty. Tanka has not yet been identified, but I suggest that it may be Tonk, in Central Rajputana. This seems possible when we remember that Dantidurga's elephants had reached the river Mahi and that he had defeated a king of Malwa. These victories must have followed the overthrow of the western Chalukyas

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1. A.S.W.I.; Vol.V, p.88.
 2. E.I.; July, 1935, Appendix, 386.
 3. E.I.; Vol.XXII, p.136.

of Badami. Firstly, these achievements are not mentioned in the Samangad plates, but are alluded to in the Dasavatara cave temple inscription. Secondly, in the latter inscription they are referred to immediately after mentioning the defeat of the Chalukyas of Badami. We shall not be far wrong if we assign these achievements to the period 754 - 756 A.D.

From one of the inscriptions it appears that Kirtivarman II was attacked unawares by Dantidurga who 'quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karnataka, which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kanchi, Keralas, Cholas, Pandyas, Sri-Harsa^h and Vajrata^l'. No one has yet suggested the identification of Vajrata. It may probably stand for Vajra, the ancient name of the region now known as Wairagarh in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. After his victory over Kirtivarman II, Dantidurga himself assumed the title of Srivallabha. In the later inscriptions such as the Sanjan and Bhandak plates he is stated to have humbled the kings from the Himalayas down to Ramesvara

Dantidurga was very liberal in his donations to the Brahmans. He is said to have granted lands for the sake of his mother in every one of the four lakh villages of his kingdom. This is undoubtedly an exaggeration. He proceeded to Ujjain in Malwa and performed the Hiranyagarbha Mahadana

1. E.I.; Vol.XIII, p.277 f.

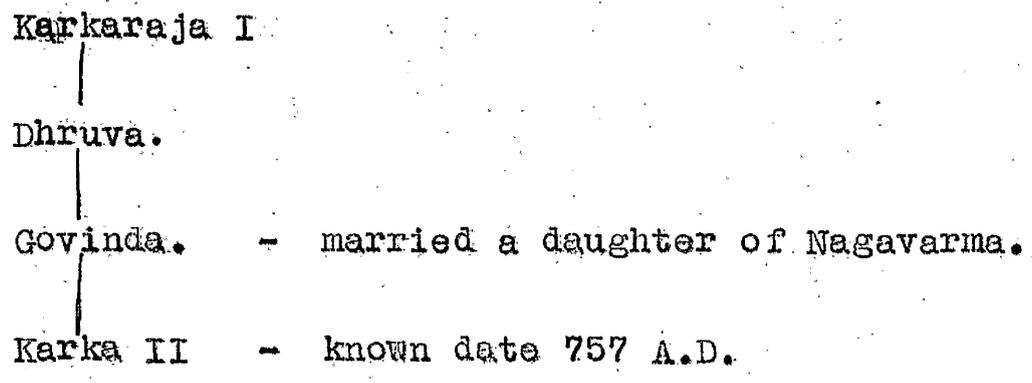
¹ ceremony. The Gurjara king is stated to have acted as his Pratihara or doorkeeper. It appears that he was staying in the palace of the Gurjara king on this occasion.
² The ceremony consists of several complicated rites, the chief of which is to give golden utensils to learned Brahmins.
³ The ceremony at Ujjain, the sacred tirtha famous for the shrine of Mahakala or Siva, must have taken place later than the year 754 A.D., the date of the Samangad plates where it is not referred to, but it is mentioned in the Sanjan plates and the Dasavatara inscription. From the last-named inscription it seems probable that Dantidurga had another name of Sarva as well.

He was undoubtedly a great military genius and the real founder of the Rashtrakuta empire. His conquest of Kanchi is probably mentioned in one of the hymns of the Tamil poet Tirumangai Alvar. The poet refers to the occupation of Kanchi by Vairamegha - a biruda of Dantidurga.
⁴ It seems probable that Nandivarman, the Pallava king welcomed Dantidurga as a friend against the common enemies - the Chalukyas. Dubreuil has conjectured that

1. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.252.
 2. A.S.W.I.; Vol.V, p.88 f.
 3. J.R.A.S.; 1934, p.729.
 4. Gopalan: Pallavas, p.126.

Reva, the wife of Nandivarman was a daughter of Dantidurga and a son born was named Dantivarman after his maternal grandfather.

A word may now be said about the Rashtrakuta king Karkaraja II, who was ruling southern Gujarat in 757 A.D. We have already seen that Dantidurga had conquered Lata. It appears that he entrusted its governorship to a member of the family, Karka II. The following is the genealogy of Karka:



The names of this branch of the family are very similar to those of the imperial dynasty. But what exactly the relation between the two dynasties was, cannot be determined at present. The copperplate grant issued by Karka II was discovered at Antroli- Chharoli in the Surat district. It records the grant of a village to a Brahman,

1. The Pallavas, by Dubreuil, Chap. 6.

a native of Jambusar in the Broach district. Karka calls himself a paramamahesvara, i.e., he was a devotee of Siva. King Adityavarma is mentioned as the messenger. It is surprising that Karka does not mention his sovereign lord. Perhaps he had declared himself independent on the death of Dantidurga. Karka also styles himself paramabhattacharaka, maharajadhiraja, and paramesvara, and these titles indicate that he had revolted. The grant is dated in the Saka year 679 expired, which corresponds to 757 A.D. Dantidurga's death may have taken place in the same year.

Krishna I.

Dantidurga was succeeded by his uncle Krishna I, whose earliest inscription is dated 758 A.D. A verse in the Baroda copperplates of Karka dated 812 A.D. runs thus:-

yo vaṅśyamunmūlya vimārggabhājam
 rājyam svyam gotrahitāya chakre. (ll. 9-10.)

This verse states that Krishnaraja 'having uprooted his relative who had resorted to evil ways, appropriated the kingdom to himself, for the benefit of his family.'² Dr. Fleet had assumed that this relative was Krishna's nephew Dantidurga himself.³ But the relative whom Krishna had

1. J.B.B.E.A.S.; Vol.XVI, p.105 f.
 2. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.159.
 3. D.K.D.; p.389.

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ousted could not be Dantidurga, who is highly praised in the inscriptions of Krishna himself. Not less than six verses are devoted to the achievements of Dantidurga and the epithet svakulāmbhojabhāskara, or 'the sun to the lotus (that was) his family', applied to him^m positively proves that the relative whom Krishna ousted could not have been Dantidurga. Dr. V.S. Suthankar writes: "Besides, were Krishna really guilty of the murder, it is inconceivable that he should have tolerated the eulogy showered upon the murdered uncle in a grant of his own and coolly added that he ascended the throne after the victim of the assassination had gone to heaven"¹. If he was really a murderer, then verse 20 of the Bhandak plates would be meaningless. That verse has been translated thus:-

"The career of that glorious Krishnaraja, during which the circle of his enemies was completely swept away by the prowess of his own arm, was as stainless as that of Krishna".

Had Krishna been really a murderer, he would not have dared to compare himself with the mythical hero Krishna. Dr. Altekar has suggested that the relative whom he had ejected was Karka II of the Antroli-Chharoli record.² This

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1. E.I.; Vol.14, p.123.
 2. R.T.; p.43.

suggestion appears to be rather improbable. What rightful claim could Karka II have to the imperial throne? The relative whom Krishna ousted was in all probability a son of Dantidurga himself. Dantidurga's son was probably young, and Krishna took the opportunity of appropriating the sovereignty for himself. A son of Dantidurga is mentioned in the Alas plates of Govinda II, dated 770 A.D. His name is given there as Vijayaditya Ratnavarsha, who was later sent on an expedition against Vengi and placed under the crown-prince Govinda II.¹ It is very probable that Krishna I, set aside Vijayaditya, the rightful heir and usurped the throne himself. As Vijayaditya was alive in 770 A.D., he could not have been murdered by Krishna in 758 A.D.

The chief events of the reign of Krishna I are as follows:- (1) The final defeat of Kirtivarman II. (2) The defeat of Rahappa. (3) The building of the Kailasa rock-temple. (4) Annexation of Konkan. (5) Wars with the Eastern Chalukyas.

It is very probable that the finishing touches to the final and complete subjugation of the western Chalukyas were given by Krishna I. His own records do not make any allusion to this event. Perhaps an indication is given by

1. E.I.; Vol.VI, p.208.

the Bhandak plates which mention his biruda of pralayamahāvā-
¹ rāhā. This biruda is significant and may have been
 assumed after the overthrow of the Chalukyas, whose emblem
 was the boar. The second achievement of Krishna, i.e.,
 the defeat of Rahappa is not mentioned in any of his own
 inscriptions. Verse 15 of the Pimpri plates² dated
 October 775 A.D., states that, 'he conquered in battle Rah-
 appa who had become proud of the strength of his own arm,
 by the blows of his sharp sword-blade, and quickly gained
 the titles, Rajadhiraja (king of kings), and paramesvara
 (supreme lord), which were made resplendent by numerous
 palidhvajas'. This Rahappa was probably a king of Mewad
 or Udaipur in Rajputana. The name Rahappa is peculiar
 and occurs in an inscription from Mewad of the 17th century.
 That inscription gives a genealogy of the Guhilot rulers of
 Mewad and Rana Rahappa is mentioned immediately after
 Bappa Raval.³ Bappa has been assigned to circa 730 A.D.
 by Rao Bahadur Vaidya and it is not impossible that Rahappa
 with whom Krishna I had to fight was one of the several
 sons of Bappa. This event may be assigned to the year
 775 A.D. as it is not mentioned in the Bhandak plates dated

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1. E.I.; Vol.XIV, p.129.
 2. A.S.I.; A.R. 1934-35, p.58.
 3. Mediaeval Hindu India; Vol.II, p.75.

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772 A.D.

From the Talegaon plates we learn that Krishna had embarked upon an expedition against the Gangas of Mysore. In the month of March, 768 A.D. we find that he had actually encamped at Mannanagara ^{or} ~~at~~ Manne in the Bangalore district, the capital of the Ganga king Sripurusha. It is probable that the old Ganga king submitted to the authority of Krishna without any actual fighting. Krishna issued a land-grant from Manne at the request of his son Govinda. In the year 770 A.D., the latter had launched a campaign against the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. In that year we find him camping at the confluence of the rivers Krishnavarna and Musi, i.e., Some where near Guntur. The Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana IV was humbled by the cession of his treasury, forces and his own country. The Rashtrakutas probably annexed a considerable part of Andhradesa.

Krishnaraja caused to be excavated the celebrated rock-cut temple of Siva called Kailasa at Ellora in the Hyderabad State. It is a permanent monument to the greatness of the Rashtrakutas. Dr. Burgess writes: "It is by far the

1. E.I.; Vol.XIV. p.129.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XIII, p.277 f.
 3. E.I.; Vol.VI, p.208 f.

most extensive and elaborate rock cut temple in India, and the architectural objects which that country possesses." Dr. Sten Konow has suggested that the wonderful temple was built by Krishna I in order to emulate the splendour of the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchi. For this he seeks support in verse 16 of the Talegaon plates of Krishna I, which states that he 'enjoyed the earth that was embellished with the excellence of Kanchi'. It appears that Krishna I had cultivated the friendship of the Pallava king Nandivarman II, and that he had actually visited Kanchi. The Pattattalamangalam grant of Nandivarman records that the Vallabha, Konkana and Tulu kings waited to seek admission at the palace. This may mean that the Vallabha king, i.e., Krishna I had paid a friendly visit to the Pallava king with his feudatories of Tulu and Konkan. The grant is dated in the 61st regnal year of Nandivarman which corresponds to A.D.771, according to the chronology adopted by Gopalan. The suggestion put forward by Dr. Sten Konow seems to be quite reasonable when we remember the visit of Krishna to Kanchi.

 Krishnaraja is said to have adorned the temple 'with all sorts of riches, rubies, gold and so on'. It is

1. E.I.; Vol.XIII, p.277.
 2. Ibid; p.282.
 3. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.115 f.
 4. Pallavas of Kanchi, p.119.
 5. E.I.; Vol.XIII, 277.

curious how the building of this temple is not even alluded to in his own inscriptions. The Kadba plates of Govinda III refer to the temple under the name of Kanhesvara.¹ It seems probable from the description of the temple in the above plates that Krishnaraja had taken good care to provide the temple with a large number of dancing girls.²

1. E.I.; Vol.IV, p.337.
 2. Ibid; p.347.

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Govinda II.

He was selected as the heir-apparent by his father probably in the ^{year} 771 A.D. Krishna was justified in his choice by the victories of his eldest son Govinda over the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. We have already seen that he had humbled the lord of Vengi and that he had advanced as far as the Guntur District. In the Kadaba copperplates of 812 A.D., Govinda II is described as 'he who won the goddess of regal fortune, won by a single victory of his horse.'¹ The accession of Govinda may be assigned to the year 773 A.D.

Dr. Fleet was of the opinion that most probably Govinda never reigned.² He was justified in holding this view at a time when no inscription of Govinda II had been found. But the Dhulia plates were discovered later on and as the charter distinctly refers itself to the reign of Prabhutavarsha,³ which is only a biruda of Govinda II, this view of Dr. Fleet can no longer be upheld.

Govinda seems to have had a short reign of six years, and no important historical events of his reign have been

1. E.I.; Vol. IV, p. 347.

2. D.K.D.; p. 393.

3. ~~E.I.; Vol. VIII, p. 140.~~

E. I., Vol. ~~IV~~ VIII, p. 186.

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mentioned in any of the inscriptions. According to the Daulatabad copperplates of Sankaragana, dated 793 A.D., Govindaraja was "like Hari (Krishna), as both were fond of battles, as the former was celebrated for having snatched away the glory of Sri Parijata just as the latter was for having carried off the greatness of the auspicious Parijata (tree), and as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Govardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifting the Govardhana (mountain)."¹ This is indeed a reference to the mythological activities of Lord Krishna, but it is apparent that the passage just quoted has a veiled reference to some historical events of the reign of Govinda II. The names Govardhana and Parijata are to be rarely met with. The former indeed appears as a surname and a proper name among Maratha Brahmans, but the latter is altogether unknown. Dr. Altekar has conjectured that Govardhana refers to a town situated in the Nasik District.² But the reference here is ~~in~~^{to} a personal name, as shown by D.R. Bhandarkar, and not a place name. However, we may accept the view of Dr. Bhandarkar that Govinda II defeated a king of the name of Parijata and espoused the cause of another prince called Govardhana.³

1. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.194.

2. R.T., p.49.

3. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.194.

Civil War.

Govinda II seems to have given himself up to sensual pleasures, and the Karhad plates state that he neglected the affairs of the State. We are further informed that he appointed his younger brother Dhruva to the highest post in the government and 'allowed his position as sovereign to become loose'. The Kadaba plates record that Prabhutavarsha, i.e. Govinda was surrounded by a multitude of beautiful women, and in their company he 'permanently enjoyed the pleasure of supreme sovereignty'.¹ As the Karhad plates are dated 959 A.D.², there was some doubts about the licentious habits of Govinda. But the Kadaba plates are dated 812 A.D., and therefore, there is no reason to doubt the truthfulness of the above picture of his reign.

Dhruva was an ambitious prince, and proceeded cautiously to attain the sovereign position. He had even some verses composed by the court poet in his praise, in which he assumed the imperial titles, and ignoring his brother, made a land grant in his own name.³ They are dated the 29th of October, A.D. 775, according to Dr. Fleet. Govinda was

1. E.I.; Vol.IV, p.347.

2. Ibid, p.278 f.

3. E.I.; Vol.X, p.81 f.

quick enough to realize that his younger brother was secretly harbouring hostile intentions towards him, and removing Dhruva from his high office appointed some other person to that post. A verse in the Daulatabad plates states that, "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by the (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family."¹ This verse was obviously composed by a court poet of Dhruva Nirupama and naturally there is an element of partiality in it. Dr. Altekar accepts the version as true and remarks that feudatories became lukewarm in their loyalty.² But a direct contradiction is provided by the fact that several feudatories and semi-independent princes like Arikesarin I, and the kings of Mysore, Vengi, Malwa and Kanchi loyally supported the cause of Govinda II and fought bravely on his side.

Before Dhruva openly revolted, he followed a policy of conciliation for about four years, and during this period he secretly strengthened his position by his intrigues

1. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.194.

2. R.T., p.50.

and also by enlarging his armed forces. In the year 779 A.D. we find that Dhruva's son Karka Suvarnavarsha Pratapa-sila was governing ^{the} Nasik and Khandesh Districts, perhaps under his father. The Dhulia plates of Karka describe Prabhuta varsha, i.e. Govinda II, as the paramount emperor. The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign of Govinda II, and registers the grant of a village to a Brahman by Karka with the express permission of his sovereign Govinda II. The date of the inscription as calculated by Prof. Kielhorn regularly corresponds to the 22nd of December, A.D. 779.

After that date and some time before January A.D., 781, the date of the Bhor State Museum copperplates,¹ Dhruva appears to have raised the standard of rebellion and demanded that Govinda should resign in his favour. Govinda refused to agree to this haughty demand and for a time Dhruva followed a policy of conciliation. Meanwhile, the Kings of Vengi, Kanchi, Malwa and Mysore came to the emperor's assistance. Verse 21 of the Bhor State Museum copperplates may be translated as follows:- "Although he (Govinda) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were,

1. E.I.; Vol.XXII, p.177 f.

such as) the ruler of Malava and so forth joined by the lord of Kanchi, the Ganga, and the prince of Vengi, he (Dhruvaraja) gave ruby, ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards his brother." From this it may be reasonably inferred that Dhruva tried to avoid the civil war by offering gold and precious stones. But Govinda was foolish enough to reject the overtures of his powerful brother who then resolved to resort to war. Verse²² of the same inscription has been translated by Dr. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, as follows:-

"When Vallabha (i.e., Govinda II) did not make peace through conciliatory measures, then the great and mighty lord (Dhruva) forthwith defeated him in a battle in which the army consisted of the four divisions, and thereafter, obtained the entire sovereignty of the king, decorated with the emblems of Pāli^dshvajag^l glittering in the east, north, west and the south."¹

Dhruva Nirupama.

Thus it is obvious that Dhruva was victorious in the civil war, and what happened to Govinda we do not know. It is interesting to note that the king of Vengi, Vishnu-

1. E.I.; Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4.

vardhana IV, took the side of the rightful emperor Govinda, and not of his son-in-law Dhruva. The accession of Dhruva must have taken place before January, 781 A.D., and the civil war was very probably over by the end of the year 780 A.D.¹, according to Prof. Altekar.

The usurper was a clever statesman and decided that the attention of the nation should be directed towards military glories in order that his ^sposition as sovereign might not be impaired. In accordance with this principle, he launched a campaign against the Ganga king, Sivamara II Saigotta, son of Sripurusha. Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya has conjectured that this campaign was undertaken by Dhruva to punish Sivamara for ~~having~~ ² assisted Govinda II. The Rashtrakuta king was supported by the Haihayas, i.e. the Kalachuris, and the Chalukyas. This information ^{is} ~~was~~ imparted to us by the Alur copperplates of the Ganga Yuvaraja Marasimha. As the inscription is dated 799 A.D., it is a nearly contemporary document and therefore of great value.³ Sivamara claims to have gained a victory over the allies at Mudugundur. The same inscription states that he conquered the powerful cavalry of Dhruva which had ~~xxxx~~ spread in all directions. A Rashtrakuta inscription also

1. E.I.; Vol.XXII, p.178.

2. Q.J.M.S.; Jan., 1924, p.85.

3. M.A.S.-A.R., 1923-24, p.72 f.

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alludes to the superior cavalry of the Marathas in Dhruva's reign.¹ Although the Ganga king Sivamara gained some initial successes, the final victory lay with the Rashtrakutas and their allies. The Ganga king was captured and imprisoned in one of the Rashtrakuta gaoḷs.² The Ganga kingdom which had not submitted to any one before, was formally annexed and the eldest son of Dhruva, Stambha, was appointed as the viceroy. This is confirmed by a stone inscription at Matakere in the Mysore District, which reports that Kambha was governing Gangavadi 96,000 during the reign of Dhruvavarsha Srivallabha.³ In the absence of Sivamara, his younger brother Vijayaditya probably carried on the struggle for independence. In the Kudlur plates he is compared to Bharata and is said to have refrained from enjoying the sovereignty which belonged to his brother. This indirectly proves that Sivamara was in exile and confirms the statement in the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas.

Dhruva next turned his arms against Dantivarman, the Pallava king of Kanchi. The annexation of Gangavadi was ^{of} vital strategic importance. The Pallava territory was surrounded on all sides except ~~kmz~~ on the eastern frontier.

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1. E.I.; Vol.IV, p.348.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XXIII, p.207, v.6.
 3. E.C.; Vol.IV, Hg.93.

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He was enabled to do this because of his mastery of Ganga-
vadi. The Pallava king had no means of escape and quietly
submitted to Dhruva. Dantivarman presented a large number
of elephants to Dhruva as the price of ~~his~~ peace.¹

Arikesarin I is said to have afforded protection to
the lords of Vengi and the three Kalingas.² Pampa, the
Kanarese poet, writes that Arikesarin invaded the terri-
tories of Nirupama, i.e. Dhruva together with the ministers
of Vengi.³ It was natural that the two Chalukya families
should unite against the Rashtrakutas. We do not know
why Dhruva attacked the king of Vengi. It is all the more
surprising when we remember that Dhruva's queen-consort
was the daughter of Vishnuvardhana IV, the king of Vengi.
However, the probability is that the events referred to
by Pampa and the Parabhani copperplates are only legendary
and unhistorical. Arikesarin was quickly subjugated and
relegated to the rank of a minor feudatory.

1. E.I.; Vol.XXIII, p.207, v.7.

2. Gopalan: Pallavas of Kanchi, p.134.

3. Parabhani copperplates; B.I.S.J; Vol.XIII.

3. Rice: Pampa Bharata, Intro., p.2.

The date of the campaign against the Gangas and Pallavas can now be determined with tolerable accuracy. The Bhor State Museum copperplates show that Dhruva had ascended the throne some time before January, 781 A.D.¹ That charter does not contain any reference to the events of Dhruva's reign. The Jethwai copperplates of Dhruva's queen Silamahadevi, which have been recently discovered, contain an allusion to Dhruva's expedition against the Gangas and the Pallavas.² Verse 24 of this grant has been translated by Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar thus:-

"As Dhruva reduced to subjection forts(durga) which were the cream of the three worlds, augmented his fame by obstructing the continuity of the lineal flow of the Gangas and made his own prosperity of (a ruler), whose exalted insignia was the bull, he, alone and in this world displayed the quality of Parameśvara (supreme ruler), just as Siva, by decorating Durga, who was the quintessence of the three worlds, augmenting his fame by obstructing the flow of the Ganges, and accepting the lofty Bull as his badge ashes, displayed the quality of Parameśvara (supreme God)."

Thus it appears that the verse compares the achieve-

1. E.I.; Vol.XXII, p.177 f.

2. Ibid, p.98 f.

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of Dhruva
ments/with those of God Siva. There is a veiled referer-
ence to the imprisonment of the Ganga king and his victo-
ries over a king whose insignia was the bull. Prof. D.R.
Bhandarkar thought that the Eastern Chalukyas had the bull
as their emblem. But the emblem of the Eastern Chalukyas
was the boar and not the bull. The bull appears on the
seals of ~~the~~ the Pallavas, and hence the reference here must
be to the defeat inflicted by Dhruva on Dantivarman of
Kanchi. As this document is dated ^{the} 27th September, 786 A.D.,
the campaign ~~against~~ against the Gangas and the Pallavas ^{was} ~~were~~ over
by that date.

Dhruva then turned his eyes towards Northern India.
Political conditions in Northern India at that time were
very different than in the time of the Early Chalukyas.
Two strong empires had been established in Northern India,
The Rajputs under the Gurjara-Pratihara~~x~~ king Vatsaraja
were powerful.¹ Another first class power was founded by
Dharmapala in Bengal and Bihar.² We have already seen
that Dhruva's supremacy was acknowledged by the Haihayas or
Kalachuris of Bundelkhand. He also seems to have brought
a considerable part of Southern Malwa under his sway and

1. J.D.L.; Vol.X, p.26.

2. Ray: Dynastic History, Vol.I, p.285.

this is proved by the discovery of the Jethwai plates. Probably the further expansion of the Rashtrakutas in Malwa was responsible for their wars with the Gurjara-Pratiharas.

Dhruva was a general of no mean calibre. He inflicted a crushing defeat upon Vatsaraja, who then retired into the barren deserts of Marwar.¹ Sir. R.G. Bhandarkar had conjectured that Vatsaraja's capital was Kausambi near Allahabad.² This conjecture is altogether wide of the mark. Vatsaraja's capital could never have been Kausambi near Allahabad. Modern research has now established the fact that the capital of Vatsaraja was situated somewhere in the region of Bhinmal, Jodhpur State.³ Moreover, the Ganges-Jumna Doab in which Allahabad is situated was a bone of contention between the three powers.

A verse in the Jain Harivamsa of Jinasena relates that Indrayudha was ruling in the North, Vatsaraja of Avanti (Ujjain) in the East, Sri^vallabha, son of Krishna, was governing the southern regions and Varaha was ruling in the West.⁴ The poet was writing from Wadhwan in the Jhal^awar Division of Kathiawar. Dr. Fleet's identification of Sri

1. E.I.; Vol.XXIII, p.208, v.8.

2. E.H.D.; p.112.

3. R.D. Banerji; Hindu India, p.231.

4. E.I.; Vol.X, p.83-84.

J.D.L.; 1923, p.23.

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Vallabha with Dhruva is now compared by the discovery of the Bhor State Museum plates. Vatsaraja is certainly identical with Vatsaraja of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty. Indrayudha was ruling at Kanauj in the United Provinces. The same verse supplies the date as Saka 705 (expired), which corresponds to A.D. 783-84. This verse also shows that Vatsaraja had conquered Ujjain some time before A.D. 783, and made it his capital. But his glory in having Ujjain - the imperial capital of several ancient dynasties, was only short-lived. He was soon driven out by Dhruva, who possibly annexed Ujjain to his own dominions.

It appears that Vatsaraja had previously defeated Dharmapala of Bengal, and the inscriptions state that he was very proud of it. He had also captured the double white umbrellas of Dharmapala.¹ But later on Vatsaraja was defeated by Dhruva and compelled to present those umbrellas to Dhruva. This defeat must have resulted in a great loss of prestige to Vatsaraja and he seems to have retired for the time being.

The only opponent of Dhruva in the Ganges-Jumna Doab was now Dharmapala. The latter had gained some initial

1. E.I.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 207-8.

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successes and his protégé Chakrayudha was on the throne of Kanauj.¹ Whether Dhruva had championed the cause of Indrayudha, the rival claimant for the throne of Kanauj or not, we do not know. The Sanjan copperplates record that Dharmapala, the Gauda king was crushed in the Ganges-Jumna Doab by Dhruva. Dharmapala was reduced to great straits and bought peace by submitting his 'white umbrellas, the sporting lotuses of Lakshmi, the Goddess of Sovereignty,' to the Rashtrakuta emperor.² Dharmapala then probably retired to Bengal and Dhruva then had a free hand in Northern Indian politics.

He proceeded as far as Northern Kosala, i.e. the region round Fyzabad and Ayodhya. A verse in the Bagumra plates of Indraraja III runs as follows:-

"From the hand of the trembling lord of the Kosalas was snatched away by him in battle one white (regal) parasol, which was the white auspicious water-pitcher for the setting out of his fame."³

This shows that Dhruva had advanced as far as the Northernmost parts of the United Provinces. After this he came back to his own dominions in the south.

1. Dynastic History; Vol.I, p.285.

2. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.252.

3. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.38, v.10.

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The reign of Dhruva was of great importance in Indian history. He made the Rashtrakutas an all-India power, for the first time. He shines still more if we compare him with his weak predecessor Govinda. The empire had been enlarged on all sides, in the south he had annexed Ganga-mandala, in the north, a large part of Malwa, and probably even ^{Prayaga or} Allahabad was in his possession. A verse in the Baroda plates tells us that Dhruva went to heaven because of his possession of the holy rivers, Ganges and Jumna. This suggests that the territory around Allahabad was in his possession until his death.¹

1. Altekar: R.T., p.58.

Govinda III.

After the death of Dhruva, the sceptre passed into the hands of his son Govinda III. The exact date of his accession cannot be determined. The Daulatabad copperplates of Sankaragana are dated 793 A.D. and mention Dhruva as the paramount sovereign.¹ It was probably the last year of Dhruva's reign, because we find that the Paithan plates of his son Govinda are dated the 4th May, 794 A.D.² Moreover, the Manne copperplates of Govinda III are assigned to the year 810 A.D., which was also the eighteenth year of Govinda's victorious reign.³ This shows that Govinda began to rule some time in the year 793 A.D.

