



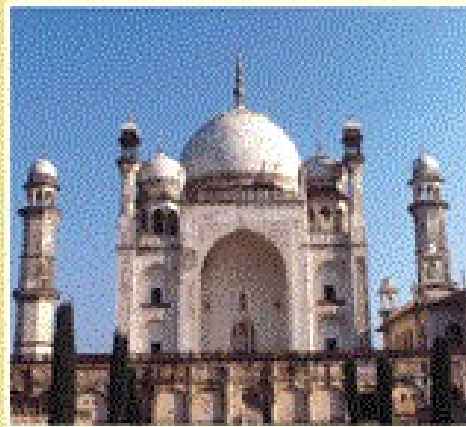
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MAHARASHTRA STATE GAZETTEERS

HISTORY

Part I - ANCIENT PERIOD

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GOVERNMENT OF MAHARASHTRA
MUMBAI

GENERAL VOLUME—HISTORY

PART I

ANCIENT PERIOD

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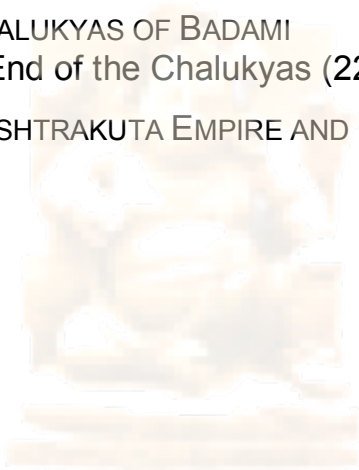
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PREFACE

This is the first part of the General Volume on History to be published in four parts. My thanks are due to Dr. H. D. Sankalia, the Late Dr. A. S. Altekar, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Shri N. Lakshmi Narayan Rao and Dr. M. D. Paradkar and especially due to Dr. Mirashi who, besides contributing to the volume, revised the volume so as to bring it up-to-date and added a scholarly introduction.

I am thankful to the Joint Editor, Dr. B. G. Kunte and other members of the staff for the assistance rendered by them in the preparation of press copy and correction of proofs. My special thanks are due to Dr. M. D. Paradkar for preparing the Index to the volume. My thanks are also due to Shri J. W. D'Souza, Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Bombay, and Shri S. A. Sapre, Manager, Government Central Press Bombay.

P. SETU MADHAVA RAO,
Executive Editor and Secretary.

Bombay : January 1968.

Maharashtra State Gazetteers

PREFACE

I am very glad to bring out the e-Book edition of the earlier published State Gazetteers: History: Ancient Period, Medieval Period, and Maratha Period.

History: Ancient Period was originally published in 1967 where as History Medieval Period and History: Maratha Period were published in 1968 and 1972 respectively.

Covering three different phases of History, these three books form an important source to study the antiquity of Maharashtra.

History: Ancient Period roughly covers the period from pre-historic times to fall of Yadavas in early 14th century A.D. History: Medieval Period gives account of Alauddin Khilji's invasion in late 13th century to Moghals as masters of Maharashtra. History: Maratha Period narrates the story of rise of Shivaji as Lord of Maharashtra and Maratha Supremacy.

Being a valuable reference works, the need was felt to preserve these volumes. In this age of modernization, Information and Technology have become key words. To keep pace with the changing needy the hour. I have decided the bring out C.D. version of these three volumes. Accordingly these three volumes are combined and complied in one C.D. I am sure, scholars, studious persons and general readers across the world will find this C.D. immensely beneficial.

I am thankful to the Honourable Minister, Shri. Ashokrao Chavan (Industries and Mines, Cultural Affairs and Protocol), and the Minister of State, Shri. Rana Jagjitsinh Patil (Agriculture, Industries and Cultural Affairs), Shri Bhushan Gagrani. (Secretary, Cultural Affairs) Government of Maharashtra for being a constant source of inspiration.

Place: Mumbai

Date: 26th January 2007

Dr. Arunchandra S. Pathak
Executive Editor and Secretary

Maharashtra State Gazetteers

INTRODUCTION

The first idea of compiling information about the different districts of the Bombay Presidency, conceived as far back as 1843, was in the form of Statistical Accounts. The Collectors of the districts were called upon to collect fullest information about 'the state of the cross and other roads not under the superintendence of a separate department, the passes and ferries throughout the country, the streets in the principal towns and the extension and improvement of internal communication'. The Collectors were also desired to include in their Annual Reports observations on every point from which a knowledge of the actual condition of the country could be gathered. In this scheme there was obviously no place for any section on history. Later, in 1867, it was proposed to compile a Gazetteer of the Presidency on the model of the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces which had been prepared during that year. So several new subjects were proposed to be included in the Gazetteer, of which history was one. The purpose was to give a new Collector a comprehensive and at the same time a distinct idea of the district which he had been sent to administer. To-day our notions about the Gazetteers have greatly changed. They are intended to serve not only the administrators but the entire nation. The people must have full information about *inter alia* the past history and culture of their country. So the subject of history has become an essential part of both the State and the District Gazetteers.

In the last Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, which was completed in 1902, Volume I, Parts I and II were devoted to the history of the Presidency in all periods, ancient, mediaeval and modern. At that time Gujarat, Sindh and some Kanarese districts were included in the Bombay Presidency. Vol. I, Part I of that Gazetteer contained the Early History of Gujarat (B.C. 319-A.D. 1304), which was based on materials prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and completed by Mr. A.M.T. Jackson. Vol. I, Part II contained the following articles :—

I. History of the Konkan by Rev. Alexander Kyd. Nairne.

II. Early History of the Deccan down to Mahomedan Conquest by Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

III. The Dynasties of the Kanarese districts from the Earliest Historical Times to the Musalman Conquest by Dr. J. F. Fleet.

This Volume was very highly prized. The Editor says in the Preface, "The general contributions on History in Vol. I. Parts I and II are among the valuable portions of the Gazetteer."

The articles dealing with the ancient period, written as they were by eminent scholars like Bhagwanlal Indraji, R.G. Bhandarkar and J. F. Fleet, have always been regarded as authoritative.

These Gazetteer Volumes, which were completed more than fifty years ago, have since become antiquated and the need was therefore felt to bring them up to date. In 1949 a Board was set up to undertake the work of revision and compilation of District Gazetteers. The Board then decided to prepare General Volumes covering the whole of the then Bombay State to be published along with the District Volumes. The General Volumes were to be on the following subjects :—

- (1) People.
- (2) Geography.
- (3) Public Administration.
- (4) Botany.
- (5) History.
- (6) Language and Literature.
- (7) Fauna.

Of these, the History Volume was to be published in four parts viz., (1) Ancient Period, (2) Mediaeval Period, (3) Maratha Period and (4) Modern Period. For the purpose of the compilation of the Volume on the Ancient Period, a committee of the following scholars was appointed :—

- (1) Dr. H. D. Sankalia.
- (2) Dr. A. S. Altekar, and
- (3) Dr. S. C. Nandimath.

Some chapters were written by them and some were assigned to other scholars. Later, in 1956, the States were reorganised. The Kanarese districts of the former Bombay State were transferred to the Mysore State. Subsequently, in 1960, Maharashtra and Gujarat too were bifurcated and Vidarbha was added to form Maharashtra comprising all Marathi-speaking districts. Consequently, the original scheme of the History Volume had to be greatly modified. Some chapters had to be omitted, some had to be added, while some others were required to be re-written.

The present Volume on the history of the Ancient Period consists of eleven chapters as stated below :—

1. Pre-historic Cultures and Remains by Dr. H. D. Sankalia.
2. The Satavahana Empire and its Feudatories by the late Dr. A; S; Altekar.

3. The Successors of the Satavahanas in Maharashtra by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
4. The Western Kshatrapas by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
5. Society, Religion and Culture (200 B.C. to 500 A.D.) by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
6. The Chalukyas of Badami by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao.
7. The Rashtrakuta Empire and its Feudatories by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar and Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
8. Shilaharas by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.
9. The Chalukyas and the Kalachuryas of Kalyani by Dr. S. L. Katare.
10. The Yadavas of Devagiri by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar.
11. Society, Religion and Culture (500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.) by Dr. M. D. Paradkar.

It will be noticed that the present Volume is far more comprehensive than the corresponding portion of Vol. I of the earlier edition. It deals fully with the prehistoric culture of Maharashtra, its prehistory and proto-history, its arts and architecture, its ornaments and implements. Again the historical chapters in the earlier edition dealt only with political history, while the present Volume contains two chapters treating of society, religion and culture in the two broad periods in which the early history of Maharashtra can be divided. This is in keeping with the modern wider conception of history.

Some of the chapters in the present Volume were written more than fifteen years ago. Since then there has been much advance in our knowledge of the ancient history of Maharashtra. All articles have therefore been thoroughly revised and the information in them has been brought up to date. The notes added by me have been distinguished by my initials. It is hoped that the present Volume will give a fuller and more authentic history of Maharashtra than before.

It is a matter for regret that one of the contributors to the present Volume, Dr. A. S. Altekar, who wrote several chapters for it, passed away before it would be brought out. His death has been a serious loss to the cause of ancient Indian history.

V. V. MIRASHI.

Nagpur : 15th January 1968:

CHAPTER 1

PRE-HISTORIC CULTURE AND REMAINS*

THE STATE OF MAHARASTRA COMPRISES A LARGE PART OF WESTERN INDIA. It extends between 22.1 and 16.4 degrees north latitude and 72.6 and 80.9 degrees east longitude. The Arabian sea marks its western limit ; on the north-west, north, south and south-east lie BenuuM. Gujarat, Madhya Pradesa, Mysore and Andhra Pradesa respectively. The area of the State is 118279.9 sq. miles which is about 9.64 per cent. of the area of the Indian Union excluding Goa, Daman and Div. According to 1961 census the population of the State is 3,95,53,718 souls.

For the administrative convenience the State is divided into four divisions, viz., Bombay, Poona, Aurangabad and Nagpur. Bombay Division comprises the districts of Greater Bombay, Thana, Kolaba Ratnagiri, Nasik, Dhulia and Jalganv; while the districts of Ahmadnagar, Poona, Satara, Sangli, Solapur and Kolhapur are included in the Poona Division. The districts in the Marathavada region, viz., Aurangabad, Parbhani, Bid, Nanded and Usmanabad are included in Aurangabad Division, while the districts in the Vidarbha region, viz., Buldhana, Akola, Amaravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Canda form part of Nagpur Division.

Physiography of the State may be considered first. For, it has determined the subsequent political, economic, social and cultural development of the State. Maharastra consists of two main divisions . (1) The Deccan Plateau, and (2) the Konkan Plain. The plateau is one mass of basaltic lava which erupted and spread over the ancient land surface some time during the Upper Creatceous period. (Excluding Malva and some part of Northern Karnatak, its limit is almost conterminous with the limits of the Marathi language.) The lava spread in horizontal beds of great thickness, having intercalated softer beds of ash. This particular feature, followed by a long period of denudation and sub-aerial weathering have given a characteristic topography to the land. Residual hills, often towering high into series of terraces, and punctuated by peaks, with luxuriant

* This chapter is contributed by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (London), Joint Director, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research institute, Poona.

vegetation on their laterite covered tops, and basins forming river valleys, have sprung up. In the drier parts of the region on the east have developed the famous black “regur” soil. This almost uniform alternate occurrence of valleys and hills towards the west, and gently sloping plains towards the east and south-east have contributed not a little to the peculiar culture of Maharaja.

The coastal strip of Konkan (stretching from the southern limit of North Kanara to Damanganga in the north) is believed to be a platform of marine denudations raised to form a narrow plain. It is neither uniformly level nor straight, nor equally fertile.

The plain is dissected by parallel and transverse sub-Sahyadri hills, some of which reach the sea. The Kalyan creek separates the plain into North and South Konkan respectively. Both are drained by parallel streams, but the former is more fertile with vast deposits of river silt. The latter is cut up into parts by hills and rendered further useless by extensive occurrences of laterites.

There are two principal river systems, that of the Godavari, and of the Krsna. Countless streams and a number of rivers, which have their watershed in one or the other of the Western Ghat hills, join these larger rivers and flow eastwards. Besides these, the region has a number of wells, lakes, canals and natural springs (in hills).

Maharastrian culture is comparatively homogeneous. Here there is comparatively less admixture of peoples (though recent anthropometrical investigations tend to show an increasingly northern racial element, comparable to that of other States, in the higher castes of Maharashtra). This has been due to the fact that the numerous trap ridges have formed an effective barrier to outside influences and given to the inhabitants an isolated but independent outlook on life. The ridges have been pierced, no doubt, by a number of ghats (passages), which enable contact with the Konkan and Gujarat coast, but these are at all times difficult to negotiate. In such a region the centres of the earliest cultures and civilization once again have been the fertile river valleys, particularly the confluences of two or more rivers, or in times of stress mountain fastnesses and hollows. We had thus the early Aryan settlement in Vidarbha (Berar) and later on the Godavari, and the Satavahana towns at Paithan (Pratisthana), Nevasa, Nasik, Kolhapur and Karhad along the banks of the Godavari, the Pravara, the Panchganga and confluence of the Krsna-Venna. The Vakatakas later chose the valley of the Vindhyas, Rastrakutas, Mayurakhandi while some of the Silaharas preferred the coastal strip of Konkan, the Yadavas first chose Candor (Candra-dityapura) in the Nasik District, but later made Devagiri their capital.

The creeks and ports of Konkan, like Caul, Kalyan, Sopara, Rajapuri, have also played an important part in the formation of the Maharastrian culture, both by giving and letting in foreign influence by way of trade and immigration.

DECCAN.

The appellation 'Deccan' can claim a higher antiquity. It is apparently based on 'Dakhan' which is derived from 'Daksina-patha', meaning 'the southern road'. Since the times of Yaska, this seems to have been a general name for the country south of the Narmada upto Kanyakumari. Several Puranas, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, and Baudhdyana and Kautilya refer to it. It is also occasionally mentioned in the Buddhist Jatakas and early Jain literature. The Greeks and the Romans knew it under the name of Dachinabdes. These are general terms from which the exact limits of the country denoted by Daksinapatha cannot be deduced.

Two early epigraphical allusions, however, give a clue. Naganika and Rudradaman call Satavahana Satakarni as the lord of the Daksinapatha. A consideration of the countries ruled by this emperor, suggests that 'Daksina' included the country between the Narmada and the Krsna, definitely excluding the far south (Malabar) and at times even the Konkan. It would thus roughly correspond with the modern Marathi term 'Des' and the English 'Deccan', implying the plateau country only.

About the 5th-6th century, this term of wider significance began to be replaced by the name 'Maharashtra'. How and when it originated first cannot be well ascertained at present. Four explanations are offered by (i) Ketkar, (ii) Bhagwanlal Indraji, (iii) R. G. Bhandarkar and (iv) P. V. Kane.

The first derives it from 'Mahar' the third from 'Rathi' or Maharathi' and the rest from Maharashtra, a 'vast country' gradually being opened up for civilization and replacing the old 'Dandakaranya'.

None of these theories is convincing, and none is supported by contemporary usage, either literary or epigraphical.

But there is no doubt that when a Ceylonese Chronicle (Maha-vamsa) used the term in the 5th century or when Ravikirti described Pulakesin II as the ruler of 'three Maharastrakas', the name must have been current, at least for a couple of centuries earlier, if not from the 1st or 2nd century B. C., as argued by Kane.

The limits of this early Maharashtra are not easy to fix. The Maha-vamsa itself specifically zones it off from Aparanta and Vanavasa; so Konkan and the lower Deccan (or parts of modern Northern Karnatak or ancient Kuntala) seem to be excluded. We thus get back to the "Deccan" proper.

This would be perhaps one "Maharashtra"; but what constituted the three of the Aihole inscription? Possibly, Vidarbha, Kuntala and Maharashtra, though it might be mentioned that Rajasekhara enumerates each of these separately. Briefly, the Deccan or Maharashtra included broadly the country from the Narmada up to the Krsna in the south. The furthest limit in the east was Vainaganga or the river Bendi in Canda district, and in the west the Arabian sea. These are co-extensive with the present spread of

the Marathi language. If the language of the early Prakrt inscriptions can be well determined and the distribution of the *Maharashtra* plotted, then perhaps the ancient Maharashtra might be found to extend still further.

The most ancient place-name in this country seems to be Vidarbha, probably the earliest Aryan settlement. For, it is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, and occurs later in the *Brhadaranyaka* and the *Jaiminiya Upanisads*. It along with Rsika, Asmaka, Dandaka, Mulaka, Kuntala and Aparanta of early inscriptions and Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jain literatures would constitute the principal divisions of the ancient Deccan (as well as of modern Maharashtra). Vidarbha comprised the present Berar (Varhad) and the eastern districts of Wardha, Canda, Nagpur and Bhandara. Rsika, Asmaka, Mulaka and Dandaka between them covered the whole of the middle and the upper Godavari valley. Kuntala, southern Deccan, included parts of Northern Karnatak; and Aparanta, the present Konkan, a portion of southern Gujarat or ancient Lata.

The most famous towns and cities of these divisions were Kundina (Kaundinyapura) in Vidarbha, Nasik or Govardhana in Dandaka (?), Pratisthana (Paithan) in Asmaka-Mulaka (?), Karahataka and Vanavasi in Kuntala, Surparaka, and Kalyana with the hill Krsnagiri in Aparanta¹.

The Arabian Sea forms the western boundary of the entire State. This seafront has several ports : Sopara, Caul, Kalyana, etc. These have, from early historic and prehistoric times, been used mainly for commerce, but also for wars, and emigration to and from foreign lands. Thus the whole of the Near and Far West, including Iran, Iraq, Africa, Egypt, and later Rome and other Mediterranean countries were brought into contact with Western India. Relations were also established with Ceylon and other islands in the Indian archipelago.

What was the road system inside Maharashtra cannot be indicated in detail. Numerous Buddhist cave settlements seem to lie along the main lines of communications. Contact with the plains below was maintained through several passes in the hills, known as *Ghats*. *Khinds*, etc. Of these, the most well-known seems to be the Naneghat between Junnar and Broach and Ambaghat and Phondaghat between Kolhapur and Ratnagiri.

The latest survey* of Maharashtra was made by Dr. Karve.

This survey² reveals the following facts of the physical characteristics of the people of Maharashtra.

¹ These countries are also mentioned in the present Bhismaparvan (c. 400 A.D.).

* This section—(pp. 4-5), is contributed by Dr. I. Karve.

² Karve and Dandekar, *Deccan College Monograph Series*, 8, Poona, 1951, and Karve, "Anthropometric measurements in Karnatak, and Orissa, etc.," *the Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay*, (1954).

The survey comprises over forty castes and tribes from Maharashtra.

The whole sample ranged in cephalic index from 72 to nearly 83 i.e. from dolicho-cephals to the lower brachy-cephals.

PRE- AND PROTO-HISTORY.

The only dolicho-cephalic people in Maharashtra are the Katkari, Warli, Koli from the Western Ghats; Konkan Kunbi, Agari and Karhada Brahmins from the coast, Gujar, Lewa from north Khandes and Povar, Kohali, Bacane Mahar, Khairi Kunbi, Mana Kunbi, Gond, Govari, Halbi and Kolam from eastern Maharashtra. The Bhils of Maharashtra fall just outside this range. If one plots these dolicho-cephals, one can see that they belong to the highlands and the peripheral region of the Maharashtra.

The overwhelming population of Maharashtra (Central and partly coastal) belongs to meso-cephalic people. In Maharashtra there is a good substratum of dolicho-cephals in hills, on the coast and in eastern Maharashtra.

The Maharashtra region was known as Dandakaranya—the Dandaka forest—with a lot of aboriginal people living in it. It seems that these were a long-headed, medium-statured people with noses ranging from extreme broad to medium broad. This region extended southwards upto and beyond the Krsna and northwards into the forest belt of Central India. Into this population came an immigrant meso-cephalic people from north-west (?). The same population seems to have migrated southward viz. the Konkan coast, then up on the Ghats. This movement of the meso-cephals seems to have driven the Maharashtra dolicho-cephals westwards and northwards. Possibly it was this immigration which drove the Gonds northwards. They pushed the Vraons who, in their turn, pushed the Mundas to the east and north. This is only a surmise which needs to be investigated anthropologically, culturally and linguistically.

Maharashtra coastal meso-cephals have less prominent noses and have lighter colour complexion. The people on the central plateau of Maharashtra are darker-skinned.

Until 1940 only the archaeology of the historic periods was to some extent known. That of the pre-and proto-historic periods was believed to be non-existent in Maharashtra, inspite of the pioneer work of Robert Bruce Foote.

Since 1941 explorations and excavations, though on a small scale, have been started. These help us to give some idea of the life during the pre-historic period.

From a survey of the foot-hills in Konkan, and along the Godavari, the Pravara, the Mula, the Tapi and other rivers in Maharashtra, it can now be said that early man lived in these regions along the river banks and on the foot-hills. All these rivers then flowed in a comparatively wider and higher bed. The climate was initially hotter than today; it gradually became more dry. The period when this happened cannot be definitely stated. But from the occurrence

of the fossil fauna of the Middle Pleistocene period in the gravels of the Godavari and the Pravara¹ and the Tapi and its tributaries and the typological tools from these rivers it would appear that the first appearance of man in Maharashtra was not earlier than the Middle Pleistocene (Sankalia, 1946, 1952, 1956; Joshi 1955; Todd, 1939 and IAD, 1956-59).

We have no idea how this man looked and from where he came. The only artifacts which have survived are his stone tools. He might have used tools of bones and wood, but these seem to have perished. However, since highly mineralized bones and wood have been discovered from the Deccan, it is possible that in future, these as well as skeletal remains of man himself will be found, discoveries which will give a fuller picture of Early Man and his environment. Though the material is stone, its nature differs according to the region. The tools of basalt material but generally called dolerite, which form dykes in the basalt were used by man in the Deccan. An exception was made by the Konkan man. He used quartzite chert and flint.

The tools can be classified as under :—

- (1) Hand-axes (various).
- (2) Cleavers.
- (3) Scrapers.
- (4) Discoids.
- (5) Choppers.

It appears that the tools were on slabs taken out from the parent rock (basalt and dolerite).

Since the cruder-free as well as the finer—controlled-flaking techniques are found in tools from the same horizon, this palaeolithic industry is called Abbevillio-Acheulian. It must have an earlier beginning and further development which more extensive surveys in the State might bring to light².

Middle Palaeolithic Period.

What is described above belongs to the lower Palaeolithic Period. Quite recently work in the Deccan showed that this culture was gradually replaced by another palaeolithic industry. It also coincides with a wet phase. Clear stratigraphic and typological evidence is hitherto available from the Pravara and the Godavari. Unlike the earlier tools, these later are comparatively small, and made on different technique from quite different raw material. In the Deccan preference was given to agate, jasper and chert. A few of the tools are now made on Levallois flakes, though a large number are on cores and asymmetrical, irregular flakes. These tools include a large variety of scrapers and points but a few blades and still fewer burins or gravers. (Sankalia, 1956).

¹ Recently palaeoliths have been discovered at Kaundinyapura, district Amara-vati, and at Nagpur. See *I. A. R.*, (1958-59), p. 68.'

² A very recent (January 1960), discovery at Gangapur, five miles north-west of Nasik, disclosed very small, finely made, 'point-like' hand-axes and cleavers. These recall the late Acheulian of France.

The exact geological age of this industry is not known. Since the lowest gravel bed yields remains of *Bos nomadicus*, *Elephant anticus*, and other highly fossilized (silicified) bones, as well as remains of wood, some of which are of the Middle Pleistocene Period, the immediately overlying gravel bed might belong to the Upper Pleistocene at least, though the occurrence of *Bos nomadicus* *Falconer* might indicate an earlier age.

There seems to have been a break in the sequence of culture after this. For, the gravels are capped by a layer of brownish sandy silt, its thickness varying from 30 ft. to 10 ft. or so.

In the Deccan this layer is overlain by a layer of black soil which may be nothing but weathering *in situ* under certain—humid—climatic conditions of the silt. Its thickness varies considerably and is totally absent where the underlying rock forms the surface. Owing to summer rains and wind activity hundreds of dunes or hillocks have been formed. Some of these enclose small inundation lakes. Around these on the dunes grew up another stone-using culture. The bearers of this culture used tiny stone tools, called microliths. The people lived on low sand-dunes locally called *timbas*. They were hunters and lived on the flesh of sheep, goat, cow/ox, pig, rhinoceros, deer, all probably undomesticated, tortoise and birds and fish. All these animals were brought to the mound, where they were cut up and the marrow removed from bones. The microliths were also manufactured here. Thus a four to six feet debris of bones and stones has accumulated at the habitation site.

The tools were made from a coarse variety of chert, quartz, agate and carnelian and include lunates, trapeze, triangles, burins and asymmetrical blades and various kinds of scrapers or flakes as well as cores. Among the last occur a few fluted cores as well, whereas the rest have one, two or many platforms, and are indeed amorphous. The use of ornaments is attested by the occurrence of a flat round head of unidentified material and cut denatalium shell. The latter indicates contact with the west coast.

The primitive hunters buried their dead right in their habitation debris, along with the dog, which might have been domesticated. Hitherto some 12 skeletons have been found, all of which are found placed in an extremely flexed posture, with the feet tucked up right under the buttocks. These people were comparatively tall with thin legs, dolicocephalic heads and protruding lips. These physical characteristics resemble those of the Hamitic people of Egypt Towards the later phase of this culture it appears that a pottery with red slip or incised criss-cross design and of coarse pale yellow texture had come into use. These few sherds in association with hourglass-like made head or ring-stone suggest an advanced stage of culture comparable to the 'Neolithic (Sankalia, 1956, and the references therein).

Microliths are found in Konkan and rest of Maharastra. But except at Kandivali (Todd, 1939; 1950), their exact stratigraphical position

is not ascertained¹. Hence it is not possible to assign them to any definite date. Nor do we know anything about other aspects of the culture they represent. But there are great potentialities. Recently near Badami the writer examined a cave called Sidlephadi. Here microliths are found along with pot-sherds, but what their exact relationship is cannot be guessed without excavation.