Govinda was chosen as the Crown Prince by his father on account of his exceptional qualities. The eldest son, Stambha, the viceroy of Ganga mandala, was passed over, and it appears that Dhruva probably abdicated in favour of his dear son Govinda to avoid a civil war. This is suggested by the expression 'prāpta rājyābhisheka' used in connection with Govinda III in the Sanjan copperplates of his son.⁴ The Anjanavati plates also relate that Govinda obtained sovereignty from his father Nirupama because of his superior

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1. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.195.
 2. E.I.; Vol.III, p.105.
 3. Q.J.M.S.; Vol.XIV, p.87.
 4. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.244.

virtues. We are further informed that Nirupama had several sons.¹ The Brahmanapalli grant of Karka Suvarnavarsha states that Govinda was anointed with the water of the coronation pitchers, and also that the imperial sovereignty was bestowed upon him by his father.²

On the other hand, several other copperplate grants assert that Govinda refused to undertake the burden of sovereignty. The verse referring to this event has been translated by Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya thus:-

"When seeing his more than human form, and his ability to deliver the three worlds from disorder even as Krishna, his father wished to give him the sovereignty of the world, he truly said to his father: 'Let alone the inviolable necklet you have given me; I have worn your command far better'."³ From the above verse, it may be inferred that Govinda protested to his father when the latter desired to abdicate in his favour and expressed satisfaction at the necklet which he had previously received. It is generally agreed that this necklet was the badge of his position as yuvaraja. The verse which immediately follows the one quoted above alludes to the passing away of Dhruva.

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1. E.I.; Vol. XXIII, p.15, v.16.
E.I.; Vol. III, pp.107-8.
 2. E.I.; Vol. XXII, p.83, v.27.
 3. M.A.S.-A.R.; 1927, p.116.

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The evidence is indeed conflicting. However, I am inclined to believe that Dhruva had abdicated in favour of Govinda and that the latter ascended the throne during the life time of his father. There is nothing ~~ka~~ unusual in this; a parallel may be found in the case of the Frankish Empire of the eleventh century. Further, the Paithan and Anjanavati charters, which record that Govinda gained the imperial sovereignty during ~~ka~~ his father's lifetime, are dated 794 and 800 A.D. respectively. Both these charters are considerably earlier than all the inscriptions which report the affair about the necklet. Moreover, it is probable that Govinda may have declined to accept the crown at first, but he might have succumbed to further pressure from his father and was then duly crowned as emperor.

The first year of Govinda 's reign passed away without any serious disturbance. Probably in the second year of his reign, i.e. 795 A.D., he was faced with a serious rebellion of his elder brother Stambha, the viceroy of Mysore. Stambha regarded himself as the lawful heir to the imperial crown, and this was but natural. Twelve other kings joined the side of Stambha, and the coalition was formidable indeed. The names of these twelve kings are nowhere mentioned, but

it may be conjectured that one of them was the Eastern Chalukya king Vishnuvardhana IV, and another was Vijayaditya, the Ganga king. It is probable that some royal officers had also turned traitors.¹ Govinda, a brilliant commander as he was, single-handedly inflicted a signal defeat on the rebels. Dr. Altekar has conjectured that Govinda was helped by his brother Indra, and that he was rewarded with the Gujarat viceroyalty for his loyal services. It may be noted that there is no reference in any of the inscriptions to the help rendered by Indra.

The rebels were treated with great leniency. Stambha, the spearhead of the rebels, was pardoned and reappointed as the viceroy of Gangavadi, which position he held up to 809 A.D.² Stambha was grateful to Govinda for this kindness shown to him and he had a special verse composed recognising this fact.³ That verse occurs in two of the inscriptions of Stambha. The verse praises Govinda for having contributed to the prosperity of bandhujīvas (the bandhujīva flowers and the lives of relations). Govinda III on his part refrained from mentioning the name of Stambha along with the confederacy of twelve kings, and Stambha's

1. Sanjan Copperplates, v.17.
 E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.244.
 2. M.A.S.-A.R.; 1927, p.117.
 3. Ibid, p.116.
 E.C.; Vol.IX, p.44 (Trans.)

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name was omitted from all the imperial records. What we learn of the rebellion of Stambha is only from the inscriptions of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch. A verse occurring in the Sanjan inscription suggests that almost all the feudatory princes who had rebelled were pardoned and restored to their former positions.¹

Relations with the Gangas.

In accordance with his policy of conciliation, Govinda released the Ganga king Sivamara II, who had been imprisoned by his father Dhruva. It appears that a ransom was decided upon as the price of Sivamara's release.² But as soon as Sivamara reached his dominions, he broke the agreement and flatly refusing to pay the ransom openly revolted. The proud and treacherous Ganga king was again subdued and thrown into prison, 'before the brow was wrinkled in a frown.' We are further informed that the villain 'who had been freed from fetters on the feet, had now fetters put round his neck.'³ How long the Ganga king was in prison we do not know. The merciful emperor released the Ganga king again, and it is said that the coronation of the Ganga king was performed by the emperor himself.⁴ The Pallava

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1. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.252, v.17.
 2. Ibid, p.253.
 3. Ibid.
 4. E.C.; Vol.IX, N.1,60.

king Nandivarman also assisted Govinda III on this ceremonial occasion. This Pallava king cannot be Nandivarman II who was already dead in 775 A.D. It has been suggested by Dr. Sewell that this Nandivarman was Nandivarman III, the son of Dantivarman.¹ This suggestion may be accepted, and we may conclude that Nandivarman III cooperated with Govinda in the coronation of Sivamara. The exact date of this event cannot be ascertained, but Mr. Rice has conjectured that it took place in about 813 A.D.² The Ganga dominions were governed by Govinda's brother Stambha up to 809 A.D., and thereafter by Dantivarman and Chakiraja, two imperial officers, for a few years.³ This shows that Gangavadi was incorporated in the Rashtrakuta empire for about 16 years and then restored to the Gangas.

Northern Campaigns, c. 798-801 A.D.

It is necessary to take a birdseye view of North Indian politics to understand the Maratha campaigns in a better fashion than hitherto done before. I have already shown that Southern Malwa had been annexed by Dhruva to his own dominions. The civil war in the time of Govinda and the rebellion of Sivamara, the Ganga king, in the South were

1. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India (1932),
 2. E.C.; Vol.IX, Introduction. p.33.
 3. M.A.S.-A.R.; 1927, p.117.
 * Q.J.M.S.; Vol.XIV, p.87.

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important factors in Indian politics. This trouble in the South naturally reacted adversely on Maratha foreign policy. Prayaga (Allahabad), which was probably in the possession of Dhruva in c. 793 A.D., was lost in the early years of Govinda's reign. The king of Northern Malwa probably shook off the yoke of allegiance placed upon him by the Rashtrakutas and declared his independence. The Gurjara-Pratiharas under Nagabhata II were in all probability the masters of Northern Gujarat and threatened to occupy Lata or Southern Gujarat, a province of the Rashtrakuta empire. The Gwalior Prasasti of Bhoja records that Nagabhata II had forcibly seized the hill-forts of Anarta or Northern Kathiawad, Malava or Malwa and the Matsya country i.e. Eastern Rajputana.¹ He is also said to have subdued the Kiratas, possibly the wild tribes in the Garhwal region, and Vatsas in the region of Allahabad and Kosam. This description proves that Nagabhata had grown very powerful and that he was the terror of Northern India. Dharmapala, the king of Bengal and Bihar, who had previously succeeded in putting his puppet Chakrayudha on the throne of Kanauj, was badly beaten by Nagabhata, who had possibly penetrated as far as Monghyr in Bihar. It is quite possible that Nagabhata

1. E.I.; Vol. XVIII, p. 112.

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deposed Chakrayudha and incorporated a large part of the Kanauj territory into his own empire. Govinda III naturally thought that Nagabhata might turn his arms against Maharashtra next, and decided to launch an offensive against the most powerful king of Northern India.

Govinda III was helped in his campaign by a number of Central and South Indian princes. The Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala, dated 861 A.D., states that his father Karka fought against the Gurjara king Nagavaloka.¹ Karka was evidently a minor prince ruling in the neighbourhood of Saugor and he had joined the side of Govinda III. Nagavaloka is to be identified with Nagabhata II, and it is known that Nagavaloka was only a viceroy of his. The Kalachuris may have fought on the side of the Rashtrakutas, as the two powers were always on friendly terms. Indra, the brother of Govinda, took an active part in this war on his brother's side.

A verse in Gwalior Prasasti runs as follows:-

"The primeval man was again born to him (Vatsaraja), and, being far-famed, and possessed of elephant-hosts, was called Nagabhata II. The kings of Andhra, Sindhu, Vidar-

1. E.I.; Vol.IX, p.255.

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bha and Kalinga succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire."¹

This verse incidentally shows that Nagabhata II was still a young man and that he had a strong host of elephants. The military importance of elephants in ancient India can hardly be underrated. The above verse has been interpreted by Dr. R.C. Mazumdar in a rather unusual fashion. He writes:

"The four countries form a central belt right across the country, bounded on the north by the empire of the Palas and on the south by that of the Rashtrakutas.² It appears quite likely, therefore, that they formed a confederacy against the two great powers that pressed them from the two sides, although, as so often happens, the most powerful member of the confederacy ultimately reduced the others to a state of absolute dependence."

I am afraid, I cannot accept the above views of the learned scholar. Firstly, why should the king of Vidarbha form a confederacy with the Gurjara king? The king of Vidarbha was evidently Govinda III, and he himself was threat-

1. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.99 f.

2. Dr. Majumdar forgets that Berar was the home province of the Rashtrakutas. Dr. Altekar substitutes eastern and western C.P. for Berar, forgetting that western C.P. was being directly governed by the Rashtrakutas. See - R.T., p.65.

ened by the Rashtrakuta empire. No one will dispute the hard fact that Berar or Vidarbha was being directly governed by Govinda III, the Rashtrakuta emperor. He was the king of Vidarbha reduced to a 'state of absolute dependence', and it is a remarkable commentary upon Dr. Majumdar's theory that the Gurjara-Pratihara king was routed by his dependent, the king of Vidarbha, i.e. the Rashtrakuta emperor. Secondly, why should the kings of Andhra and Kalinga enter into an alliance with Nagabhata II, who could not have helped them in any way? Andhra and Kalinga were far away from the dominions of Nagabhata; and how by leaping over the Rashtakuta and Pala empires, Nagabhata could have reduced Andhra and Kalinga to a state of dependence is a great mystery. The natural explanation of the verse in my humble opinion is that the king of Vidarbha, Govinda III, and the kings of Andhra, Kalinga and Sindhu formed a league to oppose the Gurjara-Pratihara sovereign, and attacked him. The simile in the verse shows that Nagabhata conquered all four of them. The poet's description that the four kings 'succumbed to his youthful energy as moths do unto fire' is highly fanciful, because we know that all the four kings were flourishing prosperously even after the

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fire had destroyed them. The verse simply refers to a preliminary defeat of Govinda III and his allies by Nagabhata.

But Govinda was not the man to ^{be} disheartened by this initial reverse. He soon formed an alliance with the Bengal king Dharmapala and his puppet Chakrayudha. The Sanjan copperplates state that both these kings paid their homage to Govinda. The alliance was sealed by the marriage of Dharmapala to Rannadevi, the daughter of Parabala, which according to Dr. Fleet is only a biruda of Govinda III.

The balance of power was now certainly in favour of Govinda III. The Gurjara-Pratihara armies were routed by the allies, and Nagabhata II 'fled in fear to some unknown hiding place, so that even in his dreams he had no hope of giving battle.'¹ The defeat of Nagabhata II meant that his feudatory, the king of Malwa, could no longer hold his own. A verse in the Rashtrakuta inscriptions states that the lord of Malwa bowed down at the feet of Govinda and managed to preserve his fortune.² According to the Sanjan copperplates of Amoghavarsha, another king named Chandragupta was also defeated by Govinda III.³ Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar has conjectured that this Chandragupta is the same

1. E.I.; Vol.VI, p.250.

2. Ibid.

3. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.240.

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person who succeeded Mahasiva Tivardeva and was ruling at Sirpur in Southern Kosala. But it does not seem likely that Chandragupta, a south Indian prince, could have come into contact with Nagabhata II, and then was defeated in Northern India fighting ~~on~~ on his side. It is reasonable to conjecture that Chandragupta was ruling in some part of Northern India, and that he had joined the side of Nagabhata II. We have already seen that Nagabhata II had retired to his home province Rajputana after his crushing defeat. A verse in the Sanjan copperplates records that the water of the Himalayan springs was drunk by the horses of Govinda.¹ The same verse further tells us that the thunder of Govinda's musical instruments was redoubled in the Himalayan caves. But whether Govinda had really marched right up to the Himalayan mountains or not is not certain. The description may be purely ^{the} imagination of a poet and not a statement of fact. It appears that Govinda III assumed the biruda of Kirti-Narayana, 'a very Vishnu in respect of fame' after his victory over Nagabhata II.

After his northern campaign, Govinda retired to his own dominions. On his way back, Maharaja Sarva, also

1. E.I.; Vol. XVIII, p.253.

called Mah^uasarva, came to Govinda and offered submission.¹ This Sarva was only a petty ruler, and thought it wise to please Govinda III with the present of choice jewels. Govinda is said to have spent the rainy season at the capital of Mah^uasarva.² Sribhavana has been identified by some with Sarbhon in the Broach District.³ But this identification is open to^a serious objection. The Broach District, which was a part of Lata, was being governed at that time by Indra, the brother of Govinda. Evidently then Sarva, a small but independent prince, was ruling not over the Broach District but somewhere else. The inscriptions state that Sribhavana was somewhere at the foot of the Vindhya, and it therefore should be located somewhere in Central India. Moreover, the name Sarva is not common, and it occurs in the Uchchkalpa dynasty of Central India. Therefore, it is possible that Sarva was a descendant of Maharaja Sarvanatha, who flourished in the sixth century.

Chronology.

The views of Dr. Altekar regarding the chronology of the northern campaigns have been challenged by another scholar, Professor Mirashi. In the opinion of Dr. Altekar,

1. Ibid.
 2. Ibid, p.240.
 3. R.T., p.68.

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Govinda's northern campaigns are to be assigned to the period 806-808 A.D.¹ For this he relies upon the fact that the defeat of the Gurjara king is mentioned in the Radhanpur plates of August, 809 A.D. But the date of the Radhanpur plates as determined by Dr. Altekar is wrong. Prof. Mirashi has also failed to noticed this mistake of Dr. Altekar. The Radhanpur charter is dated the 7th August, A.D. 807, according to Dr. Fleet.² This shows that the northern conquests of Govinda were complete long before August, 807 A.D. Another scholar, Dr. Tripathi, argues that the event should be placed between 806-807 A.D., the date of ^{the} Wani copperplates and 808 A.D.³ But Professor Mirashi has proved that all the verses occuring in the Radhanpur record are the same as those occurring in the Nesari copperplates of Govinda III. The Nesari charter is dated Saka 727, i.e. 805 A.D. Therefore, the northern campaigns of Govinda III were certainly over, at any rate, before the year 805 A.D.

Is it possible that the date of Govinda's campaigns can be pushed back any further? The Manne copperplates of Stambha are dated 13th November, 802 A.D., according to Sewell.⁴ The draft used in the Manne plates is exactly

1. Ibid, p.68.

2. D.K.D., p.398.

3. History of Kanauj, p.232.

4. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p.33.

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the same as in the Radhanpur plates. But the genuineness of the Manne plates has been questioned by Professor Mirashi. However, he admits that there are no insuperable difficulties in admitting the Manne plates to be genuine. Dr. Barnett is of the opinion that the Manne plates are genuine, and this is supported by the fact that the alphabet of the inscription is fully in keeping with its date. Hence, we may conclude that the northern as well as the earlier southern campaigns of Govinda III were probably completed before the year 802 A.D. Professor Mirashi has also come to the same conclusion after a very careful study of all the inscriptions.² But it would be difficult to demonstrate that all the southern campaigns of Govinda III were over before 802 A.D. Later on, I have shown that the second southern campaign has to be placed c. 804-805 A.D.

Verse 24 of the Sanjan copperplates reports that Govinda III acquired the Malava country along with Kosala, Kalinga, Vengi, Dahala and Odraka. The same copperplates say that Vikrama (a biruda of Govinda) made his servants enjoy all these countries.³ The verse seems to suggest

1. E.I.; Vol. XXIII, p. 215 f.

2. Ibid, p. 217.

3. E.I.; Vol. XVIII, p. 253, v. 24.

that Govinda III annexed all those countries, and dethroned the ruling princes. I have some doubts regarding the historicity of this fact. Firstly, it is not mentioned in any of the copperplate grants of Govinda III himself. Secondly, the assertion of the Sanjan record is contrary to known facts at least in the cases of Kalinga, Vengi and Odraka. The history of Kosala, i.e. Eastern C.P., is shrouded in mystery, and it is probable that Govinda III made it an integral part of his empire. Kalinga was under the suzerainty of the Eastern Gangas of the Ganjam District. The Ganga contemporary of Govinda III was Devendravarman III, whose recently discovered Indian Museum copperplates are dated A.D. 804.¹ Not less than four land grants of Devendravarman III have been discovered, and this disproves the statement of the Sanjan record as regards Kalinga at least. The Vengi country was under the domination of the Eastern Chalukyas, and although Vijayaditya II was defeated, it would be unfair to say that Govinda III had annexed the Vengi country and appointed royal officers for its government.² Odra was the ancient name of Northern Orissa, and included Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Dhenkanal,

1. E.I.; Vol.XXIII, p.75.
 2. Ganguly: Eastern Chalukyas, p.47.

Keonjhar etc. Odra was subject to the Kara dynasty, and Subhakaradeva was the contemporary of Govinda III. The Kara king was an ardent Buddhist, and according to Professor Sylvain Levi, the Chinese Emperor Te-tsong received a manuscript from Subhakaradeva in 795 A.D.¹ The manuscript was autographed by king Subhakara, who is stated to have been the king of Wuch'a, i.e. Uda or Odra. Thus, it is clear that what the Sanjan copperplates have to say about Odra is incorrect. Subhakara was an independent king, and there is no reason to believe that he was dethroned by Govinda III. Dahala, i.e. Bundelkhand, was probably annexed by Govinda and handed over to the feudatory Kalachuri family. It is possible that Dahala was/in the hands of Nagabhata II, the Pratihara king, as the Karitalai stone inscription dated 842 A.D. refers to the defeat of Nagabhata. It is likely that the Kalachuri feudatory of Govinda III was the father of Lakshmanaraja, for whom we have the date 842 A.D.²

The inscriptions relate that the king of Malwa submitted to Govinda of his own accord, and bowed to him with folded hands.³ It is probable that Govinda III annexed

1. E.I.; Vol.XV, p.363 f.
 For the Neulpur grant of Subhakara dated in the 8th regnal year and assigned to the latter half of the 8th century A.D., see *ibid*, pp.1-8.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XXIII, p.256 f.
 3. E.I.; Vol.VI, p.250.

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some parts of Malwa and left the king of Malwa in possession of the rest of the country as a feudatory. The history of Malwa during this period is shrouded in darkness, and therefore we do not know the king's name. The Malwa king is praised in the Rashtakuta inscriptions for having recognised that resistance to a strong aggressor is in vain. The ceded parts of Malwa were probably handed over to Karka, the Emperor's nephew.¹

Relations with the Eastern Chalukyas.

Vishnuvardhana IV, the Eastern Chalukya king of Vengi, died in c. 799 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya II. Vijayaditya was impolitic enough to reverse the foreign policy of his father. His father had given assistance to Govinda III in his wars with the Gangas and Gurjara-Pratiharas. It is probable that Vijayaditya II tried to shake off the yoke loosely placed on him by the Rashtrakutas and perhaps refused to pay tribute. The Rashtakuta inscriptions claim that 'at even half a word by the mouth of a letter-bearer, the Vengi king constantly performed of his own accord his duty like a servant.' The Vengi king is said to have been employed to work as a

1. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.156 f.

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common labourer in the construction of an outer wall round the city. This city may perhaps be Mayurakhindi, the capital of Govinda III. While the Vengi king was thus suffering for his mistake, the Vengi country was ruled by Bhima-Salukki, the younger brother of Vijayaditya II.¹ It appears that Bhima Salukki was ruling the Vengi country as a protégé of Govinda III. After the death of Govinda, Vijayaditya escaped from prison and regained the throne of Vengi. Vijayaditya was stoutly opposed by the Rashtrakuta generals stationed there, and it took him twelve years to reconquer the Vengi country.

The Pallava king Dantivarman had probably tried to throw off his allegiance to the Rashtrakutas. We have already seen how Dantivarman had been humbled by Govinda's father, Dhruva. The civil war in the beginning of Govinda's reign and his long absence in Northern India must have presented a golden opportunity to the Pallava king. The Manne grant of Govinda III records that Govinda marched from Sribhavana to the banks of the river Tungabhadra and 'drew towards himself by showers of arrows the entire wealth of the Pallavas'.² As the Manne grant is dated November,

1. M.R.E.; 1912, p.84.

2. E.C.; Vol.IX, p.52.

Dr. Altekar affirms that Govinda III spent the major part of the rainy season at his capital, but this is directly contrary to inscriptional evidence. The inscriptions say that Govinda spent the rainy season at Sribhavana. See - E.I.; Vol.VI, p.250.

802 A.D., the subjugation of the Pallavas may have taken place in the first half of the same year. A Kanarese copperplate grant, dated Thursday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight ~~xxx~~ of the month of Vaisakhas of the year Subhanu, Saka 726, corresponding to the 4th April 804 A.D., shows that the Emperor was encamped at Ramesvaratirtha. This Ramesvaratirtha is an island in the river Tungabhadra and is quite near Shimoga in the Mysore State. The inscription states that Govinda III had come there to levy tribute from Dantiga, king of Kanchi. This Dantiga is to be identified with Dantivarman, the Pallava king. Govinda III was a keen sportsman, and the inscription states that he had come there to spear the boars that had been preserved for^{his}/sport. The document refers to the confirmation of a grant to a Gorava priest Sivadhari by the Early Chalukya king Kirtivarman II. The charter is important as it supplies us with the name of Govinda's queen Gamundabbe, and that ~~xx~~ of his foreign minister Sridhara.¹

The chronology of Govinda's campaigns in the extreme south of India is rather difficult to determine. It may

1. I.A.; Vol.XI, p.125 f.
 For the date, see I.A.; Vol.XVIII, p.142.

be conjectured that Govinda may have proceeded to attack the Keralas, Pandyas, Cholas and other southern powers in May, 804 A.D., as we find that his camp was already located in the vicinity of Shimoga in the Mysore State in the month of April 804 A.D. It is interesting to note that ^{any}reference to this campaign of Govinda has been omitted in all his inscriptions except the Nesari copperplate grant.¹ As the Nesari copperplates are dated 805 A.D., it seems probable that this campaign of Govinda was over before that date. The only other inscriptions which refer to this campaign are the Sirumstone inscription and the Sanjan copperplates.

It appears that the Mahabali Banas of Eastern Mysore submitted to Govinda merely at his approach. The Nandi copperplates of the Bana king Sriparama are dated 806 A.D., and the inscription is similar in its contents to the copperplates of Govinda III.² In fact, it is a Rashtrakuta record to all intents and purposes. This proves that the Bana king had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rashtrakuta emperor. The Nandi plates register a grant of the village named Kandamangala to one Isvaradasa, head priest of a

1. E.I.; Vol. XXII, p. 217.

2. M.A.S.- A.R.; 1913-14, p. 39 f.

Siva temple. The grant was expressly made with the permission of Prabhutavarsha Srivallabha, who was residing at his capital Mayurakhandi. The Kanarese part of the inscription brings to light the fact that Ratnavali, the daughter of Indapparasa, who is perhaps identical with Indra, the brother of the Rashtrakuta emperor, was married to the Bana king.

The Alupa king Chitravahana II, who was ruling over South Kanara, was defeated and the province was incorporated in the Rashtrakuta empire. A stone inscription discovered at Mavali in the Sorab Taluk of the Mysore State informs us that Chitravahana, ruling over Aluvakheda 6,000 (South Kanara), had become insubordinate, and the Nolamba king who was enraged at this, directed his general Kakarasa to subdue the rebel.¹ Kakarasa besieged the fort at Pergunji, apparently the fort where Chitravahana had taken refuge. In a pitched battle, the Alupa king was overpowered. The inscription mentions the Rashtrakuta emperor Govinda III and his Banavasi viceroy Rajaditya.² Rice has assigned this inscription to c. 800 A.D., but perhaps the

1. E.C.; Vol.VIII, Intro., p.3, Sb.10.

2. For the Alupa kings, see Dr. Saletore's Ancient Karnataka, Vol.I, p.221 f.

date 809 A.D. would be more correct, as the southern campaign of Govinda III has to be placed c. 805 A.D. A copperplate grant¹ discovered in a village near Uppinangadi in South Kanara shows that the province was subject to Govinda III as late as May, 812 A.D.

A verse in the Sanjan copperplates relates that the Gangas, who had become disaffected through baseness, were bound with fetters and put to death. We do not know the names of the Ganga princes who were punished in this way; but a conjecture may be hazarded that one of them was probably the Yuvaraja Marasimha whose Alur copperplates are dated A.D. 799, and of whom we hear no more.² We have already seen that Stambha, the Emperor's^λ elder brother, was governing the Ganga country in 802 A.D. But some Ganga princes continued to rule over parts of Mysore as feudatories. The Chikkaballapur copperplates are dated in the 17th regnal year of Govinda III, i.e. 810 A.D., and, in the opinion of Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya, bring to light a new branch of the Western Ganga dynasty.³ The Ganga prince mentioned therein is Jayateja, who probably submitted to the Rashtrakuta emperor, and thus managed to keep his small

1. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol.II, p.
2. M.A.S.-A.R.; 1924, p.72. 876.
3. Ibid, p 1913-14, p.35 f.

principality.

The Sanjan copperplates record that Govinda III terrified the Kerala, Pandya and Chaulika kings.¹ The Nesari grant of Govinda refers to the defeat of the kings of Kerala, Pandya and Chola countries.² The Sirur stone inscription, dated A.D. 866, alludes to the conquest of the Keralas by Govinda III, but omits the Pandyas and the Cholas.³ The history of the Keralas and Cholas during the first half of the ninth century A.D. is shrouded in darkness, and therefore it is impossible to throw any light on the question. The history of the Pandyas is not so obscure, but their chronology is not based on firm grounds. Professor Nilakanta Sastri, in his able monograph on the Pandyas, has adopted a purely arbitrary chronology. He assigns unusually long periods of reign to certain kings, and the average for one generation according to his chronology is thirty years. This average is certainly too high, the maximum number of years for an average Indian generation being twentyfive years. It is obvious that the chronology proposed by the learned scholar is open to corrections.

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1. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.250 f.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XXIII, p.217 n.5.
 3. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.219.

The Pandya king Sri Mara Srivallabha is said to have conquered Kerala, Simhala, Pallava and Vallabha. The reference to Vallabha in the larger Sinnamanur plates has been overlooked by all those who have studied the inscription. The Vallabha king who came into conflict with the Pandya king could have been only Govinda III. The dates 815 - 862 A.D., assigned to Sri Mara by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri make the Pandya king in question a contemporary of Amoghavarsha I, the son of Govinda III. But the empire of Amoghavarsha I did not extend so far south into the Tamil country, and hence he could not have come into conflict with the Pandya king. Moreover, we know that foreign policy was one of the weakest factors in the reign of Amoghavarsha I. The only other Rashtrakuta emperor, who claims to have subdued the Pandyas, is Krishna III, but Sri Mara, the Pandya king, cannot be assigned to such a late period as the middle of the tenth century A.D.. Therefore, in all probability, the Vallabha defeated by the Pandya king was no other than Govinda III. In my opinion, the Pandya king Sri Mara Srivallabha might possibly be assigned to the period 800-850 A.D., and this slight change in chronology ~~makes~~ ^{makes} him a contemporary of Govinda III. However, the

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1. Madras Reports on Epigraphy, 1907, p.66.
 2. Pandyan Kingdom, p.68.

victory claimed by the Pandya king refers only to the initial reverses which Govinda III may have suffered at the hands of the Pandyas. The Pandya king was unable to cope with a mighty emperor like Govinda III, and the final victory must have been achieved by the latter. It is^a/well-known fact that the poets who compose the inscriptions refer only to the victories of their masters and not their defeats. Hence it is clear why the Sinnamanur plates are silent about this defeat of Sri Mara Srivallabha. The Pallava king was a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas, and it may be conjectured that he rendered active help to his overlord Govinda III.