In northern Deccan, microliths of a specialised kind persisted in the Chalcolithic or Copper Age and definite traces of such a cultural stage are now available from that area, as in the Indus valley or Harappa civilisation.

About the same time, Chalcolithic cultures had grown up in the Deccan, in the valleys of the Tapi, Girna, Pravara, the Godavari and the Bhima and its tributaries. The Krsna has not yet been surveyed, but sooner or later, Chalcolithic sites are bound to be found in this river-valley also.

The Deccan Chalcolithic cultures have certain common features, viz., a painted pottery, short blade industry on chalcedony, a few tools and ornaments of copper or bronze and a consistent use of beads of faience and burnt steatite [or chalk, as indicated by Dr. Lal's (Archaeological Chemist) analysis]. These cultures also seem to represent the earliest colonisation by a civilised man on the black or dark-brown soil which forms the surface soil in the Deccan and Karnatak. However, the pottery differs from valley to valley, though everywhere it is painted, usually in black, over a red, or reddish slip. An exception to this general picture has recently been provided by Diamabad, about 15 miles east of Nevasa in Ahmadnagar district. Here the typical Jorwe-Nevasa culture is preceded by two earlier ones. The differences are primarily in shapes and designs. At Prakase the designs consisted "mainly of hatched diamonds, horizontal or oblique bands, criss-cross and wavy lines, ladder-patterns and also animal motifs". No account of the Bahal (Girna) culture is yet published, but its pottery has more affinity with that of the Tapi, which in its turn is basically related to the Narmada valley (Mohesvar-Nagda) Chalcolithic culture. A better picture is available of the Chalcolithic culture of the Godavari-Pravara basins. Though a number of sites in these valleys are located, only three, Nasik, Jorwe and Nevasa, are partially excavated. It appears that the first inhabitants settled on a black or brownish soil which had developed owing to a change in climatic conditions, and consequent heavy vegetation on the aggradation deposits (sandy silt) of the Deccan rivers. From the occurrence of workshops containing anvils, hammer stones, and fully or partially polished stone axes of dolerite in their habitations, it appears that before these people came, there was a Polished Stone-using Culture in the region of which no distinct stratigraphical occurrence is hitherto found; or that they (the Copper Age people) had contact with this culture which seems to

¹ A very recent survey (January 1960), of the Godavari and Pravara valleys revealed that a loose, very late gravel covers the fringe of the oldest or first terrace. This contains microliths of chalcedony.

have flourished in a pure neolithic form on the south-east coast. Whatever it be, since no development is visible either in pottery forms or fabrics, it must be presumed that this Chalcolithic culture entered fully developed from without. The houses were of square or rectangular shape; their floors made with lime and gravel, or lime and burnt black clay. The walls were supported on uncut, round, timber posts. Possibly, these huts had had slanting roofs, made of reeds and grass. Most of the pottery was fine, thin-walled, made of well levigated clay and uniformly baked. This was covered with a red or reddish slip and painted in black. This painting is very regularly done with a thin brush, but the designs are very monotonous. These are generally linear and geometric, and include many zig-zag, lattice or criss-cross patterns. Animal designs, though few and extremely scarce, are realistic and beautiful. The bodies of dog, antelope and unidentified animal were shown in solid black.

The characteristic types are vessels for drinking or pouring with carinated shoulders, flaring rims and a long side spout, so that it could be used as a 'drinking tube', bowls with rounded bottoms and straight or carinated sides, and small flasks. Dishes seem to be rare. There was also a coarser, dull-brown, unslipped ware, used probably for preparing dough, and huge storage jars. Light grey and pink, partly handmade, globular vessels with comparatively narrow necks, but broad mouths with flaring rims were used for burying children. There was a fourth ware with thick, sturdy wall and black glossy surface, the rims of which were painted with a red paint after firing. However, hitherto an idea of the shapes in this fabric is not available. The storage jars were decorated with applique finger-tip ornament.

Among the copper or bronze objects, so far flat axes, a chisel, a fish hook, small tubular as well as large biconical beads have been found. Ground and polished axes, adze chisels of dolerite were however, used and manufactured at Nevasa. But for most of the daily needs for cutting, piercing, etc. blades were made of chalcedony. These include such types as parallel-sided flakes or blades, pen-knife, blade-like shapes, lunates, triangles, trapezes, points, and borers and a few scrapers on blade and on cores. The first two types predominate. Evidently, all these were hafted in a bone or wood handle.

Racially these people seem to be dolicocephalic with well-developed jaw.¹ They buried the dead, right under the habitation floors. The adults were laid fully extended or in a slightly flexed posture in huge storage jars horizontally. These jars were marked off by an inch thick lime border. Some time an adult was laid right on the black soil, having a thin coating of lime. A fragmentation burial was practised in the case of children. The remains—portions of skull, ribs, etc.—were kept in the urns face-to-face horizontally or vertically.

¹ Till March 1960, nearly burials have been found. Of these six are of adults. For the three, found in 1954-55, see the report by Dr. (Mrs.) Sophie Erhardt, in "From History to Prehistory at Nevasa" (Poona, 1960), H.D. Sankalia, S.B. Deo, Z.D. Ansari, and S. Erhardt.

Latest excavations at Nevasa (1959-60) indicate that these people not only knew cotton and silk, but spun them on some cotton spinning appliance, and used the thread for stringing copper bead (and other) necklaces. One of such necklaces was found round the neck of a child buried in urn. Further the presence of millet, cells and epidermal hair besides fungal spores indicate the use of cattle dung in burial rites, whereas the presence of oil globules in the material found surrounding the string indicate the use of oil for anointing the human body during life and after death.

Who these Chalcolithic people were and what happened to them is not known. After a long interval, as evidenced by a weathered layer of black soil at Nevasa, Nasik and Prakase, we meet in the Deccan and elsewhere in India, an iron-using people. Since coins, sometimes bearing writing, are also associated with the remains of these people, the period can rightly be called Early Historic. This Early Historic period may be sub-divided regionally and dynasti-cally according to the principal coin types, and other evidence-literary or epigraphical.

Attention may be drawn to the existence of megaliths—over 300— at Mahurjari,¹ near Junapani, about 8 miles west of Nagpur, and Stone Circles at Cakalpet,² Canda District.

If these are of the same type as those found in Mysore and South India, it will be possible to establish a link between pre-history and early history.

ARCHITECTURE.

Excepting the temples at Ter (in the Usmanabad District), no structural temples of the period, contemporary with the Satavahanas, Vakatakas, Traikutakas or Early Calukyas have been found in the Deccan. The Caitya-like temples as well as other Brahmanic temples at Ter might have been built during the Kalacuri regime. Whoever be the rulers, the fact that the temples of Uttaresvara and Kalesvara are built with moulded or carved bricks indicates that these probably belong to the 5th-6th century, when similar temples were being built in Rajputana, Madhya Pradesh and Bengal. Remains of such a moulded brick temple, also called Uttaresvara, were partially excavated at Kolhapur in 1946. The remains of two others, probably of the late 8th century, were discovered at Harni and Parinca, in Poona District.³

Thus at present the long period of five to six hundred years seems to be a blank. Of the later period, the earliest temples—the Aisvara at Sinnar, the Koppesvara at Khidrapur—are in the Calukya style. The latter developed in North Karnatak, in the temple cities at Aihole and Badami. It is impossible to describe here even all the important temples at these places. Only the line of development and the salient features are indicated. Fortunately, the few inscriptions from Aihole and Pattadakal confirm the stylistic inferences.

¹ I.A.R. (1958-59), p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ See I. A. R. (1957-58).

The Aisvara temple¹ at Sinnar consists of a shrine, *antarala* (antechamber) and an open-pillared-*mandapa*. The *sikhara* is lost. However, several decorative features such as Gaja-Laksmi on the door-lintel, the *saptamatrka-frieze* and *astadikpala* ceiling, with the exquisitely carved *makaratorana* seem to be inspired by contact with the later Calukyas of Kalyana under the feudatory Yadava king Parammadeva, about 1100 AD. The only element which is of Northern style is the *Kicaka* bracket.

While this temple is the northern-most specimen of Later Calukyan style in the Deccan, the Kopesvara temple at Khidrapur provides a southern specimen by showing the prevailing Kadamba influence also. It is definitely pre-Yadava as inscriptions on it attest. The temple consists of a *garbha-grha*, a *gudha-mandapa* with three entrances, and a detached *sabhamandapa*. The last is star-shaped and incomplete. The original *sikhara* is lost, but the miniatures carved on various niched-panels indicate that it was like that of the Somesvara temple at Gadag. The ornamentation is varied and mixed, as exhibiting Hoysala and Kadamba influences in its lion brackets and pierced screens, but is not, however, of the best type. Stylistically and also chronologically the later Deccan temples are divisible into six or seven groups. In plan and decoration, the temples of the earlier groups are more elaborate, ornate and artistic. Later, deterioration sets in, and ends in simple undecorated exteriors and interiors. The causes for this decay were primarily political; the social and cultural were its offshoots. With the Islamic conquests, and break down of the Yadava empire and its dependent kingdoms, royal patronage was lost. And in face of iconoclastic zeal, image sculpture was better left out.

In all these six groups, one-shrined temples dedicated mostly to Siva, but at times to Visnu or Surya or a Devi, predominate. But there are a few, double or triple shrined temples in each group. Of the first group, the most noteworthy specimen is the temple at Ambarnath (Tirana District). It together with the Nilakanthesvara temple at Udaypiir in Madhya Pradesh (in the old Gwalior State) and other temples mentioned here forms the early phase of the Deccan style. This seems to have come into vogue, as pointed out before, because of Parmara-Rastrakuta contact in the 10th century². The Silahara inscription dates it at 1060 A.D. The other two are at Belsane (Dhulia District). The temple comprises a sunken *garbha-grha* and *gudha-mandapa* with three porches. It is tastefully decorated. As a result of skilful manipulation of the plan, the walls right upto the *sikhara* from the the *pitha* (base) project and recede. These are further cut by deep horizontal mouldings. Thus we have all the parts of a mediaeval temple, as noticed, except the *asvathara* and the *narathara*. The *Jangha* section of the wall proper has 70 figures of deities. Of these 40 are gods and goddesses. Most of

¹ This seems to have been missed by Sarasvati, *op. cit.*, in his review of the Deccan Temples.

² A recent inscription tells us that Bhillama III's general, Sridhara-danda-nayaka's great-grandfather had served under the Paramara Vairisimha of Dhara, *I. A. R.* (1957-58), p. 56.

these are representations of Siva and Parvati. The *sikhara* or the *Vimana* rises in four faces. The corners between these bands are filled with miniature *sikharas*. At the junction of *mandovara* (wall proper), and the base of the *sikhara* is a *caitya* window ornament inset with an image of the deity. The *mandapa* has pyramidal roof having cupola-shaped ornaments. There were three kinds of pillars, all beautifully sculptured. However, the most conspicuous features of the temple are its ceilings, the *mandapa* and the porches.

The triple-shrine at Belsane (temple No. 1) is not only the earliest of its kind in the Deccan, but it is remarkable in the sense that it is not dedicated to Brahma, Visnu, and Siva, but to Siva and a form of Parvati.

It is even more richly decorated than the Ambarnath temple. Cousent says “ We have here the style in its fullest development, crystallized into its richest details and sparking with light and shade from summit to basement.”.

All the temples of the Second Group are situated within the ancient Seuna-desa (Jalgaon, Dhulia and Nasik districts). That of Mahadeva at Jhodga was built by Indraraja of Nikumbha-Vamsa and is dated Saka 1073 (1151 A.D.). Thus the temples of this style may be dated between 1100-1150 A.D. Of others the most well-known is the temple of Gondesvara at Sinnar. It is a Pancayatana type, and the *sikharas*, which cap the subsidiary shrines, are said to be quite unique in the Deccan (Naik, p. 233).

To this group also belong the small Brahmanic and Jaina temples at Anjaneri. One of the latter bears an inscription of Seunacandra, a Yadava prince of the minor branch, dated Saka 1093 (1142 A.D.). With the third Group of temples (1150-1200 A.D.) image sculpture becomes less and less, and there is a corresponding increase of arabasque and geometric designs. Slender ornamental pillars, a characteristic feature of the much later temples, appears first at Sinnar and then at Anjaneri. However, some temples of this group, do bear images on the *jangha*. There are some 15 temples of this group. These are situated in the Dhulia, Nasik, Ahmadnagar and Poona Districts. As before, we have one-shrine, triple-shrine and many-shrine temples, of which special mention should be made of the ten-shrined temple at Belsane. It consists of the main shrine, facing north, in antechamber, a *gudhamandapa*, and a verandah porch in front. Around the sides of the *mandapa* are arranged ten small shrines, each of which is fitted with a carved doorway and an altar for the image against the backwall. This plan seems to follow the 5th-6th century Buddhist *viharas* at Ajantha.

From several other features, it is inferred that this was a Dasa-vatara temple (Naik, 262).

While the Belsane temple presents a unique plan, that of Bhulesvar at Yavat is quite singular in a different way. In addition to the *garbhagrha*, *mandapa* and the *Nandimandapa*, it has a *prakara* (a wall running all round). This bears on the inside figures of *saptamatrkas*, each shown individually with her *vahana*, under

a beautiful semi-circular *kirtimukha torana*, together with the female forms of Ganesa and Virabhadra. In spite of so many *devi* figures, the temple was that of Siva. It was not dedicated to a *devi*. One such, of Mahalaksmi, is found at Tahakari. It is moreover a triple-shrine, and on the dedicatory block of the shrine, there is a *devi* figure, instead of Ganesa or Surya.

In the Fourth Group of temples, not only the figure sculpture on the exterior disappears, but even the mouldings become less, a greater inclination being shown for flat surfaces. Consequently the plans undergo simplifications. Though the *garbhagrha* retains its angular shape, the *mandapa* is mostly a square. The *sikharas*, wherever they are extant, follow the Sinnar-Jhodga pattern. Inside, the carvings become less plain, or are trabeated into rhomboid shape, and the pillars have usually cobra-brackets. There are a larger number of temples—all one-shrine—situated in the Districts of Ahmadnagar, Poona, Satara, Solapur, and in the former Akkalkot State, while a two-shrine temple is found at Ganjibhairav (Ganji-bhoyra), Ahmadnagar District, and three-shrined temples in the same district, and one each in the Satara and Akkalkot Districts.

Of these the temple at Bahal, dedicated to Dvaraja or Bhavani, is dated. It was built by Anantadeva, the chief astrologer of the Yadava king Singhana in Saka 1144 (A. D. 1222). This and others may be considered as proto-types of the later Hemadpanti temples of the 14th century.

The double-shrined temple at Ganjibhoyra, Ahmadnagar District, is in a way unique. It is dedicated to Siva and Visnu, and is now known as Mahadevesvara or Madhavesvara, the latter being the more appropriate name. It has a common *gudha-mandapa*, with a shrine each on the east and west, facing each other, and open porches on the south and north.

Temples of the Fifth Group can be dated to 1300 A.D. or so, on the evidence of inscriptions in the temples at Velapur (Solapur District). The decoration is now confined to the interior only. This is found on pillars, pilasters and door-jambs in the form of floral and geometric patterns, *kirtimukhas* and *mithunas*. The ceilings no longer bear cusp-shaped pendants. Instead may be found a lotus motif, human figures or *kirtimukhas*.

Temples of this group, all one-shrined, are mainly distributed in large numbers in the districts of Ahmadnagar (4), Solapur (7), and Satara (7). Of the three double-shrined temples, Ahmadnagar (Sirur), Solapur (Velapur) and Nasik (Deosthan), have one each, while Pedganv and Karjat (Ahmadnagar), and Velapur and Kandal ganv (Solapur) have triple-shrined temples.

Though from one point of view the temples of the sixth group bring this survey of temple architecture to a close, from another they herald a style which remained in vogue for the succeeding five centuries. Though plain, simple and uninteresting architecturally, through sheer cheapness of cost, they became popular all over the Deccan. These are the true Hemadpanti temples, and are found in

Poona. (2), Satra (6), Khandes (4), Ahmadnagar (25), and Nasik (7) Districts, and also in Berar (Akola, Buldhana, and Yeotmal Districts¹) and Marathvada (Bid, Nanded, Usmanabad and Parbhani²). Amongst these we have even triple-shrined temples at Vite (sangali), and Rasin (Ahmadnagar).

The Deccan has a comparatively smaller number of Jaina temples. Though inscripational references indicate that Jainism was mostly Digambara and prevalent in south Deccan, Jaina temples are found widely distributed all over the regions—Berar, Khandes, Ahmadnagar, Nasik, Thana, Solapur and Kolhapur Districts and that of Marathvada. Many of them are in a ruinous condition. Epigraphically and stylistically it appears that none is earlier than 1100 A.D.

Of the surviving ones, the most important group is at Anjaneri, which was nothing short of a Jaina town or colony. This included temples, *mathas*, (educational houses) and *dharmasalas*. The earliest temple, dedicated to Candraprabha, the 8th Tirthankara, seems to have been built in Saka 1063 (A.D. 1141). Like the one-shrined Brahmanic temples, it and others of the group consist of the *garbhagrha*, *antarala*, and an open *mandapa*. Since the *mandapa* is small, it has no pillars. But there are a couple of pillars and pilasters in the verandah, having brackets with Naga-heads. Though less ornate, there is a fine sense of proportion in the various decorative features. Instead of Brahmanic gods and goddesses the lintel-jamb etc. have the figures of Jinas.

The important cave temples of Karnatak provide a unique opportunity for understanding the development of structural temples. The first phase of development covering nearly three centuries (A. D. 450-750) is afforded by the temple cities of Aihole and Pattadakal. All these were built by the early Calukyan kings. To the second phase belong temples which were built during the later Calukyas, and their contemporaries the Hoysalas, between the 10th-13th centuries. The Rastrakutas who ruled between the two, perhaps, spent all their time and wealth in enriching Ellora. Hence not many Rastrakuta temples are found within Karnatak.

Archaeology of the historical period was hitherto thought of from the point of architecture and sculpture only (Marshall, Majumdar). It would be more logical to have a much wider connotation, and divide it into (i) Civil, (ii) Military and (iii) Religious. Of course, no remains of civil buildings—in villages and towns—were known from the Maharashtra State, though names of several towns such as Nasik, Govardhana, Kalyan, Surparaka, are mentioned in cave-inscriptions of the 1st-2nd century B.C.—A.D. According to Pliny, 'the Andhras had thirty fortified cities'. All these towns are, therefore, most likely to have existed in Maurya times. (For they were not founded just for Buddhist Bhiksus). These towns lay on or near the ancient highways, ports and rivers. Within the last 10 years, excavations

¹ At Yeotmal, there are some Hemadpanti temples *Yeotmal District Gazetteer* p. 10.

² The monuments in these districts have not been yet scientifically studied.

have brought to light remains of ancient (built) habitations at Bahal, Nasik, Paithan,¹ Ter, Nevasa, Karhad, in the Deccan. These thus show that both these sources recorded but an existing fact, and incidentally they give us some times the civil architecture, though at none of the above mentioned sites the excavations were large enough to give us a clear picture of town planning. Still we can have a glimpse of the houses at Kolhapur and Nasik.

The large mound overlooking the Godavari at Nasik contains the remains of early dwellings, Chalcolithic and Early Historical, as shown by 1950-51 excavations (Sankalia and Deo, 1950). The latter, were however, on a very small scale. So we have no full idea of the early dwellings. It would, however, appear that the houses during the earlier historical period (c. 250 B.C.) were simple huts, made with bamboo or wooden posts. The floors of these were made with sticky black clay, interbedded with a layer of sand. Three or four such floors were exposed by the excavations. Such a practice of making floors seems to have been common at this period in the Deccan. At Nevasa and also at Ter the floor was made with lime and hemp or lime and black clay, often with a gravel bed (Indian Archaeology, a Review, 1954-55, 1955-56). The use of bricks was also known. These bricks were usually big. The roofs of these houses were covered with tiles, which had two holes at one end. Iron nails were inserted in these holes, so that the tiles were firmly secured to the rafters. The inhabitants were probably Buddhists at Nasik, and perhaps at Nevasa, as pottery and a seal with Buddhist symbols would indicate. The inhabitants used principally three types of pottery (1) an ordinary coarse red ware which included small and big storage jars, dishes and cups, (2) a black-and-red ware for eating and drinking. This is of finer fabric, generally smooth with a black interior and black-and-red exterior due to inverted firing. Usually bowls, dishes and small *lotas* or water-vessels are found in this ware, (3) this was a highly specialised ware, known as the Northern Black Polished (NBP) ware. It had its origin in the eastern Gangetic valley, and a few vessels seem to have been brought in the Deccan by the migrants and less probably as imports.

During the succeeding period regular brick buildings appear at Nasik, Nevasa and Kolhapur. From the associated coins the period may be called the Late Andhra or Satavahana (c. 1000 A. D.). Though the excavations were nowhere very extensive, the Kolhapur evidence suggests that some of the houses had three or four small rooms bounded by a verandah in front and in the rear (Sankalia and Dikshit, 1952). The walls were about 12 ft. high and the roof made with tiles as described previously. The foundation of these houses was well-made by laying large pebbles of trap or basalt in sticky black clay. The kitchen-floor was paved with bricks, while storage jars were either sunk into the floor or in the wall. Cooking

¹ Paithan was excavated by the Department of Archaeology of the Ex-Hyderabad Government. Unfortunately, no detailed report of this excavation is available, except a brief one.

was done on hearths (Culas) made with three large stones, its front closed by a clay border in which ash was collected. Each house, it appears, had one or two wells made with bricks or pottery rings. These wells seemed to have served as refuse pits, all over India at this period.

The inhabitants were non-vegetarian, but rice, wheat, *jvari*, *bajari*, *nacani* or *ragi*, *moong*, *udid*, gram and *karadi* oil were also used. Besides the black-and red ware, a fine red polished ware, comprising mainly bowls, dishes and sprinklers and a blackish rouletted ware probably influenced by Roman wares were also current, while Roman or Mediterranean wine was imported in large amphoras. Grseco-Roman influence is visible also in the bronze dishes, bowls and human figures. A goddess, apparently nude, seated in European style and possibly also a foreign import, was worshipped all over the Deccan. There was also another goddess. She is shown headless but with a lotus garland round the neck, a flower or other girdle, heavy anklets and seated in a peculiar-birth giving pose, with the pudenda prominently shown. Such figures may be in imitation of the Egyptian goddess Bavbo, and introduced in India about the 1st-2nd century A.D. with Roman trade. Or as shown by Stella Kramrishch, a representation of the goddess Aditi-Uttanapada. So far only small terracotta and stone figures are found from Ter and Nevasa.

Figures of Poseidon and other Roman gods are also found at Kolhapur, but it is not known whether they were worshipped. Iron was in general use. Plough-shares, socketed axes, tanged arrowheads, hunting knives, daggers and swords, lamps or oil-fillers, roasting pans, etc. are found in these houses. Grain was ground in rotary querns, also of foreign origin, of a heavy, cruder type, with two side slots running horizontally, through which probably a wooden plank with a hole for a vertical handle was inserted. Saddle querns with or without legs were used for preparing spices, etc. (These are indeed too small for grinding grains.). Bangles which were worn probably on wrists, arms and ankles and necklaces and earrings constituted the chief ornaments. The bangles were made of clay (rarely), chank shell, ivory, bones and glass, and at times inlaid with gold leaf. The necklaces were made with beads of terracotta, semi-precious stones such as agate, carnelian, jasper, lapis-lazuli, faience, burnt steatite and glass. The last were sometimes decorated with goldfoil. Among the toilet articles occur combs of bone or ivory, collyrium sticks of bone, ivory or copper and skin rubbers of burnt clay as well as of soft porous stone volcanic rock.

In the Deccan, we know little except the fact that many of the hills in the Deccan. might have been fortified, as they definitely were, after the 14th century. Indeed they have not been examined from this point of view. It is more than likely that the present fort of Daulatabad—the ancient Devagiri now in the Aurahgabad District was selected by the Yadavas because of its impregnable

and strategic position. So this, and the forts like Rajamaci, overlooking the Konkan, Lohagad, Visapur, Narnala¹ (Akola District) and others may be cited as possible strongholds of the pre-12th century period as well.

Amongst the religious architecture come Brahmanic temples and Buddhist and Jaina Stupas and Viharas. No temple, earlier than 5th century, is hitherto known, barring perhaps the one at Ter. The Stupas etc. are of two kinds : Rock-cut and Structural. Of these, the earliest belong to Asokan period (c. 250 B. C). The inscriptions include (i) Rock edicts, (ii) Pillar edicts, (iii) Gave edicts. A fragment of an Asokan rock edict was known from Sopara and another fragment of the Ninth edict was discovered near Bassein (Vasal) (in January 1960).

No cave definitely of the Asokan period is known to exist in Deccan, though it is possible that some of the simple caves at Bhaja might belong to this period.

At the time it appears that a number of such structural Stupas and Viharas existed even in the Deccan, which contains the largest number of rock-cut monuments in India. One of the largest Stupa was at Sopara. Built of bricks, it measured 270 feet in circumference, and must have been considerably high when complete. It had a pradaksinapatha and other essentials of a Stupa. Inside was a large stone casket 17½ inches high and 23 inches in diameter. It had two lids, and within the lower receptacle was a casket of copper which contained a smaller one of silver. The latter had one of sandstone ; this contained that of crystal and the crystal that of gold. Within the last—the gold casket—were found reddish burnt lumps of clay, and a piece of emerald and diamond and gold flowers. The silver casket contained a gold plate with the figure of the Buddha in the Dharmacakramudra, gold flowers and a silver coin of Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni. The copper casket had 8 statues of Buddha—seven Manusi Buddhas and the eighth Maitreya. While the coin of Yajnasri Satakarni would date the stupa to the end of the 2nd century A.D., the style of bronze Maitreya is said to resemble those of Nalanda and therefore datable to the 7th-8th century². If so, the stupa must have been re-opened at about this time. Douglas Barnett, apparently not aware of Dikshit's article, identified the Buddhas as Vipaseyi, Sikti, Visvabahu, Kakuchanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa and Sakyamuni and places them in the 9th century A.D.³

Sopara had several other smaller stupas and viharas, but very little of these remains now.⁴

A stupa, of perhaps the 2nd century B.C., existed at Kolhapur, near the site of Brahmapuri. Within it was found a silver relic

¹ Particularly the Sahnur entrance or gate. See Akola District Gazetteer, P. 58.

² Dikshit, K. N., "Buddhist Relics from Sopara Re-examined", JGRS, I (Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji Commemoration Volume), 1939, pp. 1-5.

³ Lalit Kala, No. 3-4 (1956-57), p. 25.

⁴ Trial diggings last year brought forth early and late Satavahana objects, has Annual Report.

casket placed in a larger stone casket or box. The lid of the latter was inscribed in Brahmi letters to the effect that the casket was made by Dharmagupta and the gift of the casket was by Brahma. It was possibly because of this that the site came to be known as Brahmapuri.¹

Such structural *stupas* were built even in or near the rock-cut caves, as evidence from Nadsur and Kanheri indicates. These enshrined the relics of Buddhist saints, as the one at Kanheri contained the ashes, etc. placed in a copper urn, of one Buddha-ruci from Sindh (Sindhu-Desa). The record which mentions this fact was found with the urn, and is dated in 245 of the Kalacuri era i.e. in 494 A. D. Such brick *stupas* provide the much-needed evidence of the survival of Buddhism, even after the advent of Islam in Western India.

In the Deccan the rock-cut monuments can be counted in hundreds and spread over almost the whole of Maharashtra.

Some of these contain inscriptions, the most important being those at Junnar, Kanheri, Karla and Nasik. From these we learn that kings and queens, ministers, rich merchants as well as ordinary people from different and distant parts of the Deccan, Karnatak, Gujarat (Broach), Sind contributed towards the excavation of these caves. Depending upon royal and public support, political and social conditions with varying fortunes, well-nigh over 1,500 years, the architectural and decorative style of the caves reflect these conditions to some extent and enable us to study their development.

There are two main types of early caves : (i) *Caitya a Grhas* (i.e., halls with a *caitya* or *stupa* within for worship), and (ii) *viharas* (halls for meeting and residence of monks). These have one or more cells, sometimes on two floors. Accordingly, in the inscriptions at Junnar, for instance, the caves are called *Dvigarbha* (two-celled), *Saptagarbha* (seven-celled), etc.

The earliest *caitya* caves were, it appears, simple rectangular, flat-topped rooms, with the *caitya* in the back wall. But the ritual required a slightly more elaborate arrangement. Thus came to be carved out caves with the *caitya* at the longer end of the room, but not forming part of the wall, pillars separating the central hall—the nave—from passage (aisle) all round, and an apsidal roof. The *caitya* caves at Bhaja, Kondane, Pitalkhora and Ajantha cave No. 10 are of the type described above. Their simple, octagonal, slanting pillars and wooden ribs testify that these caves imitate in stone the Toda-like reed huts. The front of these caves were carved with a fine *caitya*-arch having a wide base, and resting on the pillars. These arches were further decorated with lattice-work in wood. The rest of the front (facade) was decorated with *caitya*-windows or Vedikas, Yaksas and Yaksinis and at times with portraits of donors. The pillars bear Buddhist symbols, such as *Triratna*,

¹ See *JBBRAS*. 14, 149. Collected Works of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Luders, 'List of Brahmi Inscriptions', in *El. X*, Appendix, p. 138; Indrajit and Burgess, *ICTWI*, p. 39.

Nandipada, *Cakra*, etc. The *Caitya* or the *stupa*, at the apsidal end of the cave, has a low pedestal. On this rests the drum over which separated by a *Vedika* is a hemispherical dome. Over this is the *harmika*—a box-like member—surmounted usually by a wooden umbrella. The early full-fledged *caitya* was like this, though its parts might vary in individual cases. Until the Mahayanists produced the Buddha image, the *caitya* was the main object of worship, and a *caitya-grah* a veritable temple.

Slightly later caves of this group and period (2nd-1st century B.C.) are the *Caitya-caves* at Junnar (Manmoda), Nasik and Ajantha (Cave No. 9). Here the most noticeable features are the pillars, which are now considerably straight, have pot-bases and square abacus.

This cave architecture is at its best at Karla. And this is closely followed at Bedsa. Indeed, the Karla *caitya-grha* was regarded as the finest in the whole of Jambudvipa by its donor, Setha Bhutapala of Vijayanti (Vanavasi). Originally, near the entrance there was a tall, free-standing lion-pillar on either side. Now only one survives. The hall itself was over 124 feet long, 45 feet wide, 45 feet high. Fifteen octagonal pillars with stepped pedestals, surmounted by pot-shaped bases, and crowned with amalaka-like capitals, having a circular grooved member in a square frame, between the latter, and an inverted pyramid above, separate the cave from the side aisles. Right on the top of the pillars are carved, almost in the round, elephants seated back to back. Over them are seated a pair of smiling *mithunas* (couples). At the end of this magnificent hall is the *stupa*, surmounted by a wooden umbrella, having a beautiful lotus design. In front of the hall there is a verandah. Its sides are filled with *caitya* window decorations, and elephant in half relief, whereas the front wall has life-size *mithunas*. The whole was covered by a huge *caitya* window opening and a stone screen. It has been shown that the complete original excavation of the cave continued for nearly 60 years (circa 40 A.D.-100 A.D.).

Cave No 6 in the Ganesa group of caves at Junnar, though smaller and perhaps slightly later in time, is again a perfect specimen of its type. Kanheri on the other hand, though modelled on that of Karla, heralds the decadence in style. Its *mithunas*, though less sturdy, however, exhibit a finer proportion.

Of this early period are four circular *caitya-grhas* at Junnar, Kondivte, Pitalkhora and Bedsa. These are perhaps modelled on those of the Asokan period in Bihar. Even these caves show a slight development. The earlier in the Tulja Lena at Junnar is circular in plan, 25 ft. 6 inches across with pillars. These support the dome over the *stupa*. Later, a porch was added to the circular cell, as at Pitalkhora and Kondivte.

The Hinayanists, before they were supplanted by Mahayanists, had also devised a simpler *caitya-grha*. Here, the *stupa* was placed in the central cell of the back wall of the *vihara*. Such *vihara-cum-*

caityas are found at Kuda, Mahad, Karad, Wai, Selarvadi, Junnar, Kanheri and Ktalkhora. These are dated in the 2nd-3rd century A.D.

In about the 4th-5th century the Mahayana got ascendancy in the Deccan, as elsewhere in India. As a consequence, the figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, and their attendants—Yaksas, Nagas, etc. began to be carved. Some of the Hinayana *caitya* caves, as at Karla, and Kanheri, were tampered with. Fortunately, the *caityas* themselves have been left untouched. Some ornamental figures from the front wall of the verandah were chiselled out, and Buddha figures were added instead. In course of time, however, purely Mahayana *caitya-grhas* were also carved. Of these there are specimens in caves Nos. 19 and 26 at Ajantha, and in the Visvakarma cave at Ellora. These caves practically follow the plan of the earlier *caitya-caves*, but depart from them in having huge figures of Buddha, carved out of the *caitya*, and in having an elaborate and at times artistic decorations of the pillars and the facade. No trace of the wooden proto-types is to be found in these caves.

An invariable adjunct of the *caitya-grhas* was the *vihara*. Most of the early *viharas* are simply cells with a stone bed on one or two sides, a niche for a lamp, and mortices in the wall for a wooden door or screen. But there are exceptions. The Bhaja *vihara* is not only unique in its figure sculpture, but gives an idea of what a residential house of a rich man or a king of the period would have been. The one at Pitalkhora has winged animals, some having camel heads at bracket capitals and stone girders; that at Bedsa with vaulted roof, and apsidal back reminds one of the *caitya-grhas*.

A pillared *vihara* appears for the first time at Kondane. The pillars have lost their bases, whereas the shafts are octagonal in the centre and square on the top. At Nasik we see the gradual development and final culmination in the *vihara* architecture. That of Kanheri, perhaps of c. 170 B.C. has a hall, with three walls on three of its sides, and a verandah with pillars. This plan is elaborated in cave No. 8, which was engraved nearly two centuries later in the time of the Ksaharata, Nahapana and his family. There are 16 cells, all having beds, while the verandah is supported by six pillars with bases bell-shaped and capitals. This *vihara* was followed by cave No. 3, as it contains an inscription of Gautamiputra. Identical in plan, its central doorway and the friezes over the pillars are more ornately executed, with *mithunas*, *stupas* and foliage design. The one excavated during the reign of Yajnasri Satakarni is still larger, though essentially of the same plan. Later, it was taken over by the Mahayanists who carved out a colossal figure of the Buddha.

Truly Mahayana *Vihas* are to be found at Ajantha, and Ellora. These belong to a period between 5th-7th century or even later. These *vihas* exhibit not only Buddha figures with other attendant deities but highly ornate pillars and capitals among which the “Vase-and-foliage” design is very striking. It is in these caves that we see for the first time in the Deccan the figures of the river

goddesses Ganga and Yamuna flanking the shrine-door, a motif which was introduced by the Guptas. A further stage is indicated at Ellora and Aurangabad. The caves look like huge monasteries. The caves Nos. 11 and 12 at Ellora are cut into three stories. These rise to a height of nearly 50 feet, with a vast courtyard in front. In the absence of any structural buildings, these provide good illustrations of how houses looked like at this period. However, it must not be forgotten that this three storied cave was a temple as well and it is the only one of its kind in India.

At about this time a large *Vihara*—called *Darbar* hall—was excavated at Kanheri. But from the point of view of sculpture, the cave No. 3 at Aurangabad probably possesses the finest of the lot.

The Buddhist caves at Wijasan, about a mile to the south-west of Bhandak (District Canda), seems to belong to a period between the last two groups. These differ from other groups in having no large halls (*viharas*) and no *caitya-caves* for the *pradaksina*. The three principal caves consist entirely of long passages leading through small chambers up to small shrines of Buddha. They are in the shape of the cross.¹

In the 4th century, Brahmanism got a new fillip under the Guptas. So, imitating the Buddhists, temples began to be built and caves carved for Brahmanic deities in Central India. Nothing of comparable date has so far been found in Maharashtra. But two centuries later, probably inspired by the Guptas, the Western Calukyas cut the first Brahmanic caves at Aihole and later at Badami, and soon after temples were also built at these places, turning these into veritable temple-cities. The Pallavas followed suit in the extreme south, but after a purely Dravidian fashion. In spite of the frequent wars between the Calukyas and the Pallavas, there was a continuous exchange of cultural influence. When the Rastrakutas replaced the Calukyas they inherited this legacy, with the result that under them the Deccan created some of the finest rock-cut temples in India.

The earliest cave at Aihole consists of a shrine, side chapels, each raised by 5 steps, a *mandapa* on a lower level. The front is divided by two simple pillars with 16-sided shafts. Important sculptures—the first of its kind in the south—include those of Siva, Parvati and Mahisasurnardini. This cave seems to be followed by the magnificent caves at Badami. Of the four, No. 3 is well dated. It bears an inscription of Mangalesa (Saka 500 to 578-79 A.D.). The cave is nearly 60 feet deep, 70 feet long, and 15 feet high. It consists of a platform with moulded cornice, a beautifully decorated pillared verandah, a simple hall, and a deep set shrine. On the ceilings there are figures of *astadikpalas*, while beautiful sculptures of gods, goddesses, *apsaras* and *mithunas*, some in roundels—dedicated to Visnu, the representations of his *avatars* predominate, so also stories of Krsna. The pillars have cushion-shaped capitals.

¹ Adapted with slight alterations from Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, IX. p. 124 and Pl. XXI.

The Brahmanic caves at Ellora fall into two main groups, though each group is further divisible into sub-groups. In the first fall the Dasavatara, Ravana-ka-khai and Ramesvara and in the second the famous Kailasa. The Dasavatara is two storied, has a pillared portico and a shrine behind. The Ravana-ka-khai has a *pradaksinapatha* round the shrine. Both these contain Saiva and Vaisnava sculptures.

In between these, other caves, now of comparatively less importance, either because they are incomplete or not well preserved, are the caves of Poona (Patalesvara), Jogi Amba at Mominabad and Karusa, and those at Wijasan.¹

The small Saiva temple at Elephanta having a *mandapa* with side chambers and a nandi-*mandapa* opposite to the shrine also belongs to this period (c. 700 A.D.). Slightly later than the above group is the Dhumar Lena. It has an isolated shrine within a crucifix *mandapa*. This style of rock-cut cave finds its culmination in the main cave at Elephanta. Its vast *mandapa* with six rows of pillars having fine ribbed-cushioned capitals, and eight great panels of sculpture prepare us for the gigantic image, usually known as Trimurti, but now identified as Mahadeva representing the three aspects of Siva : in the middle the face of Tatpuras, on the left that of Aghora, and on the right that of Vamadeva.²

From those to Kailasa is a big jump. Instead of a cave-temple we have all the elements of a temple cut out completely from the living rock. Coomaraswamy has summarized its main features admirably :

“This famous rock-cut shrine is a model of a complete structural temple, and may be a copy of the Papanatha at Pattadkal. The whole consists of a *linga* shrine with Dravidian Sikhara, a flat-roofed *mandapa* supported by 16 pillars, and a separate porch for the Nandi surrounded by a court, entered through a low *gopuram*; five detached shrines are found on the edge of perambulation terrace of the Vimana proper, and in one corner of the court there is a chapel dedicated to the three-goddesses with their images in relief. There are two *dhvaja-stambhas*; these and all the columns are Northern, everything else is Dravidian, characteristic of the Calukyan style”.³

The Jaina caves are comparatively very late, none of the early Christian era. The earliest is at Badami adjoining the Brahmanic. It is much smaller in size and not much different stylistically from its neighbours, save that it contains the images of Parsvanatha and Gomatesvara. Slightly later than the Badami caves are the ones at Aihole. These too resemble the Brahmanical ones. Besides, sculptures of *dvarapalas* and others, one has the image of Mahavira seated on *simhasana*.

¹ Cunningham, op. cit., p. 126.

² Kramrisch, *Ancient India*, 1946, No. 2, p. 4.

³ Coomaraswamy, *HHA*, p. 99.

In the Deccan, the caves of this period (600 A.D.) are at Dharasiva in the former Hyderabad State. There were perhaps Jaina caves at Wijasan also.¹ Those at Mangya-Tuhgya are considerably late (860 A.D.). Two of these are richly decorated with figures of Tirthankaras and their attendants.

It is at Ellora that Jaina art and architecture is seen at its best. Of the five caves, the Indra and Jagannatha Sabha are two-storied, whereas the Chota Kailasa is an imitation of the Kailasa. These eaves are dated to a period between 750-1000 A.D. on stylistic grounds. The plan is elaborate and the decoration very rich, but as remarked by Burgess these cave temples are not well-designed. The authors were Digambara Jainas; hence the images of the Tirthankaras in the principal shrine, and elsewhere—Mahavira, Parsvanatha, Santinatha, Gomatesvara—are nude. Among the attendant deities are Indra and Ambika and these are well-carved.

Other Jaina caves of this period are to be found at Karusa, Amba, while caves of a still later period exist at Patne in Khandes, Ankai, Candor, Camarlana and Tringalvadi in the Nasik district.²

PURANIC OR TRADITIONAL HISTORY.

Between the pre-historic culture mentioned above and the historic period to be described below there exists a wide gap. It can be tentatively filled up by the Puranic or Traditional History. Later research may make it historical.

Reference was made to the Yadava occupation of parts of Maha-rastra. Its chronology though not well-fixed and datable in absolute years, seems to be as follows :

In the Rgvedic period the Yadus with other Aryan tribes were in the Sapta Sindhu. Later, Satvatas, Bhojas and others which belonged to this tribe spread to; the Ganga-Yamuna doab, and even crossed the Cambal in Central India. Very soon or perhaps much earlier the Haihayas, another branch of this tribe settled in the Narmada valley. Their capital was at Mahismati, probably Mahesvar, 60 miles south of Indore. One of their greatest kings was Kartavirya —Arjuna, also known as Sahasrarjuna. He is credited with having fought with Ravana and other Asuras near Broach. Later, because of his indiscretion he was killed by Parasurama, a Bhigu.

Some of the Yadu branches, Vrsni, Andhaka, etc., who had lived in and around Mathura later migrated to Saurashtra, owing to pressure from the north and east, of the Aryan and non-Aryan tribes. They colonised around Dvarka. About the same time or perhaps, earlier, Bhojas and Satvatas established kingdoms at Kaundinyapura in Vidarbha.

The Ikshvakus, another Aryan tribe, had in the meantime, come from the upper Gangetic basin south-eastwards, and occupied the

¹ Cummingham, op. cit, 127.

² Very recently a few Jaina caves have been found at Mohida-tarf-hamli on the Canal in Dhulia. *I.A.R.*, 1958-59, p. 71.

Godavari valley. Thus, in about the 8th-9th century B.C. the following kingdoms existed in the Indo-Gangetic plains and north Central Deccan. King Brahmadatta ruled in Asmaka. To his east, in Kalinga, was Sattabha, and Vessabhu at Avanti, immediately north of Asrnaka. Beyond these in Videha (Bihar) ruled Renu, and Dhrtarastra in Kasi and Anga respectively. In the west, in Sauvira, was Bharata. Suratha (Saurashtra) was under Pingala and Lata and southern Sind under Bhiru.

A century or two later when Buddha and Mahavira preached in Bihar, the country was divided into the following kingdoms governed by Aryan and non-Aryan rulers. To the east and north of Gujarat-Maharashtra ruled the famous king Pradyota. Beyond it lay the equally famous kingdoms of Kosala, Vatsa and Magadha ruled by Prasenajit, Udayana and Bimbisara, respectively.

EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY.

Bimbisara and his successors may in our present state of knowledge be regarded the first historical dynasties, known as the Srenikya or Haryanka and Sisunaga, respectively. The latter was supplanted by that of the Nandas, sometime in the 5th century B.C. Several Puranas credit these with the subjugation of the kingdoms mentioned above which ruled the Madhyadesa, Kalinga, Madhya-bharata, and Central Deccan. Later epigraphic evidence includes even Kuntala—northern Karnatak—in the Nanda dominions. No archaeological data has come forth either to prove or disprove these statements. Perhaps a loose sovereignty over Western India was established by the Nandas.

When the Mauryas succeeded the Nandas in Magadha the things changed. Candragupta seems to have taken effective steps to consolidate the vast empire which he inherited. Saurashtra, perhaps including Anarta and Lata, was placed under a Rastriya (Governor). We do not know definitely whether the Deccan and Karnatak formed part of the first Maurya's dominions. Early Tamil literature and late Mysore inscriptions speak of Candragupta's invasion of the south, through Konkan, and rule in Northern Mysore respectively. Since Asoka is never known to have conquered these regions, whereas, his rock edicts are found at Girnar, Sopara and Brahma-giri in Mysore and further his *kumaras* and viceroys were ruling also at these places, it is probable that the whole of Western India formed part of the Maurya Empire. However, what the relations of the several kingdoms,—of the Rastrikas, Bhojas, Petenikas, Pulindas and Andhras—which occupied the Central Deccan, and are expressly mentioned in his edicts were, is not clear. They ruled, it is suggested, as semi-independent kings.

During Asoka's suzerainty Saurashtra was administered by a Yavana (Greek), Tusaspa, with his capital at Girinagara. Broach and Sopara were important ports.

With the dethronement of the Mauryas in eastern India, the outlying provinces became independent. The Sungas who followed the Mauryas do not seem to have reconquered them. The nearest of the western provinces which passed under their rule was Vidarbha. And perhaps during the *asvamedha-digvijaya* Sunga

army had gone to the Sindhu (which is interpreted as the southern ocean at Saurashtra and Patalena). But the rest, including Gujarat, Saurashtra and Sind, the Konkan, Kuntala and Maharashtra came under different powers. Henceforth their history has to be sketched separately.

SCULPTURE.

The Deccan, has some fine sculpture, human and animal, in the early period. The armed warrior with unique head-dress in the *Vihara* at Bhaja is not only the earliest but unmatched later. Equally remarkable are the full length figures of couples—supposed to be donors—at Karla and Kanheri. Those at Naneghat, probably the earliest portraits (*salika*), in India, of the Satavahana family are no longer preserved. The caves referred to above possess smaller portraits—busts of men and women, who either look out from a window, as on a facade of the *Caitya* cave at Bhaja or sit on horses, elephants, etc., as on the pillars of the *Caitya*-hall at Karla. These might not have been anatomically correctly shown, but the facial expression of the elephant and other riders is indeed worth noting. The same is true of the dancers and dancing couples from the *Caitya* cave at Kondane. (Yazdani, *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Part VIII, Fine Arts, pl. iv-v). These show a delight in life that we miss completely in the later stylized figures. Attention may also be drawn to the figures kneeling before the Buddha at Ajantha and Aurangabad (at the latter group of 14). Very thick projecting underlips, short chin with long straight noses, elaborate head-dresses, in almost all these figures might stand for certain racial or regional types. Portraits of this nature are to be found in the mediaeval and the later periods.

To this already existing stock, very recent¹ discoveries in the caves at Pitalkhora, which on the evidence of the Buddhist text

Mahamayuri is identified with Pitangalaya and Ptolemy's Petrigala, has added a very large number of human and animal sculptures, some of them finest in the entire range of early sculptures. While all these cannot be described in this brief note, attention must be drawn to the smiling, dwarf Yaksha from the courtyard of cave 3.

A sense of anatomical details, and delight in the work he is doing are readily conveyed by this figure in the round. A small inscription on his palm dates it to the 2nd century B.C. Only slightly less remarkable is another smiling *dvarapala*—also a Yaksha. His face was painted yellow and lips red. The *mithunas*, apsaras, and the scene of the Great Departure in which Chandaka leads the horse Kanthaka with a torch remain unique.

We have then scenes from life. That from the *Vihara* at Bhaja now believed to be a scene from the Divyavadana relating the Mandhata's visit to Sumeru Parvata, where he saw the Kalpa Vrksa

¹ Deshpande, M. N., "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan", I.A. No. 15, pp.63-93.

and later drove out the Asuras¹—and not a representation of Surya, Indra and others is perhaps the earliest; those of figures worshipping the Buddhist symbols or the Buddha are later. But perhaps the most natural and artistically remarkable are two sculptures, as noted by Naik (p. 862) from the cave No. 1 at Ajantha. One represents the hunt of a wild ox and the other of a deer. The hunters are armed with bows and arrows, lances and shields.

The mediaeval temples have to offer little in this line. The scene in the Godesvara at Sinnar seems to be in reality a *Dadhi-manthana*. At Jhodga one may see a fight between an amazon and a man, and at Ambarnath men chastising women. In these, we see some naturalness, some different kind of action though anatomically the figures might not be up to the mark.

Then there are the donors and dancers and amorous couples (*mithunas*). Of the latter the cave at Kondane presents, perhaps the earliest, a scene from life, showing a man dragging a woman by her hair (Yazdani, op. cit. and CTI. p. 221.). Then later we have them at Karla and other caves and in mediaeval temples.

True dancers, however, do not appear until the 6th-7th century. Of these, the most remarkable is a musical concert sculptured in cave No. 7 at Aurahgabad, (Classical Age, Fig-81, ASWI 3. pl. liv, fig. 5, p. 78). The whole compartment is occupied by seven females rather scantily dressed ; the central figure is dancing, the others are all engaged on different musical instruments “. Recently Barrett writes : “ The significance of this scene, easily’ overlooked in the darkness of the shrine, is unknown. Of its value as a work of art there can be no doubt. The grouping and subtle recession of the musicians and the extraordinary beauty of the dancer, smiling and absorbed, make this relief the finest thing at Aurangabad”. (A Guide to the Buddhist Caves of Aurangabad, Bombay, 1957, p. 21). A similar scene, more elaborate but crudely depicted, is sculptured in a 13th century temple of Ramalihga at Gursalb, (Satara District). Besides, the central female dancer and the male drummers are shown the audience—males and females— heavily dressed, sitting on sofas and benches. The latter might represent royal personalities (Naik, p. 865).

Beautiful dancing figures illustrating various poses—*Adhomukha*, *Bhramara*, *Svastika*—from the *Natya-Sastra*, (Naik, pp. 369-70) may be cited from the temples at Khidrapur and the temple of Bhulesvar at Yavat.

Dancers were invariably accompanied by musicians. The Dasavatara and other caves at Ellora, and the temple of Koppesvara at Khidrapur still preserve various forms of *Mrdanga* (drum), *Venu* (flute),

¹ Gyani, R. G., “ Identification of the so called Surya and Indra Figures in cave No. 20, of the Bhaja group”. Bulletin, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, No. 1 (1950-1951), pp. 15-21. Or according to E. H. Johnston (Marg. Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 55-58), the scene perhaps represents a story in the Kulavaka-jataka, where the asuras fled when Sakra suddenly retraced his steps; and another from a story in the Marasarhyuttas, according to which Mara created the form of a gigantic elephant to frighten the Buddha.

Vina (lute) and *Zanja* (pair of cymbals). Sculptures illustrating stories from the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* first seem to appear in *Dasavatara* at Ellora.

The *vihara* at Bhaja gives us perhaps one of the earliest animal sculptures (barring, of course, those of the Asokan columns). The so-called 'India' panel contains an elephant richly caprisoned, and below in a corner figures of lions and a bird. The pose of the elephant is very similar to that on a glass tablet from Mahesvar and early coins (*JNSI*. Vol. XV, pt. ii, pp. 5-8). Besides there are found the horse, tiger, deer, ram, wolf, camel, and birds such as geese and swan. All these are carved with considerable freedom in a variety of postures. Though we lose some of their naturalness, these animals continue to figure in the later caves and medieval temples. Of these, one may cite the *hamsas* and lions carved beautifully in the round on an architecture in the Aisvara temple at Sinnar.