The king of Lanka, i.e. Ceylon, is stated to have been alarmed at the advance of Govinda III, and to have sent to him as a mark of submission two statues, one of himself and the other of his prime minister. These statues were transported from Helapura to Kanchi, and from Kanchi they were sent to Malkhed, where they were established in the temple of Siva as if they were two columns of fame.¹

1. E.I.; Vol.XVIII, p.254.
R.T.; p.69.

CHAPTER X.

THE RASHTRAKUTAS FROM AMOGHAVARSHA I
TO THE END OF THE DYNASTY.

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Amoghavarsha I.

Govinda III died some time in the year 814 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Sarva Amoghavarsha. He was probably fourteen at the time of his accession.¹ The statement in the Sanjan copperplates that Govinda III considered his son to be capable of bearing the burden of sovereignty seems rather exaggerated. Dr. Altekar has suggested that Karka Suvarnavarsha, the king of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch, was selected as regent by Govinda during the minority of his son.² But there is one objection to this suggestion. If Karka was selected as regent, it is natural that he should have been residing in Mayurakhandi, the capital. Instead we find that he was staying in Khetaka or Kaira, the capital of the Gujarat branch, in February, 817 A.D. The Nausari copperplate grant was issued in that month by Karka from his capital Khetaka.³ Moreover, it seems very unlikely that Karka, if he were really the regent, would have allowed the gross maladministration that prevailed in the early years of Amoghavarsha's reign. It is safer to conclude that he dashed to the assistance of Amoghavarsha later on and crushed the rebellious feudatories.

1. The Sanjan copperplates record that he was born at the end of his father's northern campaign. See E.I., Vol. XXIII, p.217.

2. R.T., p.72.

3. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XX, p.131 f.

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The first three years of Amoghavarsha's reign were probably peaceful, as the Nausari copperplates have nothing to say about the internal troubles of the empire. But the Surat copperplates of Karka, dated the 21st April 821 A.D., refer to the quelling of rebellion and the replacement of Amoghavarsha on the throne.¹ This rebellion seems to have been a serious affair, and the Rashtrakuta empire would have probably collapsed, had it not been for the great efforts made by Karka. Verse 38 of the Sanjan grant tells us that the crooked and deceitful Kali incited the feudatories, ministers and relatives of Amoghavarsha to rebellion.² The rebellion was marked by lawlessness and anarchy. It is difficult to name these feudatories and relatives precisely. Nevertheless, it may be conjectured that the Ganga king Rajamalla and the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya II Narendra-mrigaraja played an important part in this rebellion. Rajamalla's uncle Sivamara II had been imprisoned by Govinda III, and it is not likely that he missed this golden opportunity of declaring his independence. Vijayaditya II had been humbled by Govinda, and therefore it is natural that he should have actively helped the rebels.

1. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.138.

2. E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.254.

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One of Amoghavarsha's relatives who joined the rebels was probably Sankaragana, son of Stambha, the elder brother of Govinda.¹ This prince had a very good claim to the imperial throne as he was the direct descendant of the emperor Dhruva Dhruvavarsha. The rebels may have put Sankaragana on the throne and deposed Amoghavarsha. The Sanjan grant states that Patalamalla crushed the rebels and reinstated Rattamartanda (a surname of Amoghavarsha) on the throne. The Surat plates of Karka relate that he placed Amoghavarsha on the throne after vanquishing the tributary Rashtrakutas who had revolted with a powerful army.² Patalamalla, as suggested by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji and Dr. Altekar, appears to be only a biruda of Karka. It is possible that Karka may have stayed with Amoghavarsha at the capital until the latter had come of age.

The Kavi plates of Govinda, the younger brother of Karka, show that the latter was dead some time before Saka 749, i.e. A.D. 827, and therefore c. 825 A.D. would probably be the correct date of his decease.³ His death probably was a signal for the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya to start hostilities against the Rashtrakutas. It

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1. M.A.S.-A.R., 1927, p.117.
 2. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.143, v.39.
 3. I.A., Vol.V, p.145 f.

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is very likely that he was looking forward to dethrone Amoghavarsha and usurp the Rashtrakuta sovereignty for himself. The Sataluru grant of Vijayaditya III states that his grandfather had built 108 temples of the God Siva to commemorate his fight for twelve years against the generals of Vallabhendra, i.e. the Rashtrakuta emperor.¹ He then ousted his younger brother Bhima from the throne of Vengi. After this exploit he marched against the Gangas of Mysore and subdued them. Next he turned his arms against the Rashtrakutas, and for some time he seems to have carried every thing before him. The Cambay copperplates² of Govinda IV relate that Amoghavarsha won a victory over the Chalukyas in the sanguinary battle of Vingavalli. It appears that several members of the Chalukya family were put to the sword. Vingavalli has been identified by Dr. Ganguly with Binginapalli on the sea coast in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency.³ If this identification is correct it seems probable that the Rashtrakutas were supported by theirⁱⁿ friends, the Gangas of Mysore and the Pallavas, whose kingdoms were in the proximity of the Nellore District. The location of Binginapalli shows that Amoghavarsha had

1. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.V, p.101 f.

2. E.I., Vol.VII, p.29 f.

3. Eastern Chalukyas, p.50.

marched in a south-easterly direction from his capital Malkhed, and that he had penetrated into the very heart of the Chalukya dominions. To commemorate this victory, Amoghavarsha is said to have built a great tank called Jagattungasindhu, apparently so named after his father Jagattunga. From the Karda grant it is clear that it was situated at Malkhed. We are further told that he also built a great palace and a harem there.¹

The Bagumra plates of Indra III, dated the 24th February, 915 A.D., contain two verses which refer to the wars of Amoghavarsha with the Chalukyas. Verse 12 relates that Srivallabha (a biruda of Amoghavarsha) 'raised again the glory of the Ratta kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas', and assumed the epithet Viranarayana. The next verse runs as follows: "Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery Chalukyas his enemies, who had completely devastated (the city of) Stambha, just as (a gardener) after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots."² The Kharda copper-plates of Karka describe Amoghavarsha as 'Chalukya-kalanala' or the fire of destruction of the Chalukyas. Dr. Ganguly

1. I.A.X, Vol.XII, p.268.
2. E.I., Vol.IX, p.39.

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identifies the city of Stambha with Cambay in Gujarat. But this does not seem probable. Assuming that his identification is correct, we have to suppose that the Eastern Chalukyas had completely conquered the Rashtrakutas, which is very unlikely. Moreover, Cambay is about 1,000 miles from Andhradesa, and a glance at the map shows the improbability of this identification. Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar has suggested that it is the same as Tamralipta, i.e. Tamluk in the Midnapur District of Bengal. I do not know what authority there is for this identification. I suggest that Stambhapura may have been probably a town founded by Stambha, who was the viceroy of Mysore in c. 800 A.D. Verse 14 of the Cambay plates describes Amoghavarsha as 'the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, namely, the high family of the Chalukyas.' A temporary peace between the two families was patched up by the marriage of a Rashtrakuta princess named Silamahadevi to Vishnuvardhana, son of Vijayaditya.¹

A stone inscription at Qazipet in the Warangal Division of the Nizam's Dominions is the first positive piece of evidence to prove that Amoghavarsha's successes against the Chalukyas as claimed in the copperplate grants are real. It is dated in the 58th regnal year of Amoghavarsha, which

1. Ganguly: Eastern Chalukyas, p.52.

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corresponds to A.D. 872. Bhima Satyasraya, who may have been a Chalukya prince, is stated to have been his feudatory. The find-spot of the inscription suggests that he had wrested the western parts of Andhradesa from the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi.¹

The Konnur stone inscription of Amoghavarsha is dated the 3rd October, A.D. 860.² This inscription, although it is inscribed in Kanarese characters of the eleventh century, seems to have been based on a genuine copperplate grant of Amoghavarsha's reign. Prof. Kielhorn's view that 'the inscription cannot possibly be admitted to be a true copy of a genuine copperplate charter' hardly does justice to the inscription. It is very similar to the Sanjan Copperplates of Amoghavarsha, and this is clearly seen from the fact that these are the only two inscriptions which supply us with the unique name of Prichchhakaraja for Indra I. The Konnur inscription gives a eulogistic account of Amoghavarsha's feudatory Bankeya of the Mukula family. This Bankeya was the governor of Banavasi province. At the command of the king he invaded the Ganga dominions in Mysore and probably annexed some parts of the country. This is

1. H.A.S.-A.R., 1933, p.23 f.
2. E.I., Vol.VI, p.30 f.

confirmed by the inscriptions of the Gangas themselves, who admit that a bit of the country was in the possession of Bankeya.¹ Verse 25 refers to his capture of a fortress named Kedala, probably somewhere in Mysore. Verse 26 refers to the flight of the lord of Talavanapura (Talakad), who must have been a Ganga king. In the next verse Bankeya is said to have crossed river Kaveri, and 'shook the mighty dominion of him even who was able to shake the world.' To which prince this verse alludes is difficult to say. But it may be guessed that the prince whose territory Bankeya had attacked was probably a Chōla, who ruled on the other side of Kaveri. While Bankeya was at the height of his campaign, he was recalled by Amoghavarsha to quell a rebellion that had arisen at home. This shows that Amoghavarsha was incapable of maintaining order at home, while his famous general Bankeya was away. A son of Amoghavarsha is also to have joined the rebels, but after their defeat by Bankeya, he escaped. The rebels were imprisoned and some of them put to death by Bankeya.

The Nilgund inscription of Amoghavarsha, dated the 16th June, 866 A.D., records that Atisayadhavala (that is,

1. M.A.S.-A.R., 1919, p.27 f.

Amoghavarsha) was worshipped by the lords of Vanga, Anga, Magadha, Malava and Vengi.¹ Dr. Fleet had remarked that there was no doubt about the kings of Malava and Vengi being the subordinates of Amoghavarsha. But Malava was being ruled at that time by the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor Mihirabhoja, and the claim of Amoghavarsha must therefore be false. The same is the case with Vanga and Anga. Devapala, the Pala king of Vanga and Anga was an independent monarch, and it is not likely that he worshipped Amoghavarsha. Perhaps it would be true to say that all the above-mentioned kings honoured Amoghavarsha on account of his saintly and pious nature and not for any political reasons.

Amoghavarsha did not take an active part in the politics of Northern India. He was more occupied with spiritual than secular affairs. Moreover, his reign was full of domestic troubles. Had Amoghavarsha the spirit and energy of his father, he would certainly have intervened in the politics of Northern India, when a weak king like Ramabhadra was on the Gurjara-Pratihara throne. Ramabhadra's reign lasted only for four years, i.e. 833-36 A.D.,

1. E.I., Vol.VI, p.98 f.

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and it was a period of stress and storm¹. He was succeeded by his son Mihira Bhoja (c. 836-885 A.D.), who was a very capable monarch. The Barah copperplate grant issued by him in 836 A.D. shows that northern Bundelkhand was lost to the Gurjara Pratiharas by the Rashtrakutas under Amoghavarsha². Although Kalanjara was lost, Amoghavarsha seems to have held possession of Southern Bundelkhand, i.e. the country round Jabalpur. This is proved by a stone inscription discovered at Karitalai in the Jabalpur District.³ It is dated in the year 593 of the Kalachuri era, which corresponds to A.D. 842, and mentions Amoghavarsha and his feudatory Lakshmanaraja. The mention of Kalinjara-mandala in the Barah copperplate led Dr. Tripathi to the view that the whole of Bundelkhand was included in the Gurjara dominions. But the Karitalai inscription clearly proves that Amoghavarsha retained his hold on Southern Bundelkhand.

Bhoja was the most remarkable prince of his family. He had moved his capital to Kanauj and extended the boundaries of his empire in all directions. Dr. Tripathi rightly holds that Bhoja had annexed Ujjain to the Kanauj empire. Kathiawad had already been conquered by him, and he was

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1. Tripathi: History of Kanauj, p.237.
 2. E.I., Vol.XIX, p.16 f.
 3. E.I., Vol.XXIII, p.256 f.

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knocking at the gates of Lata or Southern Gujarat.¹ But he met with unexpected resistance. His armies were routed by Dhruva Dh^{a n}~~ruv~~avarsha of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch. It is very probable that Dhruva may have received some help from Amoghavarsha. This defeat of Bhoja was a decisive one, and thereafter he refrained from measuring swords again with the Rashtrakuta empire. The exact date of this event cannot be determined; it must have taken place before Saka 789 or 867 A.D., the date of the plates of Dantivarman.²

The Pala king Devapala claims that he ruled over the country bounded by the Himalayas in the north and by Rama's Bridge in the south. This is undoubtedly a gross exaggeration. A more moderate claim is the one made by the Mungir copperplate. This document states that his war elephants were wandering in the forests of the Vindhya mountains. The Badal pillar inscription informs us that acting on the advice of his able minister, Kedara Misra, Devapala subdued the whole region from the Vindhya to the Himalayas. He is said to have eradicated the race of the Utkalas and scattered the pride of the rulers of Dravida.³

1. History of Kanauj, p.245.

2. E.I., Vol.VI, p.286 f.

3. Ray: Dynastic History, Vol.I, p.291.

This ruler of Dravida was probably Amoghavarsha I. Devapala has been assigned to the period 815-854 A.D. by Dr. H.C. Ray. The success claimed by him seems to have been only a minor achievement. Dr. Altekar writes that the Pala king, who defeated a Dravida king, was Narayanapala.¹ But this must be a mistake for Devapala. The same scholar has further suggested that 'after occupying Vengi-mandala, the generals of Amoghavarsha advanced through Orissa further eastwards, when they may have come into hostile contact with Vanga forces.' It is difficult to endorse this ingenious suggestion. The learned scholar's suggestion involves two suppositions. Firstly, he has assumed that Amoghavarsha had conquered the whole of the Vengi country; and secondly that Amoghavarsha's generals had conquered the whole of Orissa. Both these assumptions are groundless. I fully agree with another suggestion of Dr. Altekar that 'a march through Baghelkhand and Bihar was impossible owing to the rise of the Gurjara Pratiharas.' The frontiers of Rashtrakuta and the Pala kingdoms touched each other only in the province of Southern Kosala. This province had been annexed by Govinda III, the father of Amoghavarsha.

1. R.T., p.77.

The Pala king may have attacked the Rashtrakuta governor of Southern Kosala, but failed to secure that province for himself. This event may be assigned to c. 850 A.D., as Devapala's death took place in the year 854 A.D.

In South India, Amoghavarsha's policy was not very successful. The only southern expedition was the one under Bankeya, the governor of Banavasi. But no permanent gains were achieved by this. Bankeya's territories included the whole of North Kanara and a part of the Shimoga and Chitaldoorg Districts.¹ Gangavadi, which was a part of the empire during Govinda's reign, was now lost to the Gangas. A marriage alliance between the Gangas and the Rashtrakutas closed the hostilities. Chandrobbalabba, the daughter of Amoghavarsha, was married to the Ganga prince Butuga Gunaduttaranga. She is described as 'handsome-limbed beautiful lady, the outcome of many blessings, the abode of prosperity, modesty, fame and all virtues, versed in dancing and other accomplishments', in the Kudlur copperplates of Marasimha.² The relations between the Pallavas and the Rashtrakutas were probably of a friendly nature. Mr. Gopalan has suggested that a daughter of

1. E.I., Vol.VII, p.212.
2. M.A.S.-A.R., 1921, p.21.

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Amoghavarsha was married to Nandivarman III (c. 826-849 A.D.¹) It is tempting to suggest that the name Nripatunga of Nandivarman's son may have been borrowed from the Rashtrakuta family. However, nothing definite can be said about the Rashtrakuta princess. She may or may not have been a daughter of Amoghavarsha. Mr. Gopalan assigns Nripatunga to the period 849-875 A.D., and it may be inferred that he was about thirty at the time of accession.² If this inference is correct, he must have been born in c. 819 A.D. Amoghavarsha was only nineteen at that time, and therefore it is absurd to suggest that Nripatunga's mother was a daughter of Amoghavarsha. The suggestion then that Nripatunga was a grandson of Amoghavarsha falls to the ground. The only inference that can be drawn is that as the two families were related by marriage, their relations were probably cordial.

Amoghavarsha's reign is memorable as a long record of family squabbles. We have already seen how he was deposed and replaced on the throne in the first five years of his reign. In c. 827 A.D., Govinda of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch had made himself practically independent. He was

1. Pallavas of Kanchi, p.139.
2. Ibid.

succeeded by Dhruva I, son of Karka Suvarnavarsha. The name of Govinda has been omitted from later genealogies because he was a collateral. Dr. Altekar's supposition that Govinda was 'never a de jure ruler' is clearly unfounded.¹ The Kavi plates of Govinda distinctly show that the grant was issued by him in his own right from his capital Broach. He is said to have obtained all the Mahasabdhas, and is styled Mahasamantadhipati.² The earliest known date for Dhruva I is the one supplied by his Baroda grant of 835 A.D.³ The death of Govinda and the accession of Dhruva must therefore have taken place some time between 827 and 835 A.D. The Baroda copperplates show that Dhruva had recognized Amoghavarsha as his sovereign.⁴ Some time after 835 A.D., the Gujarat Rashtrakutas were involved in a life and death struggle with a king named Vallabha. This Vallabha denoted Amoghavarsha I, whose biruda Srivallabha may have been easily contracted into Vallabha. Dr. Altekar writes that 'either Amoghavarsha was ungrateful, or Dhruva I was puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father who had restored Amoghavarsha to the throne.'⁵ The Bagumra plates, dated the 6th June, 867 A.D., relate that Dhruva

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1. R.T., p.81.
 2. I.A., Vol.V, p.247.
 3. I.A., Vol.XIV, p.197.
 4. Ibid; p.201.
 5. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.69.

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'went to heaven, his body being purified by the wounds inflicted with hundreds of weapons.'¹ The Gujarat records claim that although Dhruva died on the battlefield while fighting against the forces of Vallabha, he was victorious. Dhruva Nirupama was followed on the throne by his son Akalavarsha Subhatunga. Amoghavarsha does not seem to have stopped the family war even after the death of his cousin. He renewed his attacks on the Gujarat branch during the reign of Subhatunga. According to verse 34 the latter succeeded in recovering 'his paternal empire that had been attacked by the army of Vallabha.'² The same verse shows that some of the servants of Subhatunga were wicked and disloyal and had joined the side of Amoghavarsha. We do not know how Akalavarsha died; it is possible that he may have died fighting against Vallabha. His son Dhruva succeeded to the Gujarat throne after the death of his father. He must have been quite young at the time of his accession. But his reign was not a peaceful one. Amoghavarsha, although he was a Jain by religion, had no desire to leave his Gujarat relatives in peace. It is a curious commentary on his Jainism. Had Amoghavarsha been a wise and

1. I.A., Vol.XII, p.188.

2. Ibid.

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far-seeing statesman like his father, he would have made peace with the Gujarat branch. Verse 37 of the Bagumra charter runs as follows:

"Here the host of the powerful Gurjaras, hurrying up to encounter him, there hostile Vallabha; (here) the kinsmen who had become seditious, there the treachery of his younger brother - (all) became quiet through fear of him. Ah! wonderful was the flashing of thy sword, King Nirupama.¹"

Nirupama referred to above is only a secondary name of Dhruva II. Despite so many difficulties, he succeeded in regaining his throne. Some of his relatives joined the side of the Gurjara-Pratihara emperor Mihira Bhoja, who launched a fierce attack upon Dhruva's kingdom. Dhruva asserts that he conquered the unconquerable Mihira (sun) who disappeared, 'his face being covered by the darkness of defeat.'² The invasion of Mihira Bhoja must have come as an eye-opener to Amoghavarsha, who hastily sent help to Dhruva to resist the invasion. Had the two branches of the Rashtrakuta dynasty not acted in cooperation, it is possible that Maharashtra would have succumbed to Rajput domination.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid, p.189.

The Bagumra plates of Dhruva reveal the name of his younger brother, Govinda, who is said to have assisted the former in his several wars. Govinda was appointed as Dutaka or messenger as regards this grant. The charter was written by the foreign minister Kalyana, and records the grant of a village named Parahanaka to a Brahman called Jolibha. The grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun by Dhruva after bathing in the sacred river Narmada at Broach.

A copperplate grant discovered somewhere in Gujarat and published by Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar brings to light the name of Dantivarman, a younger brother of Dhruva II.¹ This Dantivarman has the unique biruda of Aparimitavarsha, and is said to be a Mahasam^atadhipati who had obtained the five great sounds. The Mahamatya Krishnabhata was appointed to act as the messenger of this charter. It is interesting to note that the inscription opens with the formula, 'om om namo Buddhāya', and records the grant of a village to a Buddhist vihara at Kampilya. The date of the inscription corresponds to the 23rd December, A.D. 867.²

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1. E.I., Vol.VI, p.286.
 2. Ibid, (Additions).

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It appears that some great calamity had befallen the people during the reign of Amoghavarsha. What this was, it is difficult to say; but it may be conjectured that a serious famine was ravaging the country. On this occasion Viranarayana, alias Amoghavarsha, is stated to have presented one of his left fingers to Mahalakshmi, the primary deity of Kolhapur.¹ Verse 47 of the Sanjana record compares him to Jimutaketu, Sibi and Dadhicha, and suggests that he was superior to all of them. Some such verse was probably known to Bhattakalanka, the author of the Kanarese work Karnataka-sabdanusasana. Bhattakalanka was a Jain by religion, and lived c. 1600 A.D.² He writes that 'in bountifulness Nripatunga is superior twice to Bali, to Dadhichi, thrice when/^{one}considers to Jimutavahana, a hundred times ~~and~~ indeed to Sibi, a thousand times to the Earth.'³

Amoghavarsha's reign is remarkable for the literary activity of the period. He himself was well-versed both in Sanskrit and Kanarese. He is said to have composed the Prasnottararatnamalika in Sanskrit and/^{the}Kavirajamarga in Kanarese. The former is a little catechism of morals. The latter is a treatise on poetics and is mainly based on

1. E.I., Vol.XVIII, p.235 f.

2. Karnataka-sabdanusasana (1923), p.5 (Intro.)

3. Ibid, p.320.

Irmadi Balige Dadhīcige mūrmadi
Jimūtavāhanangam bageyal Sibigam
diṭa sāsirmadi migil ilege cagadol
Nripatungam.

the Kavyadarśa of Dandin.¹ It supplies us with several birudas of Amoghavarsha; the most notable are Viranarayana, Narabkachandra, Nitinirantara, Nityamalla-vallabha, Atiśayadhavala and Kritakrityamalla-vallabha. He seems to have adopted the Jaina faith, and like Chandragupta Maurya had abdicated the throne. An important work on mathematics was composed during his reign by the Jain scientist Viracharya. This work, known as Ganitasarasangraha, refers to Amoghavarsha Nripatunga in the opening Prasasti. He is also mentioned in the Adipurana of Jinasena. We are further informed here that~~he~~ he was the disciple of Jinasena, the guru of Gunabhadra.² The commentary Jayadhavala of Virasena on the Adipurana was composed in Saka 759, i.e. 837 A.D., during the reign of Amoghavarsha. Nripatunga's name was remembered for a long time by the Kanarese poets. A stanza in the Kavyalokana of Nagavarma, who flourished c. 1150 A.D., runs thus:- "Possessed of auspicious good qualities like an elephant, possessed of unfeigned courage like a lion, capable like the ocean of protecting those who sought refuge with him, and immovable as a mountain in his intentions, such was the famous Nripatunga."³ The Śabda-manidarpana of Kesiraja, who lived in the thirteenth

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1. ~~See~~ Kavirajamarga, Introduction.
 2. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol.XVIII, p.226.
 3. I.A., Vol.XXXIII, p.197 f.

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century A.D., says that Nripatunga was 'brave and generous and pure and profoundly sagacious and conversant with polity.'¹

Krishna II.

The last known date of Amoghavarsha is the one furnished by a Silahara inscription from Kanheri. This inscription refers to the great feudatory Kapardin, the lord of Konkana, and mentions Amoghavarsha as the paramount emperor. The date given is Saka 799, which corresponds to 877 A.D. It does not seem likely that the emperor survived long after this date; he was now approaching his eightieth year. It is difficult to say when his death took place. The accession of his son Krishna II must have occurred some time before the year Saka 805.² The cyclic year is given as Sobhakrit, which corresponds to A.D. 883-884. This is the earliest date so far obtained for Akalavarsha Kannarabhattachara, i.e. Krishna II, and credit for this is due to Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao, who has published the two stone inscriptions concerned. They were discovered in the villages of Soratur and Sirumja in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District. The alphabet and language used is the

1. Ibid.

2. A stone inscription at Hirebidri in the Bombay Karnataka refers itself to the reign of Subhatunga, i.e. Krishna, and is dated Saka 800, i.e. 878 A.D. It is rather unfortunate that this inscription has not been published in full. A.S.I.-A.R., 1935-36, p.103.

ancient Kanarese. The first inscription brings to light the name of Indapayya, the governor of Purigere-nadu, and registers the gift of a gosasa (land for supplying pasture to the cows) by a certain Chidanna made in the presence of the fifty mahajanas of Soratur. The second is a hero-stone and reports the death of a certain Ereyamma of Nivudi.¹ Both the inscriptions are of great importance, as they supply us with the earliest date for Krishna II.

The friendly relations of the Imperial Rashtrakutas with their relatives of Southern Gujarat soon came to an end after the accession of Krishna II. Perhaps Dhruva II considered that the suzerainty of the imperial branch had lapsed after the death of Amoghavarsha, and may have refused to recognize the supremacy of Krishna. The reasons for the continued hostility of the Gujarat branch to Amoghavarsha and Krishna are not evident. However, it seems possible that the Gujarat & Rashtrakutas championed the cause of orthodox Brahmanism against the Jainistic tendencies of the two emperors. This may have been one of the grounds of the quarrel between the two families, and when coupled with personal ambitions, indirectly added fuel to

1. E.I., Vol.XXI, p.206 f.

the flame. It is likely that some prominent members of the Malkhed court supported the cause of the Gujarat branch, and may have conspired to dethrone Krishna II. This alone will explain the very drastic nature of the steps taken by the latter to suppress his relatives in Gujarat. In any case, the overthrow of his near relatives reflects no great credit on him, and it was positively disastrous for the Rashtrakuta empire in the long run, as Lata was lost to the Chalukyas in c. 935 A.D.

The newly discovered copperplate grant of Dhruva II, edited by Dr. Altekar, is important because it furnishes the latest date for Dhruva II.¹ It proves that Dhruva II was governing Southern Gujarat at least until November, 884 A.D. It is interesting to note that it ignores Krishna II altogether. Dhruva II may have revolted soon after this date. It is true that he does not style himself as Maharajadhiraja, but he was probably marking time. Krishna II was busy fighting with the Eastern Chalukyas in Telingana, and could not spare time to punish the rebellious Gujarat branch. Dhruva II died some time before 15th April, 888 A.D., the date of the Bagumra plates of his nephew and

1. E.I., Vol.XXII, p.64 f.

successor, Krishna Akalavarsha.¹ The relations of the Gujarat branch with the Imperial branch seem to have improved after the death of Dhruva II. The Bagumra plates omit the mention of Krishna's name as suzerain. The only reference to him is the one in verse 23, which mentions king Vallabha. This verse states that Krishna of the Gujarat branch 'established his fame in distant parts, when sword in hand, he conquered his enemies in Ujjayini before the eyes of the Vallabha king.'² This verse apparently suggests that Krishna took a prominent part in conquering Ujjain, the capital of Malwa, for his master from the hands of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. What exactly were the relations of the Gujarat branch with the Imperial branch after the capture of Ujjain is difficult to say. The Bagumra charter informs us that Krishna was residing at Ankulesvar in the Broach District, and that after having bathed in the holy river Narmada on the occasion of a solar eclipse, he granted a village named Kavithasadhi in the Konkana province to two Brahmans.

The Kapadwanaj copperplates of Krishna II reveal the name of Prachanda, a mahasamanta and a son of Dhavalappa.

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1. I.A., Vol.XIII, p.67.

2. "yena khadgadvitīyena vallabhanripasya pasyatah
ujjayinyam ripun-jitvā dūram-uttambhitam yasah."

This Prachanda was apparently appointed as a governor of Lata by Krishna II after he had crushed the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch. The following ^{is} the genealogy of Prachanda of the Brahmavaka family.

Kumbadi.
|
Degadi.
|
Rajahamsa.
|
Dhavalappa.
|
Prachanda.

Dr. Altekar has suggested that Prachanda may have been a native of Karnataka, but the names of his ancestors like Kumbadi and Degadi tend to show that the family was purely a Gujarati one.¹ Names like Kumbadi and Degadi perhaps occur only in Gujarat and not ⁱⁿ any other part of India. The charter records that Krishna II granted the villages of Vyaghrasa and Vallurika to one Brahmabhatta of the Bharadvaja gotra. It appears from the charter that there were 750 villages under the control of Prachanda, and the three most important villages were Khetaka, Harshapura and Kasadrah. The inscription brings to light the name of Chandragupta, a general of Prachanda. The writer of the

1. R.T., p.98.

grant, Ammiyaka, seems to have committed several mistakes. The date is given as Saka 832, the full-moon day of the bright half of the month of Vaisakha.¹

One of the inscriptions of Govinda IV states that the enemies of Krishna II abandoned Khetaka, i.e. Kaira.² This evidently alludes to the expulsion of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch. This inference is confirmed by a verse in the Karhad copperplates of Krishna III dated March, 959, which informs us that Krishna II 'destroyed the egregious pride, generated by prosperity, of the arrogant Lāta.'

Krishna's reign does not seem to have been very eventful. There is only one copperplate grant belonging to his reign, and the inscriptions of his successors have nothing specific to say about him. A verse in the Karhad copperplates records that he 'terrified the Gurjara, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their sleep', and that 'his command was honoured by the Anga, the Kalinga, the Ganga and the Magadha waiting at his gate.'³ The same verse further tells us that 'he was the preceptor charging the Gaudas with the vow of humility', and this claim seems possible

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1. E.I., Vol.I, p.52 f.
 2. E.I., Vol.VII, p.38, v.13.
 3. E.I., Vol.IV, p.278 f.

when we remember that one of the daughters of Krishna II was married to a Pala king. Her name is given as Bhagyadevi in the Bangad grant; she was married to Rajyapala, the son and successor of Narayanapala.¹

There is some truth no doubt in the assertion that he had frightened the Gurjara, but despite this we know it for certain that the Gurjara-Pratihara empire under Mahendrapala I was expanded so as to include Bengal (northern) and Bihar. The claims made as regards the Gangas and Kalingas may be rejected as fantastic. Krishna II had indeed succeeded in capturing Ujjain in the first decade of his reign with the help of Akalavarsha of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch, but in all probability he must have lost Ujjain soon after 890 A.D. to the Gurjara-Pratiharas.²

Krishna II was married to a daughter of Kokalla, the Kalachuri king of Tripuri, and 'an ornament of the dynasty of Sahasrarjuna.' It may be assumed that this marriage took place probably in the year 860 A.D. The Amoda copperplates of Prithivideva I, edited by Rai Bahadur Hiralal, assert that Kokalla raided the treasuries of Karnata, Vanga, Gurjara and Konkana kings.³ We are concerned only with

1. Ray: Dynastic History, Vol. I, p. 304.

2. A fragmentary Pratihara inscription preserved in the Barton Museum at Bhavanagar (Kathiawad) refers to Bhoja I by his secondary name Varaha in line 11. Next is mentioned the river Reva and the retreat of Krishna to his own country. This Krishna has been identified with Krishna II by Mr. Diskalkar. E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 175.

3. E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 75.

the mention of the first and the last names in the list. The king of Karnata was evidently Amoghavarsha I, and the Konkana king must be his Silahara feudatory Kapardin II.

Dr. Ganguli has noticed this reference, but he has offered no explanation.¹ He has demonstrated that Kokalla was born in c. 816 A.D.; therefore the probable period of his reign may perhaps be fixed as c. 840-880 A.D. We have already seen that Dahala was conquered by Govinda II and handed over to the Kalachuris, an ancient feudatory family. Kokalla was an ambitious prince, and, taking advantage of the weak rule^{of} Amoghavarsha, rebelled. The latter was probably unable to subdue the rebel and the hardy warriors of Dahala. It is possible that Kokalla looted the treasuries of Amoghavarsha and Kapardin, and declared his complete independence. Amoghavarsha realized that it was better to conciliate his old feudatory by a marriage alliance between Krishna and the daughter of Kokalla. It seems very improbable that Kokalla should have attacked the Rashtrakutas after the marriage had been celebrated. The Crown Prince Jagattunga was married to Lakshmi, the daughter of Sankaragana, alias Ranavighraha, the son of Kokalla. The marriage

1. I.H.Q., Vol.XIII, p.483.

of Jagattunga to his maternal uncle's daughter is instructive; such marriages are sanctioned in Maratha families according to the Hindu Sastras. The matrimonial relations of the Rashtrakutas with the Kalachuris are a factor of great political importance. Perhaps it will not be too much to say that one great, though loosely knit empire stretched from the banks of the Ganges to the river Kavery.

The hostilities between the Eastern Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas were reopened on the accession of Krishna II. But this time the offensive had passed into the hands of the Eastern Chalukyas. Vijayaditya Parachakrarama, the Chalukya king, was served by two brilliant generals, Kandayaraja and Panduranga, and also by a clever Brahman adviser named Vinayadi Sarma. Before his attack on the Rashtrakutas, Vijayaditya had won great success in Southern India. He had humbled the Pallavas and burnt the city of Nellurapura, i.e. Nellore. He also had obtained plenty of gold from the Pallavas. Moreover, Vijayaditya had offered shelter to Vijayalaya, the Chola king, who had fled before the advancing Pandyan forces.¹ Dr. Ganguly opines that Vijayaditya restored the Chola monarch to his possessions in Tanjore.

1. Eastern Chalukyas, p.58.

According to Dr. Altekar, the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna II instigated the Eastern Chalukyas to attack the Nolambas of the Chitaldurg and Tumkur Districts and the Gangas of Mysore. Dr. Altekar himself admits that the theory looks a little ^uinconvincing. This becomes more so when we remember that the Nolambas were vassals of the Rashtrakutas and the Gangas their relatives and allies.¹ Mangi, a Nolamba prince, was killed in a battle with Vijayaditya, who 'played the game of ball on the battlefield with the head of Mangiraja.'² The credit for the killing of Mangi is given by Vijayaditya to his adviser Vinayadi Sarma, who suggested some sort of device. This cunning Brahman was well rewarded by his master with the grant of a village. The identification of Mangi with Mahendra, the Nolamba king, is untenable.³ Firstly, there is no phonetic resemblance between the two names. Secondly, this is disproved by the fact that Mahendra was alive in 893 A.D., while Vijayaditya had died five years earlier.⁴ The Gangas of Mysore were also reduced by Vijayaditya and it seems probable that a Ganga prince named Butarasa, brother of the

1. It is possible that the term 'Rattesa' may have been used to denote some other Rashtrakuta prince and not Krishna II.
 2. E.I., Vol.V, p.126, v.5.
 3. Ganguly: Eastern Chalukyas, p.60.
 4. E.I., Vol.X, p.68.

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Ganga king Satyavakya II, lost his life in an action with the Chalukyas. The son of Butarasa was made Yuvaraja in 886 A.D.; therefore the death of Butarasa may have taken place in 884 A.D.

After reducing the Gangas and the Nolambas, Vijayaditya marched against the Rashtrakutas. He succeeded in defeating the generals of Krishna II, and the latter was compelled to take the field in person. The Kalachuri crown prince Sankaragana rushed to the help of Krishna II. But they were both unable to stem the tide of the Chalukyan advance. Vijayaditya marched into Southern Kosala and Vidarbha and burnt the towns of Achalapura and Kiranapura.¹ Achalapura is evidently Ellichpur in Berar, and Kiranapura is situated in the Balaghat District.² It appears that Kiranapura was the place where the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna II and Sankaragana were residing for the time being. The credit for the burning of Kiranapura is given to the Chalukya general Panduranga.³ Another town called Chakrakuta, somewhere in the Bastar State, was also burnt by the Chalukyas. Peace was made between the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas.

1. A.R.S.I.E., 1923, p.98.

2. Hemachandra's Prakrit Grammar; 8,2,118.

3. The Masulipatam copperplates state that Vijayaditya acquired the surname Tripurā-martya-maheśvara because he had burnt three cities.

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What the terms were we do not know. But the treaty must have been humiliating to the Rashtrakutas who had lost the war.

Meanwhile Vijayaditya died in the year 888 A.D., and was succeeded by his nephew Bhima I. The accession of Bhima was a signal for the repudiation of the treaty by the Rashtrakutas. The armies of Krishna II were victorious and probably occupied some parts of the Vengi kingdom. Dr Ganguly affirms that "the whole of the Andhra country together with the Guntur and Nellore Districts was taken possession of by the Rashtrakutas".¹ However, there is no evidence to support this supposition. A copperplate grant discovered at Ederu in the Kistna District states that ~~xx~~ Bhima I "whose other name was Doharjuna, illumined the country of Vengi, - which had been overrun by the army of the Ratta claimants, just as by dense darkness after sunset, - by the flashing of his sword, the only companion of his valour, and became king."² But the statement that the whole of the Vengi country was occupied by the Rashtrakutas seems to be an ^exaggeration. The fact that Bhima I

1. Eastern Chalukyas, p.67.
2. S.I.I., Vol.I, p.42.

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performed his coronation ceremony four years after the death of his father points to the troubled state of the country. Bhima made great efforts to rescue his country from the hands of the Rashtrakutas, and in this task he was aided by his general Panduranga. It appears that the Gujarat Rashtrakuta branch had joined hands with Krishna II. The Masulipatam copperplates record that Bhima defeated the army of Krishna and put to flight the kings of Karnata and Lata.¹ The king of Lata must have been Krishna of the Gujarat branch. Two pitched battles were fought at Niravadyapura and Peruvangurgrama in which the charming son of Bhima, aged 16, was killed. Unfortunately the name of this brave prince is nowhere mentioned. He had killed the Rashtrakuta general Dandena-Gundaya in one of the battles. Bhima performed the obsequies of his son, and granted a village to forty-five Brahmans.

A stone inscription from the Shikarpur Taluk of the Mysore State mentions Akalavarsha Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Kannaradeva, and his feudatory Mahasamanta Kali Bittarasa, governor of Banavasi 12,000. The date is given as Saka 834 and the cyclic year as Prajapati, which corresponds

XX 834-12 XXX²

1. M.R.E., 1914, p.84.

2. E.G., XXX.XX

to 911-12 A.D.¹

A stone inscription discovered at Kavajgeri in the Ron Taluk of the Dharwar District furnishes the latest date for Krishna II.² The date corresponds to June 4, 912 A.D., Thursday. Krishna probably died in the same year and was succeeded by his grandson Indra.

Nothing particular is known as regards Jagattunga, the son of Krishna. The Nausari copperplate grant states that Jagattunga 'broke up the host of his enemies' and that he married Lakshmi, the daughter of Sankaragana, the lord of Chedi.³ From her was born Indra, who ascended the throne after his grandfather's death. An unpublished Silahara copperplate grant passes over Jagattunga in silence, because he did not reign.⁴

Indra III.

The reign of Indra, though short, was a glorious period of military successes. He was a general of the same

1. E.C., Vol.VII, Sk.219.

This inscription is very interesting because it shows that a woman could hold the title of her husband and assume his office also. In this case Jakkiyabbe, the wife of a nal-gavunda Sattarasa of the Nagarakhand 70 district, was appointed to her husband's office after his death. She is said to have held her high office with great credit for a period of seven years. Further, we are told that she resigned her office to her daughter before her death at the tirtha of Badanika.

2. A.R.S.I.E., 1928, p.37.

3. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XVIII, p.253 f.

4. R.T., p.106, n.59.

calibre as his ancestor Govinda III. Some time before the year 915 A.D., Indra is said to have vanquished a king called Meru and defeated a certain prince Upendra.¹ Meru may possibly be identified with the Bana king Vijayaditya II Prabhumeru, for whom we have an inscription dated A.D. 905.² The Banas were ruling in the Chittor^o District, and may have recognised the supremacy of the Rashtrakutas. The identification of Upendra presents some difficulties. It seems possible that he should be identified with Krishnaraja alias Vakpati I, the Paramara ruler. The earliest date for Siyaka Harsha, the grandson of Vakpati I, is 949 A.D., and Krishna may well have been a contemporary of Indra.³

Indra was quick to realize the growing strength of the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj under Mahipala, the successor of Bhoja II. During the reign of Amoghavarsha I and his son Krishna II, the Rashtrakutas had lost their hegemony in North Indian politics. It was practically restored by the Kanauj campaign of Indra. The Cambay copperplates of Govinda IV record that Indra 'completely devastated that hostile city of Mahodaya, which is even to-day greatly

1. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol.XVIII, p.253 f.

2. Sewell: Historical Inscriptions, p.41.

3. Upendra and Krishna are synonymous and it may be pointed out that Upendra is the first prince of the Paramara family in some genealogies.

renowned among men by the name Kusasthala.¹ A close examination of the record reveals the fact that Indra halted at the city of Kalpi, and having crossed the river Jumna with the aid of his cavalry, reached Kanauj. Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar's identification of Kalapriya with Ujjain is untenable. Kalpi may be easily derived from Kalapriya. Moreover, there is no reason why the poet should not mention Ujjain by its own famous name of Ujjayini. A glance at the map convinces one of the strategic importance of Kalpi for a southern invader. The Khajuraho inscription of the Chandella king Harshadeva informs us that he reinstated Kshitipala, i.e. Mahipala, on the throne of Kanauj.² Indra's mother was a Kalachuri princess, and it seems very likely that he was actively supported by the Kalachuris while he conducted his expedition into North India. Without their help Indra would not have been able to capture Kalpi and march directly on Kanauj.

Indra was accompanied by his feudatory Narasimha, the father of Arikesarin. Narasimha was governing a part of Eastern Maharashtra and Telingana. The Pampa Bharata

1. E.I., Vol.VII, p.26 f.
2. E.I., Vol.I, p.122.

states that Narasimha captured the champion elephants and put to flight the army of the Ghurjjara king. This Narasimha had a strong host of elephants under his command, as appears from the Parabhani copperplates. The poet further writes: "Terrified at the army of this Naraga, which fell like a thunderbolt, Mahipala fled in consternation, not stopping to eat or sleep or rest. His own horse he bathed at the junction of the Ganges and the sea."¹ The place where Narasimha bathed his horse was probably Prayaga, where the Ganges meets the Jumna, and the vast expanse of water caused thereby may appropriately be compared to the sea.

The campaign of Indra III may be assigned to the years 916-17 A.D.

1. Rice: Pampa Bharata (1898), p.3.

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A passage occurring in the Nalachampu, a Sanskrit work written by Trivikrama, describes the empire of Nala, the mythical king. This Trivikrama was a court poet of Indra III, and the description of Nala's empire may very well refer by implication to the empire of Indra.¹ He states that Nala was ruling over Lata, Kuntala, Nasik, Madhyadesa and Kanchi. This description could hardly be applied to the kingdom of Nala, who as is well-known, was only a ruler of Nishadha. Lata, Kuntala and Nasik were the integral parts of Indra's empire. Madhyadesa, i.e. the Kanauj kingdom had been subdued by Indra. None of the inscriptions, however, refer to his victory over the king of Kanchi. The Pallavas had been deprived of their power by the Chôlas, but whether the latter were really in possession of Kanchi is very doubtful. It seems probable that Kanchi may have passed into the hands of the Rashtrakutas, and this alone will explain the mention of Kanchi by Trivikrama. The city was soon lost by the Rashtrakutas to the Cholas during the weak rule of Govinda IV. It is interesting to note that Indra was ruling over the Bellary district in 922 A.D., and this suggests that a part of the ancient Pallava empire had passed into his hands.²

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1. Nalachampu, p.21. (Kavyamala edn.)
 2. Sewell: Historical Inscriptions, p.43.

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Some time in his reign Indra halted at his subsidiary capital Bodana, i.e. the modern Bodhan in the Nizamabad District of the Nizam's Dominions. From a stone inscription at Bodhan, we learn that he constructed a grand temple of Vishnu known as 'the temple of the god Indranarayana',¹ apparently named after himself. In course of time the temple fell into ruins and was repaired by Jogapayya, a servant of Somesvara I in 1056 A.D. A street in the town of Bodhana was named Indranarayana street probably to commemorate the visit of Indra. Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya offers the plausible suggestion that Indrapura, i.e. the modern Indur was founded by the Rashtrakuta emperor Indra.²

An incomplete pillar inscription from Hiremaganur, Dharwar district, supplies us with a new date of Indra. The date corresponds to Sunday, 13th October, A.D. 916.³ The inscription refers to the construction of a tank and records the gift of a chitra-gosasa by the Gamunda of Magundur at the command of the mahajanas of Karevur. Bankeya II, is mentioned as the governor of Banavasi. We have already seen that Bankeya I was a contemporary of Amoghavarsha I, and acted as his viceroy at Banavasi. A Hero-stone from

1. Hyderabad Arch. Series, No.7.

2. Ibid, p.3.

3. A.R.S.I.E.; 1935, p.155.

Itgi, Dharwar district, is dated in the reign of Indra Bal-
laha, and the date is given as Saka 837 yuva, i.e. 915 A.D.¹

It is interesting to note that it mentions Dhora as the
Governor of Banavasi. Are we to infer from this that Ban-
keya was removed from his post and the charge transferred to
Dhora, i.e. Dhruva? This Dhruva is probably the same as
Nirupama, a younger brother of Krishna III, as the biruda
Nirupama is usually associated with the name of Dhruva.

Amoghavarsha II - C. 928 - 929 A.D.

Indra was succeeded by his eldest son Amoghavarsha. He
could not have been probably older than thirty-six, since
his great-grandfather Krishna II had died in c. 913 A.D. at
the ripe age of eighty. Dr. Fleet was of the opinion that
Amoghavarsha never reigned.² But this view does not seem
to be correct. The Bhadan grant dated June, 997 A.D., as-
serts that Amoghavarsha ruled for one year.³ So far no
inscription has been discovered which referred itself to
Amoghavarsha. We are now in possession of a stone inscrip-
tion dated in his reign.⁴ This important inscription is
engraved on a slab lying behind the temple of god Venkatesā

1. A.R.S.I.E.; 1935, p.150.

2. D.K.D.; p.416.

3. E.I.; Vol.III, p.271.

4. A.R.S.I.E.; 1927, p.7. (Supplement).

at Venkatapura, Gadag Taluk, Dharwar district. The date is given as Saka 828, which corresponds to 906-907 A.D. The date falls within the reign of Krishna II, and this Amoghavarsha is probably the son of Indra, who governed the country as a viceroy. The inscription registers a gift of land made to one Chandrateja, a disciple of Mallikarjuna.

Amoghavarsha did not reign for more than a year. In his youth he was struck by the cruel hand of death. The Kolhapur copperplate grant of Krishna III has two verses referring to Amoghavarsha. Verse 17 compares him to Rama, 'the greatness of whose power was shown by the breaking of a terrible bow'.¹ Prof. K.G. Kundangar makes the plausible suggestion that 'the breaking of a bow by Amoghavarsha refers to his war with the Chera king, who had a bow for his emblem'. Verse 18 records that he immediately went to heaven on account of his love for his father.

Govinda IV. c.929 - 935 A.D.

Amoghavarsha was succeeded by his younger brother Govinda, who was born of Vijamba, a daughter of the Kalachuri prince Ammanadeva. Dr. Altekar asserts that Indra died in c. 917 A.D., which is clearly a mistake.² Several stone

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; 1934, p.32.

2. R.T.; p.105.

inscriptions of Indra's reign after 917 A.D. have been brought to light. Dr. Fleet held that the Dandapura inscription dated the 22nd December, A.D. 918, referred to Govinda as emperor.¹ Sir R.G. Bhandarkar also assumed that it represented Govinda as the reigning sovereign.² It is true that it refers to Prabhutavarsha (a biruda of Govinda) as 'protecting the broad circuit of the earth with ever-increasing praiseworthiness of power.' But from this it does not follow that Govinda was actually on the throne at that time. The description is purely conventional and may be easily applied to a viceroy. It is instructive to note that Govinda is not styled Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvara, Paramabhataraka and Vallabha. Hence there is no justification for the supposition that he was the reigning sovereign in 918 A.D. He may have been appointed as Viceroy in the country round Dharwar by his father.

A stone inscription at Gadag refers itself to the reign of Nityavarsha Nirupama Vallabha, and mentions his governor of Belvola 300. The date corresponds to July 18, A.D. 918.³ Moreover, there are two inscriptions in the Bellary District of the reign of Nityavarsha, whom Sewell has rightly identified with Indra.⁴ The date given is

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1. I.A.; Vol. XII, p.223.
 2. E.H.D.; p.126.
 3. A.R.S.I.E.; 1933, p.111.
 4. Historical Inscriptions, p.43.

Saka 844, Chitrabhanu, which corresponds to A.D. 922.

Bijjala is mentioned as governor of Kogali 500. Further an epigraph at Asundi dated Saka 847 Parthiva, i.e.

925 A.D., alludes to Nityavarsha as the reigning monarch.¹

Furthermore, a pillar inscription at Haleritti, Dharwar District, is dated Saka 850, Sarvajit, Pausha, Śu, Daśami, i.e. 6th December, A.D. 927. It mentions Nityavarsha Nirupama Vallabha and his feudatory Bankeya.² Dr.

Hirananda Sastri remarks that Nityavarsha was a biruda of Govinda. This is a clearly unwarranted supposition.

The copperplate records of Govinda do not give Nityavarsha as one of his birudas. Indra had the distinctive biruda of Nityavarsha and it is extremely improbable that his son should have borne the same biruda. Moreover, the copperplate grants of Govinda represent him as meditating at the feet of Nityavarsha. Hence, we are forced to conclude that Indra ruled right up to the year 928 A.D., and that Govinda had a short reign of six years and not fifteen as asserted by Dr. Altekar.³

Finally, a close perusal of the records of Govinda himself tends to confirm our conclusions. The Kalas stone

1. A.S.I. - A.R.; 1926-27, p.191. f.
2. Ibid, 1929-30, p.173.
3. R.T., p.107.

inscription is the first positive record to mention him as a paramount sovereign and is dated Sunday, 17th January,

A.D. 930.¹ The Cambay copperplates dated 10th May, A.D. 930 state that Govinda had gone to Kapitthaka on the banks of the river Godavari for his Pattabandhotsava or coronation ceremony.² This shows that his accession had taken place very recently and not twelve years before. It is highly improbable that he should have waited twelve long years for his coronation. On that occasion he granted 600 villages to Brahmans and gave away seven lakhs of gold coins. Brahmans from Gujarat had travelled all the way to Malkhed in the hope of getting some gifts and they were not disappointed. The Sangli copperplates inform us that Govinda assumed the biruda Suvarnavarsha after his great gifts of gold.³

The only important event of Govinda's reign was his war with the Eastern Chalukyas. The history of Vengi presents a spectacle of anarchy, faction and civil war for the period 925-934 A.D. The Rashtrakutas took advantage of this opportunity and constantly interfered in the politics of Vengi.⁴ A Chalukya prince named Tadapa secured the throne of Vengi

1. E.I.; Vol.XII, p.329.

2. E.I.; Vol.VII, p.29.f.

3. E.I.; Vol.VI, p.177.

4. Ganguly: Eastern Chalukyas, p.67.

for some time with their help. Another prince Vijayaditya V was imprisoned by Govinda but managed to escape and took refuge with Arikesarin, a powerful feudatory of the Rashtrakutas. The poet Pampa writes that 'Arikesarin was an ocean to suppliants in the might with which he protected his suppliant Vijayaditya, when Gojjiga the universal emperor contended against him.' Pampa's account is confirmed by the Vemalwada inscription of Arikesarin, which says that he protected Bijja, i.e. Vijayaditya.¹ Tadapa was killed in a battle with one Vikramaditya. The Rashtrakutas then supported Yuddhamalla, who governed the Vengi country for seven years with the aid of a Rashtrakuta army. But this was an impolitic move on the part of Govinda. First, the military occupation of Vengi meant that a large number of troops were stationed in a foreign country and this must have given a chance to those who were conspiring against him. Secondly, the continuous war for seven years weakened the army of Govinda. At last the Eastern Chalukya king Bhima succeeded in defeating a large army sent by Govinda and ascended the throne.

1. J.A.H.R.S.; Vol.VI. p.169 f.

The earliest copperplate grant of Govinda was recently discovered at Ganori, near Ujjain.¹ It consists of only one copperplate, the first two being missing. It is interesting to note that the Paramara engravers tried to obliterate the plate and king Siyaka had one of his donations recorded on the other side of the same plate. Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit has conjectured that the Rashtrakuta charter was snatched away by the Paramaras from the Malkhed treasury, which they looted in 973 A.D. The date of the Rashtrakuta grant is identical with that of the Kalas inscription of Govinda IV. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 17th January, A.D. 930. Govinda IV is given the full imperial titles of Paramesvara, Maharajadhiraja, Paramabhattaraka, and the distinctive biruda of Suvarnavarsha. The inscription states that on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the king weighed himself against precious commodities at Malkhed and granted the village of Payalipattana. This village was included in the western boundary of the Malkhed Division. The purpose of this donation was to establish an almshouse for a thousand Brahmanas of different Śākhās.

The Kalas stone inscription bears the same date as the

1. E.I.; Vol.XXIII; p.101 f.

Ganori copperplate.¹ It is interesting to note that the author of the inscription has borrowed the opening stanza commencing with - 'jayatyāvishkṛitam viṣṇorvārāham' etc. directly from early Chalukyan inscriptions. Govinda is mentioned here as Gojjiga Vallabha, and is said to have borne the birudas of Nripatunga, Viranarayana, Rattakandarpa, Rattavi-dyadhara and Gandamartanda. The inscription announces the grant of the town of Kadiyur in the province of Puligere to two distinguished Brahman generals named Revadasa Dikshita and Visottara Dikshita. Dr. Barnett has identified Puligere with Lakshmeshwar and Kadiyur with Kalas in the Dharwar district.

Civil War.

The year 934 A.D. witnessed the beginning of a civil war which ended in the death of Govinda IV. The Mahakuta temple inscription of Mahasamanta Bappuva says that he was 'a very Bhairava on a minor scale to the assemblage of the enemies of the brave Gopala'.² This Gopala may possibly be Govinda IV, his overlord. As the inscription is dated the 15th October, A.D.934, it seems that the civil war had already started by that date and that Bappuva was engaged in fighting for his master.³ This Bappuva may perhaps be the same

1. E.I.; Vol.XIII; P.326 f.

2. I.A.; Vol.X; p.104. Mahakuta is situated in the Dharwar

3. I.A.; Vol.XVIII; P.316. district.

as his namesake who was put to flight by Arikesarin. The biruda Ratnavaloka applied to Bappuva in the above inscription suggests that he belonged to the Rashtrakuta family. Govinda IV was also supported by Kakkala, another member of the Rashtrakuta family. Pampa writes that Kakkala was a brother of Bappuva.¹ An unpublished Silahara grant states that Amoghavarsha suppressed a rebellion of a Rashtrakuta prince Karkara, whom we must identify with this Kakkala.² But Bappuva managed to escape at this time, and later he revolted in conjunction with another Rashtrakuta prince named Dantiga.

A copperplate grant in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, states that 'Amoghavarsha completely uprooted Gojjiga, the son of Indra, and governed the world.'³ The same grant further records that Gojjiga, i.e., Govinda IV, had committed injustice. Dr. Altekar sees in this a reference to the unfair treatment by Govinda of his elder brother. This inference seems to be groundless. In my humble opinion the reference is the expulsion of the conspirator Amoghavarsha III by the emperor Govinda.⁴ We have already seen that the former took shelter with Arikesarin, a powerful feudatory.

1. E.I.; Vol.XIII, p.329.
 2. R.T.; p.110. The verse states that Amoghavarsha quenched the heat of furious treason by means of the water of the sword edge in the camp of Karkara Rashtrakuta and shone like a cloud of unfailing rain.
 3. R.T.; p.106; n.59.
 4. E.I.; Vol.XIII; p.329.