Among vegetable forms, a few trees do appear in the 'Indra' panel at Bhaja, while the pippal (Bodhi) tree and the lotus plant are a common sight in Buddhist sculptures. Delicately carved trees are found in the Jaina caves at Ellora. Here an attempt is made to isolate each leaf by deep cutting. On the whole, these as well as creepers with leaves are throughout well depicted.

Mention may also be made of floral, geometric, architectural and composite designs. The wooden umbrella in the *Caitya* cave at Karla bears a carved lotus; lotus buds, leaves etc. are used as ornaments in other caves. However, their best specimens are found at Ajantha and in the early mediaeval temples of the Deccan.

Purely geometric designs, e.g. the circle and the rhomboid are a common feature of the mediaeval monuments, but are generally absent in the earlier cave architecture.

Of the architectural designs, the *Caitya*-window and the *Vedika* are the earliest to appear as they do at Bhaja. The former develops into infinite forms, adorns the *sikhara*s of mediaeval temples, but finally disappears after the 13th century. The *Vedika* (or the rail-pattern) is found restricted to the Buddhist caves only. 'Composite' designs included several forms such as 'lotus and beaded strings' or 'scroll and *kirtimukhas*' or '*Makara-toranas*'. It is impossible to list all these combinations. The tree, in the carving of which the early mediaeval artists excel, are the concentric ceiling with pendants, the *makara-toranas* and the pot-and-foilage motif. The last two, first appear in the Mahayana caves at Karla and later at Ajantha. The concentric ceiling with pendants are first seen at Ambarnath, which is one of the finest in the Deccan.

Before closing the section, a reference must be made to small artistic objects of terracotta, ivory etc. The terracottas are discussed separately. The ivory objects, so far were found broken, and consisted of toys and household objects. Recently, however, a beautiful figure in the round of a woman has been found at Ter. It recalls similar ivories from Afghanistan and Italy (Pompei) are of Indian

manufacture and exported to the distant countries. The figure is above five inches in height and locally carved, bespeaks indeed of a flourishing industry in wood and ivory.¹

ICONOGRAPHY, Brahmanic.

In the Deccan we have no figures of Hindu (or Brahmanic) gods and goddesses until about 550 A.D. This is indeed regrettable, for there is no scope for the study of regional evolution. Then suddenly Dasavatara presents us almost a complete Saiva and Vaisnava pantheon, including Brahma. Here we see the earliest images of Ganesa, though not yet as a cult image and displayed so prominently, and the various manifestations of Siva as Lingodbhava, Samhara-murti (Andhakasuravadha, Tripurantaka), Havananugraha-murti, Ardha-Narisvara. The dancing (Nrtya) figures of Siva are carved in other caves. But with Kailasa and, slightly later, Elephanta or (earlier, if Elephanta is supposed to precede Ellora), we have not only a whole view of Saiva iconography, but its finest representation from the point of view of art. The great Mahesa, the Kalyana-sundara and Gangadhara at Elephanta need no description Iconographically and artistically these are some of the best known Deccan sculptures. The earliest image of Siva as Mahesa, it appears, is said to be in the temple of Uttaresvara at Ter. Figures of Siva as Lakulisa are rare in the Deccan.

The mediaeval temples do not portray all these mythological stories. Those to be commonly met with are Uma-Siva, Samhara and Nrtya-murtis, and at times Harihara (as the one from Purandara in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay).

Visnu also first appears in the Dasavatara as Varaha (human and animal), and Anantasayi, but throughout, his position is inferior to that of Siva. This feature persists at Elephanta. Thus, though Visnu was quite well-known, we do not see all his manifestations as at Aihole or Badami, for instance. Besides, Varaha, we find Narasirha, Trivikrama, Vamana, Govardhanadhari, Kaliyarnardan, Muralidhara, Venugopala. This deficiency is supplied by the mediaeval temples. Visnu as Kesava, Narayana, Govinda, Madhava, Madhusudana, in fact, in all 24 forms may be seen in the several temples mentioned previously.

Visnu as Yogisvara, four-handed and seated in the padmasana, is found in the temple at Khidrapur. Though now Vitthala is extremely popular in the Deccan, his earliest image standing, with two hands only and bearing a *sankha* in the right and *padma* in the left, a *kirita*-high *mukuta*, as it appears in the temple of Pandharpur, is not found earlier than the 13th century.

Ganesa images first appear, as subsidiary figures in the various representations of Siva beginning with the Dasavatara; but not until the mediaeval period does it find an independent place, as on the door-lintel of a temple. The images are usually seated; but standing ones at Belsane, Vagholi and slightly later at Karjat (Naik, A.D., pp. 731-32) are also sometimes found. Dancing-Nrtya-Ganesa—

¹ For illustration, see Barrett, Douglas, *Ter* (Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay, 1960), pp. 10-11.

which is very rare—is to be seen in the Saptamatrka panel in the temple at Aisvara at Sinnar. In all these there is not much variation in tomographic details. It is only in the later mediaeval period that Ganesa's trunk is generally turned to the left.

Brahma throughout played a secondary part. His images first figure in the Saiva panels at Ellora, though according to a revised study of a four-faced image from the Elephanta caves, now in the Prince of Wales Museum, it would be the earliest figure of Brahma, datable to c. 7th century A.D.¹ Later he is shown in niches around the temple, but never prominently. The early images were four-faced (the fourth face being hidden behind). Later, in the temples along with the three-faced images, those with one face are also found. The latter usually have a beard, while among the former the central face has a beard. The images are generally four-handed. In later images, Brahma is sometimes accompanied by his consort; while the early images have *hamsa-vahana*, the later are usually shown without one.

The Deccan was believed to possess one of the earliest representations of Surya, viz., the one at Bhaja, where a king with two women on either side is shown on a two-wheeled chariot. Gyani and others have now identified this sculpture as a depiction of Mandhata's visit to Sumeru.²

The next in point of time is the image from Ellora, where Surya i.e shown standing in *samabhanga* with two arms, holding lotuses, in each hand. A more elaborate figure with the chariot is found in the Kumbharvada cave.

Later temples usually depict him in this way. But at Vagholi in the Mudhai Devi temple, Jalganv, which was originally a Surya-temple, there is a figure of the deity in *panyankasana* or with legs left hanging down from a seat, as in Western fashion).

Panels showing *navagrahas* and the *astadikpalas* are comparatively very rare.

Goddesses were worshipped and shown independently. Of such, we have figures of Sri or Gaja-Laksmi first at Pitalkhora (c.1st century B.C.³) and then in the Manmoda cave at Junnar and later at Ellora and those of Sarasvati in the Buddhist caves 6 and 8, also at Ellora. On her left hand is a peacock, while in cave 6, there is, in addition, a male figure reading some manuscript.

Sarasvati is beautifully represented in some of the mediaeval temples, for instance, in No. 1 at Belsane, Khidrapur, Patan, etc. In these she is seated in *savyalalitasana* or *virasana*, wears a conical *karanda-mukuta* and is four-headed. Another goddess who deserves a separate mention is Maha-laksmi. In her famous shrine at Kolhapur she is shown with a linga on head, and with *Matu-linga*, *Gada*, *Khetaka* and *Kamandalu*.

¹ Chakravarti, S. N., "The Image of Brahma from Elephanta", *Lalit Kala*, No. 1-2 (1955-56), Plates XXIX-XXIVA.

² See above under "Sculpture".

³ See Deshpande, M. N., N. A. I., No. 15, pp. 75 and 80, and Pl. LV,A.

Parvati was worshipped in several forms. The goddess Durga is first found in the Dasavatara at Ellora, but later she was most popular as Mahisasuramardini.

Perhaps the earliest Jaina images are to be found in the caves of Dharasiva, later at Mungya Tungya,¹ Ellora, Nasik, etc., and in the mediaeval Jaina temples. As a rule these are all Digarhbara and figure only the images of Mahavira, Parsvanatha and Santinatha and the Yaksas and Yaksinis associated with these.

Buddhist.

Buddhist iconography does not show that development or evolution, and consequently richness of iconographic forms, as it does in Eastern India—Bihar, Bengal and now Orissa. In addition to the Hinayana and Mahayana, we have a trickling of the Tantrayana forms and perhaps none of the Vajrayana.

In the Hinayana, the principal object of worship invariably met with is the *Caitya* or the Stupa. At Karla, pillar No. 30 in the *caitya* cave is 16-sided, and on three sides facing the nave are carved a wheel on a pillar with two deer at the base indicating the 1st sermon, a *caitya* (Mahanirvana) and a lion pillar (the Birth). Even the *padukas* (foot-prints) of the Buddha are not depicted in the early caves at Bhaja, Ajantha, Bedsa, Junnar, Karla, Kondane Pitalkhora. Other scenes from the life of the Buddha, so common elsewhere—Bharhut, Sanci, Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda—seem to be absent from Western India. To this Pitalkhora has recently provided a welcome exception. A beautiful panel showing 'the Great Departure', it appears, decorated Cave No. 4.² Chandaka with a torch in his left hand is shown leading the fully caprisoned horse Kanthaka out of the palace or town gateway, the presence of Siddhartha on the horse to be inferred by the umbrella bearer behind the horse. The horse which is generally badly sculptured in ancient Indian art is indeed well modelled.

These caves again have yielded very fine figures, of several types of Yaksas. Of them, the finest³ is the one in Cave 3. It is inscribed and is probably the Yaksha Sankarin of the *Mahamayuri*. Not less remarkable is the smiling Yaksha⁴ acting as a *dvarapala* in the same cave.

Cave 4 depicts a Yaksini carrying a *karanda* (basket)⁵ and Kinnaras and Vidyadharas⁶ of the early Buddhist subsidiary pantheon.

With the emergence of the Mahayana came the Buddha figure, the Bodhisattvas and the goddesses, Tara, Bhadrakuti, etc. The Buddha is shown mainly in three ways :—

(i) Seated in *padmasana*,

¹ This name might be due to the Tunga dynasty, one of whose inscriptions is recently found in the Nanded district.

² Deshpande, op. cit, Pl. LV, B.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVI.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVII, A.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVIII, A. B.

- (ii) Seated in *pralambasana* (in European fashion with the legs dangling down),
- (iii) Standing.

The hands are in the *dharmacakra*, *bhumi-sparsa*, *abhaya* or *dhyana mudra*. (The last only when he is seated). Buddha is shown in *parinirvana*, that is lying down dead. It occurs but once at Ellora, twice or thrice at Ajantha and once in Kanheri.

Among the Bodhisattvas we have Avalokitesvara, Padmapani and Vajrapani, the seven Manusi Buddhas (see above) and the future Buddha Maitreya.

Besides these, some incidents-like the Miracle of Sravasti or the eight terrible calamities—are carved at Ajantha, Ellora and Kanheri (?). The largest number of scenes from the *Jatakamala* were painted at Ajantha particularly in Cave XVII.

Though the above is a generalised picture, there are exceptions, showing how gradually even the Mahayana was being transformed or being influenced by Tantrism, which first arose in Eastern India. In the early form, the Buddha while seated in *pralambasana*, his feet resting on a lotus or a *simhasana*, with a wheel flanked by a deer on either side and supported by Nagas and Naginis, he has at times Bodhisattvas with *camaras* as his attendants.

But in Cave 9 at Ellora, Buddha is shown in an unusual *jatamukuta*, holding his garment in the left hand, while the right is in *varada-mudra*. Further in Caves 11 and 12, which are supposed to be later, large figures of Buddha are seated either in *dhyana*, *dharmacakra* or *bhumi-sparsa mudra*. And “these may represent”, it is said, “five Dhyani Buddhas”¹

The figures of Avalokitesvara show the same development. An Avalokitesvara is two-armed, having a rosary in his right hand, and in his left a lotus which supports a lotus seat; he wears *ajina* and is standing or sitting. But already at Karla a small figure of Dhyani Buddha is shown with his head-dress. In Cave 11 at Ellora he is seated in *Dhyanasana*, is adorned with all ornaments, and in his jewelled crown has a Buddha in *varadamudra*, and is flanked by Tara and Bhrkuti. In Cave 4 he is shown seated in *Pralambasana* which seems to be unique. Further in Cave 8 at Aurangabad we have Avalokitesvara with four arms, the right hand holding a rosary and in *varadamudra*, whereas the left holds a lotus and a *camara*.

The ‘Miracle of Avalokitesvara’ viz., the protection he affords from fire, sword, chains, shipwreck, lion, snake, elephant, and death—are finely depicted in Cave 7 at Aurangabad.

The Bodhisattva Manjusri first appears at Karla as *camara*-bearer to the Buddha ; he holds a rosary in his left hand and has a miniature stupa in his head-dress. It is also the same in the earlier caves, but in later caves he is shown carrying a book or the lotus in his left hand.

¹ Sen Gupta, *Guide to Elura* (Ellora), p. 4.

The Bodhisattva Vajrapani has a *Vajra* in his head-dress in Cave 6 at Ellora. But later he is shown four-armed in Cave 10, having a *Vajra* in his lower left hand, and another set in his head-dress.

A late Cave No. 11, at Ellora shows several Bodhisattvas, viz., with Maitreya with flowers in his head-dress, Sthiracakra with a sword in his right hand, Manjusri with a book on a lotus and Jnanaketu with a flag in his left hand.

The seven Manusi Buddhas—three of whom, Vipasyi, Sikti and Visabhu belong to the preceding *Kalpa* (epoch) and four, Kaku-chhanda, Kanakamuni, Kasyapa and Sakyamuni to the present *Kalpa*—are sculptured both at Ellora and Aurangabad. But their representation differs in each case. At Ellora some are in *dhyanamudra*, and some in *dharmacakramudra*, whereas at Ajantha they are painted in Cave 22, each one having its representative Bodhi tree over him.

But the most important thing is that in the Buddhas from Cave XI-XII at Ellora, as well as in the seven bronze figures of Buddha found from the Sopara *Stupa*, the hem of the upper garment is drawn over the left shoulder and hangs in a short, pleated fold. Now this is a characteristic feature of the Pala Buddha figures from Nalanda in Bihar. We can legitimately infer Tantric Buddhist influence from this quarter at Ellora and even at Sopara.

There is, however, some difficulty in identifying the seven Buddhas from Sopara with the seven Manusi Buddhas as Dikshit has pointed out,¹ though Barrett² perhaps not aware of this, has definitely accepted this identification. If this is not correct, then as Dikshit has marked 'Sopara finds (figures) must be considered as unique and striking an entirely original note'.

Jambhala, an early Buddhist god of wealth, is depicted normally with a citron in his right hand and a book in his left and flanked by Avalokitesvara and Mayuri in Cave 6 at Ellora, but later in Cave 11, he is shown sitting on a man with citron in his right hand and a purse with coins in his left hand, and on his either side are Prajnaparamita and Avalokitesvara.

The female goddesses are comparatively few but they too herald unmistakably the advent of early Tantrism. For instance, besides Hariti, we see Tara standing with a lotus in her hand (Cave 8, Ellora), once with her miracles (Cave 9), Mahamayuri (Cave 6), Bhrikuti and Prajnaparamita. However, the most remarkable is the occurrence of one female Bodhisattva in Cave 8, three in Cave 11, 6 at Aurangabad, Cave 7, Group 1, and 12 in Cave 12 at Ellora on the side and back wall of the antechamber. Each of the latter has her right hand in *Varada* and is seated in *lalitasana* on a lotus, supported by two Nagas. The first Bodhisattva holds a lotus and kamandalu in her left hand, and a rosary in her right and wears *ajina* over her left shoulder and a curious *caitya*-like object in her *Jatamukuta*. No doubt about the Tantric form is left by a female Bodhisattva in

¹ *J. G. R. S.*, vol. I, No. 4, p. 5.

² *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 3-4 (1957), 0-42.

Cave 12, who is identified as Cunda. She is seated in dhyanasana, is adorned with ornaments and wears a kaccha bandha and has four hands which hold a lotus in the back right hand and Kamandalu in her back left, whereas, the front hands hold a bowl. She is the only feminine emanation of Vajrasattva bearing the image of the Dhyani Buddha on the crown. And lastly there is a female figure in Cave 11 which strides over a prostrate male, either in imitation of Mahisa-suramardini of the Brahmanic pantheon or Aparajita of later Tantrayana.

PAINTING.

Most of the caves in Maharashtra, early or late, were at one time painted. Traces of these still remain at Tunnar and Bedsa. in the Poona district. However, it is at Ajantha that these paintings have remained comparatively more intact than anywhere else. And rightly have they received the attention¹ they deserve from the laymen, students of art as well as art critics. Instead of going into details, it would therefore suffice to mention first that the paintings are not technically frescoes (fresco buono). For in this technique the pigments are mixed with water without any binding medium and applied on a fresh wet lime-plaster. At Ajantha, on the other hand, the binding medium is supposed to be glue. Secondly, they range over a period of some ten centuries, and fall into two or three periods, the earliest being in Caves 9 and 10 and dated to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. Of the later Caves, Nos. 16 and 17, called in the inscriptions 'magnificent dwellings' were excavated by Varahadeva and a feudatory respectively of the Vakataka king Harisena (c. 475—500 A.D.), while some still later in the 8th-9th century. Thirdly, most of the paintings even in Caves 16 and 17 depict incidents from the life of the Buddha, the Bodhisattva and the Jatakas (stories of the past life of the Buddha), whereas the paintings on the ceiling are essentially decorative, showing varied patterns with flowers, plants, fruits, birds, beasts and human and semi-divine beings, and not some contemporary scenes as the embassy of an Iranian king at the court of Pulakesin II (in Cave 1, for instance) as was generally believed. Nevertheless, it is also true that while the scenes might be from the Jatakas, the artists might have and seem to have, introduced certain features in dress and ornaments, furniture and household utensils, from the life around them. It is thus that we can explain the occurrence of Iranian-looking head-dress of some people in Cave 1, people wearing beards and striped shorts, and spouted pots. Even the use of lapislazuli as a colour, which is absent in the earlier paintings, but present in the later paintings implies Iranian influence, as this is found in Iran and Afghanistan.

However, it is the artistic aspect of the paintings, which has drawn world-wide praise, that commands our attention. With only four colours—red and yellow ochre, terre verde, lime, lamp-black and lapislazuli, the Ajantha artists have created masterpieces of art 'which throughout maintain an exalted height and enthrall the spectator by

¹ For a brief bibliography, see Debala Mitra, Ajantha (Department of Archaeology, Government of India, Delhi, 1956).

their rich beauty, superb expressiveness, colour scheme, balanced and effective composition, fine shading and high light bringing into relief a plasticity and sensitive modelling of the figures, bold but faultless outline, delicate and idealised, but never unnatural, bodily features and women ever beautiful in all conceivable poses and moods. In fact, the paintings have stood the highest art standard of mural paintings'.

CULTS.

Regarding the cults, Saivism was more popular in the Deccan. The temples of other deities such as Visnu, Surya, are comparatively very few. That of Brahma none at all, though there are a couple of temples of other goddesses in the Deccan region.

Dr. Naik has ably pointed out the cult characteristic of the cave temples and later structural temples in the Deccan. For want of space, all these cannot be separately given here. From his studies, certain broad results emerge. These are as follows : —

(1) *Cult Images*.— (i) Siva temples, both excavated and structural had a linga.

(ii) Temples of Visnu had an image of some form of Visnu.

(iii) Temples of Surya, had an image of Surya,

(iv) Temples of Devi had an image of Devi,

(v) Temple of Ganesa (only one and very late) had an image of Ganesa.

(2) *Orientation*.—(i) Siva's structural temples faced either the east or the west,

(ii) Visnu even north,

(iii) Surya east or west,

(iv) Devi even south,

(v) Ganesa east.

(3) Ganapati is found in the centre of the door-lintel in most of the structural temples of Siva. Saiva Goddesses and Ganesa may even be found in the temples of Surya and Visnu. But upon the lintels of the most of the temples of Visnu and Vaisnava Goddesses is found an image of Garuda.

(4) (i) Pure Saiva temples have only Saiva *Parivaradevatas*.

(ii) Ordinary Saiva temples have a mixture of Vaisnava and other deities as well.

(iii) Pure Vaisnava temples have Vaisnava sculptures only.

(iv) Temples of goddesses have a preponderance of female sculpture.

(v) Temples of Surya have also the images of Saiva and Vaisnava deities as well.

Generally the temples faced the east and except those of Ganesa (which are very few and late), those of Siva, Visnu and Surya never faced the south. Ganesa acquired his present popularity, an almost concomitant of all auspicious occasions, as attested to by a detailed epigraphical survey, by the late 10th century. All these conclusions are in perfect accordance with those obtained from Gujarat and point to a general crystallization of religious thoughts and practices at this period.

COINS AND BULLIE.

The numismatic and allied data brought to light in the excavations, explorations and treasure-troves in Maharashtra can be divided into two groups, viz., coins and bullie.

Coins.

Punch-marked.

The earliest coins that are reported are the punch-marked coins of silver. Prior to the excavations, finds of the hoards of such coins were found at Sinhi near Kolhapur (1871), Sultanpur near Wai in Satara district (1876) and at Bahal in Khandesa (1943) which is the largest of the three. All the three hoards have not properly been classified, and the dating of these remains uncertain except the observation that the hoard from Sinhi was associated with a gold ring bearing letters in Asokan Brahmi. That from Bahal shows a variety of motifs which depict animals like the bull, elephant, and the deer, aquatic animals like the frog and the fish, plants or trees with or without railing, group of arches, human figures, and religious symbols like the taurine, etc. In the case of the coins from Sultanpur, it is not evident whether these can be really called punch-marked as most of them are impressed with a die rather than punched. The motifs on these square and round coins have not been properly designated, but have a similarity to the taurus and quarter-foil motifs.

The excavations in Maharashtra have been neither many nor extensive. As such, punch-marked coins recovered in these are few in number. Whatever such coins are reported are from Paithan and Nevasa. Those from the first are as yet unpublished while the evidence from the latter site restricts itself to two coins having the taurine and the solar symbols. Both these are of copper, of which one is coated with silver and thus might belong to the Mauryan period.

The evidence as a whole hardly reveals any new features either in shape or motifs punched. Square or rectangular in shape, the coins of this category as found in Maharashtra hardly reveal any deviation from those which are more abundant in the north. In date also, the specimens from Maharashtra might be later than those from north India.

Tribal.

The next in antiquity are the so called tribal coins which are die-struck and are made of copper. These are still meagre in quantity whereas they are found in a fairly good number in Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh.

The tribal coins so far reported in Maharashtra are those from Nevasa. These are made of copper and are rectangular in shape. Two groups can be discerned in these, viz., the Ujjain and the Eran-like group. The former bears the Ujjain symbol and the arched hill, whereas the Eran group has standing human figures, *svastika*, with triple tips, *sadaracakra* and a taurine. Such coins are reported from Ujjain, Eran (Madhya Pradesh), Saurashtra and Gujarat. So far as the available evidence goes, Nevasa seems to be at present the known southernmost limit for such coins.

The preceding two categories do not seem to have been indigenous to the Deccan and are thus found in small quantities. The case with the coins of the Satavahanas is totally different. The Satavahanas were the first emperors of the Deccan who belonged to this region. As such, the coinage of this dynasty has been reported from a number of sites like Nasik, Nevasa, Kolhapur, Ter, Karhad, Paithan, Canda, Tarhala in Maharashtra.

Satavodhana.

The metals used by the Satavahanas for their coinage were copper, lead and potin; silver being restricted mainly to the coinage of only three kings who came in contact with the Ksatrapas. Almost all the coins bear the animal motif (bull, elephant, lion, etc.), on the obverse with the legend, and the reverse having a variety of motifs, like the tree-in-railing, fishes, taurine, river, *nandipada*, Ujjain symbols and *svastika*. Portrait coins come only in imitation of the Ksatrapas. Along with this the Ujjain symbol is also absent on the early coins of the dynasty,¹ which thus shows that the territories of the early rulers of the Satavahanas, did not come in contact with regions outside the Deccan.

The excavations at Nevasa have brought to light five coins bearing the legend Sri-Satavahana. The coins of this legend are also known from Hyderabad, which are different. This points to two facts; firstly, there seem to have been more than one king who bore this name, and secondly, all those early coins are from the heart of Maharashtra which points to the possibility of this region being the homeland of this dynasty.

Besides this, the hoards at Tarhala and Canda have brought to light certain kings whose names do not occur in the traditional Puranic lists. The coins of these kings named as Kumbha, Karna, Saka, Skanda and others and bearing the motif of an elephant on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse belong to the later days of the dynasty when it lost its hold on the mainlands.

The technique of coin-making as revealed by the coins of this dynasty shows that the die used for stamping is normally bigger than the size of the coin with the result that the legend and the motifs fall out and are incomplete. However, in clarity and motif they are remarkable, but more or less stereotyped so far as the animal motif is concerned. The only exception is the ship-type coin of Yajna Satakarni.

The influence of the Gujarat Kshaharata and Ksatrapa coinage on that of the Satavahanas restricted itself only to the coinage of two or three kings. Those who came in conflict with these foreigners either restruck their silver coins or adopted the portrait motif as in the case of Gautamiputra.

Kura.

A number of coins of lead, round in shape, die-impressed, heavy in weight, with thick letters, having a bow and arrow on the obverse, and tree-in-railing on the reverse, have been found in the last decade or so at Kolhapur and Nerle (Satara district). These belong to three

¹ The Ujjain symbol is clearly seen on the early coins of Satavahana. See *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, Pl. I. (V.V. M.).

kings, viz., Vasisthiputra, Gautamiputra and Madhariputra and are often restructed mutually. All the three kings thus have metronymic names and have the suffix *Vilivayakura*, which has not been satisfactorily explained. Some scholars take them to be the feudatories of the Satavahanas, while others assign them to the Kura or Ankura dynasty. However, the latest study of the coins from the excavations from Kolhapur has shown that the Kuras were a separate dynasty contemporaneous with the early Satavahanas. They do not seem to be the feudatories of the latter and were deprived of their dominions by either Sri Satakarni or Pulumavi.

Cutu and Maharathi.