Verse 19 of the Kolhapur copperplate grant of Krishna III records that Govinda, 'with his intelligence caught in the net of the eyes of women, displeased all by taking to a vicious course'¹. The same verse further tells us that he died owing to an aggravation of maladies. This version of the death of Govinda seems to be a lie invented by his enemies. Pampa, the author of the Bharata, informs us that Arikesarin defeated and killed Govinda in a battle and offered the crown to Amoghavarsha.²

Three stone inscriptions at Soratur, Honali Taluk, Shimoga District, refer themselves to the reign of Suvarnavarsha Vallabha and are dated 934 A.D.³ On the other hand, two stone inscriptions at Talagunda, which record the construction of a big tank in 935 A.D. by the great minister Puliyamma, are silent as regards the name of the emperor. From this it may be inferred that the civil war was in progress in 935 A.D. and therefore the public records do not mention any member of the imperial family.

AMOGHAVARSHA III.

The Viddhasalabhanjika, a drama by Rajasekhara, was staged at the court of Tripuri in c.937 A.D. It seems

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1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; 1934, p.32.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XIII; p.329.
 3. E.C.; Vol.VII; p.17 (Intro.)
 4. Ibid.

probable that there is a basis of historical truth in this drama. The poet seems to have taken great pains to hide the real names of prominent persons, and therefore it is difficult to be precise. Professor Mirashi has drawn attention to the historical importance of the play.¹ It appears that after the death of Govinda, a Rashtrakuta prince named Virapala alias Chandamahasena took refuge with Yuvarajadeva I, the Kalachuri king. Rajasekhara calls the latter Karpuravarsha instead of Keyuravarsha.² The Kalachuri king fell in love with Kuvalayamala, a beautiful daughter of Virapala. Yuvarajadeva was persuaded by his minister Bhagurayana to marry a Chalukya princess from Lata. This marriage strengthened the hands of the Tripuri king. Dr. Altekar has conjectured that Virapala should be identified with Amoghavarsha III.³ This conjecture does not seem feasible, since we know from Pampa that Amoghavarsha had taken refuge with Arikesarin. Moreover, Krishna III attacked the Chedis as soon as he ascended the throne, which he would not have done if the latter had helped his father in gaining the throne. Rajasekhara writes that the Kalachuris had been victorious in the North, East and West, and 'only the kings of the South had not yet submitted.' The Chedi

1. I.A.; 1933, p.35 f.

2. For details see the excellent English translation of the drama by Dr. Louis Gray in J.A.O.S.; Vol.XXVII; p.1 f.

3. R.T.; p.110.

king is also styled Trikalingadhipati (the lord of the three Kalingas). The commander-in-chief Vatsa was ordered to support the cause of Virapala. This Virapala may be identified either with Dantiga or with Bappuva, who had good claims to the Rashtrakuta throne. The Kalachuri armies advanced to the banks of the Payoshni and a battle was fought there. This river Payoshni must be identified with the river Purna in Berar. The Kalachuri armies were victorious, and Vatsa placed Virapala on the Rashtrakuta throne. Rajasekhara gives a long list of kings who had opposed the cause of Virapala. They were the kings of Karnata, Simhala, Pandya, Murala, Andhra, Kuntala and Konkana. Whether the Pandya and Simhala armies fought against the Kalachuris may seriously be doubted. Their dominions lay far away from Berar, the scene of the battle. The poet's list need not necessarily be accurate.

However, the success of Yuvarajadeva was a short-lived one. Krishna III, the Rashtrakuta crown-prince, reorganized his forces and attacked the Kalachuris. Krishna was victorious and showed no mercy to Dantiga and Bappuva. They were both put to death by him as they were like thorns in the side of his father. After the death of Dantiga and Bappuva there was no one left to challenge seriously the authority of Amoghavarsha.

The Kolhapur Copperplates state that Amoghavarsha was entreated by the feudatory chiefs to maintain the greatness of the sovereignty of the Rattas¹. Even then he appears to have hesitated in accepting the crown and did so only on being prompted by the God Siva. We are further told that the God Siva himself used to help Amoghavarsha in the thick of the battle. Verse 21 of the same inscription records that round the broad space of his forehead was tied the royal fillet by the friendly bordering princes in joy. The next verse compares him to the epic heroes Manu, Kartavirya, Bali, and Dilipa.

No events of historical importance of Amoghavarsha's reign have been recorded. The historical significance of the Viddhasalabhanjika has already been noted before. He was probably an old man at the time of his accession and virtual power probably lay in the hands of his capable son Krishna.

Krishna III.

Indranandi, a Jain author, completed his work the Jvalāmalini-kalpa at Manyakheta in the Saka year 861, i.e., 939 A.D., and he refers to Krishnaraja as the reigning

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; 1934, p.21 f.

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emperor. Hence the year 939 A.D. must have been the first year of his reign. This is confirmed by the fact that the Deoli plates dated May 940 A.D., allude to the festival of his coronation as the latest historical event.² The plates were discovered at Deoli, 10 miles south-west of Wardha near Nagpur. The seal bears a figure of Siva, and this is probably due to the fact that his father was a devotee of Siva. Krishna himself was a worshipper of Vishnu, as appears from the opening verse of his inscriptions. The Deoli grant announces the gift of a village named Talapurumshaka, situated in the province of Nagpur- Nandivardhana, to a Brahman names Rishiyappa of the Bharadvaja Gotra. The inscription shows that Krishna was staying at Malkhed, the Rashtrakuta capital. The grant was made for the fulfilment of the wishes of his dear younger brother Jagattunga, who 'surpassed Lakshmana in serving his elder brother with incomparable devotion'. This suggests that Jagattunga co-operated with the king in his wars.

The early adventures of Krishna III are narrated in the above grant. We have already noted that he caused to be killed Dantiga and Bappuka, two members of the Rashtrakuta

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1. Sharadasrama Annual, 1933, p.6.
 2. E.I.; Vol.V., p.188 f.

family who opposed his succession to the throne. Mr. Rice remarks that Butuga the Ganga king assisted his relative Krishna in gaining the throne from an usurper Lalliya¹. Butuga was rewarded by the emperor for the timely assistance rendered. Krishna killed the Ganga sovereign Rathyamalla, 'the poisonous tree' and 'planted in Gangapati, as in a garden, the good tree in the form of Bhutarya'². The name Rathyamalla is spelt as Rachhyamalla in the Deoli grant and obviously is a corruption of Rāchamalla³. Bhutarya is evidently an attempt to sanskritise the Kanarese Butayya. Verse 30 of the Kolhapur copperplates relates that several Ganga princes were slain by Krishna III. But Krishna was not content with the subjugation of Gangavadi; he proceeded further and conquered Anniga, the Pallava king. The only Pallavas ruling at that time were the Nolamba-Pallavas of Eastern Mysore. We are further told that 'on hearing of the conquests of the strongholds in the south, the Gurjara king gave up all hopes about Kalinjara and Chitrakuta'⁴. This verse indicates that these two fortresses in Central India were in the possession of Krishna III even before 940 A.D., the date of the grant.

1. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p.246.
 2. J.B.B.R.A.S.; 1934, p.34.
 3. It is possible that Rathyamalla is a form invented to give a Sanskrit etymology for the genuine Ganga name Rāchamalla.
 4. E.I.; Vol.V, p.188 f.

He next turned his attention to the Kalachuris of Chedi, who had interfered in the affairs of the Rashtrakuta empire. The campaign against the Chedis was probably a revenge for this meddling. The Karhad copperplates report that he conquered Sahasrarjuna, 'though he was an elderly relative of his mother and wife'¹. Here it may be remembered that Amoghavarsha had married the daughter of Yuvarajadeva, the Kalachuri king. However, nothing is known as regards the Kalachuri princess whom Krishna had married., Is this Sahasrarjuna the same as Arjuna, the son of Kokalla? It may be noted in passing that Sahasrarjuna is the Puranic hero from whom the Kalachuris traced their descent. It is possible that Krishna annexed some parts of the Kalachuri kingdom. This is suggested by the discovery of two stone inscriptions of his reign at Nilkanthi in the Chhindwara District of the Central Provinces.²

The Southern Campaigns of Krishna III.

We have already seen how Krishna had interfered in the politics of Gangapati and established his relative Butuga on the Ganga throne. Mysore had been lost by the Rashtrakutas since c. 815 A.D., and its subjugation by Krishna

1. E.I.; Vol.IV. p.278 f.
 2. Hiralal's List of Inscriptions, p.93.

reflects great credit on him. The Kudlur plates of Marasimha state that Butuga had married Revakanimmadi, the daughter of Amoghavarsha III.¹ According to the Hebbal inscription, this marriage took place in the reign of Krishna II, and Dr. Fleet places it in c. 910 A.D.² It no doubt strengthened the hands of the ambitious emperor Krishna III, and Gangavadi was made the base for operations against the Cholas. In c. 946 A.D. Krishna marched from Malkhed, his capital. On his way he was joined by the Ganga king Butuga. We have already noted that Krishna had defeated the Nolamba chief Anniga or Annaya of the Anantapur District, who then consented to become his vassal. It was the turn of the Banas next. They were ruling over the modern districts of Chittoor and North Arcot. The Bana contemporary of Krishna was Vijayabahu Vikramaditya II, whose Udayendiram copperplates have been published by Prof. Kielhorn.³ Verse 15 of this inscription states that he had Krishnaraja for his dear friend. This Krishnaraja must be identified with the Rashtrakuta Krishna III. The friendship of the Bana king in the Tamil-speaking country must have been of great value to him. The

1. M.A.S.; An. Rep., 1921, p.22.
 2. E.I.; Vol.v, p.166.
 3. E.I.; Vol.III, p.79.

Chola king Parantaka I decided to resist the invasion, and the Kanyakumari inscription affirms that he earned the secondary name of Vira Chola by his victory over the invincible¹ Krishnaraja. But this was probably only a local victory and does not seem to have altered the final issue. In the words of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, 'such a defeat was only a spur to greater effort.'² Krishna reorganised his forces and reached Takkolam, in the North Arcot District. The decisive battle of the war was fought at this place. The Chola armies were led by Yuvaraja Rajaditya. It was a sanguinary battle; and the Rashtrakutas would have probably lost it, had it not been for the rally made by the Ganga king Butuga and his trusted servant Manalera. The latter rendered his master great help in the thick of the battle. He suddenly attacked like a lion the elephant of Rajaditya and burst open its forehead. This shows that Rajaditya was forced to come down and could not fight with equal advantage. His adversary Butuga took this splendid opportunity and springing upon the howdah attacked him. Rajaditya was pierced in his heart by an arrow of Butuga. The Larger Leiden copperplates have the following verse referring to the death of Rajaditya:

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1. The Cholas, Vol.I. p.157.
 2. Ibid.

"That heroic Rajaditya, the ornament of the solar race having agitated in battle the unperturbable Krishnaraja along with his army, with his sharp arrows falling in all directions, while seated on the back of an excellent elephant, had his heart split by the thrusts of his sharp arrows and mounting a celestial car went to the world of the heroes praised by the three worlds¹".

This fact is confirmed by a literary reference as well. The poet Pushpadanta in his Mahapurana records that in the course of his travels he reached Melpati, where the glorious and charming king Tudiga, i.e., Krishna III, was staying after having cut off the head of the Chola king. The date given is the cyclic year Siddhartha, i.e., 959 A.D.² As the Atakur inscription is dated Saunya, Saka 872, i.e., 949-50 A.D., the battle of Takkolam may have taken place in c. 948 A.D. In this inscription we find Butuga styling himself Dharmamaharajadhiraja, and this shows that his prestige was very high in the empire. He was rewarded by Krishna with the assignment of Banavasi

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1. E.I.; Vol. XXII, p. 256.
 2. Mahapurana, edited by P.L. Vaidya, p. 5. (Text)
 "Siddhatthavarisi bhuvanāhīramu
 Todeppinu chodaho tanau sīsu
 Jahin achchai Tudigu mahānubhāvu
 Mahi paribhamantu mepādinayaru".

12,000, Belvola 300, Purigere 300, Kisukad 70, and Bagenad 70. The acquisition of all these districts meant a great addition to Butuga's kingdom. If, as is probable, the revenues of these provinces were transferred together with the administration, Krishna was acting with short-sighted generosity.

Manalera, who had helped Butuga in the battle, was rewarded with the grant of the Atakur 12 district and another village called Kadiyur.

The same inscription refers to the triumphal march of Kannaradeva, i.e., Krishna, through the Chola country. In the Hirekogilur copperplates he is said to have conquered the Cholas, Cheras, Pandyas and Alupas. We are further told that he was engaged in an expedition to the South (Dakshina-¹digvijaya). The date of the inscription corresponds to Tuesday, 16th December, 951 A.D. The imperial camp was located at Melpati in the North Arcot District of the Madras Presidency. Melpati seems to have become a capital of Krishna for at least ten years. The Karjol² stone inscription shows that Kanharadeva was ruling at Melpati in Saka 879, i.e. 956 A.D. The Karhad copperplates were issued by Krishna from Melpati in 959 A.D. The Kolhapur copperplates were also issued

1. M.A.S.-A.R.; 1935, p.128.
2. A.R.S.I.E.; 1934, p.135.

from his victorious camp at Melpati in 960 A.D. From these facts it may be inferred that Krishna possibly did not return to Malkhed at least until 960 A.D.

The Siddhalingamadam inscription from the South Arcot district is certainly a forgery.¹ It is dated in the fifth year of Krishna's reign, i.e., 945 A.D., and refers to him as the conqueror of Kachehi (i.e., Kanchi) and Tanjai (Tanjore). Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is the first scholar to prove that this is a spurious inscription. The conquest of Kanchi and Tanjore could never have taken place before 948 A.D., the date of the battle of Takkolam. He asserts that there are many inscriptions of Parantaka in the Arcot districts until 948 A.D. The campaign against the Cholas must have been undertaken after the year 945 A.D. The Saltogi pillar inscription is dated the 9th September, A.D. 945 and represents Krishna as staying at his capital Malkhed.² Hence, the date 950 A.D. for the incorporation of Tondaimandalam in the Rashtrakuta empire seems to be the most probable one.

The earliest authentic inscription which refers to Krishna's capture of Kanchi and Tanjore is the one discovered at Tirukkalukkunram in the Chingleput district.³ It is

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1. The Cholas, Vol.I, p.158.
 2. E.I.; Vol.IV, p.58.
 3. E.I.; Vol.III, p.284.

dated in the seventeenth regnal year of Krishna, and styles him 'Kachchiyun-Tanjaiyun-konda', the conqueror of Kanchi and Tanjore. The Kudlur copperplates of Marasimha record that Butuga burnt Tanjapuri, i.e. Tanjore. Krishna did not stop with the conquest of Kanchi and Tanjore. He continued his victorious march right up to Ramesvara. There he erected a pillar of victory, and built the temple of Gandamartanda near Rama's Bridge. A temple of Siva names Krishnesvara was also erected near Rama's Bridge. He is also said to have built a temple of Kalapriya, i.e., Siva, in Kanchi mandala.

After the capture of Tanjore, the Chola capital, the Chola empire fell to pieces. Parantaka I, the Chola king, died in 953 A.D., and was succeeded by Gandaraditya and Arinjaya, his two sons, who had very short reigns. According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri Gandaraditya reigned from 949 - 957 A.D. and Arinjaya from 956 to 957 A.D. The question naturally arises, why their reigns were so short. It is probable that they may have been executed by Krishna III, who in his Karhad copperplates of 959 A.D. claims to have 'uprooted the race of the Cholas'. The whole of the Chola

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; 1934, p.28.

country was absorbed into the Rashtrakuta empire by Krishna and divided among his dependents. In the Karhad copperplates he is represented as encamping at Melpati in order to 'create livings out of the provinces in the Southern region' for his dependents. It appears that he deprived the Mandalesvaras or lords of the provinces in the Chola empire of all their property. The Cheras and Pandyas also paid their homage to Krishna. The king of Simhala or Ceylon recognized his supremacy and sent tribute. According to the Mahavamsa, Mahinda IV was the contemporary of Krishna. Vallabha, i.e., Krishna, is said to have sent an army to subdue the Ceylonese king, who ordered his general Sena to oppose it. The Mahavamsa states that the forces of Vallabha were destroyed, whereupon he and other princes entered into a treaty with the king of Ceylon. This account of the Mahavamsa seems rather exaggerated. In all probability the Ceylonese king was defeated by Krishna III. This is attested by Somadeva, the author of the Yasastilaka, who writes that it was composed in Saka 881 (959 A.D.), while the glorious king Krishna was reigning at Melpati after having sub-²dued the Pandya, Simhala, Chola, Cherama and other kings.

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1. Mahavamsa, Chapter 54. (Wijesinha's Trans.)
Codrington: Ceylon Coins, p.50.
 2. Yasastilaka, Vol.II, p.419.

Krishna was now the master of the whole of Southern India. The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi had so far refrained from recognising his suzerainty. In c. 957 A.D., Krishna marched from Melpati to Andhradesa. The Chalukya king Ammaraja was deposed and banished by Krishna. Ammaraja then retired to Kalinga and is said to have ruled there for a few years. A Eastern Chalukya prince named Badapa, son of Yuddhamalla, was placed on the throne by the Rashtrakuta¹ emperor.

In his Arumbaka copperplates Badapa styles himself Samastabhuvanashraya, Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara, and must have been independent for all practical purposes. Amma, the exiled prince, returned to Andhradesa at the death of Krishna, and issued the Mangallu copperplates in conjunction with his step-brother Danarnava.²

None of the inscriptions of Krishna have anything to say about his relations with the Vaidumbas. One of the stone inscriptions at Gramam in the South Arcot district mentions a Vaidumba feudatory named Tiruvaiyan Srikantha. The inscription is dated in the 25th year of Krishna and³ the Vaidumba feudatory is styled a Maharaja. Inscription

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1. E.I.; VOL. XIX, p.137 f.
 2. M.R.E.; 1917, p.117.
 3. M.R.E.; 1906, p.80.

No.16 of 1905 refers to another Vaidumba prince called Vikramaditya who was governing the districts of Vanakoppadi and Singapura.¹ A stone inscription at Kilur in the South Arcot district records a gift of 2,304 sheep for 24 lamps by the vaidumba Maharaja Tiruvayanar and is dated in the 24th year of Krishna.² All these inscriptions are sufficient to prove that the Vaidumbas had consented to become the tributaries of the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna.

1. M.R.E.; 1905, p.57.
 2. Ibid, 1902, p.17.

The Northern Campaign of Krishna.

The long absence of the Rashtrakuta emperor in the far south resulted in the loss of Chitrakuta and Kalanjara to the Chandellas. Moreover, the Paramaras had adopted a defiant attitude towards their Imperial masters. The Harsola copperplates of the Paramara prince Siyaka show that he did not recognize Krishna as his suzerain. In the year 949 A.^D., we find that Siyaka had assumed the Imperial title of Maharajadhiraja along with his feudatory title Mahamandalesvara¹. The Chedi king Yuvaraja II had suffered reverses at the hands of the Chandella king Yasovarman. The Pala king Mahipala I had succeeded in his attempt to restore the fallen fortunes of his family, and brought the whole of Magadha under his sway². The glorious Gurjara-Pratihara empire was rapidly declining in the reign of Vijayapala and this must have been a great relief for Krishna.

Such was the political condition of Northern India in c. 962 A.D., when Krishna undertook his northern campaign. The Kalachuris of Chedi were relatives of Krishna and hence they must have co-operated with him. The Rashtrakuta forces occupied Bundelkhand for a short

1. E.I.; Vol.XIX, p.236 f.
 2. R.D. Banerji: Hindu India, p.262.

time after the defeat of the Chandellas. The Kudlur copperplates of the Ganga king Marasimha inform us that his coronation was performed by Krishna before setting out on an expedition to conquer Asvapati who was proud of his cavalry.¹ Now we know that the title Asvapati was current among the Chandella kings for a long time.² The results of the battle with the Chandellas are not known but in all probability victory rested with Krishna. This is proved by the discovery of a stone inscription of Krishna at Jura, near Maihar, in the Chandella country. It is significant that it is written in the Kanarese language which is not spoken within a radius⁴ of 600 miles from its find-spot. It furnishes us with some of the little-known birudas of the mighty emperor, the most notable being Ganda-martanda, Madagajamalla, Vairivilasa, Nripatunga and Chalake-nallata.³ The only historical event referred to is the uprooting of the Chola race. The Prasasti was composed by Kamaisetti's younger brother Chandayya. The Ganga king Marasimha took an active part in this campaign. Krishna's nephew Karka also played an important part. The Karda copperplates

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1. M.A.S. - A.R.; 1921, p.23.
 2. Ray: Dynastic History, Vol.II, p.724.
 3. E.I.; Vol.XIX, p.287 f.

of Karka dated 972 A.D., state that he 'conquered the multitude of his enemies in the country of Gurjara, disported himself with the Cholas and others' and fought with the Hunas, who were ruling in some parts of Central India.¹ Krishna's war with the Gurjara king is

alluded to in the Sravana-belgola epitaph of Marasimha, who is said to have conquered the king of the Gurjaras.²

Ujjain the capital of the Paramaras, was captured later on by Sudraka and Goggi, two generals of Marasimha. The sack of Malkhed, the Rashtrakuta capital, was perhaps an act of revenge on the part of the Paramara king Siyaka.

In the Kudlur copperplates the Magadha king is represented as doing homage to Krishna. But this need not be taken to prove that Krishna had defeated the powerful Pala king Mahipala I. Prof. R.D. Banerji's view that Krishna 'destroyed Tripuri, the Chedi capital, 'is mistaken as it is not supported by any evidence.

1. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.263 f.
 2. E.I.; VolV, p.179.f.
 3. R.T.; p.121.
 4. Hindu India, p.254.

Khottiga.

Krishna was succeeded by his younger brother Khottiga, who had the birudas of Nityavarsha, Amoghavarsha and Yasakenallata. He was born from a Chedi princess, Kundakadevi, daughter of Yuvarajadeva.

The earliest date in the reign of Khottiga is supplied by a stone inscription from Kolagallu in the Bellary District. The inscription is interesting in as much as it is probably the earliest one in Nagari characters discovered so far south as Bellary. It is dated Saka 889 expired, cyclic year Kshaya, Sunday the sixth of the bright half of Phalguna. The date as calculated by Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Rao corresponds to A.D. 967, February 17. The first verse indicates that Krishna had died long before this date. It purports to record the installation of images of Karttikeya, Siva, Parvati, Brahma, the Sun, Vishnu and Vinayaka, and also the construction of a tank, monastery and well by the ascetic Gadadhara, a Gaudachudamani and a native of Varendri. The author of the Prasasti was a Brahman named Madhusudana.

The Paramara king Siyaka alias Harsha declared

1. E.I.; Vol.XXI, p.260 f.

war on the Rashtrakuta empire in c. 972 A.D. The Northern provinces of the Rashtrakuta empire, such as Berar and parts of the modern Central Provinces, soon passed into the possession of the Paramara king. The Kalachuris probably remained neutral at this time. Krishna had alienated the affections of the Kalachuris, and moreover they had suffered heavily at the hands of the Chandratreya king Dhanga. The Paramara king marched straight upon Malkhed and captured it. The city was looted and burnt by his soldiers. This is confirmed by two contemporary literary references. The great poet Pushpadanta in his work entitled Nayakumarachariu writes that the king of Dhara burnt Manyakheta and that this was followed by a severe famine in the surrounding country.¹ Dhanapala, the author of the Prakrit work Paiyalachchi, records that it was composed at Dhara while the Malava king was busy plundering Manyakheta. Verse 276 gives us the date as Vikrama 1029, i.e., 971 - 72 A.D. The next verse informs us that the work was composed for his younger sister Sundari.²

v However, the ambition of Siyaka to usurp the Rashtrakuta throne for himself was not fulfilled. The

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1. Nayakumarachariu, edited by Prof. Jain, Introduction. "dīnānāthadhanam sadā bahujanam protphullavallīvanam Mānyākhetaṭapuram purandarapurī-līlāharam sundaram. Dhārānāthanarendra-kopa-śikhina dagdham vidagdhapriyam kvedanim vasatim karishyati punah sri-Pushpadantahkavih.
 2. Buhler: Paiyalachchhi of Dhanapala, pp 6 and 50.

valiant Ganga king Marasimha II rushed to the aid of the Rashtrakuta emperor and protected the royal camp at Malkhed. The Paramaras were defeated by Marasimha in battles fought in the vicinity of the river Tapi and the Vindhya mountains.¹

Karka II.

Khottiga did not survive long after the sack of Malkhed. He died broken-hearted in the same year. He was succeeded by Karka, the son of Nirupama. The proper name of Nirupama seems to have been Dhorappa or Dhruva according to the Sangamner copperplates. And the biruda Nirupama is usually associated with the name Dhruva.

Karka was probably not on friendly terms with his uncle Khottiga. In the Kharda copperplates Karka is represented as meditating upon the feet of Akalavarsha, i.e.,² Krishna. Moreover, he could not keep a check upon his feudatories, who were making war upon each other. The Ganga king Marasimha attacked the Nolambas and killed several princes of the dynasty. The Gangas and the Nolambas were both ~~the~~ vassals of Karka, but he was unable to prevent this war. Next, the Ganga king marched against the Chalukyas of Uchhangi. The Chalukya king Rajaditya

1. E.I.; Vol.V, p.178.f.

2. I.A., Vol.XII, p.269.

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received no help from his Rashtrakuta masters, and was deprived of his dominions by Marasimha.¹

Taila, a descendent^a of the Western Chalukyas, who was apparently a governor of the province corresponding to the Bijapur district, took advantage of the disturbed conditions and organized a revolt.² He seems to have made himself strong by years of patient preparation. In a sanguinary battle Karka seems to have lost his life. The two powerful feudatories of Karka, the Nolambas and the Gangas, had been considerably weakened by the war in 971 A.D. Therefore, they could not have rendered any valuable assistance to Karka. The first part of a stone inscription at Managoli in the Bijapur District records a grant of Taila.³ Although the inscription professes to be a record of the twelfth century, it seems very probable that the Prasasti relating to the history of Taila was composed during his lifetime. He is said to have 'annihilated king Kakkara and king Ranakambha, the sun and moon in the Rashtrakuta sky'. The Sogal inscription of Taila, dated 980 A.D., records that he cut off the head⁴ of Ranakambha and Kakkala. The evidence of these two

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1. E.I.; Vol.V, p.179.
 2. See the next chapter.
 3. E.I.; Vol.VI, Additions.
 4. See the next chapter.

inscriptions leaves no doubt as to the death of Karka on the battlefield. But who was Ranakamba? It may be suggested here that he is probably the same as Ranastambha of the Sulki family of Orissa.¹ Dr. H.C. Ray writes of the latter: "From his titles we may assume that he was a feudatory of some stronger neighbour".² In the Kudlur copperplates Krishna III is represented as the master of Kalinga, i.e., Orissa.³ It is quite likely that Ranastambha was a loyal feudatory of the Rashtrakutas. In the Dhenkanal grant of Ranastambha, he is said to have obtained the five mahasabdas and the title of 'Mahāsāmantādhipati'.⁴ His copperplates have been assigned to the tenth century on palaeographical grounds. It would thus appear that both Ranastambha and Karka fell in the struggle against Taila.

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1. Ray: Dynastic History, Vol.I, p.439.
 2. Ibid, p.440 f.
 3. M.A.S., A.R., 1921, p.
 4. J.B.O.R.S., Vol.II, p.397.

CHAPTER XI.

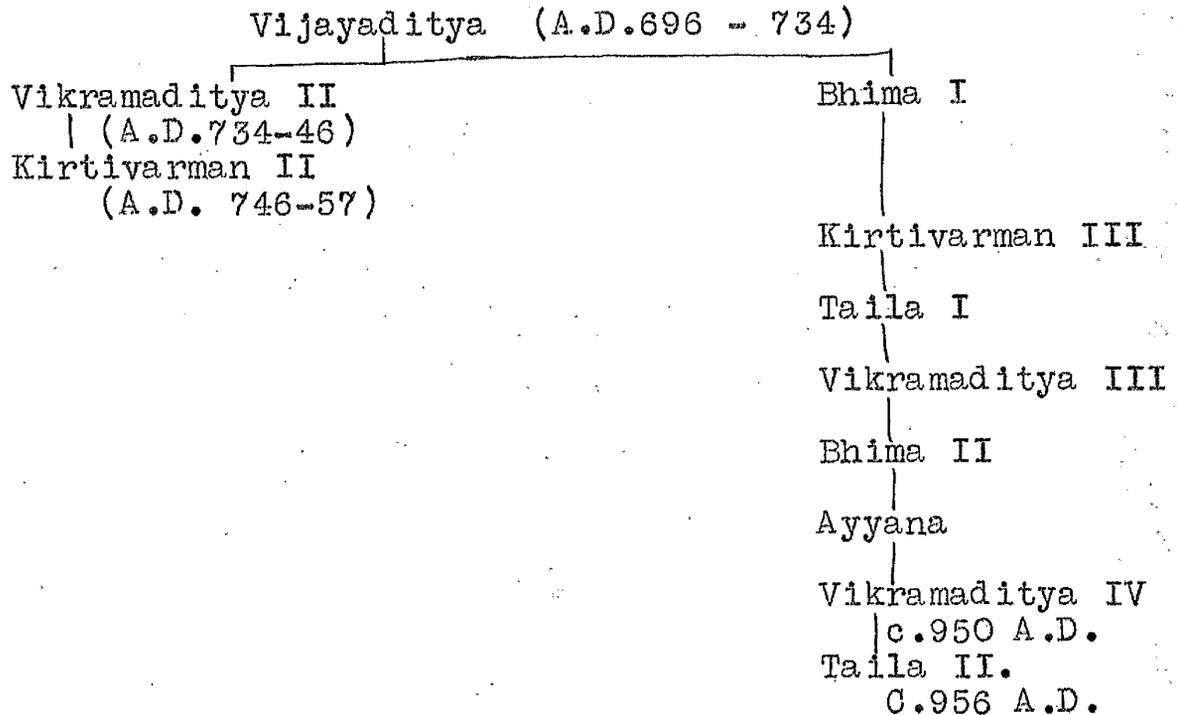
THE LATER CHALUKYAS.

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THE CHALUKYAS OF MALKHED.

Taila II.

It is unfortunate that no copperplate grant of Taila II himself has yet come to light. From the Daulatabad plates of Jayasimha dated A.D.1017, we obtain the following¹ genealogy:-



A glance at this table makes it clear that some steps in the above genealogy are wanting. As Kirtivarman III was a contemporary of Kirtivarman II, his date may be fixed as 756 A.D. The earliest date available for Taila II is² 956 A.D. and hence we are left with only five names to cover a period of two centuries. The average thus yielded for an Indian generation is forty years, which is absurd.

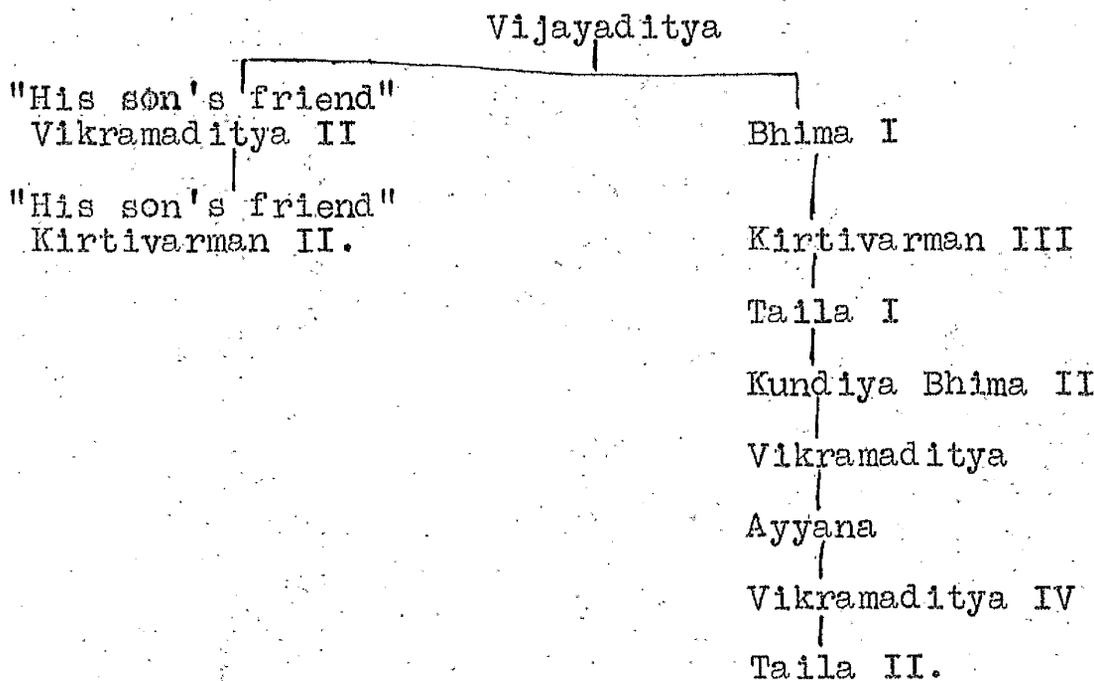
1. Hyderabad Archeological Series, No.2.

2. A.R.S.I.E.; 1934, p.135.

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We should have expected at least eight names to fill the gap of two centuries. Nevertheless, it may be assumed with Dr. Fleet that Ayyana I and ^{his}son Vikramaditya IV were historical personages. Ayyana is said to have married the daughter of a certain Krishna, and Vikramaditya IV was married to Bonthadevi, the daughter of the Chedi king Lakshmanaraja.

We may now take into account the genealogy given by the famous Kanarese poet Ranna, a protege of Taila II.¹



The pedigree given by Ranna is similar to the one occurring in the inscriptions. He must have consulted the

1. I.A.; Vol.XL, p.41 f.

official documents which he could find in the Secretariat of Taila. Bhima II is said to have killed one Muk^{an}kandi, who cannot be identified at present.¹ Of Ayyana it is said that he had the biruda of Ranarangamalla. The poet also mentions the marriage of Vikramaditya IV to Bonthadevi of the Chedi family. The curious expression, 'His son's friend' shows that some of the relationships were not clear to him. But this may be explained by the fact that the Early Chalukya dynasty was supplanted by the Rashtrakutas in the reign of Kirtivarman II. Some of his descendants may have been either exiled or killed by the Rashtrakutas, and hence the descent of Taila II from the Early Chalukyas of Badami cannot be clearly traced. Doubts have been expressed by Sir R.G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Altekar as regards the origin of Taila from the Early Chalukyas.² They have argued that the dynasty of Taila never mentioned the names of Hariti and Manavya until the issue of the Miraj grant. The Miraj grant is dated 1024, but it is clear that the introductory portion occurring in it is directly copied from the Kauthem³ and Daulatabad charters, which are dated A.D.

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1. Mukandi seems to a Sanskritised form of the Telugu Mukkanti, a title borne by several Pallava kings, and equivalent to Trilochana or Trinetra.
 2. E.H.D.; p.136.
R.T. p. 128.
 3. I.A.; Vol.XVI. p.15 f.

1009 and A.D.1017 respectively. Thus it is obvious that the claim regarding the descent from Hariti and Manavya is at least carried back by fifteen years. I have already remarked that no copperplate grant issued by Taila II himself has yet seen the light of day. But it is possible that all the above-mentioned charters were based upon a document prepared in the reign of Taila himself. The genealogical account given by Ranna, the court-poet of Taila, is very similar to the one given in the copperplates. Moreover, Taila himself bore the title of Samastabhuvanaśraya, and as this title occurs rarely in the inscriptions of his predecessors the Rashtrakutas, it was probably borrowed from the Early Chalukyas. It is noteworthy that the Nilgund stone inscription of Taila dated A.D. 982 opens with the verse, 'jayatyāvishkṛitam Vishnorvārāham' etc, a verse that usually occurs in the grants of the Early Chalukyas.¹ Further, he had assumed the biruda of Satyaśrayakulatilaka, 'ornament of the family of Satyasraya', i.e. the famous Pulakesin II. This shows that he was really a descendant of Pulakesin II, the greatest king among the Early Chalukyas. On the whole, it appears that there is no room for doubt as regards the fact that Taila was a direct descendant of the Early Chalukya of Badami.

1. E.I.; Vol. IV, p.204 f.

Taila's father Vikramaditya seems to have been a man of some importance. He was married to Bonthadevi, a daughter of Lakshmanaraja of the Chedi dynasty. It is quite possible that the Chedis might have assisted Taila in seizing the Imperial throne, The other allies of Taila were probably the Kadambas, Rattas of Saundatti and some Rashtrakuta chieftains. ¹ Taila himself was married to Bhammaha's daughter Jakkavve. This Bhammaha is stated to have been a Rashtrakuta prince. Dr. Fleet's suggestion that he should be identified with Karka is clearly untenable. ² Dr. Barnett holds that Bhammaha is not a biruda but a proper name. Moreover, almost all the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas describe Jakkavve as the daughter of Bhammaha, and mention Karka by name when speaking of Taila's victories. There is no reason why the same person should be spoken of by two different names in the same inscription, especially when they are both personal names and not birudas. Also if Jakkavve had been the daughter of Karka, ^{not} the Chalukyan inscriptions would have poured poison on Karka in the same passages. It would hardly be doing credit to the reigning queen. Hence Bhammaha must be regarded as a different person altogether from Karka.

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1. The Kadambas and the Rattas are found to have been in power shortly after the accession of Taila. In all probability they helped him in his rebellion.
 2. D.K.D; p.425, n.2.

The earliest inscription of Taila comes from Karjol in the Bijapur Taluk and District.¹ It mentions Kanharadeva, ruling from Melpati. This Kanharadeva is undoubtedly Krishna III, residing at Mepadi, one of his capitals. The inscription proves that Taila was a governor under the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna. The date is given as Saka 879, Pingala, i.e. A.D. 956. The record registers a grant of land made for the preservation of a tank while 'Tailappayya was governing the nadu'. Taila was probably not more than thirty at the time, as he lived up to 997 A.D.

Another inscription dated the 6th of March 965 A.D. has been recently discovered at Narsalgi in the Bagevadi taluka of the Bijapur district.² Its significance lies in the fact that it throws fresh light on the early career of Taila. It represents him as a Mahasamantadhipati and a 'pādapadmopajivin' or a servant of Krishna III. It is interesting to note that Taila had assumed the birudas of Chalukya-Rama, Ahavamalla and Satyasraya-kulatilaka long before his rebellion. The inscription further shows that he was the governor of the Tardavadi, 1000 province, which included parts of Bijapur, Dharwar and Gulbarga.

Taila and the Gangas.

The Gangas were devoted servants of the Rashtrakutas

1. A.R.S.I.E.; 1934, pp.135-137.
 2. A.S.I. - A.R., 1929-30, p.170.

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and naturally did not tolerate the usurpation of Taila. The Ganga king Marasimha II supported the cause of Indra IV, a grandson of Krishna III. This Indra was born of a daughter of the Ganga king Butuga II, and it is possible that he was married to a daughter of Marasimha.¹ Marasimha seems to have been mentioned by his biruda of Rajachudamani in an inscription at Sravana Belgola. He himself performed the coronation of Indra IV, but he was unable to hold his own against Taila II. Marasimha's attempt to support the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas ended in failure. Apparently he could not stand his defeat and decided to end his life. The Sravana Belgola epitaph tells us that he abdicated and devoted one year of his life to religious pursuits. After that he is said to have observed the vow of fasting for three days at the town of Bankapura and 'attained rest'.

Marasimha was succeeded by Panchaladeva, whose relationship to him is not clear, in c. 975 A.D.² Panchaladeva was also a zealous supporter of Indra IV. He seems to have succeeded in regaining some of the lost territories from Taila. His Mulgund inscription is dated A.D. 975, and states that he was governing without any disorder the whole territory from the Eastern, the Western and the Southern

1. E.C.; Vol.II. Nos.57 & 59.
2. D.K.D.; p.307.

oceans as far as the great river Krishna.¹ He is also given the biruda of, 'Chālukya-panchānana', a lion to the Chalukyas. This curious biruda was assumed by him after his preliminary victories against the Chalukya emperor Taila. The Chalukya general Nagadeva was ordered by Taila to march against the Ganga king. A stone inscription at Toragal in the Kolhapur State relates that Nagadeva killed Panchaladeva in a battle and received the titles of Ahavamalla and Mahamandalesvara from Taila as a reward for his heroism.² This inscription is dated A.D. 1187 and is not a contemporary account of the battle. But its statements are confirmed by a literary reference to which Dr. Fleet has drawn our attention. The Kanarese poet Ranna was a contemporary of Taila, and his testimony is therefore of great importance. Ranna in his work Ajitathirthakarapurana states that Nagadeva, a general of Taila, defeated and killed Panchaladeva in a battle. After the death of Panchaladeva, the cause of Indra IV seems to have been lost. Indra was a good player at the game of polo, and had the birudas of Ratta-kandarpa, Raja-martanda and kirti-narayana. In the Saka year 904 i.e. 982 A.D., he went to heaven, having observed the Jain rite of Sallekhana.⁴

1. E.I.; Vol.VI. p.258 f.

2. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.98.

E.I.; Vol.VI. p.83.

3. Ibid, p.71.

4. E.C.; Vol.II, p.47 (Introduction, New Edition)

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Before we proceed to discuss the relations of Taila with Munja, some of the other events of Taila's reign may be considered here. The Yadavas, who were formerly the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, were compelled to recognise his suzerainty. The Silaharas of Northern Konkan were subdued by the Crown Prince Satyasraya.¹ The Kharepatan grant of the Silaharas of Southern Konkan indicates that they were probably independent and did not acknowledge the supremacy of Taila. From the list of inscriptions given by Sewell it is clear that Taila's authority was recognised in parts of Mysore and the modern districts of Anantapur and Bellary were being governed by his feudatory Adityavarma of the Kadamba family.² Taila was evidently unable to hold his own against the Cholas. The Vaidumbas, who were the feudatories of the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna III, now transferred their allegiance to Rajaraja Chola. It is remarkable how quickly the Chola's power had recovered from the results of the attacks of the Rashtrakutas. Verse 20 of the Sogal inscription of Taila II, dated 980 A.D., describes him as an 'axe to that great mountain the potent Chola.'³ A stone inscription at Kogali in the Bellary district is dated Saka 914, Nandana i.e. A.D. 992. It mentions Adityavarman, the Kadamba governor and alludes to a victory of Taila over the Chola king.⁴

1. See Chapter XII.

2. Historical Inscriptions, p.54 f.

3. E.I.; Vol.XVI, p.7.

4. M.R.E.; 1904, p.38.

The Sogal inscription styles Taila 'Lālebha panchānana' i.e. a 'lion to those elephants the Lalas.' The Lalas are no other than the famous Latas. The king of Lata i.e. Southern Gujarat was probably Barappa. The Surat grant of Kirttiraja, grandson of Barappa, is dated A.D. 1018.¹ Therefore Barappa seems to have flourished in c. 980 A.D. He belonged to the Chalukya family and is said to have obtained the country of Lata. Barappa probably undertook to govern Lata as a feudatory of Taila II.² The Chalukya king of Northern Gujarat Mularaja was not pleased with this arrangement and attacked Barappa. In a battle which followed Barappa lost his life, and Lata was probably annexed by Mularaja. The Kanarese poet Ranna informs us that Taila ordered his son Satyasraya to march against the Ghurjara army.³ Satyasraya defeated the Ghurjaras; and it seems a plausible inference from the statement of Ranna that he killed a brother of the Ghurjara king. The Ghurjara king referred to by Ranna was probably no other than Mularaja. Dr. H.C. Ray has pointed out that Mularaja is called 'lord of the Gurjaras' in the Bijapur stone inscription.⁴ The effects produced by the campaign of Satyasraya are not known, but it probably ended in the establishment of Goggiraja, son of Barappa, on the throne of Lata.

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1. D.H.N.I.; Vol.II, p.938.
 2. I.A.; Vol.XII; p.196 f.
 3. I.A.; Vol.XL; p.42.
 4. D.H.N.I. Vol.II. p.940.

Relations with Malwa.

The Malwa king who was the contemporary of Taila was Munja, of the Paramara dynasty. Munja ascended the throne in c.975 A.D. and assumed the titles of Amoghavarsha, Prithivivallabha and Srivallabha. Dr. H.C. Ray has drawn our attention to the fact that these are 'all exclusively Rashtrakuta titles'.¹ He makes the plausible suggestion that Munja considered himself the legal successor of Amoghavarsha Karka II, the last Rashtrakuta emperor. The prolonged wars between the Western Chalukyas and the Paramaras during this period can be explained by the supposition that Taila considered Munja to be a powerful rival claimant ^{for} of the throne of Malkhed. Only the complete removal of Munja, a descendant of the Rashtrakutas, could result in the permanent foundation of the Western Chalukya dynasty. Moreover, the bitter hostility of Taila to Munja may have been due to the latter's defeat of the Kalachuris of Tripuri. The Udaipur Prasasti records that Munja marched against Yuvarajadeva, the Chedi king, and having killed his generals captured his capital Tripuri.² The Kalachuri king was the maternal uncle of Taila, and his defeat must have aroused his wrath. Dr. H.C. Ray's view that the friendly relations between the Kalachuris and the Chalukyas soon came to an end is certainly wrong.³ It is based on the supposition that some of the Chalukya

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1. D.H.N.I.; Vol.II. p.853.
 2. E.I.; Vol.I, p.235.
 3. D.H.N.I.; Vol.II. p.770.

records state that Taila overcame the king of Chedi. There is no such statement in any of the published records of the Chalukyas.

Merutunga remarks that Munja had defeated Taila six times.¹ This statement, coming as it does from an author who flourished in the fourteenth century, must be accepted with great reserve. Inscriptional evidence shows that Munja was routed at least once by Taila even before 982 A.D. The Nilgund stone inscription² of Taila is dated the 20th September 982 A.D. One of the verses states that on hearing the name of Ahavamalla, 'the wrestler in battle', i.e., Taila II, his enemies the Choda and Andhra rulers as well as the Pandya king and Utpala³ were bewildered and did not know what to do.

The final and disastrous expedition of Munja was undertaken probably in the year 994 A.D. Rudraditya, the wise minister of Munja, warned his suzerain not to advance beyond the Godavari river.⁴ This warning was not accepted by Munja, and he crossed the Godavari. It seems probable that parts of modern Berar had passed into the hands of the Para-

1. Prabandha chintamani (Tawney's Edition) p.33 f.
2. E.I.; Vol.IV. p.206.
3. It is generally recognised that Utpala was a second name of Munja.
4. Rudraditya is referred to in the Ganori and the Ujjain plates of Munja. E.I. Vol.XXIII, p.102.

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maras after the death of the Rashtrakuta emperor Karka in 973 A.D. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain the quick march of Munja from Malwa to the banks of the Godavari. The real centre of the Chalukya power apparently lay beyond the Godavari, the 'Ganges of the South'. Merutunga relates that on hearing of Munja's march into Deccan, Rudraditya committed suicide. We have no means of testing the veracity of this statement, and it appears incredible that Rudraditya, a responsible minister mentioned in the copper-plates of Munja, would commit suicide instead of helping the sovereign. We are further told that 'Tailapa by force and fraud cut Munja's army to pieces and took king Munja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed'. Munja was probably well-treated by Taila in prison. He was perhaps allowed to attend the court of Taila and sing verses in praise of the latter.¹ Merutunga narrates that Munja fell in love with Mrinalavati, who was appointed to supervise his conduct. Merutunga's story of Mrinalavati and Munja appears to be a product of ^{his} imagination. It seems improbable that a royal princess like Mrinalavati would have been appointed by Taila to superintend his worst enemy. An attempt to release Munja was possibly made later on, but was dis-

1. I.H.Q.; Vol.IX. p.132 f.

covered. The discovery of this plot to set free the Paramara king angered Taila and led him to order the execution of Munja. The imprisonment and execution of Munja is confirmed by the Chalukyan inscriptions. The Yewar stone inscription of Vikramaditya IV, dated A.D.1077, refers to the imprisonment of Utpala, i.e. Munja, by Taila.¹ The Gadag inscriptions of Vikramaditya VI, dated A.D.1098, reports that the valient Munja was slain by Taila.²

Judged by modern standards, the execution of an independent sovereign like the great Munja must be regarded as a dark stain upon the character of Taila. He was merciless in his actions and is said to have 'extirpated many Rattas', i.e. the princes of the Rashtrakuta family.³ He was even proud of his cruelty, as appears from the Managoli inscription that he had assumed the biruda of "the grindstone of the Rattas".⁴

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1. E.I.; Vol.XII; p.276. v.30.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XV; p.349 f.
 3. Ibid, p.356.
 4. E.I.; Vol.V. p.21.

INSCRIPTIONS OF TAILA II.

We may now proceed to consider some of the important inscriptions of his reign. The Nilgund inscription records certain gifts in the villages of Nirgunda and Chinchila by a feudatory named Sobhana and his wife. Sobhana and his elder brother Kannapa had both served under Taila II in his wars, and were rewarded with the government of Kogali and other districts in the Banavasi province. 'The date of Sobhana's donation corresponds to the 20th September, A.D. 982, when there was a solar eclipse which was visible at Nilgund.' A stone inscription discovered at Talgund in the Shimoga district mentions Taila II as emperor and records a grant by his feudatory Bhimarasa.² The latter governed the districts of Banavasi 1200, Santalige 1000, and Kisukad 70. He had the biruda of 'Tailapan-ankakara' or the "champion of Taila", and was entitled to the five Mahasabdhas. The inscription is important as it furnishes the last date in the reign of Taila, i.e. A.D.997. A stone inscription at Kakhandki in the Bijapur taluk 'registers a statute enacted by the king in favour of the 200 Mahajanas of the agrahara Kakhandige granting them certain rights and privileges'. The inscription is dated A.D. 993, and refers itself to the

1. E.I.; Vol.IV, p.205 f.
 2. E.C.; Vol. VII, Sk.179.
 E.I.; Vol.VI, p.254.
 3. A.R.S.I.E., 1934, p.134.

reign of Ahavamalladeva ruling from Manyakheda. Here we have positive evidence for the first time to show that the capital of Taila was Malkhed, as had been rightly conjectured by the late Dr. Fleet.¹ A stone inscription at Bhairanammatti near Bagalkot in the Bijapur district brings to light the name of Pulikala, a Sinda Chieftain who fought on the side of Taila. It is dated Saka 911, Vikrita, i.e. A.D. 990-91. Pulikala was born of Kammayyarasa and Sagarabbarasi and belonged to the Naga race. He had the tiger as his emblem and the title of 'supreme lord of the town of Bhogavati'. He does not seem to have been an important person at the court of Taila, for even the usual title of Mahasamantadhipati is not applied to him.

Satyasraya.

Taila was succeeded by his eldest son Satyasraya in 998 A.D. The latest date available for Taila is the 26th June A.D. 997 according to the Bhadana grant of Aparajita.³ Satyasraya was born of Jakavva, the queen of Taila and a daughter of the Rashtrakuta prince Bhammaha. He seems to have made his mark even when he was a Crown Prince. The great Kanarese poet Ranna finished his work Sahasa-Bhima-vijaya in A.D.982. It was written by the poet in admiration

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1. D.K.D.; p.427.
 2. E.I. Vol.III, p.230 f.
 3. Ibid, p.270.

of the virtues of Sahasa-Bhima, a biruda of Satyasraya.¹ Some of the other birudas of Satyasraya are Iriva-bedanga, Chalukya-Narayana, Akalankacharita and Sahasanka. His first expedition was against the Silahara king Aparajita of Northern Konkan. Aparajita apparently took refuge in one of his naval forts. Satyasraya is said to have occupied the whole of the dominions of Aparajita, who 'trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which are on fire.' Satyasraya also burnt the city of Amsunagara, and peace was made after he had received twenty one elephants from Aparajita as tribute.

1. I.A.; Vol.XL, p.41 f.

Relations with the Cholas and Paramaras.

One of his daughters was married to Iriva-Nolambadhira-
 raja, ruler of Nolambavadi 3200, Kengali 500, Ballakunde 300
 and Kukkanur 30. This we learn from the Alur inscription
 edited by Dr. Barnett.¹ Prof. Nilakantha Sastri apparently
 failed to notice this important inscription and remarked
 that the Nolambas were not bound to the Western Chalukyas
 by any dynastic alliances.² However, certain other Nolamba
 chieftains were compelled to recognise the suzerainty of
 Rajaraja the Great. An inscription from the Mulbagal
 Taluk, East Mysore, registers a grant by Nolambadhiraja,
 i.e. a Nolamba prince whose name is not given. It is dated
 in the sixteenth year of Rajaraja Chola, i.e. 1000 A.D.³
 Parts of Gangavadi passed into the hands of the Cholas,
 if we are to believe the Melpadi inscription of Rajaraja
 dated A.D. 998. The district of Bellary, which was held by
 Taila II, seems to have become the bone of contention between
 Satyasraya and Rajaraja. It is true that there are no
 inscriptions of Satyasraya in the Bellary district, but it
 probably continued under his rule, as is evident from an
 inscription of this successor dated A.D. 1013-14.

The Vaidumbas and the Banas, who had been conquered by

1. E.I.; Vol.XVI, p.28 f.
 2. The Cholas; Vol.I, p.209.
 3. For the inscriptions referred to in this paragraph,
 see Sewell's Historical Inscriptions, p.54 f.

the Rashtrakutas under Krishna III, transferred their allegiance to the Cholas and not to the Chalukyas. An inscription dated A.D. 992 from the Gudur Taluk, Nellore District, proves that the Vaidumba chief Vishnudeva was a subordinate of Rajaraja Chola. The climax was reached when the Cholas under the Crown Prince Rajendra raided the Southern Mahratta country with an army of 900,000 men. The Cholas 'pillaged the whole country, slaughtered women, children and Brahmans, and taking the girls destroyed their castes'. Finally, they were defeated and forced to retire by the Chalukya king Satyasraya. However, the Chola invasion does not fall within the period with which we are concerned.

Both Taila and Satyasraya had failed to take advantage of the defeat and the death of Munja, the Paramara king. Munja was succeeded by his younger brother Sindhuraja. The Marathi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berar probably continued under the rule of the Paramaras. Satyasraya made no attempt to extend the frontiers of his kingdom beyond the Godavari. From the Navasahasanka-Charita, we learn that Sindhuraja had defeated the Mana princes of Vajra (Wairagarh) in the Chanda district, and formed an alliance with the Naga kings of the modern Bastar State.¹ Satyasraya took no steps to prevent the

1. Ganguly: History of the Paramaras, p.75.

aggrandisement of his enemy Sindhuraja. The Kalachuris, who were the relatives of the Chalukyas, also suffered defeat at the hands of the Paramaras, if we are to believe the poet Padmagupta.

Marmuri Copperplates.

These plates were discovered at Mantur in the Maratha State of Mudhol. The seal bears in relief the figure of a boar, standing to the proper left with the sun and moon above it. The characters are Nagari, but later than the tenth century.

'The language is very corrupt throughout', and there are numerous mistakes of orthography. The document appears to be a spurious record of Satyasraya as it gives a date 974 A.D. for him as emperor. The Chalukya power was established by Taila in c. 973, and his son could hardly be described as Chakravarti or emperor only a year later. The Marathi words occurring in the grant are certainly not of the tenth century.

The Chalukyas of Sapadalaksha.