These dynasties, which were the contemporaries of the Satavahanas, have been accounted for by¹ coins mostly from Kolhapur. As is well known, the Maharathis had a matrimonial alliance with the Satavahana dynasty.

The coins of the Cutus, whose rule seems to have been over regions near Kanheri, North Kanara and Mysore, are of lead and bear the three-tiered hill on the obverse and the tree-in-railing on the reverse. The former motif is also found on the Ksatrapa coinage.

The Maharathi coins belong mostly to regions of the periphery of the present Maharashtra State. However, the lead ones as found at Kolhapur have an identity with those of the Kura dynasty discussed above.

Ksatrapa.

As compared to the Gujarat region the Ksatrapa and Kshaharata coins reported from Maharashtra are much less. Save the Jogalthembi hoard of Nahapana's coins, no other collections of these dynasties are reported. Stray coins do occur as at Poona and Nasik, both of which were looked after by their governors. The excavations so far carried out in the present State have not turned out Ksatrapa coins.

It has already been noted that the round silver coinage of the Ksatrapas had a passing influence on contemporary Satavahana rulers. On the whole, the coinage of this dynasty bears the head of the king on the obverse and the three-arched *caitya* surrounded by legend in very fine thin letters. The copper coins are rare, but the silver ones are after those of Nahapana whose standardisation can be co-related to the hemi-drachms of the Graeco-Indian kings. The coinage of the Ksatrapas in its turn influenced that of the Guptas and the Traikutakas of a later date.

From the point of view of workmanship, the silver coinage of Ksatrapas is distinctly disciplined. The clarity of the letters, motifs and the profile of the king with hair-lock flowing over the neck, a tight fitting head-dress and prominent nose are remarkable, for no contemporary dynasty in this region or elsewhere had such portrait coins. The coins, mostly round, also give the date and titles of the king in Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit.

Coinage from the Gupta to the Silahara Period.

There is a great paucity of numismatic data from about the 5th century A.D. onwards till one comes to the mediaeval period. This is because of the unsettled and changing political pattern of Maharashtra. Even the great Rastrakutas who arose and consolidated

¹ [Coins of several Ksatrapa kings have been found in Vidarbha. See *Studies in Indology*, vol. III, pp. 93 f.—V. V. M.]

their hold over this region, have not left for us any coins. Similar is the case of the Yadavas who have left to us a few *padmatankas*. This being the case, the numismatic history suffers from a gap of a little more than five hundred years.

The Silaharas who came to power in the Deccan and North Konkan in about the 9th-11th century A.D. have left some coins as the evidence from Kolhapur and allied region shows. However, the data are not sufficient for a comparative study.

Silahara.

The tiny gold coins about half an inch in diameter have the garuda emblem on the reverse and the trisula on the obverse. It is well known that the copper plates of the dynasty refer to the *Suvarna-garuda-dhvaja* as the emblem of the family. There is, however, no legend on these coins and as such their attribution to the Silaharas is not yet final.

Besides gold, silver coins also were issued by the Konkan branch of the dynasty.

Bullie. Roman.

In the first three centuries of the Christian era when the Deccan through the coastal ports, came in contact with the Romans, a number of Roman coins seem to have entered India. Soon the copies of such coins in terracotta, lead and gold started and were worn possibly as ornaments.

The Roman coins were remarkable for their precise delineation of the human and divine figures. Their copies in terracotta and metal have been reported from a number of places in the south and the western India. In Maharashtra they come from Kolhapur, Nevasa, Ter, Paithan and Kondapur. These are usually circular pieces with perforations and depict royal heads, Roman goddesses etc., in a dotted border. The bullies imitating the coins of Tiberius are numerous. Similar metal pieces with the head of a goddess on it are even now used in rural Maharashtra. As such the bullie represents an aspect of non-indigenous influence on Maharastrian life.

BEADS, PENDANTS AND AMULETS.

In recent years, archaeological excavations at various sites in Maharashtra have yielded thousands of beads and a few bead-pendants and amulets. These indicate not only the flair for decoration and the artistic selection of indigenous and imported material, but also the ideas connected with certain shapes on the basis of religion and superstition which formed a part and parcel of the culture of the people in the past.

Materials.

Practically all the sites inhabited during the Chalcolithic and subsequent historical periods have brought to light beads in different materials. Nasik, Nevasa, Prakase, Bahal, Diamabad, Kolhapur, Karhad, Ter, and Paithan have brought forth beads of agate, carnelian, chalcedony, jasper, amethyst, amazonite, coral, glass, terracotta, crystal, shell, steatite, faience and copper. It may be pointed out that most of the semi-precious stones in these occur as veins in the Deccan trap area and as such seem to have been utilized for bead-making throughout the remote and the recent past. Evidence for the local bead industry in the Deccan is

furnished by the excavations at Kolhapur and Nevasa where beads in various stages of manufacture have been found. Apart from the use of local material like chalcedony, jasper and carnelian, beads of non-indigenous material like lapis lazuli bespeak of import from abroad especially Afghanistan and Iran.

Method of Making.

A study of these various finished and unfinished beads shows the various stages in their manufacture. Preparing the core, flaking it to a requisite shape, perforating the bead and polishing it, were three stages as indicated by half flanked, semi-perforated and incompletely polished specimens. It is likely that very fine drills of diamond were used. The perforation was never done through from one end, but was done half-way from both ends so that it was asymmetrical and very minute at the end of the double perforation from either side. The use of a lathe for polishing or that of a pot for moving the beads briskly for polishing cannot be ruled out. That was the case so far as the beads of semi-precious stones are concerned. The beads of material like faience and steatite, which are one of the outstanding culture-criterion of the Chalcolithic period as at Nevasa and Diamabad, demanded a different method. On a piece of string, cylinders of this material were applied which were incised around the body to cut off discs from it later on. Such cylinders along with the thread were set to fire which resulted in the burning away of the thread and the creating of a perforation. Hundreds of tiny discs and cylinders have been found at Nevasa and Bahal in the Chalcolithic levels. As against this, the biconical beads of pure copper at Nevasa show that they were made by a process of hot hammering.

The glass bead industry of the later mediaeval period of the Deccan involved a number of different techniques. These result in the beads being of drawn glass or wound or coiled or moulded, composite or spirally wound glass. All these techniques have been evidenced at Nevasa and Kolhapur. The latter site has given moulds of slate stone of the Satavahana period, which turned out square beads in two parts which were joined together later on. The making of glass beads involved a complete control over temperature and the mastery in fusing together different parts either of the same colour or of differently coloured plastic glass. The industry of polychrome bangles seems to have formed an important cottage industry in Maharashtra round about the 13th-14th centuries A.D. That glass was locally prepared on a medium scale in small kilns has been recently evidenced by the discovery of such a kiln along with hundreds of pieces of glass slag and waste slag in one of the houses of the Muslim period in the excavations at Nevasa.

Shapes.

There is a wide range of shapes. As the earliest habitations of the Chalcolithic period have as yet not been excavated on a large scale in the Deccan, the material associated with those appears to be much less than that met with in the historical period. However, with the available evidence, it appears that beads with geometrical

shapes predominated in all periods. In spite of this, some of the beads in semi-precious stones like agate and carnelian show remarkable skill in facetting, in the early centuries of the Christian era.

As remarked above, some beads in all the ages, reflect ideas connected with magic, religion and superstition. Thus, besides, providing evidence of the decorative patterns, beads at Nevasa and other Chalcolithic sites like Jorve, Bahal and Diamabad were found to have contributed to the making up of one of the items of funerary goods. At all these sites scores of beads of agate, chalcedony, steatite and carnelian have been found in child and adult burials.

Bead-Amulets.

Bead-amulets and pendants of the historical period seem to go a step further. They definitely give us an idea of the superstitions current in the contemporary society. For instance 'eye-beads' have been reported from a number of sites in the Deccan. These begin from the Chalcolithic times and continue upto the present day. These beads were worn to protect one from the supposed bad effect of an evil eye. Such beads made either of semi-precious stones like agate or of artificial material like glass are so executed as to depict the pattern of the human eye by means of a black dot on a white surface. In glass it was found to have been made by using differently coloured plastic glass fused together. In the case of stones, either dotted or banded material was suitably chosen or coloured pieces of stones were inlaid in another stone. However, these techniques were widely adopted elsewhere outside the Deccan as well. As such, there is nothing distinct about them. Along with such beads, amulets imitating the leg of a human being have recently been reported from Nevasa in the late mediaeval levels.

Bead-amulets imitating the shape of some animals are also met with in the early historic layers. These are widely reported from a number of sites in contemporary horizons outside Maharashtra. The evidence from excavations in the Deccan in this regard is meagre. However, mention may be made of the puissant lion amulet in pure crystal from Nasik, and the delicate Nandi amulet in terracotta from Nevasa. Both these belong to the early centuries of the Christian era. The former, perforated below the mane is remarkable for its workman-ship and excellent polish, whereas the latter executed in double mould is exquisite in the details of the plump muscular outlines of the Nandi and delicate details of the lotus petals on which the animal rests.

Amulets after weapons, fruits, flower (rosette) and religious symbols are very few. It may be noted that whereas amulets like the eye-beads seem to have been current right from the Chalcolithic period onwards in Maharashtra, the bead-amulets after the pattern of a dagger, or an *amalaka* or *triratna* symbol are reported only prior to the Gupta levels in this area. Of all these, the Yaksha amulet from the 1st-2nd century B.C. levels at Nevasa is remarkable. Executed in the terracotta in double mould, the piece depicts a standing Yaksha wearing a dhoti and has a close affinity to similar

figures in stone reported from the Pitalkhora caves where these are identified as the Yaksha Sankarin.

Another set of bead-amulets and bead-pendants are the imitations of the Roman coins in terracotta or metal. These have been reported from Kolhapur, Nevasa and Paithan. These came to be in use in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era when contacts with the outside world grew up on a large scale through trade. They depict the head of a king after the fashion of Roman coins or the full-size figure of a Roman goddess. Somewhat similar things are even now worn by womenfolk in rural Maharashtra which they call 'putali' depicting some goddess.

Bead-Pendants.

Besides the beads with regular geometrical shapes and the bead- amulets, a few pendants have also been reported. However, these repeat the shapes—like drop pendant, double-capped pendant, pillar-like pendant, along with spacers—found in earlier contexts elsewhere and as such, cannot be credited to be local innovations. Moreover, they survive over a long period and as such, are useless for dating purposes.

Summary.

In short, though the antiquity of beads goes back to the first millenium B.C. in Maharashtra, and though they show a variety in the use of locally available materials, they fail to exhibit a spectacular range of shapes and workmanship as is noticed in the early historical beads in the Gangetic valley. It is only when one comes to the late mediaeval period that evidence of some sort of an 'industry' of glass beads is met with.

METALLURGY AND OBJECTS. Antiquity.

Evidence from various excavations has indicated that the earliest use of copper or bronze goes back to at least the first millenium B.C. in the Deccan. Iron started much later say about second-third century B.C. and its use on a large scale is evidenced in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Variety.

The objects of copper or iron show a vivid range of utensils and can be grouped into the following categories :—(a) Tools, (b) Weapons, (c) Objects of household use, (d) Objects of toilet, and (e) Ornamental objects.

Tools.

The tools comprise those used in carpentry such as chisels, nails, adze, drills, axes and those used in agriculture like sickles and pick-axes.

Axes.

The antiquity of the axes goes back to the copper or bronze age dated to the first millenium B.C. as evidenced by excavations at Jorve and Diamabad, both of which are situated on the river Pravara. Besides these being of bronze or copper, they differ entirely from those of the succeeding historical phase when iron axes came into use. The axes or the celts of bronze are rectangular in outline with a convex edge. In section they are biconvex at the edge, but flat towards the butt. Containing 1.78 per cent of tin, they represent a low grade alloy or bronze. In typology, these are more akin to the Indus axes than those from the Gangetic valley or elsewhere. By virtue of their shape which did not provide for

a socket for insertion of a wooden handle, such rectangular celts were tied to a wooden handle possibly by means of roots or leather.

The tradition of such celts seems to have gone out of vogue with the disappearance of the Chalcolithic folk. By about the second century B.C. the socketted axe of iron, which has continued to this day, emerges. This has a round socket at one end while the blade tapers into a sharp edge. Such iron axes have been reported from the early Satavahana levels from Nasik and Paithan, and from the deposits of early centuries of the Christian era at Nevasa.

Socketted pick-axes with slightly curved blade with a pointed tip, which have not so far been reported from Chalcolithic deposits from the Deccan are found in Indo-Roman levels at Nevasa and continue even in Silahara times at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur).

Chisels.

Earliest chisels in Maharashtra come from the Chalcolithic deposits at Nevasa. An intact specimen made of copper has a long rectangular body with a flat square and a double-sloped edge. That it was made by hot forging is evident from the overlapping edges. This shape is totally absent in Indus Valley sites, where chisels with shanks or burned butts are common.

Similarly made chisels in iron appear in the second century B.C. levels at Nevasa, though these differ in size which is more thick and stumpy. Another variety, belonging to the same period but having a round body with sharp levelled edge is reported from Nasik. Similar chisels with a round body and a pointed or spread edge are used by the masons even now.

Drill.

So far, there is not such an evidence about this type of tool as would warrant a general statement regarding its typology. However, no drills of any metal have been reported from Chalcolithic deposits from the Deccan. Drills appear for the first time, so far, in early historic levels. These are made of iron. Nasik and Nevasa have given two different types. Whereas that from the first consists of a spirally twisted thin strap of iron, that from the latter site shows possibly a grooved shaft having a sharp tapering point. No wooden accompaniments of these have been so far found.

Adze.

Similar is the case with adze. Whereas in the Chalcolithic times adzes of polished dolerite stone were used, those of the historical period are made of iron. The iron adze reported from Nevasa of the early centuries of the Christian era, consists of a flat blade with a shaft. This shape continues to this date.

Nails, Hooks and Clamps.

Along with the tools described above, hundreds of iron nails, hooks and clamps have turned up in different excavations. None of these items have so far been found in any other material prior to the third century B.C. in Maharashtra.

Of these, the nails show a wide range of shapes of which the most common seems to be that with a round body and a spread head. These continue to be from the early historic to the end of the Bahamani period as at Nasik, Prakase, Kolhapur and Karhad. It may, however, be pointed out that nails, besides being used in wood work

were also used for fixing tiles to the rafters below. As such, tiles and nails have been found in abundant quantities in the early centuries of the Christian era when it was a practice of roof houses with terracotta tiles, having perforations.

Ordinary hooks—to distinguish them from fish-hooks—and clamps are not many. Only Nevasa and Kolhapur have yielded them so far. Here they occur from the early historic and continue even during the Muslim-Maratha times. These are made of thin rods with curved sharp ends. Similar is the case of clamps made of a horizontal rod of iron with two lower projections at both the ends. These are restricted only to the Indo-Roman deposits.

Apart from the carpentry tools discussed above, several others of agricultural and fishing usage have been found. These comprise sickles, fish-hooks and harpoons.

Sickles.

So far only Nevasa, Bahal and Kolhapur are reported to have yielded sickles of iron in the Satayahana period. Prior to the advent of iron, the Chalcolithic people used sharp retouched microliths set in a row close to one another in a piece of bone or wood. The sickles of the iron age however, are mostly curved iron blades sharp on the inner edge and having a tang which was fixed in a wooden handle.

Harpoons and Fish-hooks.

Objects which are probably harpoons and fish-hooks have been found only at one site in Maharashtra and those too in the historical period. Though copper fish-hooks and harpoons are reported from Chalcolithic times elsewhere, these are not found so far in any Chalcolithic site of the Deccan.

The fish-hooks which consist of thin rods of iron with upturned pointed ends with no barbs, and harpoons with barbs on top or which are leaf-like with slightly bent point, have been met with from the early historic to the Bahamani period at Kolhapur, whereas they belong to the early historic levels at Nevasa.

Weapons.

Along with the tools of technical use, a large number of tools of offence have been brought to light in recent excavations. These comprise knives, arrow-heads, spear-heads, daggers, choppers and caltrops.

Knife-blades.

Save in Diamabad, copper knife-blades have not been found anywhere else. The Diamabad specimen is a fragmentary piece which does not indicate its complete shape. Knives with tangs and medium broad, straight, curved or plano-convex blades appear for the first time in c. 600-300 B.C. levels at Bahal, and at Kolhapur, the latter having an exact parallel from Adicannallur. Abundant varieties of these occur in the early centuries of the Christian era at Ter, Nevasa, Nasik, Paithan, Karhad and Prakase. All these are tanged and have been found associated with fragmentary handles of ivory and bone.

Spearheads.

Unlike the knife-blades, no spearheads have been reported so far prior to 4th/5th century B.C. Iron spearheads appear for the first time at Bahal along with dagger-heads assignable to the period

mentioned above. In later levels at Nasik and Nevasa, they reveal two types, e.g., socketted and tanged. The former variety having a triangular blade is reported from Nasik where it is dated to the early Satavahana period. Nevasa, on the other hand, has given both the socketted and the tanged varieties assignable to the early centuries of the Christian era. These have an elongated triangular blade. Though spears continued to be in use during the Muslim-Maratha period, none of them have been traced in excavations so far.

Arrowheads.

The story regarding arrowheads is similar to that of the spear-heads. No arrowheads of either copper or bronze have been reported from any Chalcolithic site, from Maharashtra. It can be attributed to two possible reasons. Firstly, no Chalcolithic deposits have been extensively excavated so far, and secondly, the use of copper or bronze itself was on a limited scale due to the scarcity of the metal itself. It is also well-known that tanged points of chalcedony, etc., were used as possible arrowheads in the Chalcolithic period—Coming to about the third century B.C., one comes across iron arrowheads of varied types, some even corroborating the information as given in Kautilya's Arthashastra. The earliest evidence, so far of iron arrowheads comes from Bahal where they occur in c. 600-300 B.C. levels. Nevasa, Nasik, Ter, Karhad and Kolhapur have yielded arrowheads which are mostly tanged ones. The socketted variety is on the whole rare. For want of limited evidence, no precedence or otherwise of any one type over the other can be established at present.

The blades of these arrowheads show quite a range of shapes, such as leaf-shaped, triangular, crescent-like, spiked, so on and so forth. These concentrate mostly in the Satavahana and Indo-Roman levels, though their use was attested to even in the Bahamani period at Kolhapur.

Caltrop.

The most remarkable weapon of offence amongst all these has been reported from Nasik. It is called caltrop and can be equated with 'trika' of Kautilya. This is a four-spiked weapon which when thrown on the ground rests with two spikes upwards. This was first traced at Sisupalgad in Orissa in the c. 200-300 A.D. levels. At Nasik, on the other hand, it belonged to c. 300-200 B.C., deposits. Right from Kautilya's times upto the first World War, similar caltrops were spread on the ground to obstruct the attack of the cavalry.

Objects of Household Use.

Along with all these tools and weapons, several objects of household use have been unearthed. These comprise lamps, laddies, bowls, dishes, frying shovels, pokers, etc.

Lamps.

So far the earliest lamps of the first millennium B.C. copper age are found to be oval-shaped terra cotta pieces. However, by about the 2nd century B.C. lamps of iron in the shape of bowls with slightly pinched lips seem to have come into use as at Nevasa and Ter. It is likely that they were kept on some stand with support as their bases are round.

Iron laddies in the shape of a bowl with either vertical or horizontal rod-holds came to be in use in the early centuries of the Christian era as the evidence from Nevasa shows. Similar is the case with frying shovels with a broad squarish blade and a straplike handle which are reported in the Indo-Roman levels. However, the most notable object is a dish with a central boss recovered from Nevasa in the same period.

Laddles, Frying shovels and Dishes.

It is significant that frying shovels, dishes with a boss, laddies and drills, etc., should be found in association with other objects showing non-indigenous affinities. In this connection, it is to be noted that all these objects having similar shapes with those found in Maharashtra have been reported for the first time at Taxila in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Indo-Romans had a cultural influence, over the area. Literary evidence abounds in the information of trade relations which the coastal Maharashtra and its interior regions like Junnar and Paithan, developed in the late Satavahana period. As such, it may not be incorrect to hold that these domestic utensils were the legacy of foreign contact. It is interesting to note that frying shovels and laddies continue to have the same shape to this day.

Ornaments and Objects of Toilet.

Objects of toilet and ornamental objects of copper and iron are not many. They exhibit a limited range and comprise bangles, and a leg-ring (called *vala* in Marathi). These go back to at least the first millenium B.C. as evidenced by Jorve and Nevasa. Whereas the former was an unstratified find associated with Chalcolithic assemblage, the latter was found around the leg part of the skeletal remains of a child buried in urns. The former is a thick ring of copper and the latter a thin specimen resembling similar *valas* used even today.

No bangles of metal are reported from the mediaeval period when glass and shell took the place of metal.

Rings.

Rings of metal are very scarce in the Chalcolithic period. Plain specimens appear in a remarkable quantity in the Satavahana period when they occur along with monochrome glass rings. It is only in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, when Roman contacts developed through trade, that one comes across rings with ornamental bezels. A few of such rings with oblong or circular bezels have sometimes the provisions of a depression for setting precious stone in them. There is a remarkable similarity between these bezelled-rings from Maharashtra to the contemporary specimens found at Taxila.

Metal rings seem to have given place to glass rings—monochrome and polychrome—in the Muslim-Maratha period.

Beads.

Nevasa has been the first site to give beads of copper belonging to the first millenium B.C. These were found in two sets, the first being a group of three biconical hollow beads made by hot hammering and consisting of pure copper, and the second set consisting of fourteen barrel-shaped beads forming a necklace around the neck of a buried child. These beads were woven in silk

and cotton thread. In no other site of the Chalcolithic period such biconical beads have been reported so far-Metal beads seem to have gone out of vogue in the early historic and subsequent periods, as glass replaced metal.

Pins.

Pins with solid, coiled or bi-foil heads have a long history. They occur in the Chalcolithic levels at Diamabad, though in a fragmentary state. Those with a solid loop and pointed end and made of iron occur at Kolhapur. However, it is only in the Indo-Roman period that they are met with in an elaborate form showing affinities to contemporary specimens from Taxila. It may not be incorrect to hold that along with apparatus of domestic use like frying shovels, etc., pins of metal were also an extension of foreign contacts.

Pins are not met with in the late historical or mediaeval period. The only specimen, so far known, comes from Silahara levels from Kolhapur.

Kohl-Sticks.

Along with pins, kohl-sticks or antimony rods for use in applying collyrium to the eyes, formed an important article for toilet from at least the Chalcolithic times in Maharashtra.

Whereas these are made of copper in the shape of a rod with either one or both the ends bulbous as in the Chalcolithic period, they continue along with elaborately decorated specimens of bone and ivory in the early historical and subsequent periods, as attested to by Nasik, Nevasa, Ter, Prakase and Karhad finds.

Summary.

A short survey of the art of metallurgy in Maharashtra shows that its antiquity goes to the first millenium B.C. whereas, only copper was in use round about the first millenium B.C, as the evidence goes.

An elaboration in the preparation of iron objects of domestic and toilet use seems to be the result of Indo-Roman period.

For want of extensive chemical analysis of copper and iron objects, no connected account of the art of metallurgy can be had as yet.

GLASS AND GLASS OBJECTS.

No specimen of glass or any glass object has been reported so far prior to the 3rd century B.C. in Maharashtra. It is first introduced in the early historic period. The finest type of glass, i.e., Roman glass is met with in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the late mediaeval period a sort of glass bangle industry seems to have been prevalent on a small scale.

Early glass specimens as found at Nevasa, Nasik and Kolhapur show thick, bubbly, translucent structure while the late Satavahana period turns out fine, thin, transparent, bluish glass in the finest Roman tradition. The mediaeval glass bangles are opaque and have variously coloured bands of uneven thickness.

Objects of glass from the early historical to the late mediaeval period comprise bangles, rings, kohl-sticks, vessels and pully-shaped ear-reels.

Glass bangles of the early period are without exception monochrome made of black, yellow, blue, red or green glass. These are plain specimens having no decoration, and have been found both for the use of the adults and children. Along with these, bangles of shell were also current. (See under 'Shell Objects').

Bangles of the first three centuries of the Christian era, show the use of the fine glass fashioned into thin rings with a grooved circumference. This type can be attributed to Roman import.

Rings.

As compared to the bangles, the rings of glass are few. In antiquity and technological peculiarities they are similar to the bangles. Nasik and Nevasa have given monochrome glass rings which are mostly plain though some have a flat biconvex or truncated pyramidal bezel. A few are made by the wire wound process while very few are of cupreous glass.

Ear-reels.

Pulley-shaped discs which were used as ornaments in the ear-lobes are reported from Nasik, Nevasa and Prakase in the early and late Satavahana levels. In the same period similar ear-reels in terracotta and bone were also in use. Similar ear-reels are also depicted in the frescoes at Ajantha.

The ear-reels of glass are either of transparent white glass or red cupreous glass. Similar reels made of agate and bearing high polish are reported from Bahal, while reels of black glass were found at Ujjain. At Somanath such reels were coated with gold having decoration in repousse. This type of ornament, thus, shows a wide regional distribution.

Kohl-sticks.

Kohl-sticks made of glass are extremely scarce and have been reported in a fragmentary condition only from Nevasa. There they belong to the Indo-Roman period and are made of blue translucent glass free from bubbles. It thus shows all the qualities of Roman glass and as such might not be of local make.

The specimen is a rod tapering to a point with the other end thick, flat and having incised hatched pattern which is a patent decoration on contemporary bone specimens (see under "Bone Objects").

Glass Vessels.

Glass does not seem to have been utilized for making small bowls, prior to the Christian era in Maharashtra. Whatever fragments of such vessels are available are from Nevasa where the evidence is meagre. However, these fragments show the use of clear, fine, bluish, thin glass free from any bubbles. We have already seen that though glass was known and made prior to this period in the Deccan, fine glass is the contribution of trade with the Roman empire.

Glazing.

The antiquity of the art of glazing goes back to the first millennium BC. This is attested to by the find of glazed beads of faience and paste in Chalcolithic burials at Nevasa. However, no analysis of this glaze has been made so far. In the early historic period also, the industry does not seem to have made any headway, as only beads of glazed faience are available at various sites in Maharashtra.

The art of glazing tiles and pottery seems to have been introduced by the Persian Muslims into India, round about the thirteenth

century A.D. This is evidenced by glazed dishes and plates at Nevasa, Nasik, and Kolhapur. This glaze is thick and rough and covers the painted designs on pottery.

Thus, though the art of glazing beads was known in the first millenium B.C., glass objects were restricted only to the field of bangles which can be traced back to the early historic period. Fine glass was introduced by the Romans, while the art of glazing pottery and polychrome glass bangles flourished as a cottage industry in the late mediaeval period.

TERRACOTTA OBJECTS.

The terracotta is the materia for objects of worship like figurines and votive tanks, objects of toilet like skin-rubbers, and household objects like lamps and toys.

Figurines.

The terracotta figurines can be classified into three main categories, to wit, female, male and boyheads.

The first can be further grouped into (a) 'ageless' or conventional, (b) mother or fertility goddess, (c) *dhatrl* figurines, and (d) miscellaneous.

Female Figurines.

The antiquity of the terracotta female figurines goes back to the first millenium B.C. as they are reported from Bahal in Khandes and Nevasa and Diamabad in Ahmadnagar district. These have given highly conventionalised female figures with pinched nose, slit eyes and mouth, and stiff, short and horizontally spread hands. These are more or less featureless and occur in all periods right up to the end of the Maratha period. These are thus 'ageless' and being merely representative of the idea of a female being, show absolutely no attempt at finer delineation of features.

Fertility Goddess.

The second category is not only more elaborate but also reflects the contemporaneous ideas connected with fertility, prosperity and village deities. The first specimens of this category have been found at Nevasa and Bahal in the first millenium B.C. chalcolithic levels. Whereas the one from Nevasa is a nine-inch-high piece with broad, flaring bottom, stiff hands, prominent breasts and depressed eyes, those from Bahal are applique figurines fixed to pots. Similar figures and couples affixed to storage jars have been reported from contemporary levels from Malva area. Such figurines either single or in pairs (*Mithuna*) might be connected with fertility and prosperity. All these are handmade.

Divine-Woman figurines.

By about the third-second century B.C.-A.D. a group of female figurines is met with. Cast in double mould, these specimens, so far reported from Kolhapur, Nasik, Nevasa, Ter and Karhad in Maha-rastra and Tripuri in Madhya Pradesh, form a group by themselves. They wear an elaborate hair style and head-dress and have ornaments like bangles, girdles and necklaces. Shown always in a squatting posture with legs apart, their private parts are apparent due possibly to their wearing a diaphanous clothing. Since these figurines are invariably associated with the Satavahana levels, these might as well be taken to be the *gramadevatas* which find mention in the Gathasaptasati of Hala.

Nude Figurines.

In the opening centuries of the Christian era are found a set of nude figurines, as at Ter, in which an exaggerated emphasis is given to the depiction of the sexual members of the female figurine. Headless, frog-shaped and made of fine clay, these figurines are the result of non-indigenous influences, especially as they occur with the advent of the Roman contacts with India. These are reported from a number of places outside India as well by about the first century B.C.

Dhatri Figurines.

By about the third-fifth centuries A.D., a set of female figurines which are cast in a single mould and hence having a flat back, are met with in a fair number as at Ter and Nevasa. Outside Maharashtra, they are reported from a number of sites in the Gangetic valley which formed the core of the Gupta empire in about the same time mentioned above.

The specimens of this group are usually standing figurines with or without a halo behind and features in a shallow relief. The patent head-dress is trefoil and the figures wear clothes which reach below the knees. Usually these figurines hold a child and are shown as possessing a ball, etc. Accordingly, these are classified as *krida-dhatri*, *arika-dhatri*, *ksira-dhatri*, etc., according to the job they perform such as suckling, playing, fondling the child on the knees etc. These are usually met with in Gupta levels and are often referred to in contemporary Indian literature.

Miscellaneous.

There is a large number of female figurines which do not fit in any one of the categories referred to above. Such specimens usually come from the levels of the mediaeval period. These are very crude with a mere semblance of a figurine, and are usually coated with lime and red ochre. Almost all these are handmade, heavy and solid pieces of clay, and seem to have been used as toys.

Male Figures.

Compared to the number of female figures, those of the males are less frequent. The antiquity of these also goes to the first millennium B.C. on the basis of the evidence from Diamabad.

Male figurines, for which the evidence is too meagre for general study, remain crude in workmanship till about the beginning of the Christian era. They remain stiff and stumpy figures with a cold expression. The only exceptions to this are the male figures from Satavahana levels from Kolhapur having girdles and wristlets, pendants in the ear-lobes and folded head-dress. The warmth of facial expression is apparent on the Indo-Roman and Gupta specimens depicting in a few cases the use of double mould. The use of red ochre for emphasizing decoration and ornament, becomes a general feature of the figurines of the Muslim-Maratha period in which, however, the art deteriorates.

Yaksa Figures.

The best specimens are reported from Ter which shows a wide variety in coiffure and dress. Ter also shows the use of fine kaolin in preference to terracotta. Belonging to the first two or three centuries of the Christian era, the figures are cast on a double mould with proportion and precision of limbs. These figures show a variety of ornaments like girdles necklaces and wristlets, a warmth

of expression in facial features, and ornamental head-dresses. It is likely that these were cult-figures or might be *yaksas*. (For *yaksa* amulets, see under 'Beads, Pendants and Amulets').

Fragmentary boyheads are reported from the 3rd century B.C. to the end of the 3rd century A.D. levels from Nevasa and Ter. No boyheads or complete figures of boys prior to and after this period have been obtained from excavations so far.

Child Figures, Late Satvahana.

Those from the late Satavahana levels are generally made out of a single mould, while some of these have a halo behind these. Such specimens, especially from Nevasa, are remarkable for the depiction of innocent smile of the chubby-faced child. They have a remarkable similarity with specimens from Sirkap, Taxila.

Kaolin.

The group of Kaolin and terracotta boy figures fashioned in double-mould and belonging to the levels assignable to the first three centuries of the Christian era, are noteworthy for expression, delicacy and dignified bearing. These have elaborate arrangement of hair similar to the '*kakapaksadhara*' of *Raghuvamsa* and are noteworthy for the selection of choice ornaments such as the pendant right on the forehead. The lips are thick-set, nose a bit broad and eyes rather large for the face. The cheeks are plump. Exactly similar specimens with their mould-copies in terracotta are reported, besides at Ter and Nevasa, from Kondapur in Andhra Pradesh. It is possible that these had a cult significance.

A general study of the terracotta and kaolin figures of the first few centuries of the Christian era besides showing an affinity in facial expression to those from Taxila, also brings out another feature. This consists of the arrangement of the hair which fails to have affinity with any indigenous styles not only in terra cotta but even in contemporary sculptures. As such, it may not be incorrect to say that Roman contacts which developed on a large scale during this period, might have influenced the creation of such specimens in the Deccan.

Toys.

Along with the figurines and other objects described above, scores of toys made of terracotta have been found. These can very broadly be classified into two categories, viz., those which are realistic and those which are conventionalised.

The latter merely representing the idea of a particular animal or a bird occur over a long stretch of time, from the first millennium B.C. to the end of the late mediaeval period. These are crudely made. The earliest specimens have some amongst them which have a flat base and a perforation to pass thread through so that it can be held suspending. The mediaeval specimens are mostly lime-coated and sometimes the eyes, beaks or horns are depicted by red ochre.

Among the toys of the first category are elephants, bulls, cows, horses, dogs, rams and beaked birds. Most of these are solid handmade specimens, though some show the use of either a single or a double mould. The use of the latter too seems to have restricted itself from the early historic to the Gupta phases.

So far the earliest terracotta figurines of a bull and a dog are reported from the Chalcolithic levels from Diamabad; single and double-moulded elephants, bulls, rams, and cows from the early historic to the end of Indo-Roman levels; beaked birds, some of which have holes for insertion of feathers from Indo-Roman and late mediasval periods at Nevasa.

Wheels.

Scores of terracotta wheels which were possibly used for toycarts have turned up at several sites in the Deccan.

The first millenium B.C. wheels found at Nevasa are rectangular in section with convex sides and devoid of hubs. This evidence is contrary to earlier Chalcolithic sites of the Indus valley which have hubbed wheels. The Nevasa specimens thus show a less advanced technological state as its hubless wheels would suffer greatly from friction with the body of the carriage.

Hubbed terracotta wheels appear for the first time in the Sata-vahana levels at Nevasa while they belong to the 1st century A.D. and all later deposits at Nasik. As against this, hubless biconvex wheels occur in all periods from the first millenium B.C. to the end of the later mediaeval period. The latter are coated with lime and spokes are shown in red ochre.

Masks.

Masks made of terracotta and applied to the outer surface of a pot as a decoration along with a type of spout in the shape of a water-bottle held over its head by an applique human head, occur for the first time in Maharastra, at Nevasa in the 1st and 2nd century A.D.

Two such are human faces with very crudely executed features. The nose is eroded, lips thick and the eyes extra-large for the face. One of the masks (measuring 11 mm.X 92 mm.) has a knob on the forehead.

The affixing of lion-masks to pots is also reported from Taxila where they are supposed to have been introduced by the Parthians. The Nevasa specimens, though probably made locally, indicate the influence of a non-indigenous practice.

Objects of Household Use.

This category is not represented by a variety of objects. The only objects deserving attention are the terracotta lamps.

Lamps.

Nevasa has been the only site, so far, in the Deccan to have yielded lamps of the first millenium B.C. These are mostly oval shaped, flat based specimens with a wick-channel in the centre and a projection for the wick. Because of raised edges of the periphery, oil could remain over the wick in the channel. As these were flat-based, they could be kept without any support or stand.

A variety of the same period and of the same general pattern showed the provision of the loop-hole over the wick channel. Such lamps could be held more comfortably and carried elsewhere

as compared to the former category which had to be kept on the palm of the hand. It may be noted that similar lamps in terracotta or any other material are not met with in the Indus Valley or any other Chalcolithic site so far.

The pattern of terracotta lamps of the early historic period at Nevasa remained unchanged, while those of the 1st/3rd centuries A.D. show that they were mere bowls with pinched projection. (For metal lamps, see sections on Metallurgy and Metal Objects).

Objects of Ritual Use.

The votive tanks which are reported from a number of sites in the Gangetic valley, occur, so far, at Nevasa and Sopara in the Indo-Roman period or the 1st to 3rd century A.D.

These are either square or rectangular in plan with high walls, rounded corners with small lamps on them. In one corner of the interior are small steps. The other category consists of bowls with thin walls and thick top with fingertip depressions.

Votive tanks first occur at Taxila and are supposed to have been introduced by the Parthians. This practice got elaborated with the addition of a terracotta goddess kept inside the tank. A similar practice of worshipping such a goddess is still current in Bengal, where young maidens worship it.

Objects of Structural Use.

Tiles which were used for roofing structures have been found on a large scale at early and late Satavahana sites in the Deccan such as Nasik, Nevasa, Kolhapur, Ter, Paithan, Karhad and Prakase.

Tiles

These are rectangular pieces with grooved upper surface. The under-surface has a groove along the length of the edge. This is fitted in the ridge of the adjoining tile. The tile was further secured in position by means of two iron nails inserted through the perforations of the tile, into the wooden rafters below.

At most of these sites lumps of tiles stuck together in firing were found. This indicated the existence of local industry.

Objects of Toilet.

Besides the figurines, toys and masks, terracotta accounted for some objects of toilet as well. These consist of skin-rubbers and combs.

Skin-Rubbers.

Skin-rubbers of terracotta emanate from the Chalcolithic levels at Nevasa datable to the first millenium B.C. These are either punctured cakes, or oval with one surface punctured and the other having a pinched hold, or circular pieces with roughened surfaces by means of fine silica.

The skin-rubbers of the early historic period at Nasik are mostly rectangular pieces with either sandy or punctured surfaces. Sometimes, instead of pores, disciplined incisions like chevrons, etc., were executed. Along with these, Nasik and Karhad have given planoconvex hollow pieces resembling the half cut mango seed. It may be incidentally noted that the latter are even now used in rural Maharashtra for cleaning the shaven head.

These specimens continue even in the early centuries of the Christian era along with circular discs with roughened surfaces and pumice stones.

Coming to the late mediaeval period, one finds skin-rubbers of metal (brass) with an elaborate decoration, especially in the Pesva regime (called 'vajri' then). However, the occurrence of some of the terracotta specimens described above along with the metal ones indicates the possibility of the former being used by the poorer classes of the society.

Combs.

The antiquity of combs goes back to first millenium B.C. when combs with stumpy teeth and rectangular body and made of terracotta were in use, as the evidence from Bahal shows. These seem to have been fashioned out of potsherds with painting in black.

No terracotta combs have been reported in any succeeding period. In the early historic period, combs were made of ivory and bone as at Nevasa and Prakase, while in the late mediaeval period, wood was preferred. In the former the teeth are long and body of elongated triangular shape, while the late mediaeval combs have stumpy teeth and biconvex section.

Ornaments.

Terracotta ornaments are rare and restrict themselves to bangles and ear-reels. This is because of the brittleness of the material coupled with its low esteem in the society.

Bangles.

The bangles of terracotta are reported from Nevasa and Ter from the early historic to the late mediaeval period. These are either plain or having impressed rope pattern in relief. Terracotta bangles went out of vogue when exquisite polychrome bangles of glass came into use round about the 14th Century A.D.

Ear-Reels.

Plain pulley-shaped discs with a groove around the circumference and fashioned out of semi-precious stones, shell and glass were in vogue from early historic times in Maharashtra. Ajantha paintings in Cave Nos. VI and XVII also depict such discs worn in the ear-lobes. However, terracotta ear-reels are reported from Nevasa in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Elaborate, highly polished reels of agate, crystal and glass are reported from Bahal and Nasik, while gold-leaf coated discs are reported from sites in Saurashtra. Similar reels are even now used by tribes in South India.

OBJECTS OF BONE AND IVORY.

Bone and ivory account for a limited range of objects as probably both these were not available readily in the interior regions of Maharashtra.

Bone.

Antimony Rods.

Bone seems to have been used for antimony rods in the early historic period. Whereas the Chalcolithic people had such type of objects made of copper-rods with bulbous or tapering ends, the early historic specimens are mostly slender rods of bone with one end tapered to a point. The other end is either truncated and flat or having an ornamental elongated bulb. The former type bears different incised ornamentation such as grooves or hatched lines. Caskets of steatite, found along with antimony rods of bone which

are reported from almost all the excavated sites of Maharashtra and elsewhere, might indicate their use as coilyrium caskets. (See the sections on Metal and Glass objects).

Besides antimony-rods, bone was utilised for making finger rings and pendants and beads as well. However, the material is very meagre for a general study.

Ring and Pendants.

The excavations at Nasik brought to light a collection of thousands of bone objects which have been commonly designated now as Bone

Bone Points.

Points. At Nasik they were assigned to the 3rd century B.C., but have been recently reported from a number of sites in and outside Maharashtra. They occur from the Chalcolithic period onwards and their possible use is yet uncertain. These are biconical, curved or flaked pieces, some having grooved points. It is likely that these were used either as stylus or as arrowheads as the Ujjain evidence shows.

Ivory.

As compared to bone, the objects of ivory are rare, restricting, as they do, to bangles, rings and dice. Thus ivory seems to have been used only for ornamental objects, which occur more or less in the early historical and mediaeval period.

Bangles and Rings.

Ivory bangles have been reported from early historical period. However, the presence of a bangle and ring-making industry on some scale has been attested to by Nevasa where ivory cylinders marked with bangle outlines have been recovered in great numbers in the mediaeval deposits.

The bangles are either plain or decorated, the latter showing designs of slanting lines, circles and wavy lines.

The technique of making such bangles seems to have involved the use of marked cylinders rotated on a lathe and the cutting off of the bangle rings.

Dice.

Pieces of ivory square cylindrical in shape and incised circles one to four serially on each face occur for the first time in the early historical period. They are reported from outside Maharashtra in deposits of the same period pointing to the standardised pattern of this type of recreation.

SHELL-OBJECTS.

Shell was used mostly for ornamental objects like bangles, rings and ear-studs from the Chalcolithic period onwards. Especially, shell bangles have a long survival.

Bangles.

Shell bangles have been reported from Nasik, Prakase, Nevasa, Diamabad, Bahal, Kolhapiir, Ter and Paithan. Of these only at Nevasa they occur in the first millenium B.C. levels and are plain pieces with biconvex section. Plain bangles continue even in the early historic levels.

The decorated specimens appear in the late Satavahana period as the evidence from Nevasa, Nasik and Kolhapiir shows. The decorations comprise incised lines, segments, rope pattern, panels and the heart-shaped knob in relief.

Unlike bangles, shell rings occur from the early historical period onwards as the evidence at present stands. These are mostly plain specimens with only a few having linear incisions as decorations. (See under 'Glass Objects').

Rings.

Ear-Studs.

Pulley-shaped ear-reels also occur in shell as in terracotta and glass (See under 'Terracotta Objects' and 'Glass Objects').

Though all these are more or less contemporary, those in shell mostly belong to the late Satavahana period. Ear-studs of this period are more elaborate, as for instance those having a floral pattern on the facing side. It is possible that these were fixed in ear-lobes or were fixed by means of a projecting metal pin.

Nasik has yielded a big shell with copper revetments at two points opposite each other on the periphery. Belonging to the early Satavahana period, it compares favourably with a type of ornament put over the hair of the head as shown in a fresco at Ajantha.

OBJECTS OF STONE.

Stone was utilised in making objects mostly of household use like querns, mullers, mortars, dabbers etc., and images and plaques. Most of the former are made of locally available trap stone, while the latter are of softer varieties of stones like the slate stone.

Querns.

The querns fall into three categories, viz., saddle querns, legged querns and rotary querns.

Saddle Querns.

Saddle querns go back to the Chalcolithic period as at Nevasa. These are flat based rectangular pieces with slightly concave upper surface. The use of such querns with the help of cylindrical mullers turned out a paste of grain. For facilitating easier use, it is likely that the Chalcolithic people might have been soaking grain in water overnight. The paste of such soaked corn should be expected to give a rough bread.

Legged Querns.

In about the 4th/3rd century B.C. there seems to have been a further advance in the saddle querns. The shape remained the same as in the Chalcolithic period, but four short legs, one each at the four corners, were added. Besides this, one of the short breadthwise side was projected so as to cover the dish placed below it so that the pounded material fell right into it. Sometimes the quern bore Buddhist symbols like the *triratna* and *svastika* showing the religious affinities of the user. Such legged querns have a wide regional distribution throughout India and a similar specimen is depicted at Ajantha.

The legged querns are not to be found from the mid-Gupta period onwards. In the mediaeval (Kolhapur, Nasik, Karhad and Nevasa) and modern periods flat based querns again come into use.

Rotary Querns.

The saddle querns, as seen above, turned out a rough paste of pounded grains. However, for finer flour, rotary querns were needed. No rotary querns, however, are reported from any site in

Maharashtra or elsewhere, till about the beginning of the Christian era. Nevasa has been the first site in Maharashtra which has given rotary querns in the 1st century B.C. to 3rd century A.D. levels. These are not like the modern rotary querns in as much as the upper stone is very heavy, concave-sided and having a *damaru-like* perforation through which grain was poured in. Along with this, the upper stone has also two perforations one opposite the other in the upper part of the sides through which a long wooden bar was inserted horizontally for giving rotary motion. The lower stone was short and rather plano-convex, being at the bottom. The upper part of this stone had an iron pin in the centre around which the upper stone was placed.

Similar querns have been reported from the Mediterranean and English sites in about the first century B.C. when such rotary mills were worked with the help of animals yoked to the horizontal bar. It is significant to note that this and a couple of succeeding centuries saw the development of foreign—Indo-Roman—contacts with Deccan area.

Thus along with other relics of such a contact as evidenced in votive tank, bullie, iron utensils etc., the rotary quern also is the outcome of Indo-Roman cultural contacts.

Gradually, however, the height and consequently the weight of the upper stone lessened, and a wooden peg came to be fixed in a shallow hole at a point near the edge of the upper circular stone. The width of the mouth through which grain was poured in was also lessened, and the mouth ringed. That is how the modern rotary quern has come to be.

Mortars.

Mortars of trap stone are reported so far from Kolhapur and Nevasa in the late mediaeval period. At the former site, mortars of Silahara period have a square surface and a tapering base. The Bahamam specimens show both a rounded and a flat bottom. It may be noted that those with a rounded bottom have to be fixed in the floor as they cannot rest independently.

At present mortars fixed in the floor as well as those with a pedestal base are in use.

Plaques and Images.

Besides the querns and mortars, plaques and images are also reported mostly in sandstone or slate stone. These, however, are mostly late mediaeval or might even be recent in date, and comprise crudely executed Ganesa plaques, lingas and Nandi images. These are reported so far from Nasik, Kolhapur and Nevasa.

CHAPTER 2

SATAVAHANA EMPIRE AND ITS FEUDATORIES*

INTRODUCTION.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SATAVAHANA EMPIRE IN C. 220 B.C. is an important mile-stone in the history of the Deccan. The Ramayana refers to the depredations of Ravana in the Dandakaranya of the Deccan and Rama's conquest of Lanka or Ceylon. But these events belong to the realm of legend and not of history. The Bhojas, apparently belonging to modern Berar, are referred to in the later Vedic literature, but we know nothing of their history. Panini hardly evinces any knowledge of the society and cities of the Deccan. Asoka's records mention the kingdoms of the Andhras, Colas, Ceras and Pandyas, and also refer to the Rathikas, the Bhojas and the Petenikas who were ruling as feudatories in the northern Deccan, but we can hardly reconstruct their history in the pre-Satavahana period. Connected history of the Deccan begins with the foundation of the Satavahana empire.

Before the foundation of the Satavahana empire, the Deccan was covered with a large number of petty kingdoms, which were often at war with one another. The Satavahanas for the first time wielded the Deccan into a powerful State and gave a cohesion and integrity to its history. The Deccan prospered immensely under their strong rule. At a time when northern India was suffering from a series of invasions by foreign powers like the Bactrians, the Sakas, the Parthians and the Kusanas, the Deccan was enjoying relative peace. Among the foreigners, the Sakas eventually succeeded in establishing a base at Ujjayini, from which they proceeded to attack the Deccan. For a time the Satavahanas had to give way and portions of Konkan and Northern Maharashtra were lost to them. But very soon the Satavahanas drove out the foreigners from the Deccan and restored freedom to the conquered provinces. The role of the Satavahanas in this connection is comparable to that of the Vijayanagar empire in later times.

The invasions of the Deccan by northern powers are more frequent in Indian history than the invasions of Northern India by Deccan powers. The latter process was first started by the Satavahanas.

¹ This Chapter is contributed by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt. Some notes based on later research have been contributed by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, M. A., D. Litt.

There is no doubt that they were holding Malva. and Jabalpur area for several decades. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that they had penetrated into the Gangetic plain and it appears probable that they had occupied for some time even Pataliputra, the imperial capital of northern India.

Trade and industry prospered in the Deccan under the Satavahanas. Economic life was given a cohesion by the guild organisation which had permeated almost every profession. Banking was highly developed and a number of western ports were carrying on a rich trade with Rome and Western Asian countries. Eastern ports were taking keen interest in founding Indian colonies in Insular India and carrying on a lucrative trade with them.

The Satavahanas were orthodox Brahmanas, but Buddhism prospered under them both in western India and Andhra country. Remarkable impetus was given to sculpture and architecture under their aegis. Nagarjuna and Gunadhya, who are important personalities in philosophy and literature, were associated with their court. Prakrt literature received great encouragement at their court. The importance of the Satavahana period in the history of the Deccan cannot be exaggerated.

DIFFICULTIES IN RECONSTRUCTING SATAVAHANA HISTORY.

In spite of the researches in ancient Indian history extending over more than a century, it is not yet possible to give a connected and complete history of the earliest and the biggest empire of the Deccan, the empire of the Satavahanas. They have not left us many monuments, and literary references to the rulers of the dynasty are few and far between. Archaeological explorations and excavations have not yet been systematically and extensively carried out in the heart of the dominion, once ruled over by them. Puranas give us the names and reign-periods of the different rulers of the dynasty. But the information they give is scanty and often self-contradictory. Thus some Puranas state that there were only 18 kings in the dynasty, while others aver that their number was 30. According to one tradition they ruled only for 300 years; according to another, they were in power for more than 450 years. Even the number of the kings in the dynasty does not give an approximate idea of the duration of their rule. It is argued by some scholars that the longer list of 30 kings is formed by including the members of subordinate branches of the main dynasty. Others hold that the father and the son were ruling together during a pretty long period of the history of the dynasty and the longer period of 460 years of the duration of its rule is made by adding together the years of the contemporary reigns of the father and the son ¹.

Epigraphical and numismatic data for reconstructing the history of the dynasty is no doubt considerable. It is much more copious than that available for the history of the Sungas and the Kanvas.

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar had first advanced this view in the first edition of the present work ; B. C. I, ii, 165.

But unfortunately both these data fail us during a long stretch of about 140 years when kings No. 10 to 22 of the longer Puranic list, from Svati to Cakora Satakarni, were ruling. Epigraphical and numismatic data are often dubious and inconclusive and lead themselves to diverse interpretation.

Chronology and geography are rightly stated to be the two eyes of history; neither of them however enables us to get a clear glimpse of the Satavahana history. There are wide differences among scholars both about the time when the Satavahanas rose to power, as also about their original home. One school holds that the Satavahanas established their power in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C.; the other opines that they began to rule in the second quarter of the first century B. C. One school holds that their home was somewhere in Andhra country or Telahgana ; the other holds that it lay somewhere in Maharastra, either in Western India or near Pratisthana, their traditional capital. It will be convenient to settle these controversial points before we proceed to give an account of the history of the dynasty.