This Chalukya dynasty ruled over the country known as Sapadalaksha, i.e. the lakh and a quarter country, which was apparently included in the Rattapadi seven and a half lakh, or the Rashtrakuta empire. Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya has shown that Dr. Fleet's¹ supposition that Arikesarin II ruled over the 'Jola country' has no basis in fact. The expression 'Joladapālli' occurring in the Pampa Bharata has been correctly explained by R.B. Narasimhacharya as meaning 'obligation or indebtedness.'² Hence we have no other means of fixing the boundaries of the dominions of this Chalukya branch but recently discovered inscriptions. Dr. Fleet's suggestion that Arikesarin II ruled in the neighbourhood of Puligere or Lakshmeshwar in the Dharwar District is disproved by inscriptional evidence. Is there a single inscription to show that this Chalukya prince ever ruled over Puligere country? On the contrary, we are certain that it was governed by Bankeyarasa in the reign of Amoghavarsha I, and afterwards by Lendeyarasa in 7916 A.D.; and thereafter, by the Ganga king Butuga in c. 950 A.D.³ The Parabhani copperplates of Arikesarin II were discovered at Parabhani in the Hyderabad State. A stone inscription

1. Fleet: D.K.D., p.380.

2. I.A., Vol.XL, p.41.

3. E.I., Vol.VII, app., p.13 f.

of the same king was discovered at the village of Vemalwada, about ten miles west of Karimnagar in the Nizam's Dominions. The Kollepara copperplates were also discovered in the Nizam's Dominions. The Parabhani charter registers a grant in the district of ~~the~~ Savvi-desa 1000, which is referred to in the Daulatabad copperplates of Jayasimha dated 1017 A.D.¹ This Savvi-desa 1000 probably corresponds to the eastern parts of modern Aurangabad District. Therefore, it may be inferred that the dynasty of Arikesarin II ruled over a considerable part of the Nizam's Dominions, and that the country over which they held sway was called Sapadalaksha, as comprising one and a quarter lakh of villages. The exact boundary of Sapadalaksha cannot be defined in the absence of further evidence. From the Parabhani copperplates, it is clear that Lembulapataka was one of the capitals of Arikesarin II. It may be identified with Lemulawada or Vemalwada in the Karimnagar District.²

In the Chalukya lineage of Solar origin was born Satyasraya, 'like the moon in the ocean of milk'.³ He destroyed his enemies and became the universal emperor. He had the birudas of Ranavikrama and Prithubala. His son was Prithivipati. From him was born one Maharaja, well-known for his

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1. Hyderabad Arch., Ser. no.2.
 2. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.VI, p.169 f.
 3. Ibid.

liberality. He was succeeded by his son Rajaditya, who was the equal of the epic heroes Prithu and Mandhata. His son Vinayaditya had the birudas of Srirama, Ramavikrama, Nripankusa and Yuddhamalla. It is by his last biruda that he is mentioned in the Parabhani and Vemalwada inscriptions. He is said to have governed the earth as far as the ocean. The Kollepara grant credits him with victories over the Turushkas, Yavanas, Kashmiras, Kambojas, Kalingas, Gangas etc.¹ All these victories seem to be imaginary. He ruled over the Sapadalaksha country and protected the lord of Vengi and the three Kalingas, probably from the encroachments of the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna I. Yuddhamalla was followed by his son Arikesarin I, who is compared to Nala, Nahusha, Dilipa etc. He was an accomplished king, as he had studied law, religion, science of elephants, the science of politics and the science of medicine. He had the birudas of Samastalokasraya, Tribhuvanamalla, Rajatrinetra and Sahasa-Rama. The Kollepara copperplates record a grant by Arikesarin to a saint named Mugdhasiva for his knowledge of the Saiva faith.

Pampa, the Kanarese poet, in his Bharata states that

1. J.A.H.R.S.; Vol.VI, p.169 f.

Arikesarin, with the ministers of the Vengi country, invaded the dominions of Nirupama, i.e. Dhruva the Rashtrakuta emperor. It is probable that Arikesarin joined the side of Dhruva's brother Govinda II. Ultimately, Dhruva was victorious, but the fact that Arikesarin defied the authority of Dhruva is sufficient proof of his being a powerful vassal. The Vemalwada inscription claims that Arikesarin forcibly seized the country of Vengi, but the seizure must have been temporary. The Eastern Chalukyas were governing Vengi in the time of Arikesarin I.

He had two sons named Narasimha and Bhadradeva. Dr. Fleet, relying on Pampa, has joined the two names into one and reads Narasimhabhadradeva.¹ But the Parabhani copperplates state that Arikesarin had two sons, Narasimha and Bhadradeva, 'resembling the sun and moon on account of their valour and beauty.'² Narasimha was succeeded by his son Yuddhamalla. He had a son named Baddiga. Pampa tells us that he had the biruda of Solada-ganda, 'the undefeated hero'. The Parabhani copperplates report that he seized Bhima, who was feared by his enemies like ^{the} Pandava Bhima, in a naval battle. This Bhima may be identified with the

1. D.K.D., p.380.

2. B.I.S.M.J., Vol.XIII, p. .

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Eastern Chalukya king Bhima I, Vishnuvardhana (A.D. 888-918.) Baddiga was evidently acting upon instructions from his suzerain the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna II, who, as we have seen already, was waging war against Bhima.

Baddiga was succeeded by his son Yuddhamalla II, who equalled the epic hero Kartavirya in bravery and generosity. He was followed by his son Narasimha II, who gained victories over the Gurjara-Pratiharas according to Pampa. The poet's statement is confirmed by the Vemalwada inscription. He seems to have accompanied his overlord Indra III in his northern campaign. Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao makes a suggestion that the Rashtrakuta emperor died on the battle-field of Virajapuri in the year 918 A.D., while fighting against the the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya IV.¹ I cannot accept this suggestion, as it is not supported by facts. I have already proved that Indra III lived up to 928 A.D., and I regard Mr. Krishna Rao's suggestion as purely a product of his fertile imagination.

Narasimha was succeeded by his son Arikesarin II. The Vemalwada stone inscription records a grant by Arikesarin in the pattana or town of Lembulavataka. It mentions his

1. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.VI, p.169 f.

foreign minister Gunakarasa. We are further told that he killed the Rashtrakuta king Govinda in battle and protected Bijja. This Bijja is probably no other than Vijayaditya V (A.D. 925) of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. Arikesarin seems to have played a prominent buttominous part in the internal affairs of the Rashtrakutas. He was always trying to defy the imperial authority. He calls himself a Maharaja in the Vemalwada inscription, but this title is omitted in the Parabhani copperplates, which suggests that the Rashtrakuta emperor had probably deprived him of it. He married Revakanirmadi, daughter of Indra, who, as he is called 'Kshitipati' or king, may probably be the Rashtrakuta emperor Indra III. Arikesarin seems to have obtained the five Mahasabdhas, and had the titles of Mahasamantadhipati and Samantachudamani. He had also the birudas of Tribhuvanamalla and Vikramarjuna.

He was a great patron of letters, and both Sanskrit and Kanarese literature flourished at his court. A Voluminous work in Sanskrit called the Yasastilakachampu or the Yasodharacharita was composed in his reign by the Jaina poet Somadeva, who was rewarded with the grant of a village named Vanikatupula in the Savvi-desa 1000. This we learn from

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the Parabhani copperplates of Arikesarin dated 8th April, 966 A.D.¹ The poet's work Yasastilaka had been finished, however, seven years earlier. It was composed at the town of Gangadhara, which was beign^{ly} governed by Arikesarin's first son Baddigarasa.² The distinguished poet Pampa was also a protégé of Arikesarin. He was originally a resident of Vengi and a Brahman by caste. But he soon changed his faith and became a Jaina. He seems to have established his fame as a poet even before he was honoured by the invitation of Arikesarin. The poet himself tells us that the two works Adipurana and Bharata were composed in the Saka year 863, i.e. 941 A.D. The Bharata was named by the author Vikramarjunavijaya, ~~as~~ apparently after his patron's surname Vikramarjuna.³ It is a version of the famous epic Mahabharata with a Jaina polish. The author has made Arjuna the chief hero of the poem instead of all the five Pandavas. The Ramayana which was composed by Pampa, probably sometime later, is also a Jainistic version of the epic Ramayana.⁴ He was perhaps the first poet in India who made the two epics available to the general public in one of the vernaculars. King Arikesarin was greatly delighted with the poet's works and conferred upon him the

1. B.I.S.M.J., Vol.XIII, p.

2. cf. "Samadhigatapanchamahāśabda sāmantādhipates
Chālukyakulajanmanah sāmantachūdamanah śrīmadārikesarinah
prathamaputrasya śrīmadvaddigarājapravarddhamānavasudhārāyam
Gaṅgadhārāyam vinirmāpitamidam kāvyamiti." Yasastilaka, Vol.

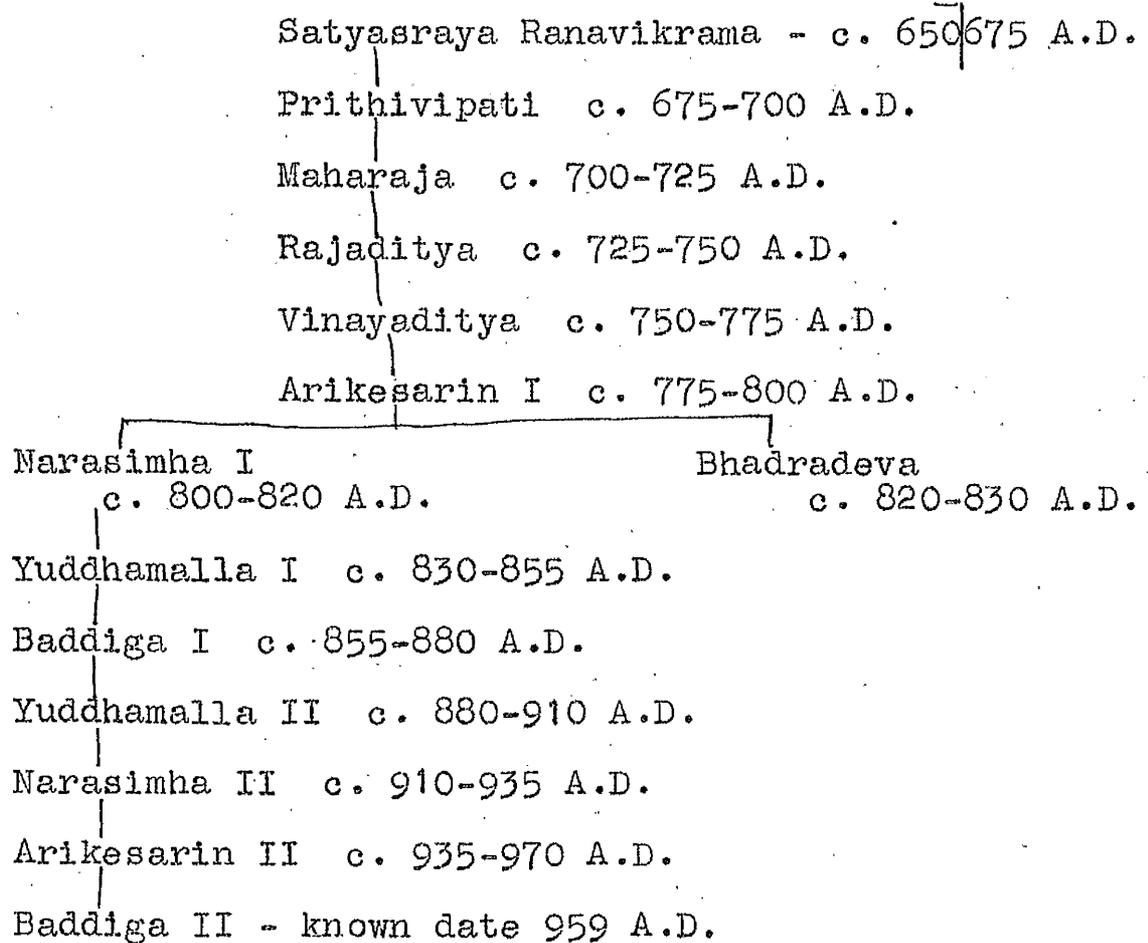
3. Pampabharata, Ed. by Rice, Intro, II, p.419.

4. Pamparamayana, Ed. by Rice, Intro.

village of Dharmavuram in the Bachche 1000 district as an agraphara. He further pleased the poet with gifts of jewels and clothes and offered him a seat by his side in the court.

After the death of Arikesarin, the Chalukya dynasty disappears from the scenes of history. Whether his son Baddiga ascended the throne is uncertain. The Sapadalaksha country was probably annexed by Taila II or his successors.

Genealogy.



CHAPTER XII.

MINOR DYNASTIES FROM CIRCA 700

TO 1000 A.D.

THE SILAHARAS.

Origin.

There were three Silaharax families ruling over parts of Maharashtra during our period. The oldest of them was undoubtedly the ruling house of the Southern Konkan branch. Another offshoot was governing Aparanta, i.e. Northern Konkan, from c. 800 A.D. The third branch of the family was ruling over territories which comprised parts of the modern districts of Satara and Belgaum and the Kolhapur State. This house was rather late in its origin, and we are not therefore concerned with its history, which falls outside the scope of our study. Probably a fourth branch of the family was established in the tenth century A.D. at Kopbal, an ancient Jain tirthain the southernmost parts of the Nizam's Dominions. Two pillar inscriptions at Saltogi in the Bijapur District refer to two Silahara princes, Kanchiga and Govuna, who traced back their descent to the mythical Jimutavahana.¹

Whether all the four branches belonged to one stock is not certain. But the evidence at hand leads us to the view that they were all of one stock. The name ⁷Silahāra itself is uncommon, hence all the branches must have been

1. E.I., Vol.IV, p.58 f.

related to one another.¹ Moreover, the seal adopted is that of a Garuda or eagle, which also suggests a common origin. Further, they styled themselves Tagarapuravara-dhisvara, which implies that they were formerly the supreme lords of the town of Tagara, the modern Ter in the Hyderabad State. The only period of history in which the Silaharas could have been independent monarchs of Tagara was the first half of the sixth century A.D., i.e. before the rise of the Early Chalukyas of Badami. Prof. Hiralal Jain has brought to light a Jain work, probably of the eleventh century A.D., by Kanakamara.² This work, known as the Karakandu-chariu, records a tradition that two Vidyadhara brothers Nila and Mahanila, originally residing on the Himalaya mountains, emigrated to Terapura, and excavated a number of beautiful caves. Terapura is identical with Ter, and the caves still exist at Dharasiva, a village of about ten miles from Ter. They were assigned by Dr. Burgess to c. 650 A.D., although he suggested that 'perhaps they belong to a somewhat earlier date.' It is permissible to assign them to the sixth century A.D., when the Silaharas were in power in Ter. Prof. Jain's theory that the Silahara supremacy at Ter and the excavation of the caves belong to

1. The name Silahara survives to day in the Selars, a Maratha family.

2. A.B.O.R.I.; Vol.XVI, p.1 f.

the fifth century B.C. is very unconvincing, and cannot be accepted without further evidence. The Silaharas claim that they were descended from a Vidyadhara Jimutavahana. It is possible that Vidyadhara was a historical person of some importance in the Silahara family and was later on connected with the mythical Vidyadharas. The story of Jimutavahana as told in the Silahara grants is evidently borrowed from the Brihatkatha and ^{the} Nagananda of Harsha. Dr. Fleet has suggested that the claim to a descent from Jimutavahana was evidently an attempt to explain the family name *Silāhāra*, meaning 'food upon a stone.'¹ The story goes that he had offered himself as prey to Garuda in order to save the life of a serpent king *Sankhachuda*. ~~¶~~ I shall, however, offer a different explanation of the family name Silahara. It is possible that the name was assumed after the name of a village to which the family originally belonged. Perhaps the Silaharas were originally residents of a place known as Silahara in the Rewa State. The place was apparently of great importance in the first century A.D., as seven inscriptions of that period have been discovered there.² The original name of the

1. D.K.D., p.536.
 2. E.I.; Vol.XXII, p.36.

the village may have been Śilādhāra, as suggested by Dr. Barnett. The modern form Silahara is then easily derived. From their native place, they may have emigrated to Tagara and carved out a fortune of their own.

The Silaharas of Southern Konkan - (c. 770-1015 A.D.)

The history of this family is based on two copperplate grants issued by the last king Rattaraja. The first is the Kharepatan plates issued in the reign of the Chalukya emperor Satyasraya, and the second was issued by Rattaraja as an independent prince in 1010 A.D. According to them, the Silahara family was connected with the kings of Simhala, i.e. Ceylon. Dr. Altekar suggests that Simhala should be identified with Goa rather than Ceylon.¹ For this he refers us to an inscription which describes the conquest of Goa by the Kadambas as the conquest of Lanka. But Lanka and Simhala are essentially two different things. The former name is applied to any rocky island in South India. It is reasonable to suppose that some of the Silahara princes may have formed matrimonial alliances with the kings of Ceylon. There is nothing impossible in this. The king of Simhala was always in communication with most of the princes of South India.

1. Indian Culture, Vol.II, p.394.

The genealogy may be arranged as follows:-

Sanaphulla	c. 770-795 A.D.
Dhammiyara	c. 795-820 A.D.
Aiyaparaja	c. 820-845 A.D.
Avasara I	c. 845-870 A.D.
Adityavarman	c. 870-895 A.D.
Avasara II	c. 895-920 A.D.
Indraraja	c. 920-945 A.D.
Bhima	c. 945-970 A.D.
Avasara III	c. 970-990 A.D.
Rattaraja	c. 990-1015 A.D.

About Sanaphulla, the founder of the dynasty, we are informed that he was a favourite of Krishnaraja and obtained the country from/sea-shore up to the Sahya mountains. Krishnaraja is evidently Krishna I, the emperor of the Rashtrakuta family.¹ Sanaphulla was succeeded by his son Dhammiyara, who built the great stronghold of Valipattana and probably made it his capital. Another copperplate grant goes on to observe that he beautified the port^a Valipattana, also called Valinagara in another passage.² It has been mentioned as Palaipatmai and Baltipatna in the

1. E.I., Vol.III, p.294.
2. I.A., Vol.IX, p.38.

Periplus and Ptolemy's geography respectively. It may be identified with Balli, a port in the vicinity of modern Goa. Aiyaparaja, the son of Dhammiyara, is said to have been endowed with the qualities of a conqueror and bathed himself with the water of cocoanuts near Chandrapura. From this Dr. Fleet has inferred that he gained a victory over a local ruler.¹ As Chandrapura has been identified with Chandor, near Goa, it must have been included in the dominions of his forefathers. Hence the inference of Dr. Fleet does not appear very convincing. Perhaps Aiyaparaja went to Chandrapura and performed a religious ceremony which included a bath in the water of cocoanuts.

His son Avasara I is described as a vanquisher of his ~~na~~ enemies and an expert in religious literature. He was succeeded by his son Adityavarman, of whom nothing of importance has been stated. Regarding Avasara II, his son, we are told that he 'conquered his enemies and aided the rulers at Chemulya and Chandrapura.' Chemulya is identified with the modern Chaul, thirty miles south of Bombay. He was a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta emperor Indra III, and in order to show his allegiance to his suzerain he named his son Indra. No historical event regarding Indra have been

1. D.K.D., p.537.

recorded. His son Bhima annexed the small State known as Chandramandala, and the poet compares him to the mythical Rahu who had swallowed the moon's orb. It was merely an act of a local aggression and was not a very great exploit. Nevertheless, he was a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna III and may have taken part in the latter's glorious campaigns. In the reign of Avasara III, the Rashtrakuta emperor ^{re} was overthrown, and he may or may not have recognised the suzerainty of Taila II, the Chalukya emperor.

He was succeeded by his ambitious son Rattaraja. The Kharepatan plates prove that he acknowledged the supremacy of Satyasraya.¹ The document records a grant of three villages to his preceptor Atreya of the Mattamayura school of ascetics for the worship of the god Avvesvara. Rattaraja also provided for the female attendants, oilmen, washerman etc. needed by the priest. He further ordered that a small gold coin should be paid by every ship arriving from the port of Kandalmuliya. The date of the grant corresponds to Saturday, the 22nd May, 1008 A.D.

Valipattana copperplates.

Nothing is known about the findspot of this inscrip-

1. E.I., Vol.III, p.295 f.

tion. It comprises three copperplates strung on a ring to which is soldered an image of the mythical Garuda or eagle. It registers two gifts of the Silahara king Rattaraja. The first one was made to a Senvai Brahman Sankamaiya, son of Nagamaiya, and probably consisted of a field called Vain-ganakshetra. The second gift was made to a Brahman named Kumvaraiya, grandson of one Samjhaiya, resident in a place called Avadi, and consisted of a garden of betel-nut trees. Both the grants were issued by the king from his capital Vali-pattana on the auspicious day of a Sankranti, Sunday, the first of the dark half of the month[†] Pausha, Saka 932. The cyclic year is given as Sadharana and the date as calculated by Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit corresponds to 24th December, 1010 A.D. It is thus two years later than the one supplied by the Kharepatan plates. The charter was written by the foreign minister Devapala's son Lokaparya and finally signed by the king himself.

A comparison of this grant with the Kharepatan charter is very interesting. In the first place, we find that it opens not with a verse in ~~pr~~ praise of Siva, but with one in which no particular deity is mentioned, and the general meaning of which is that a man may acquire good fortune by

1. Edited by Dr. H.C. Chakladar in I.H.Q., Vol.IV, p.203 f.

worshipping any deity he likes and by performing the duty prescribed by the Dharma. The Silahara king indeed shows a spirit of religious toleration, but Dr. H.C. Chakladar goes too far when he asserts that Rattaraja was under the influence of Jainism when the grant was made. His suggestion is contradicted by the fact that the grant was made to Brahmans and not to Jains. His further suggestion that the dedicatory verse shows the unsettled character of Rattaraja's creed seems mistaken. The fact that the previous grant opens with an invocation of the God Siva is probably due to the influence exercised over him by the famous Mattamayura School of ascetics, who were ardent worshippers of Siva and to whom the grant was made in 1008 A.D. Hence it is difficult to draw any sound inference as regards the creed of Rattaraja merely from an omission of Siva's name in the Valipattana plates.

Secondly, it may be observed that the political position of Rattraja had improved in the course of two years. His overlord, the Chalukyas had not completely recovered from the effect of the Chola invasion. Satyasraya, the Chalukya emperor, was succeeded by Vikramaditya V, an incapable prince, in 1009 A.D.¹ This was an excellent

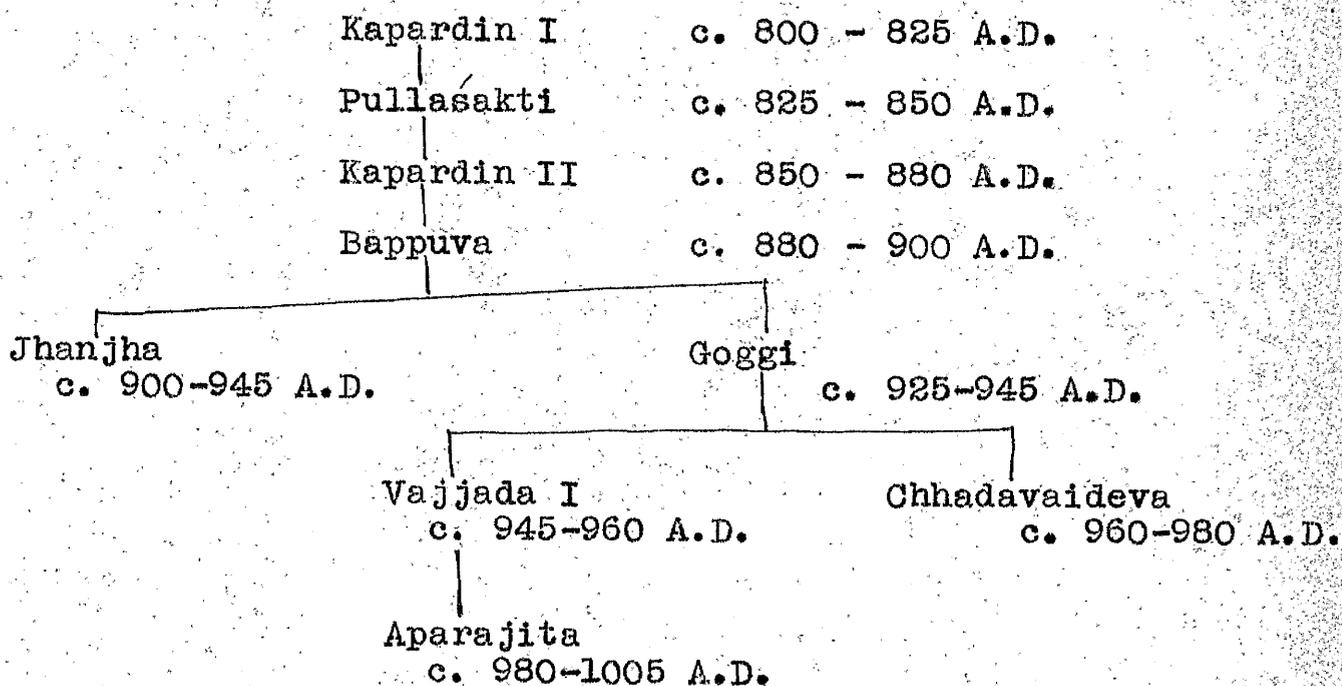
1. Fleet: D.K.D., p.434.

opportunity for Rattaraja to shake off the yoke of the Chalukyas. Accordingly, we find that both the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas are not alluded to even once in the second charter. In fact, we meet with such expressions as 'Śrī Rattārya-rāja-rājye' and 'samasta-rājāvali-alamkrita' in it. However, he refrained from assuming the paramount titles of Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara and contented himself with the dignity of Mahamandalesvara. Moreover, we find that he addresses the citizens of the famous town of Hanjamana in 1010 A.D., while there is no allusion to it in the grant of 1008 A.D. From this we may infer that he had extended the boundaries of his dominions as far as Hanjamana which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Its identification with Sanjan, 90 miles north of Bombay, has been rejected by the late Dr. Fleet.¹ It is hardly likely that Rattaraja conquered the country as far north as Sanjan, which was in the possession of his relatives ruling from Thana. He is the last known prince of his family, and perhaps, as he died childless, his dominions were annexed by Arikesarin of the Thana branch before 1017 A.D.²

1. E.I., Vol.XII, p.258.
2. Fleet: D.K.D., p.538.

THE SILAHARAS OF NORTHERN KONKAN.

The History of this family is illuminated by several copperplate charters. The following genealogy is obtained from them.



Kapardin I.

He was the real founder of the Northern Konkan branch. It is possible that he was related to Sanaphulla, the first prominent ruler of the Southern Konkan branch. This is suggested by the fact that Kapardin's son was called Pullasakti, and that the word Pulla is similar to Phulla.

Dr. Altekar makes the plausible suggestion that Kapardin may

have been 'one of the most valuable lieutenants of the Rashtrakuta emperor Govinda III, who in recognition of his valour and assistance conferred upon him the kingdom of Northern Konkan'. He is said to have been as bold as Sahasanka, i.e. the Gupta king Chandragupta Vikramaditya.¹ The comparison of Kapardin to the great Gupta emperor shows that the latter was remembered in the Konkan for a long time. The country over which Kapardin enjoyed authority came to be known as Kavadivpa lakh and a quarter.² It is also alluded to as Kapardikadvipa in a Kadamba inscription at Degave.³ The dominions over which Kapardin ruled included Bassein, Bombay, Kolaba, Alibag, Janjira and the northern parts of the Ratnagiri district. Sthanaka, i.e. the modern Thana, was one of his capitals. Puri, which is often mentioned in the inscriptions, appears to have been a port of considerable importance, and is probably identical with Rajpuri, about 50 miles south of Bombay. Betel-nuts, mangoes and coconuts are the important products of Konkan and hence Kapardin's income from them must have been fairly large. He is called an 'ornament of the Silahara family' in the inscriptions.

Pullasakti.

He succeeded his illustrious father Kapardin. There is

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1. I. H. Q., Vol. X p. 48.
 2. E. I.; Vol. XIII, p. 300
 3. J. B. B. R. A. S.; Vol. IX, p. 266.

an inscription of his reign in the caves of Kanheri, dated Saka 765, i.e. A.D. 843.¹ It refers to Amoghavarsha I as the paramount lord, and represents Pullasakti as governing Puri and the Konkana vishaya. It is instructive to note the presence of Buddhist monks in the monasteries of Kanheri. Vishnugupta, an old minister and servant of Pullasakti, made a grant of 20 drammās for the purposes of clothes, books etc. required by the monks.

Kapardin II.

He ascended the throne after the death of his father Pullasakti. He is often referred to as Laghukapardin, i.e. the junior Kapardin, and is thus differentiated from his grandfather. The copperplate grants describe him as a 'sharp goad to his elephant-like enemies', and do not mention any specific events of his reign.² There are two inscriptions of his reign in the caves at Kanheri, i.e. the ancient Krishnagiri.³ The first one is dated Wednesday, the 16th September, A.D. 854. A Gauda Buddhist named Avighnakara built suitable hall-mansions at the great monastery and provided a sum of 100 drammās in order to clothe the monks. Pullasakti is given the titles of Mahasamanta and Aśesha-Konkana-vallabha, lord of the whole Konkan. He is also said

1. I.A.; Vol.XIII, p.134.
 2. I.A.; Vol.IX, p.33 f.
 3. I.A.; Vol.XIII, p.135.

to have obtained the five Mahasabdhas. Kapardin is represented as meditating at the feet of his father. The second inscription is dated Saka 799, i.e. A.D. 877-78 A.D., and records ~~of a~~^a grant of 100 drammas by one Vishnu to the Buddhist community at Kanheri. It is of importance as it supplies the latest date for the Rashtrakuta emperor Amoghavarsha.