WHEN DID THE DYNASTY BEGIN ITS CAREER?

In the first edition of this work, R. G. Bhandarkar had advanced the view that the rise of the Satavahana power should be placed during the second quarter of the first century B. C.¹ This view has been subsequently accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar², H. C. Roy Chaudhuri³ and D. C. Sircar⁴. The arguments in favour of this view are not without weight. (1) The most cogent evidence in support of this theory is the unanimous statement of the Puranas that Simuka, the first Andhra (i.e. Satavahana king), will rise to power after overthrowing the last Kanva ruler Susarman and destroying what remained of the Sunga power⁵. It is generally assumed that the Sungas ruled from c. 187 to 75 B. C. and the Kanvas from c. 75 to 30 B. C. It is therefore maintained by this school that the rise of Simuka, the founder of the Satavahana dynasty, should be placed in the third quarter of the first century B.C.

(2) This would lead to the conclusion that the dynasty ruled for about two and a half centuries only; we can now well understand why one Puranic tradition asserts in round number that the rule of the Satavahanas lasted for three centuries only.

(3) Normally speaking about 17 or 18 kings only can flourish during this period, and we can now well understand why one Puranic tradition enumerates 18 Andhra kings only.

(4) If we assume that the Satavahana dynasty consisted of about thirty kings who ruled for about 450 years, we have to assume a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and later Satavahana kings, known to us from inscriptions and coins. This gap disappears almost altogether if we place the rise of Simuka in c. 30 B.C.

(5) R. P. Chanda has drawn attention to the palaeographical difficulties in accepting the theory that Satakarni, the 3rd Satavahana

¹ B. G., I. ii, 166,

² I. A, 1918, p. 71,

³ p. H. A. L, p. 337,

⁴ S. I., p. 183,

⁵ *Kanvayanams tato bhrtyah Susarmanah prasahya tam | Sunganam c-aiva yoc chesam ksapayitva baliyasah | Sisuko-ndhrah sa-jatiyah prapsyat-imam vasundharam ||*

ruler known to us from his Naneghat record, flourished in c. 175 B.C. He points out that palaeographically the Naneghat inscription of Satakarni comes midway between the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (c. 100 B.C.) and the Hathigurhpha inscription of Kharavela (c. 25 B.C.)¹ ; this would place the 3rd Satavahana king by the middle of the 1st century B. C. and not of the 2nd century B. C.

(6) Marshall has further pointed out that plastic and architectural considerations show that the Caitya Hall at Nasik does not belong to the middle of the 2nd century B.C. but is about 100 years later. The form of the entrance door-way, the lotus design on the face of its jambs, the miniature Persipolitan pilasters, the rails of the balustrade flanking the steps and the treatment of the *dvarapala* (door-keeper) figures besides the entrance, all bespeak the date approximately contemporary with the Sanci *Toranas* (gateways) i.e. c. 50 B.C.

The above arguments are no doubt weighty, but they are not strong enough to establish the case they seek to support. It may be pointed out that if we assume that Simuka rose to power after overthrowing the last Kanva king Susarman and subduing what remained of the Suhga power, his rise has to be placed in c. 30 B.C. It is admitted on all hands that the Satavahana dynasty ended in c. 210 A.D. The duration of the dynasty would then be of only 240 or 250 years and not of 300 years. The Puranic tradition of the Andhra rule extending over 300 years therefore does not support this school and the argument No. 2 above fails.

As to argument No. 4 above, it is no doubt true that there is a big gap of about 150 years between the earlier and the later Satavahana kings as known from the Puranas. But we need not therefore dismiss them as purely imaginary. The last seven Suhga kings are not known from any inscriptions or coins. Do we dismiss them as imaginary ? For a long time not a single one among the nine Magha kings of Kausambi was known from their coins or inscriptions. Now, however, the existence of most of them is proved by epigraphical or numismatic evidence. Archaeological sites of the Satavahana period of both the States of Andhra and Maharashtra, over which the Satavahanas ruled, are not yet properly explored ; it is therefore too early to say that the rulers between Satakarni II and Gautamiputra Satakarni were all imaginary. Recent numismatic discoveries have proved the existence of four Satavahana rulers not known to the Puranas, Kumbha Satakarni, Karna Satakarni, Saka Satakarni and Kosikiputra Satakarni. It would therefore be hazardous to say that the Puranas exaggerate the number of the Satavahana kings when they give it as 30. It is quite likely that the existence of many of the Puranic kings would be proved in course of time by further archaeological, epigraphical and numismatic discoveries. It is therefore hardly sound to assume, as is done in argument No. 3 above, that there were only 18 kings in the dynasty and therefore it could not have ruled for 450 years.

¹ M. A. S. B., I, pp. 14-15.

If we assume that the Satavahanas rose to power in the Deccan by c. 50 B.C., there arises a vacuum of more than a century which cannot be explained. The Maurya empire which included the State of Maharashtra, collapsed by c. 200 B.C. This region was not completely integrated in the empire; a number of Rathikas, Bhojas and Ptenikas ruled in them in a feudatory capacity, enjoying considerable autonomy. It is therefore rather difficult to assume that no movement for the establishment of an independent state arose among them, when the Mauryan empire began to show signs of weakness. If we assume that Simuka rose to power in c. 50 B.C., we have to assume that no ruler arose to take advantage of the confusion resulting from the collapse of the Mauryan empire for about a century and a half. This is rather inexplicable. We are not faced with this difficulty if we place the rise of Simuka towards the end of the third century B. C. The span of the dynasty can then exceed four centuries, as is suggested by the Puranas. We can also well understand how the number of kings, who ruled during this period, should be about 30 and not 18.

As to argument No. 1 above, it is true that the statement of the Puranas that Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, rose to power after overthrowing the last Kanva king Susarman, no doubt tends to support the theory of the rise of the Satavahanas by c. 30 B.C. If we assume this statement to be literally true, it goes against the assertion of the Puranas that the Andhras (i.e. Satavahanas) ruled for three centuries. The duration of the dynasty would be of only 240 years, a view which is not supported by any Puranic tradition. We have therefore to explain the Puranic tradition in some other way. There is sufficient evidence to show that the Satavahanas extended their power to Malva by the middle of the 1st century B.C. It is quite possible that they may have come into conflict with the last Kanva king at this time, as also with some sons of the Sunga family, who may have been ruling as petty feudatories in or near Malva, which was probably their ancestral home. The Puranic tradition probably confused the overthrower of Susarman with the founder of the Satavahana dynasty and ascribed him that feat, thus making him live by the middle of the 1st century B.C. A verse in the *Bhavisya Purana* says that the base-born Andhra king will rule only for a short time after killing Susarman.¹ This would suggest that the Andhra intervention at Pataliputra was of a short duration. The keepers of the Puranic tradition, who belonged to Madhyadesa, did not know much about the Andhra interloper and therefore confounded him with the founder of the dynasty, when they later got its full list in the 4th century A.D., at the time the Puranas were given their present form.

We should further note that the statement of the Puranic tradition that Simuka, the founder of the Andhra (Satavahana) dynasty overthrew the last Kanva king, is inherently difficult to believe. How can the founder of a new house at distant Pratisthana or Paithan

¹ *Hatva Kanvam Susarmanam tad-bhrtyo vrsalo ball | Gam bhoksyaty Andhra-jatiyah kancit-kalam a-sattamah ||*

grow suddenly so powerful as to overthrow the imperial dynasty of northern India ruling at far-off Pataliputra ? The Calukyas defeated Harsa, the Suzerain of northern India, but during the reign of Pulakesin II, the 4th ruler of their house. The Rastrakutas shattered their rivals in northern India, but during the rule of Dhruva and Govinda III, the 4th and 5th rulers of their dynasty. The Marathas could bring the Moghals of northern India under their control, but only a century after the rise of their power under Sivaji. Logic of history thus favours our hypothesis that not Simuka, the founder of the dynasty, but a descendant of his succeeded in defeating the last Kanva ruler sometime in c. 30 B.C. This ruler was probably confounded with the founder of the dynasty, when the Puranic accounts were given their final form in the 4th century A.D.

We shall now consider other arguments advanced in support of the theory of Simuka being a ruler of the middle of the first century B.C. The Palaeographical argument (No. 5 above) of Chanda is not quite convincing. He argues that the script of the Naneghat inscription places it in c. 50 BC, showing that that was the time of the third Satavahana king. He maintains that the script of this inscription is later than that of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus (c. 100 B.C.) and earlier than the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela (c. 25 B.C.)¹ To compare the palaeographical developments in such widely separated provinces as Orissa, Malva and Konkan and to conclude that a particular script in one province is earlier than that in another by 50 years or so is rather hazardous with reference to an age when communications were very difficult. Palaeographical evidence is not sufficiently decisive when the difference in time is only about a century and records concerned belong to places widely separated from one another by hundreds of miles.

Stray occurrence of advanced or archaic forms is too slight an evidence to determine precisely the date of a record when the difference between the two views is of less than a century. There is no doubt that the relievo statues at Naneghat were raised at one and the same time. Bhagwanlal has however pointed out how² the palaeography of the inscriptions over the first and last statues shows archaic characteristics like those in the inscription of Krsna, and how the inscriptions over the 2nd and the 3rd statues show palaeographical affinity with that of the records of Gautamiputra Satakarni and Vasisthiputra Pulumavi. We cannot therefore make much of the palaeographical peculiarities, when the difference is of less than a century.

Argument No. 6 above, trying to fix the date of the dynasty by the architectural forms at Nasik caves is also not convincing. Marshall has no doubt pointed out how the Satavahana Caitya hall at Nasik has to be placed by the middle of the 1st century A.D. and not by the middle of the first century B.C. Even if we assume his view to

¹ M. A. S. B., I, pp. 14-15.

² *Nasik Gazetteer* (first ed.), pp. 607 ff.

be correct, it does not follow that the rise of the Satavahana power took place in c. 50 B.C. Mahahakusiri, the grandfather of the donor of the hall, is certainly not identical with the prince Hakusiri who was a son or grandson of the third Satavahana king. The record gives no regal titles to him, while it carefully records the official titles of a number of other personages mentioned in it, who are described as *rajamatya*, *bhandagarika*, etc. It is clear that Hakusiri was not even a minister, much less a king. We cannot, therefore, identify him with prince Hakusiri, who flourished in the 2nd century B.C. Palaeographically the record of Hakusiri is quite late and we can well accept Marshall's theory of the Caitya hall being excavated in c. 50 B.C., without drawing the corollary that the Satavahanas rose to power at about the time the hall was excavated, viz., c. 50 B.C.

It may be pointed out that the date of Kharavela is not inextricably connected with the rise of the Satavahanas. We can well place the Kalinga king in the 1st century B.C., and still hold the view that the Satavahana empire was founded in c. 200 B.C. by assuming that the Satakarni, who is mentioned as the opponent of Kharavela in that record, was not the third but the sixth ruler of the dynasty. We definitely know that a number of Rathikas and Bhojakas continued as the feudatories of the Satavahanas, as they once were the subordinates of the Mauryas. Kharavela could well have defeated some of them by the middle of the 1st century B.C. also.

Nasik inscription of Krsna, the second Satavahana king, refers to *Samana mahamdtras*. This close imitation of a peculiar feature of the Asokan administration would suggest that Krsna and Asoka were not far removed in time from each other. This circumstance lends additional weight to the view that the 2nd Satavahana king flourished in c. 200 B.C., rather than in c. 50 B.C.

In our opinion Hathigurhpha inscription supplies fairly conclusive evidence to show that Kharavela ruled in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. It is true that we can no longer maintain the view that the record contains a date described as 164th year of the Mauryakala or Mauryan era. Rapson's argument that this year in the Mauryan era shows that Kharavela flourished in c. 165 B.C., does no longer hold good. It seems very probable that there is reference to the Greek king Dima in line 8 of the Hathigumpha inscription; this ruler can be no other than Demetrius I or II. The time of Kharavela would thus be c. 185-165 B.C. That would be the time of his Satavahana opponent king Satakarni. We shall show later how the probable time of this ruler is c. 189-179 B.C.; and how the two earlier kings ruled from c. 222 to c. 189 B.C.

A critical discussion of the available evidence thus shows that the Satavahanas rose to power in the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C., soon after the death of Asoka. If we place the accession of Simuka in c. 220 B.C., we can explain satisfactorily all known facts of contemporary history. We have therefore accepted this date for the rise of this dynasty as a working hypothesis.

If the Satavahana dynasty consisted of about 30 kings who ruled for about 450 years, the question may be asked as to how one section of the Puranas happens to record a tradition stating that there were only about 18 or 19 kings of the House, who ruled for 300 years only. The answer is not easy to give. It, however, appears very probable that this Puranic tradition notices the duration of the dynasty subsequent to the fall of the Kanvas. Smith has pointed out how the duration of the dynasty works out to be 300 years if we deduct from 457 years, the real rule-period of the House according to one Puranic tradition, the sum of 157 years, which is the sum of the rule-periods of the Sungas (112 years) and the Kanvas (45 years). The Satavahana rule was of a short duration in the north and therefore the full details of its list of rulers were not known to all the custodians of the Puranic tradition. Some Puranas accepted the entire list and gave the dynasty a duration of 457 years. Others deducted from this period 157 years, the reign periods of the Sungas and Kanvas, and assigned a rule of only 300 years for the house. They naturally had to knock out some kings from the list and they omitted about ten names in the middle. Smith's hypothesis is an ingenious and probable one and better explains the tradition of 300 years' rule of the dynasty than the theory which places the rise of the house in c. 27 B.C. For according to this view, the duration of the dynasty extends over 240 years only.

HOME OF THE SATAVAHANAS.

The home of the Satavahana dynasty is still not definitely known. Since the Puranas unanimously describe the dynasty as Andhra, it was for a long time assumed that its original name was Andhra and early scholars like Bhandarkar, Smith and Rapson¹ naturally proceeded to locate its home in the Krsna-Godavari delta, the headquarters of modern Andhradesa. The Sunahsepa story in the *Aitareya Brahmana* shows that the Andhras were originally living on the outskirts of the Aryan settlements. Their association with the Pulindas would suggest that they were somewhere near the Vindhya from where they seem to have spread to the mouths of the Krsna and the Godavari. Jataka No. 3 mentions Andhrapura or the city or capital of the Andhras as situated on the Telavaha river flowing on the border of Madhyapradesa and Madras States. The Krsna-Godavari doab is the centre of Andhradesa since c. 350 B.C. The Andhra Kingdom was a powerful one even before the rise of the Mauryas; it had 32 big towns and a standing army of 1,00,000 of infantry and 1,000 elephants. Rock edict 13 of Asoka shows that the Andhras enjoyed semi-independence under that emperor. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in their establishing an independent kingdom after the death of that monarch. The original nucleus of this kingdom was in the Krsna-Godavari delta. From there the dynasty extended its sway to Maharashtra and Western India after subduing the numerous Bhoja, Rathika and Petenika chiefs who were ruling there with a view to found a solid empire in the Deccan which could serve as a bulwark against any future invasion from the north.

¹ B.G. (first ed.), I,ii; Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 657; C.C.A., p. xvi.

The theory of Andhradesa being the home of the dynasty is no doubt the earliest one in the field, but it appears to be untenable now. That the Puranic appellation can hardly have any significance about the early home of the dynasty becomes fairly certain when we remember how the early kings of the house describe themselves always as Satavahanas and never as Andhras¹. Smith's view that Srikakulam in Andhradesa was the capital of the early Satavahanas is based upon a passage in the *Trilinganusasanam*, which is now proved to be a late work composed even later than the 11th century. The statement in this work that Andhra Visnu, the son of the first Andhra king Sucandra, was a patron of the first Telugu grammarian Kanva, can have no historical value. It has to be remembered that neither Puranas nor inscriptions attest to the existence of kings Visnu and Sucandra in the Satavahana dynasty. It is therefore futile to argue that they were ruling at Srikakulam in Andhradesa.

R. G. Bhandarkar held that Nasik inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 showed that Gautamiputra Satakarni was the lord of Dhanakata. He derived Dhanakata from Dhannakataka of Amravati inscriptions and identified it with Dharnikota in Andhradesa. Even if we assume Bhandarkar's view to be correct, the Nasik inscriptions will only show that in the days of Gautamiputra Satakarni, in c. 100 A.D., Dharnikota in Andhradesa had become a secondary capital of the Satavahana empire; it cannot prove that it enjoyed this honour in the 3rd century B.C. It may however be pointed out that the reading *Dhanakata-sami* has been recently challenged. At this time the letters *dha* and *ha* were similar, and it has therefore been suggested that the reading is *Benakata-sami* and not *Dhanakata-sami* [Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 19.]. Gautamiputra would thus become the lord of the banks of the Bena which may be either Wainganga of Vidarbha or Krsna-Vena of Maharashtra.

In the Stupa at Amravati, we have discovered several votive Buddhist records belonging to the second and first centuries B.C. None of them refers to any contemporary Satavahana ruler or his officers. This is rather significant; for the second Satavahana ruler Krsna, is known to have appointed a special officer (Mahamatra) to look after the Buddhist Sramanas. It is clear that Buddhism received State patronage and it is therefore strange that if Amravati in Andhradesa was really included in the Satavahana empire, no votive records at the place belonging to the pre-Christian period, should have referred to Satavahana rulers or their officers. The only Satavahana kings figuring in the Amravati Stupa records are Vasisthiputra Sri Pulumavi and Sri-sivamaka Sata, who flourished in the 2nd century A.D. That the Amravati records should refer to only these two late

¹ In the Naneghat inscriptions, Simuka calls himself a Satavahana and not an Andhra. It is possible to argue that the inscriptions give the family name of the dynasty whereas the Puranas give its ethnic or territorial name. This argument fails to carry conviction. If they were Andhras, they should have given this name at least in some of their numerous records.

rulers of the dynasty and should be silent about their early predecessors would show that the latter did not rule over the Krsna-Godavari doab. This latter could not therefore have been their home.

There is fairly conclusive evidence to show that at about 200 B.C., the Satavahanas were not ruling in Andhradesa. The Bhatti-prolu inscription, which by general consent is placed a few decades after Asoka, refers to a king named Kubiraka as ruling in the locality¹. It is clear that he did not belong to the Satavahana family. King Kharavela, who flourished from c. 185 to 165 B.C. as shown already, refers to his destruction of the city of Pithunda in the 11th year of his reign and to the consequent break up of the confederacy in Tramira (Dravida) country. Pithunda of the Hathigurhpha inscription is obviously identical with Pithunda of Ptolemy, which has been located in the Krsna-Godavari doab. No opposition of the Satavahanas is mentioned in connection with the destruction of Pithunda, as it is in connection with another expedition sent to the west in the second year of the reign. It is thus clear that the Satavahanas had not established themselves in Andhradesa by c. 200 B.C. It could not therefore have been their home.

Negative evidence is not generally conclusive, but when it becomes many sided, it cannot be ignored. All early Satavahana records have been found only in Western India. Why should not some of them at least have been found at Amravati, which has many records going back to the second and first centuries B.C. ? Most of the coins of the early Satavahana rulers come from Western India or Malva; hardly any hail from Andhradesa. One coin of a very early king named Satavahana has been found at Warrangal, but two other coins of this ruler were picked up, one in the heart of former Hyderabad State and the second at Poona. The evidence of the find-spot becomes conclusive only when a large number of coins have been found at an ancient site, and not otherwise. Rapson has no doubt attributed a large lead coin found in the Godavari district and weighing 559.5 grains, to an early ruler of this dynasty. The legend on this coins is extremely fragmentary and therefore we cannot attribute it with confidence to any particular ruler. It may be also doubted as to whether it is a Satavahana coin at all.

On the strength of the use of the early form of *da* opening to left, Rapson assigns one coin bearing the fragmentary legend *gha Sadasa* to Meghasvati, the 9th king of the dynasty and another to Madhari-putra Sakasena of the Kanheri inscription². Even if we accept these attributions, they will only show that Andhra province was under the Satavahana rule in the first century B.C., as is clear from other evidence as well. They cannot prove that, that province was the home of the dynasty and the starting point of its expansion in c. 200 B.C. It is indeed strange that if Andhra province was the home of the dynasty, only one coin of an early ruler should have been found in it. The earliest rulers whose coins are found in the Andhra country is

¹ Cf. *Sagathinigamaputanam rajapamukhanam Kubirako raja E.I.*, I, p. 328.

² C.C.A., p. 10; p. 28.

Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, who flourished in c. 120 A.D. It is interesting to note that most of the big hoards of the Satavahana coins have been found in Maharashtra in districts like Canda, Akola and Nasik. None has been found in Andhra country.

If Andhradesa was the home of the Satavahanas, it is indeed strange that the early rulers of the dynasty like Simuka, Krsna and Satakarni I should have selected no place in their home province to inscribe records commemorating their glorious achievements; instead we find them selecting a far off and out of the way place like Naneghat in Western India to place their statues and inscribe their records commemorating great sacrifices and conquests. We have only three or four Satavahana records found in Andhra country, and these too belong to the rulers of the 2nd century A.D. This fact can hardly support the Andhra origin of the Satavahanas.

It has been recently argued that the inscriptions of the first three rulers are found in Western India, not because that was near their home, but because they had to shift their head-quarters to the west to counteract foreign invasions¹. The first invasion of the Greco-Bactrian rulers took place not earlier than c. 180 B.C.; and it had not threatened the Deccan in the least. It is therefore difficult to understand why Simuka and Krsna should have shifted their head-quarters to Nasik and Thana districts as early as 200 B.C., if the aim was to make better preparations to thwart the Greek attack. Generally most of the northern invaders used to make Ajmer their base of attack and penetrate into the Deccan by crossing the Vindhya and the Narmada near Housangabad. If Simuka and Krsna wanted to thwart an invasion from the north, they should have shifted their head-quarters to Itarasi-Barhanpur area, and not to Nasik or Thana district.

Dr. V. S. Sukhtankar has advanced the theory that the home of the Satavahanas should be located in Bellary district, where a Satavahana record was discovered at Myakadoni, recording the construction of a tank in the reign of Sri Pulumavi². This record describes the tank as situated in Satavahani-hara and it is possible to argue that the Bellary district happened to be so called because it was the original *ahara* or district of the Satavahanas. This argument considered by itself, is not without some force. But we have to note that hardly any early Satavahana antiquities like coins and inscriptions have been found in Bellary district or its neighbourhood. And it is quite possible to explain the origin of the term Satavahani-hara for Bellary by another assumption. The inscription refers itself to the

¹ Dr. Ram Rao has advocated this view in *Satavahana Commemoration* Volume, pp. 22, 37. On p. 56, he states that invasion of Saurashtra by Salisuka and the capture of Ayodhya and Pataliputra by Antiochus were responsible for Simuka fixing his head-quarters in Western India. The power which had occupied Pataliputra could be better thwarted by shifting the headquarters to Jabalpur than to Nasik district. Saisuka's invasion of Saurashtra is hardly a historical event. It may be passingy stated that not Antiochus but Demetrios or Menander had occupied the Gangetic plain and Pataliputra.

² E.7.; XIV, pp. 151- ff, Hirahadagalli plates of Sivaskandavarman issued in c. 250 A.D. also refer to Bellary district as Satavahani-rattha.

reign of Pulumavi, who most probably was Vasisthiputra Pulumavi; very probably he had recently annexed Bellary district to the Satavahana dominion ; and therefore it began to be called the district of the Satavahanas (Satavahani-hara), in order to distinguish it from the kingdom of the neighbouring kings. During the British rule, it was customary to describe Satara as a British district as distinguished from its neighbour Kolhapur, which was under an Indian ruler. Satara however was not under the British from early times. The names British Borneo, Dutch Borneo, French Guiana, etc., given to different islands or provinces denote that they are under the British, the Dutch or the French. In the same way Satavahana-hara may have denoted a district recently annexed to the Satavahana empire. It is also possible that like the terms Govardhanahara, Mamalahara and Kodurahara, the term Satavahanihara may be due to a town named Satavahana being its headquarters. A village named Satunuru exists in Bellary district and its name may be a corruption of Satavahani¹.

It is also not impossible that the capital of a branch of the Satavahana dynasty may have existed in Bellary district, which may have given the name Satavahani-ahara to it.

The origin of the name Satavahani-ahara for Bellary district is probably to be explained by one of these hypotheses. There is no evidence to show that it was the original home of the Satavahanas in c. 200 B.C., from which they extended their power to north-west and north-east.

The available evidence thus tends to show that the home of the Satavahanas was somewhere in Maharashtra rather than in Andhra province. The Jain tradition mentions² Pratisthana or Paithan in Marathvada as the capital of the Satavahanas. Naneghat and Nasik are within about 200 miles to the west of Paithan and one can therefore well understand how the earliest Satavahana records are found inscribed at these places. It is not unlikely that some deity in the vicinity of Naneghat was the tutelary god of the Satavahanas, which induced them to have their statues and early records at that place. The queen of the third ruler of the dynasty was the daughter of a Maharathr chief and there is ample evidence to show that Berar and Maharashtra were studded with Rathika and Bhoja feudatories. More than 75 per cent. of the Satavahana epigraphs have been found in Maharashtra ; this renders it extremely probable that their home lay somewhere in that province.

The circumstance that the Satavahana king adopted Maharashtrai as their court language and extended their liberal patronage to the poets in it, lends additional support in the view that their home was somewhere in Maharashtra. It has no doubt been argued³ that just as the continuance of English as the official language by the Indian

¹ *Satavahana Commemoration Volume*, p. 26,

² *The Kalakacharya-kathanaka* states how Kalaka had visited Pratisthana, the city of Satavahana.

³ *Satavahana Commemoration Volume*, p. 23.

Republic does not show that it is the mother-tongue of Indians, so also the continuance of Prakrt as the court language by the Satava-hanas would not necessarily show that they were not Telugu-speaking people. Prakrt, it is contended, was the court language of all the early powers of the Deccan, the Satavahanas, the Ikshvakus and the early Pallavas. Though the Satavahanas were Telugu-speaking people, they adopted Prakrt as their court language, because it was the fashion of the age.