As regards Kapardin's son Bappuva, we have no information, and his description in the copperplates is merely conventional. He was succeeded by his son Jhanjha. The Vadavali copperplates, dated A.D. 1127, state that he erected twelve temples of the God Sambhu, which suggests that he was a devout Saivite.¹ He was succeeded by his brother Goggi, a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Govinda. It is not unlikely that he was so named by his father out of affection for the Rashtrakuta prince Govinda IV. One of the copperplate grants praises his skill in the use of the bow and remarks that when he drew his bow, the Mahabharata heroes, Bhishma, Drona and Arjuna were all filled with admiration.² He was followed by his son Vajjada on the throne. The Vadavali copperplates describe him as 'a crest-jewel of the circle of the earth, whose fame was distinguished by conduct which evoked admiration'.³ Dr. Altekar remarks that 'the Rashttra-

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol. XXI, p.505.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

kuta empire was overthrown during his reign', but this is disproved by the fact that Vajjada's brother Chhadavaideva was a contemporary of the great Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna III.¹ The empire was therefore overthrown in the reign of Chhadavaideva, who usurped the Silahara sovereignty in c. 960 A.D.

Salapaka Copperplates.

This inscription consists of three copperplates, and is of first class importance in as much as it brings to light the name of a new Silahara king, Chhadavaideva.² It is unfortunate that it has still remained unpublished. Hence we have to rest content with a short note written by Prof. D.R. Bhandarkar. The plates are at present in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The first plate gives a complete genealogy of ^{the} Rashtrakuta emperors from Dantidurga to Krishna III. Although the inscription is not dated, it may be probably assigned to c. 965 A.D., as it was issued in the reign of Krishna III. The Silahara king Chhadavaideva was the son of Goggi and a younger brother of Vajjada I, who is not mentioned in the Silahara genealogical list. The name Chhadavaideva has also been omitted from all the published Silahara inscriptions.

1. Indian Culture, Vol.II, p.404.
2. Progress Report, A.S.I., Western Circle; 1920, p.57 F.

Therefore it is possible that there was a disputed succession after the death of Goggi and that Chhadavaideva succeeded in wresting the throne from his elder brother Vajjada. In fact, the Vadavali copperplates probably allude to this event in verse 21. The verse states in connection with Vajjada that the goddess of sovereignty coming suddenly and of her own accord into the battlefield disported herself.¹ A disputed succession alone would justify the deliberate and unusual omission of Vajjada's name from the Salapaka grant.

The charter records the grant of some land in the village of Salapraka in the Malada district to a Brahman named Chadadevabhata, who was a resident of Jahnupura and well-versed in the Vedas, Vedanta, Logic and the Puranas. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The village Sakapraka is undoubtedly identical with the modern village of Salapaka. A line appearing on the third copperplate states that the grant was issued by Chhadavaideva, although it was announced in the reign of his brother Vajjada I. It is possible that Vajjada died in the civil war and hence the contemplated grant was issued by his brother Chhadavaideva. It is interesting to note that the high sounding titles of Mahamandalesvara and Tagarapurapamesvara

1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol. XXI, p.505.

are conspicuous by their absence and the Silahara king was a mere Mahasamanta in the heyday of the Rashtrakuta empire. It is plausible to assume with Prof. Bhandarkar that these titles were assumed by the Silaharas after the overthrow of the Rashtrakuta empire.

Aparajita.

Chhadavaideva was succeeded by his nephew Aparajita, son of Vajjada. He evidently tried to take advantage of the overthrow of the Rashtrakuta empire and aspired to a higher position. The Chalukya king Taila II sent an army under the crown prince Satyasraya to subjugate Aparajita. The results of the expedition have already been noticed before in the last chapter. The defeat of Aparajita must be placed in c. 980 A.D., as Ranna the poet published his work *Sahasa-Bhima-vijaya* in 982 A.D. Dr. Altekar assigns the event to c. 1005 A.D. and remarks that 'Aparajita did not long survive this humiliation and died in c. 1010 A.D.'¹ However, he was well and alive even seventeen years after his defeat, as we find him issuing the Bhadana charter in 997 A.D.

He was also known by the name of Mriganka. He had

1. Indian Culture, Vol. II, p.406.

the birudas of Śaranagatavajrapanjaradeva, Birudankarama, Pratapamartanda etc. In the Bhadana grant he is stated to have attained the five great sounds and the title of Mahamandalesvara.¹ In the Thana plates of Arikesarin, dated 1017 A.D., he is spoken of as having afforded protection to Bhillama, Ammana and Budha.² Only one of these princes can be identified, and Bhillama is no doubt a member of the Yadava family. As this fact is not mentioned in the Bhadana grant, it may have taken place in c. 1000 A.D. The Paramara king Sindhuraja seems to have embarked upon an aggressive foreign policy. The Navasahasankacharita of Padmagupta records his victories over the Latas, Muralas, Aparantas etc.³ The Muralas are perhaps no other than the people living on the banks of the great river Murala, or the modern Ulhas, flowing in the Thana district. The king of Aparanta must be Aparajita. Padmagupta adds that he assisted the Paramara king in his campaign against Vajjuka, lord of a country known as Kommandala.⁴ The Naga king Sankhapala then gave his daughter Sasiprabha in marriage to the Paramara king. Prof. Mirashi is of the opinion that Sankhapala was a ruler of the Bastar State with his capital at Chakrakuta. The triple alliance

1. E.I.; Vol. III, p.268 f.
 2. Asiatic Researches. Vol.I, p.359.
 3. I.A.; Vol.LXII, p.102.
 4. Ibid, p.107. Prof. Mirashi holds that the name Komo survives in the modern village of Komo, about 30 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District.

of the Silaharas, Paramaras, and the Nagas of Bastar may have been formed to resist an attack from the Chalukyas. According to the Thana plates, Aparajita welcomed king Gomma in various ways when he came to seek shelter and helped king Aiyapadeva to maintain his shaky throne. The historical significance of this fact is not clear, as Gomma and Aiyapadeva are not known to us from any other sources.

The Thana plates of his son Arikesarin praise him for numerous gifts of gold to Brahmans. We have four copperplate grants recording his donations, but only one has been fully published, viz. the Bhadana grant dated 997 A.D. Rao Bahadur Vaidya had the good luck to examine another grant dated 993 A.D.¹ The latter opens with a genealogy of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, and expresses regret at its fall. One of the important verses referring to the glory of Krishna III has been quoted in full by Rao Bahadur Vaidya. The Bhadana copperplates record a grant of the village of Bhadana in the province of Konkana 1400 to a temple of the Sun-god at Lonad.² They were issued by Aparajita from his capital Thana on the 26th June A.D. 997. He acknowledges in them the sovereignty of Karka, the last Rashtrakuta emperor. Incidentally we may note that Sangalaiya was the Mahamatya and Sihappaiya the foreign minister of Aparajita.

1. Hindu India, Vol. II, Appendix.

2. E.I.; Vol. III, p.268 f.

Two copperplate grants of Aparajita have been recently acquired by the Baroda State Museum. They were discovered at Murud-Janjira in the Kolaba district of Bombay Presidency. They were both issued by the king on the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday, the 15th of the dark half of Śravana in the Śaka year 915, i.e. 993 A.D.¹ The first inscription registers the grant of a field in the village of Vihale in the Chhikhalada district of Konkana 1400 to a Brahman named Kolama, son of Harideva and a resident of Karhad in the Satara district. The second inscription records the grant of an 'ārāma' or orchard in the village of Salanaka to the same Brahman. Aparajita acknowledged the sovereignty of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed for a long time after their fall. These two inscriptions also show that although he had submitted to the Western Chalukyas in c. 980 A.D., he took the earliest opportunity of defying their supremacy in less than thirteen years. Taila was probably busy in resisting the invasions of the Paramara king Munja and could not find time to subdue him. He died in c. 1005 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Vajjada II, whose reign falls outside the scope of our work.

1. A.B.I.A. (Leyden), Vol.XI, p.14.

THE LATER KADAMBAS.

Two branches of the Early Kadambas of Banavasi came into prominence at the close of the tenth century A.D. The early history of both the branches is rather obscure, and the available inscriptions do not enable us to give a clear picture of them. Their chronology also is not free from doubt. The first branch was established at Hangal in the Dharwar District. The second branch was founded at Halsi in the Belgaum District, but later on was moved to Goa in Portuguese India.

The founder of the Hangal branch was Iriva-bedanga-Deva Satyasraya. Mr. Moraes has conjectured that he assisted a Chalukya king named Chattiga-Deva in 967 A.D.¹ to conquer Banavasi from the Rashtrakutas. He has further assumed that Satyasraya's son Chattiga was so named out of affection for his Chalukya overlord. His view is based upon a wrong reading of the inscription. The king mentioned therein is the Maharajadhiraja Khottiga, the Rashtrakuta emperor, for whom the date 967 A.D. is quite appropriate.² There is no justification therefore for the assumptions of Mr. Moraes.

1. Kadambas, p.88 f.
2. K.H.R.; July, 1932, p.37.

The inscription, however, mentions a feudatory of the king Khottiga, who is given the usual titles of 'Lord of Banavasi' 'Vanaradhvaja' etc. He was perhaps a scion of the Kadamba family, but he may or may not have been Satyasraya. Mr. Moraes assigns him to the period from 967-980 A.D., but there is no evidence for this.

Satyasraya was succeeded by his son Chatta alias Kundamaraja. The date of his accession is uncertain. Mr. Moraes places it in 980 A.D., and refers us to an inscription from the Shikarpur Taluka.¹ This inscription, however is undated and even the name of Chatta is not mentioned. The name of the Chalukya sovereign is not given, and it may belong to the reign of Jagadekamalla, who ruled from 1017 A.D. onwards.

In the genealogical list compiled by Dr. Fleet, we come across such names as Krishnavarman, Adityavarman and Vishnuvarman among the predecessors of Chatta.² Dr. Fleet doubted the authenticity of the above names. However, Adityavarman was undoubtedly a historical person, and he may have been the father of Chatta. There are two inscriptions dated A.D. 990 and A.D. 992, which represent him as a Kadam-

1. E.C.; Vol.VII, Sk.184.
 2. D.K.D.; p.559.

ba chief of ^{the} Banavasi family ruling the Kogali 500, (Bellary District) and Saundatti.¹ If my suggestion is correct, it seems likely that Satyasraya may have been a biruda assumed by Adityavarman after the Crown Prince Satyasraya of the Chalukya family.

The earliest authentic date for Chatta or Kundamarasa is furnished by a stone inscription from the Shikarpur Taluka.² The date is given as 1012 A.D.; and Tribhuvanamalla, i.e. Vikramaditya V, is acknowledged as the paramount lord. Kundamarasa is represented as governing the provinces of Banavasi 12,000 and Santalige 1,000. He was married to Kundala Devi, a daughter of Bachayya, king of Thanana, who may possibly be Vajjada II, the Silahara king.³ Vajjada's name may easily be changed into Bachayya in Kanarese.⁴ Chatta's second wife was known as Jogabbe, daughter of Bammara.⁵ The history of Chatta's successors is beyond the scope of our work.

Kadambas of Goa.

According to Dr. Fleet, their original home was Halsi in the Khanapur Taluka of the Belgaum District.⁶ On the

1. Sewell: Historical Inscriptions, p.54.
 2. Ibid, Sk. 287.
 3. E.I.; Vol.XV, p.333.
 4. Cf. the variant names, Rajamalla and Rachamalla.
 5. Moraes: Kadambas, p.433.
 6. D.K.D., p.565.

other hand, Mr. Moraes affirms that it was Chandrapura or Chandor, south of the island of Goa.¹ It seems possible that their dominions included Karwar, Ankola, Kumta and Honawar, and the ports of the modern District of North Kanara. The records of the Silaharas of Southern Konkan assert that Bhima, the grandfather of Rattaraja, had seized the district of Chandramandala, which may be the kingdom of the Kadambas. Bhima's contemporary was perhaps Nagavarma, the second prince of the Kadamba dynasty. However, it is plausible that the Silaharas restored Chandramandala to the Kadambas later on. The following genealogy is obtained from the Marcella copperplates.

Kantakacharya.
 |
 Nagavarma.
 |
 Guhalladeva.I.
 |
 Shashthadeva I.
 |
 Guhalladeva II.

The chronology of the above mentioned princes is uncertain. The Degave inscriptions trace the genealogy from one Trilochana Kadamba.² Kantakacharya and Nagavarma do not appear to have been persons of great importance. The

1. Kadambas, p.168.
 2. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol.IX, p.272.

latter is described as well-versed in religious literature. Of him and his queen Malayyadevi was born Guhalladeva, who is said to have killed many tigers.¹ He made friends with the kings of the sea coast. His son Shashthadeva probably spent his time consolidating the kingdom. From him and queen Akkadevi was born Guhalladeva II. A Nolamba-Pallava king appears to have taken refuge at his court.² Sometime during his reign he started on a pilgrimage to the famous temple of Somnath in Kathiawar by way of sea. But his ship met with disaster at Goa, and he was rescued by an Arab merchant Madumoda (possibly a corruption of Mahmud). The inscription further narrates that he gave the king a fair share of his wealth. Guhalla was succeeded by his son, Shashthadeva II. A spurious inscription at Gudikatti furnishes for him the date 1007-08 A.D.³ The reigning emperor is mentioned as Jayasimha II, which is clearly a mistake. Dr. Fleet has denounced the record as unreliable. The family became more important later, but that is beyond the scope of our present survey.

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1. Kadambas, p.391 f.
 2. Ibid, p.171.
 3. D.K.D., p.567.

The Rattas of Saundatti.

They came into prominence in the first half of the tenth century A.D. as the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas. Their original home was Lattalur, i.e. the modern Latur in the Hyderabad State. It is instructive to note that the Rashtrakutas themselves sometimes claimed to be natives of Latur. Some of the later inscriptions of the Rattas claim for them a descent from the Rashtrakuta emperor Krishna III, who is described as the 'supreme lord of Kandharapura, the best of towns.'¹ A variant form Kanharapura is found in another inscription. Dr. Fleet considered that it was purely an imaginary place. However, it should be identified with the modern village of Kanhar in the Aurangabad District of the Nizam's Dominions. The Rattas had a banner known as 'suvarṇa-Garuda-dhvaja', which they borrowed from their suzerains, the Rashtrakutas. The epithet, 'trivali-pare-ghoshana', occurring in the inscriptions², suggests that they were 'heralded in public by the sounds of a particular musical instrument called Trivali'.

important

The first/member of the family was Prithvirama, the eldest son of Merada, and a disciple of Indrakirti, a teacher

1. I.A.; Vol.XXXII, p.221.
 2. E.I.; Vol.VII, p.233, n.5.

of the Kareya sect of the Jains.¹ It is possible that the unpublished Kalaspur inscription of the reign of Govinda IV, dated A.D. 933, refers to Prithvirama, as a mahasamanta and lord of the town of Lattalur.² A later inscription, dated A.D. 1096, wrongly describes him as a feudatory of the Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Krishna II, who built a temple of Jina in 875-6 A.D. This is obviously a mistake, and Dr. Fleet has suggested that Prithvirama was a feudatory of Krishna III. He is said to have obtained the five Mahasabdas and granted some land to the shrine of Jinendra erected by himself.

He was succeeded in c. 960 A.D. by his son Pittuga, who is said to have gained a victory over a king called Ajavarman and is probably identical with Ajavarman of the Kadamba family who ruled in the Molkalmuru Taluk of the Mysore State.³ The date 987 A.D. for him is provided by two of his inscriptions.

Pittuga was succeeded by his son Santivarman. A stone inscription at Sauṇḍatti represents him as a feudatory of the Chalukya emperor Taila II, and records a grant of 150 mattars of land to a Jain temple. The date corresponds to

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1. J.B.B.R.A.S.; Vol.X, p.167 f.
 2. I.A.; Vol.XXXII; p.221.
 3. E.C.; Vol.XI, cd. 40 & 42.

December, 980 A.D.

A stone inscription at Sogal in the Parasgad Taluk of the Belgaum District brings to light another branch of the Ratta family.¹ It describes Katta, i.e. Kartavirya, as a feudatory of Taila II and a son of prince Kantheyabharada Nannapayya. The expression 'a sword for arms skilled in defence of that lord of men the Emperor', used in connection with Katta, suggests that he might have joined hands with Taila in his rebellion. The date probably corresponds to Wednesday, 14th July, A.D. 980. Another inscription dated 1096 A.D. states that Katta 'fixed the boundaries of the country of Kuhundi', which included parts of the Belgaum District and the Kolhapur and Sangali States.²

It seems probable that some time before 992 A.D. the Rattas were removed from their office and made subordinate to another viceroy, Adityavarman of the Kadamba family. An inscription dated A.D. 992 represents him as the governor of Saundatti.³ Nevertheless, the Rattas may have flourished in other parts of the Kundi country. The later history of the family is outside the scope of our work.

1. E.I.; Vol.XVI, p.1 f.

2. I.A.; Vol.XXIX, p.278.

3. Sewell: Historical Inscriptions, p.54.

THE EARLY YADAVAS.

Origin.

The first important member of this family was Dridhaprahara, who may be assigned to c. 840 A.D. According to the Vratakhanda of Hemadri, a work of the 13th century A.D., he was the son of king Subahu, who may or may not be a historical person.¹ The genealogy of his predecessors, in which we come across such names as Budha, Nahusha, Vajra etc, is obviously legendary. The title 'Dvārāvatīpuraparamesvara' occurring in the inscriptions shows that the Yadavas were originally residents of Dwarka in Kathiawar. Hemadri and Jinaprabha both allude to their connection with Dwarka. The Nasakakalpa records a tradition that a sage burnt the city of Dwarka, but the mother of Dridhaprahara managed to escape to Chandradityapura in the Naḍik District.² A Buddhist work, entitled the Manjusri-mulakalpa, composed in c. 800 A.D. according to Mr. Jayaswal, refers to the Yadavas of Dwarka in the following passage:-

"Having occupied Valabhi, there will be the first king and his numerous successors with the names of Prabha and Vishnu; the numerous kings will be Yadavas. The last

1. E.H.D.; p.238 f.

2. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.124.

amongst them will have their name Vishnu whose capital with its citizens and the king himself were washed away by the sea owing to the curse of the Rishi. The Dvaravatyas (residents of Dwarka) then disappeared and sank in the sea."¹

There is nothing miraculous in the above account and it may be accepted as historical. The flood of Dwarka may have taken place in the 8th century A.D., as the Manjusri-mulakalpa closes the history of Western India with that event. Moreover, the Yadavas did not forget that they were the descendants of the king called Vishnu. In their inscriptions, they style themselves 'Vishṇuvaṁśodbhava' and 'Vishṇuvaṁśa-prasūta'. Thus it is clear that Dridhaprahara, the founder of the kingdom, was an actual descendant of Vishnu, the last king of Dwarka. He may have served under the Rashtrakuta

1. Jayaswal: Imperial History of India, p.25.
The text reads thus:-

"Valabhyāṃ purīmāgāmya ādyamasyānupūrvakā
Prabhanāmā sahasrāṇi Vishṇunāmā tathāiva cha.
Anantā nripatayo proktā Yādavanām kulodbhavāḥ
Teshāmapaśchimo rājā Vishṇunāmā bhaviṣhyati.
Rishisāpābhibhī^ṣtastu sapaurājanabāndhavaḥ
Astaṃ gate nripo dhīmān udake plāvitā purī.
Dvāravatyā tadā tasya mahodadhisaṁśritā."

See M.M. Ganapati Sastry's Edition, p.625.

emperor Amoghavarsha I in his wars, and was therefore rewarded with a principality in the vicinity of Nasik. According to the copperplate grants Chandradityapura, i.e. Chandor in the Nasik District, was the capital of this new kingdom. Hemadri, however, states that Śrinagara was the capital.¹

He was succeeded by his son Seunachandra, who seems to have expanded his dominions. The territories over which he ruled came to be known as Seunadesā, and he also founded a town called Seunapura. After him, his son Dhadiyappa ascended the throne. Regarding him and his son Bhillama, no historical facts are recorded. In the Bassein plates, he is called Brihad-Bhillama in order to distinguish him from his later namesakes.² He was succeeded by his son Śriraja or Rajugi, who, as he was a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta king Indra III, may have taken part in the latter's northern campaigns. He was succeeded by his son Baddiga, probably so named after the Rashtrakuta emperor, Baddiga Amoghavarsha, the father of Krishna III. He may have played an important part in the conspiracy to dethrone Govinda IV. For his services, he was rewarded with

1. Mr. Y.R. Gupte on the authority of an ancient Marathi manuscript identifies Srinagara with the modern Sinnar in the Nasik District. B.I.S.M.J.; Vol.XI, p.14.

2. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.119.

the hand of Princess ⁰Viddiyavva, daughter of Dhruva, a brother of Krishna III. Dhruva is mentioned by his biruda of Nirupama in the Deoli plates of 940 A.D., and was married to Pambabbe, a Ganga princess.¹ In the Sangamner plates Baddiga is represented to have been a feudatory of Krishna III.² Another member of the Yadava family named Sankaraganda was appointed by Krishna III as a governor of the town ^{of} Kupana, i.e. the modern Kopbal. An inscription dated A.D. 965 records the erection of a Jain temple by him at Kupana. His relation with Baddiga is not apparent.³

Baddiga was succeeded by his ~~son~~ eldest son Dhadiyasa, according to Hemadri. The copperplate grants omit his name because he was a collateral. It is likely that he turned a traitor and joined hands with Taila II in overthrowing the Rashtrakutas. For this Taila may have rewarded him with some more territory in the present Ahmadnagar District.

He was succeeded in ^{brother} 980 A.D. by his ~~son~~ Bhillama II, who married Lakshmi, a daughter of King Jhanjha. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar identifies Jhanjha with the Silahara prince of that name.⁴ But his suggestion does not seem feasible, as

1. E.C.; Vol.VI, p.9 (Intro.)
 2. E.I.; Vol.II, p.214.
 3. K.H.R.; Jan, 1933, p.xv.
 4. E.H.D.; p.175.

he ruled in c. 925 A.D. Nevertheless, it is possible that Jhanjha, the father-in-law of Bhillama, might be a member of the Silahara family. On her mother's side, Lakshmi was of Rashtrakuta descent. The Kalas-Badrakh grant informs us that she 'illumined the Yadava and the Rashtrakuta families¹!

Bhillama appears to have participated in the wars of Taila II, his suzerain. Verse 17 of the Samngamner charter states that 'with his sword, which was a terrible death to his enemies, he destroyed the glory of the great/^{king}Munja in battle, and who made the earth, which is girdled by the sea, take the vow of a chaste woman in the house of the illustrious king Ranarangabhima.² The Paramara king raided the Chalukya empire several times, and the burden of resistance naturally fell on the shoulders of Bhillama, who governed the northermost districts. But Bhillama, who boasts of his victory over Munja, naturally omits a reference to his ^{later}~~previous~~ defeats by Sindhuraja. Aparajita, the contemporary Silahara king, offered protection to Bhillama against the attacks of Sindhuraja. The identification of Ranarangabhima is a difficult problem. Prof. Kielhorn identifies him with the Chalukya emperor Taila II.³ But it is clearly untenable, because Taila had died three years before the

1. I.A.; Vol.XVII, p.118.
2. E.I.; Vol.II, p.218.
3. Ibid, p.215.

date of the inscription. In my opinion, Ranarangabhima should be identified with the Chalukya emperor Satyasraya, the suzerain of Bhillama in 1000 A.D. The Kanarese poet Ranna gives Sahasabhima as one of the birudas of Satyasraya.¹ Now Sahasabhima is almost synonymous with Ranarangabhima. No useful purpose could ~~be~~ have been served by the mention of Taila, who had died three years before the date of the grant. On the other hand, it is natural to expect a reference to the reigning sovereign, who is not alluded to in any other passage of the grant.

The Sangamner copperplates were issued by Bhillama on the occasion of a solar eclipse from the holy bathing place at Nasik. He granted the village of Arjunondhika, near Sangamner, to 21 Brahmans. The date of the grant probably corresponds to the 31st August, A.D. 1000. Bhillama is described as a Mahasamanta, who had obtained the five great sounds, and 'the supreme lord of Dvaravati'. Sangrama-rama, Kandukacharya and Vijayabharana are mentioned as his birudas. His son Vesuka was married to Princess Nayiladevi, daughter of Goggi, the Chalukya king of Lata.² The Surat grant of Goggi's son Kirtiraja is dated 1018 A.D., and the former was therefore a contemporary of Bhillama.³ It is needless

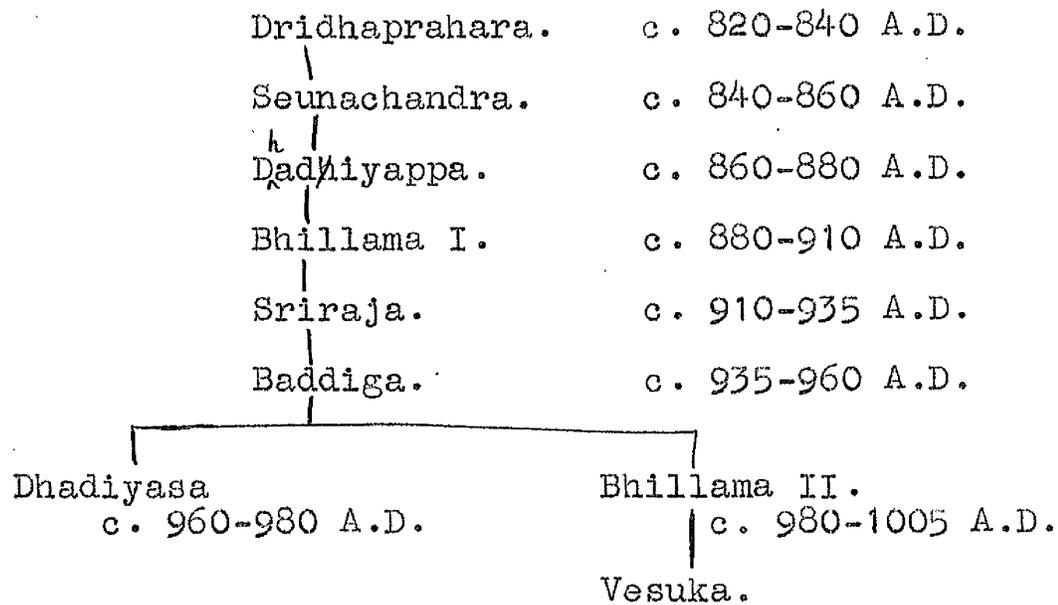
1. I.A.; Vol.XL, p.42.

2. I.A.; Vol.XII, p.120, v.6.

3. Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol.VII, p.89.

for our purpose to deal with the history of his successors.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Including Journals
and Periodicals.

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- A. B. I. A. Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology.
 - A. B. O. R. I. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
 - A. I. H. T. Pargiter's Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.
 - A. H. D. Dubreuil's Ancient History of the Deccan.
 - A. S. Archaeological Survey.
 - A. S. I. - A. R. Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.
 - A. R. S. I. E. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
 - A. R. Annual Report.
 - A. S. W. I. Archaeological Survey of Western India.
 - Asiatic Researches.
 - B. I. S. M. J. Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala Journal (Marathi).
 - B. S. O. S. Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

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Catalogue	Rapson's Catalogue of Coins of the Andhras etc.
C. H. I.	Cambridge History of India.
C. I. I.	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Dynastic History or D. H. N. I.	Ray's Dynastic History of Northern India.
D. K. A.	Pargiter's Dynasties of the Kali Age.
D. K. D.	Fleet's Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts.
E. C.	Epigraphia Carnatica.
E. H. D.	Bhandarkar's Early History of the Deccan.
E. H. I.	Smith's Early History of India.
E. I.	Epigraphia Indica.
G. O. S.	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
Geog. Ess.	Geographical Essays by B. C. Law.
Hindu India	Banerji's Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India.
Historical Inscr- ptions.	Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.
H. A. S. - A. R.	Hyderabad Archaeological Survey, Annual Report.

H. I. L. Winternitz's History of Indian Literature.

H. O. S. Harvard Oriental Series.

I. A. Indian Antiquary.

Indian Art and Letters.

I. H. Q. Indian Historical Quarterly.

Indian Culture.

J. A. H. R. S. Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.

J. B. B. R. A. S. Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. A. S. B. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

J. A. O. S. Journal of the Americanⁿ Oriental Society.

J. D. L. Journal of the Department of Letters.

J. I. H. Journal of Indian History.

J. O. R. Journal of Oriental Research.

J. B. O. R. S. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

J. R. A. S. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

J. R. A. I. Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

S. I. I. South Indian Inscriptions.

Saradasram Annual, Meotmal, 1933.

Transactions of the Seventh International Congress of Orientalists at Vienna, 1886.

Vienna Oriental Journal.

Vividha-jnana-vistara.



Add also:

J. B. H. S. ——— Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.

Hyderabad Archaeological Series.

New Indian Antiquary.