There is not much force in this argument. It is claimed that the Desi-bhasa, which is referred to in the story of Gunadhya along with Sanskrit and Prakrt, was the mother-tongue of the Satavahanas. If Telugu language existed so early, if it was the mother-tongue of the Satavahanas, one fails to see why Telugu literature should not have flourished in their court. No Telugu work can be taken back to the Satavahana era. The language of the conqueror is continued during the transition period ; English will not be the official language of India after some time. Why should Prakrt have been continued by the Satavahanas as their official language for more than 400 years ? Why should king Hala have extended his patronage to the poets of Maharashtra Prakrt and not of Desi-bhasa or Telugu, if it existed in his days and was his mother-tongue ? The tradition that the Satavahanas had made a rule that Prakrt should be spoken even in their harem is no doubt recorded by a late poet (Rajasekhara), but this circumstance along with Hala's patronage of the poets in the Maharashtra tends to show that Maharashtra Prakrt was the mother-tongue of the Satavahanas. Their home also should, therefore, be placed somewhere in that province and not in Andhra country.

Where precisely this capital was, is not yet definitely known Pratisthana or Paithan in Marathvada appears to have the greatest claim to be regarded as the capital of the dynasty during the greater part of its rule.

What particular region in Maharashtra was the home of the Satavahanas is not yet possible to state. Prof. Mirashi has argued that we should consider Berar as the home province of the dynasty and Dr. D. C. Sircar has tried to controvert his view¹. The evidence of the Hathigurpha inscription of Kharavela, on which Prof. Mirashi relies, is not, however, quite conclusive on the point. It no doubt describes king Satakarni as a western neighbour of Kharavela and describes how the armies of the Kalinga ruler marched to the Kanhabenna and harassed Musikanagara. It is true that the river Kanhan, which flows through Berar, was known as Kanhabenna, as Prof. Mirashi has pointed out. But Musikanagara², which was harassed during the course of this campaign, was most probably situated on the bank of the Musi river, joining the Krsna. on the outskirts of the Guntur district. The Krsna also was known as Kanhabenna in ancient times. A power which ruled over the wide territory

¹ *J.N.S.I.*, II p. 94, III, p. 61.

² The correct reading is Asikanagara as pointed out by Barua. Asika, Sanskrit, Rsika, was the ancient name of Khandes A.B.O.R.I. XXV, 40 (V.V.M.).

including northern and central Hyderabad, Berar and parts of eastern Madhyapradesa, could have been appropriately described as his western neighbour by Kharavela¹ and the home of its ruler could have been as well in Berar as in Pratisthana or modern Paithan. We cannot choose one of these places in preference to the other and maintain that it alone was positively the home of the Satavahanas.

The mention of Gautamiputra as Benakatasvami or lord of the bank of the Bena, would suggest that eastern Vidarbha through which the Wainganga flows, may have been the home of the Satavahanas. This territory was known as Benakata, during the rule of the Vakatakas also. But another river also known as Venna, flows through the Satara district, and this district also may quite possibly have been known as Benakata in the past.

The occurrence of the earliest Satavahana inscriptions at Nasik and Naneghat may indicate that the Satavahana home was either in Poona or Nasik district, while the circumstance that Pratisthana was the capital of the dynasty may lend some weight to the view that the home of the rulers was located in its vicinity. We have as yet no evidence to decide this question.

It is interesting to note that the Puranas nowhere describe the dynasty as Satavahana and inscriptions nowhere name it as Andhra. How are we to explain this paradox ? K. Gopalachari advances an ingenious theory in this connection. He suggests that the Satavahanas were really Andhras by ethnical extraction. Under Asoka, we find a Greek governor, probably a native of Kamboja, appointed to rule over Kathiavad. In the same way some scions of the extinct Andhra dynasty may have been appointed as governors or district officers to rule in Maharashtra. Later on when Asoka's empire began to decay, Simuka, who was one of the Andhra officers governing at Pratisthana, declared independence and founded a new dynasty. Puranas knew this real origin of Simuka and have given the correct name to his house².

This theory is ingenious, but not convincing. We have similar parallels in later history. The Calukyas and Rastrakutas established branches of their dynasties in Andhradesa and Gujarat; the Senas from Karnataka established a dynasty in Bengal. There is, therefore, nothing impossible in one of the Andhra officers of Asoka having established a house in Maharashtra. But why should the real name of the dynasty not occur even in a single official record issued by it? The Calukyas of Vengi and the Rastrakutas of Gujarat always called themselves as scions of the Calukya or the Rastrakuta family. They never use any other name. Why then should the Satavahanas have been so careful as to eschew their

¹ Kalinga which Kharavela ruled, extended from the Godavari to the Vaitarani and Baster State, Canda district and Berar, and Adilabad, Karim-nagar and Warangal districts of the ex-Hyderabad State can all be described as situated to its west.

² Gopalachari, *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 25-26.

original name from all their official records ? Surely, there was no provincialism running riot in those days. A name which was so carefully boycotted by the dynasty from all its official records is not likely to be known to the Puranic writers who probably hailed from the distant Gangetic plain.

The only probable explanation of the fact of the Puranas describing the Satavahanas as Andhras, would appear to be the assumption that they knew only of the later history of the dynasty, when the centre of its power was shifted to Andhradesa. The inscriptions of Asoka and the account of Megasthenes show that the modern Andhradesa was known by that name in the 3rd century B.C. The Mayidavolu plates prove that the nomenclature continued down to the 4th century A.D.; for it refers to a district in Andhrapatha. A power which was ruling over the territory in c. 200 A.D. was naturally described as Andhra by the Puranas. The nomenclature has no connection with the Andhaka subdivision of the Yadavas, who had no connection with the Satavahanas. Nor does it seem to be connected with the rivulet Andhra flowing near Karli¹.

SATAVAHANA AND SATAKARNI NAMES.

We have tried above to explain the derivation of the term Andhra as applied to our dynasty in the Puranas. But the derivation of the term Satavahana, as used for this house in inscriptions and literature is not easy to understand or explain. Rapson has observed that Satavahana was the name of a clan and Satakarni was the name of the dynasty². He has adduced no evidence in support of the theory. It may be pointed out that Satavahana is clearly a personal name, when it appears on the three early coins which have the legend *rarhno Satavahanasa*. It is also a personal name when it is written under one of the statues at Naneghat. It is clear that Satavahana was the founder of the fortunes of his family as Sri-Gupta was in the case of the Gupta dynasty, and that the descendants in either case were known after the founder as the Satavahanas or the Guptas.

In later times Salivahana is used as a variant name for the dynasty, but it occurs nowhere in any contemporary records. The term is used in connection with the Saka era only after the 13th century, when it was believed to have been founded by a king named Salivahana. Rajawade's explanation that the dynasty was called Salivahana because its carts (*vahanas*) were full of rice (*sali*), which is so plentiful in Andhra country, cannot be of much help to us, for the simple reason that the family was not known by that name at any time during its existence.

¹ S. A. Joglekar argues that the Satavahanas were called Andhras because they lived on the banks of the river Andhra flowing near Karla. *A.B.O.R.I.*, XXIII, pp. 169-205. If the Satavahanas had got the name Andhra because of the association with the river Andhra, one wonders why their inscriptions should not have described them as Andhras at least in some places.

² *B.M.C.A.*, p. xv.

Several derivations have been suggested for the term Satavahana, but none of them can be regarded as convincing. The root *san* in Sanskrit means to give and the term Satavahana can therefore be explained as those who used to give conveyances (liberally) (*satani vahanani yaih*), or as those to whom a conveyance was given (as a mark of honour by their overlords) (*Satani vahanani yebhyah*). Gopalachari has proposed the latter derivation and suggested that the Satavahanas were so called because they had received from their overlords, the Mauryas, a conveyance as a mark of appreciation of their service¹. This is a possible explanation, but we do not know whether it is historically true. The first explanation refers to a legend recorded in the *Tirthakalpa* of Jinaprabha-suri as to how the founder of the dynasty was the son of a maiden through Sesa, how he was bred up in a potter's house where he used to make toy carts and horses for giving to his playmates, and how they were endowed with life by Sesa, the father of the boy in order to meet an invasion. This explanation is more interesting than historical. The same remark has to be made about another legend narrated in the *Kathasaritsagara*² where we are told how a Yaksha named Sata fell in love with a sage's daughter from whom he got a son; as his presence was disliked, he used to assume the form of a lion and carry the boy on his back ; hence he was called Satavahana.

Przyluski thinks that *Sata* and *vahana*, the constituents of Satavahana, are both Munda words; the former is the Sanskritisation of the Munda word *sadam* meaning a horse and the latter of *hapan* meaning a son. Satavahanas were "sons of horse" as they believed themselves to be born of the chief queen with the sacrificial horse in the Asvamedha sacrifice³. This derivation appears to be extremely fanciful. So many kings in the Puranic dynasties as well as in historic ruling families were celebrated performers of the Asvamedha sacrifice ; the descendants of none of them adopted the surname of *Asvaputras* or *Vajiputras*. Why should the Satavahanas, who had championed the Vedic religion and the Prakrit language, accept a surname derived from the Munda language ? The earliest Satavahana king to celebrate the horse-sacrifice was Satakarni I; but we find the founder of the dynasty bore this name, though he is not known to have performed any horse-sacrifice. The theory of Przyluski is thus hardly convincing.

Barnett identifies Satavahanas or Satakarnis with Satiyaputras of Asoka's inscriptions⁴. The latter, however, were in the extreme south of India and were outside Asoka's dominions along with the Colas, the Pandyas and the Keralas. It may be, therefore, doubted whether any scion of the stock had migrated to the Deccan to found the Satavahana empire. Further, Barnett takes *Sata* to be a proper name and *vahana* as a descendant; Satavahana thus becomes the

¹ Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 31.

² I. 67.

³ *J.R.A.S.*, 1,929, p. 273.

⁴ *C.H.I.*, I., p. 599.

descendant of Sata. The Canarese word for the son is *magana*, but it becomes *vagana*, when it is the second member of the compound; Satavagana was later Sanskritised into Satavahana. Barnett derives the name Satakarni in the same manner. *Kanya*, daughter, must have had a masculine form also as *Kanya*; Satakanya or Satakanna or Satakarna would be a son or descendant of Sata¹. On several coins Sata appears as a proper name, and there is nothing improbable in Satavahana or Satakarni meaning a descendant of Sata. But one does not feel quite certain when one has to postulate a Sanskrit word *kanya* for the son or when one has to accept *vahana* as a natural transformation of the Canarese word *magana*.

It has also been suggested that *vahana* and *karnin* both mean “oars” and Satavahanas were so called because they had many ships with hundred oars². It is a possible derivation, but we have no evidence of the Satavahanas being a great naval power. Jayaswal took Sata as a corruption of *Svati* meaning a sword and interpreted Satavahana as one who carried a sword, i.e. one who is a warrior³. The word *Svati* for a sword is not in general use and the name should have been *Satavahi* and not *Satavahana*, if it was intended to denote a warrior.

The sun’s carriage is drawn by seven horses and he can, therefore, be well described as *saptavahana*, which can be easily transformed into *satavahana*. S. A. Joglekar has, therefore, argued that the Satavahanas were so called because they were the devotees of the sun⁴. We may, however, point out that the sun does not figure among the several deities to whom homage has been paid at the beginning of the larger Naneghat inscription⁵. Among the numerous donations of the dynasty recorded in its inscriptions, there is none in favour of the sun or a solar temple. It is, therefore, far from certain as to whether the Satavahanas were really devotees of the sun and owed their family name to the circumstance.

The name Satakarni appears frequently in the dynastic list and deserves a few remarks. Rapson’s view that it denoted the dynasty is not at any rate true of its early period. The name is borne only by two early rulers before the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni. It, however, becomes more common in later times. In the Tarhala hoard we have the legends of Kana Satakarni, Kubha Satakarni, Khada Satakarni, and Saka Satakarni. It is likely that these later rulers may have used the term Satakarni as a family name or surname, but there is so far no evidence of the earlier rulers having done so.

The derivation of the term Satakarni is as uncertain as that of Satavahana. A sage named Satakarni is referred to in the *Raghu-vainasa* XIII, 38-40 ; so the name was not uncommon. But what

¹ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. IX, p. 327.

² *Aravamuthan, Kaveri, Maukhari and the Sangam Age*, p. 63.

³ *History of India*, p. 168.

⁴ *A. B. O. R. I.*, XXVIII, p. 237 ff.

⁵ [This is not correct. Homage is paid to both the sun and the moon in that inscription V.V.M.]

it means it is difficult to say. Barnett explains the term as the descendant of Sata, as pointed out already. But we do not know whether Sanskrit had really a word like *kanna* denoting the son. Rajawade has explained the word in a different way. *Saptakarna* means bulls or horses whose ears were marked with the figure seven ; Satakarnis were those who had several bullocks or horses whose ears were so marked. One, however, does not know why the Satakarnis should have had bulls or horses marked with figure of seven only, and not with any other figure. It must be admitted that the proper derivation of the term Satakarni is not yet known to us. Sata, Sati and Svati were its abbreviations and Satakarni, Salakana and Svatikarna were its variations.

The Satavahanas were Brahmanas by caste. Gautamiputra is described in his mother's eulogy not only as *ekabamhana*, the pre-eminent or unique Brahmana, but also as *Khatiyadapama-nadamana*, 'the destroyer of the pride and haughtiness of the Ksatriyas'. This would show that he was not a Ksatriya, but a Brahmana. Satakarni I (or his widow) had celebrated a number of Sattras like *gavamayana*, which could be performed by Brahmanas only. It is, therefore, evident that the Satavahanas were Brahmanas who had, like their contemporaries, the Sungas and the Kanvas, given up the sacrificial ladder for the sword.

KINGS OF THE DYNASTY AND THEIR PERIOD.

A few words are necessary at the outset about the number of the kings in the dynasty, their names, reign-periods and the total duration of the rule of the family. We have assumed that the dynasty consisted of 30 kings as stated in the *Vayu*, the *Brahmanda*, the *Bhagavata* and the *Visnu Purana*. It must be, however, pointed out that though these Puranas agree with one another in giving the number of rulers as thirty, they do not give 30 names. Different manuscripts of the *Vayu* give 17, 18, or 19 names only; the *Brahmanda* gives 17, the *Bhagavata* 23 and the *Visnu* 23 or 24. On the other hand, while the *Matsya* states that there were only 19 kings, three of its manuscripts give as many as 30 names. Shorter lists usually omit kings Nos. 4-5, 9-14 and 24-25 of the list of kings accepted in this work. On the other hand, there are at least half a dozen kings known from coins and inscriptions whose names do not occur in the Puranic list. The data at our disposal is thus far from satisfactory to determine either the number of kings or their relative order. We have assumed as a tentative hypothesis that the Puranic list of 30 kings may be taken as approximately correct and have given our account on that basis. The kings known from coins and inscriptions but not occurring in the Puranic list, may perhaps have belonged to collateral branches. Their problem will be discussed at the end in a separate section.

There is considerable uncertainty also about the exact duration of the rule of the dynasty. We have already shown how the tradition in the *Bhavisya* Purana of the Andhra rule lasting for 300 years cannot be accepted. The dynasty had obviously ruled for more than 400 years. Our authorities are not unanimous about the exact duration. According to the *Matsya Purana*, the dynasty

ruled for 460 years, according to the *Brahmanda* and the *Visnu* for 456½ years and according to the *Vayu* for 411 years. If we total together the reigns of the individual kings and accept the longer reign-periods where two are given, the duration of the dynasty is found to be 457½ years. According to the hypothesis accepted by us, the dynasty ruled from c. 222 B.C. to 226 A.D. and thus ruled for 448 years.

We are not likely to be far wrong in this assumption. The *Puranas* appear to have had a fairly reliable tradition. In the case of four kings ruling almost successively,—Hala, Mandalaka, Sundara Svatikarna and Cakora Svatikarna,—they record very short reign periods of 5, 5, 1 and ½ year, respectively. This must be due to a definite and reliable tradition existing about their short rule. The *Puranas* assign a rule of 29 years to Gautamiputra Yajnasri Satakarni, and we have found a record of his dated in the 25th year. Vasisthiputra Pulumavi ruled for 29 years according to *Puranas* and we have one of his records dated in his 24th regnal year. In the case of Gautamiputra Satakarni, there is a discrepancy ; the *Puranas* give him a reign of 21 years, while epigraphs show that he ruled at least for 24 years. But the discrepancy is a small one and does not affect seriously our general conclusion that the reigns as given in the *Puranic* tradition may be accepted as correct as a working hypothesis. It will be further shown how most of the known facts of history as determined by epigraphical, numismatic and foreign sources are quite in consonance with the main outline of the *Puranic* chronology.

A few words of caution, however, are necessary about the names of individual rulers and their reign-periods. Sometimes there is considerable difference in the form and spelling of the names of individual kings. Thus Simuka appears as Sisuka and Sindhuka, Satakarni I as Mallakarni, Purnotsanga as Purnasanga, etc. We have selected that spelling which appeared to be the most probable one; but there is no certainty about its absolute correctness. Individual reign-periods are given only in some *Puranas* and they often differ. In the case of the 2nd king, Krsna, the reign-period is 18 years according to some authorities and 10 years according to others. The 15th king Puloma I ruled for 36 years according to one authority and for 24 years according to another. Reign-periods of the 19th king Purindrasena and the 27th king Sivaskanda Satakarni are not given at all. In such cases, we have been mainly guided by known or probable incidents of history in determining their probable reign-periods. It should be clearly understood that the dates given by us are merely tentative.

Satavahana and simuka.

According to the unanimous testimony of the *Puranas*, Simuka (Srimukha) was the founder of the dynasty¹. The dynasty, however, is expressly described as Satavahana-kula in several epigraphical records including the earliest ones. Just as the Gupta

¹ His name is also spelt as Simuka, Sipraka, Sindhuka, etc. But Simuka may be taken to be the correct form, since it occurs in the Naneghat inscription, which is an almost contemporary and official record.

dynasty owes its nomenclature to its progenitor king Gupta, who was undoubtedly a historical personage, it may well be argued that the Satavahana dynasty also owed its name to its founder bearing that name. In this connection it is worth noting that the Naneghat inscriptions expressly describe Simuka as Satavahana. The Nasik inscription of Krsna describes him as born in the Satavahana family. One of his grandsons bore the name of Satavahana. It is very likely that like king Gupta of the Gupta dynasty, king Satavahana of the Satavahana house occupied an humble status and was not an independent ruler of any consequence. He, however, probably laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house and posterity gratefully remembered him by naming the family after him. Some later princes of the family were given the founder's name as occurred in many other houses of ancient India. How much earlier than the time of Simuka, king Satavahana, flourished we do not know. But since Simuka calls himself Satavahana and his brother Krsna is described as born in the Satavahana family, it may not be improbable that he may have been the father of the two brothers¹. In the phrase Simuka Satavahana of the Naneghat record, Satavahana may be a *taddhita* from Satavahana, meaning the son of Satavahana. As Asoka's empire was more or less firmly rooted in the Deccan down to c. 240 B.C., it is not likely that Satavahana, the eponymous ancestor of the family, could have lived much earlier than Simuka. We may, therefore, well assume as a tentative hypothesis that Simuka's father was Satavahana. The Puranas may have omitted his name as he was eclipsed by his son Simuka, who established the independence of the family.

Recently, however, three coins have been found bearing the clear legend Satavahana. Two of them are in copper and the third in lead. On the obverse they have elephant with the legend *Siri Sadavahanasa*; on the reverse there is the Ujjayini symbol. Prof. Mirashi, who published the first Satavahana coin, says that Satavahana preceded Simuka and Krsna by some generations. The Puranas he argues, do not name him, probably because he was a local ruler who had not yet attained imperial status; that he had declared independence is, however, clear from his coins².

There are serious difficulties in accepting the above view. Prof. Mirashi places the rise of the Satavahanas under Simuka in c. 225 B.C. The time of Satavahana, who preceded him by a few generations, could not be earlier than c. 275 B.C. At that time the Mauryas were ruling over Northern India and the Deccan and even they had not started issuing inscribed coins. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine how a small feudatory of theirs, ruling in the far off Deccan, should have thought of issuing inscribed currency, which was then practically unknown in India. If, however, we do not attribute these Satavahana coins to the founder of the dynasty, we are faced with the inconvenient fact of there being no later ruler in the dynasty

¹ [Had Krsna been a son of *Satavahana*, the inscription would have used *Satavahana-pute* (not *Satavahana-kule*) *Kanhe rajani*.—V.V.M.].

² *I. N. S. I.*, Vol. VII, pp. 3-4.

who bore that name and who could, therefore, be regarded as their issuer. Naneghat inscriptions no doubt refer to Kumara Satavahana as one of the sons of Satakarni, but he does not figure in the Puranic list. It is not unlikely that Kumara Satavahana of the Naneghat inscriptions survived his elder brother, who died in his minority, and ascended the throne with the *biruda* of Piirnotsariga, which alone is preserved by the Puranas. The time of this ruler was c. 175 B.C., when inscribed coins had begun to be issued in Mathura, Paricala and Kausambi. Satavahana *alias* Piirnotsanga may also have started them in the Deccan and the three Satavahana coins may be ascribed to him. This theory, however, is a mere hypothesis and lacks positive proof.

Satavahana, the father of Simuka was probably a mere feudatory under Asoka. Sahaji paved the way of the future greatness of Sivaji, though he remained all along a feudatory. In the same way Satavahana may have helped the rise of his son Simuka to independence by the secret preparation he made in his life time. His time may be presumed to be c. 245 to c. 222 B.C.

Salivahana, the reputed founder of the Saka era, is undoubtedly confused in later tradition with Satavahana, the founder of the dynasty of that name. The latter, however, neither founded an era nor flourished at c. 78 A.D., when the era started. The Satavahana records use regnal years and not any era ; the era of 78 A.D. began to be called Salivahana Saka only after c. 1300 A.D.¹ The Satavahanas had nothing to do with its foundation; it was a Scythian era.

Satavahana was succeeded by his son Simuka, who may be presumed to have declared independence in c. 222 B.C., about ten years after the death of Asoka. The Puranas unanimously give him a reign of 23 years ; we may, therefore, presume that he ruled from c. 222 to 199 B.C.

Western India and Maharastra were studded with Rathilas and Bhojakas even during the reign of Asoka and they enjoyed a semi-independent status. When the Mauryan empire began to disintegrate, they must have declared independence. Satavahana and Simuka probably belonged to one such Rathika or Bhojaka family². The opposition to their founding a new kingdom must have proceeded partly from the Central Mauryan Government and partly from other Rathikas and Bhojakas, many of whom must have aspired to become the head of a new Deccan State. Simuka overcame this twofold opposition successfully, but how he did it we do not yet know.

Simuka is known from a relievo statue of his found in Naneghat which bears the legend *Simuka Satavahano* under it. Whether his home and capital was somewhere [Those who hold that the Satavahanas were Andhras argue that the capital of Simuka was at Pithunda, and with that as his base, he proceeded to subjugate all the Rathikas and Bhojas and annexed all the territory up to Naneghat. *Satavahana Commemoration Volume*, p. 55.] in the territory in which the

¹ [The earliest record calling it as the era of Salavahana is dated A. D. 1251, *E. I.*, XXVI, p. 210, V.V.M.].

² Those who hold that the Satavahanas were Andhras argue that the capital of Simuka was at Pithunda, and with that as his base, he proceeded to subjugate all the Rathikas and Bhojas and annexed all the territory up to Naneghat. *Satavahana Commemoration Volume*, p. 55.

Naneghat is situated, or whether it was near Pratisthana, which soon became the capital of the dynasty, we do not know, nor do we have any definite information about the extent of his kingdom. Probably it may have extended from Nasik to Pratisthana or Paithan.

The Puranas state that Simuka overthrew and killed Susarman, the last Kanva ruler and also mopped out the remains of the Sunga power. This would suggest that he advanced into the Gangetic plain, perhaps penetrated to Pataliputra, and for some time occupied that imperial capital. Such an achievement for the founder of a ruling family in Western India is difficult to believe. In later times the Rastrakutas defeated the rulers of the imperial families of Northern India, but this feat became possible for them only during the 3rd and 4th reigns of their house. We have shown already that Simuka was not a contemporary of Susarman, who died in c. 25 B.C. A feat that was done by a later Satavahana king by the middle of the 1st century B.C. has been wrongly ascribed to Simuka by the Puranas. Simuka was too small a king even to venture an expedition in the Gangetic plain, much less to score a sensational victory in it.

There is a Jain tradition stating that the first Satavahana king built Jain temples, but that in the closing years of his reign he became wicked and was dethroned and killed¹. Whether this tradition is trustworthy we do not know. The statues of Simuka, Krsna and Satavahana which are preserved at Naneghat, would suggest that the three kings had normal careers and reigns. It does not appear probable that either Satavahana or his son Simuka was dethroned and killed.

The revolts of Cetis in Kalinga and Simuka in Maharashtra were almost simultaneous. It would appear that the Andhras, who had a powerful kingdom before the rise of the Mauryas² also revolted at about the same time and founded a kingdom of their own in the Krsna-Godavari doab. This kingdom was, however, different from that of the Satavahanas and appears to have come to an end when Kharavela destroyed its capital Pithunda in c. 190 B.C.

Krsna c. 199-189 B.C.

Simuka probably had no son and was, therefore, succeeded by his younger brother Krsna. Unfortunately history knows very little about the career and achievements of this ruler. We may presume that he was co-operating with his elder brother during his reign³ and that he continued the work of expansion after the latter's death. Since Simuka had ruled for 23 years ; it is not likely that Krsna, who was his younger brother, had a long reign. We may, therefore, assume that the Vayu Purana which ascribes to him a reign of ten years, is likely to be more correct than the *Matsya* which makes him rule for

¹ *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. X, p. 134.

² According to Pliny their army consisted of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. They had thirty towns defended by walls and towers. *Natural History*, Book VI, 21-3.

³ The absence of his statue at Naneghat may be accidental; we need not necessarily infer from it that the two brothers were not on cordial terms. It may be further pointed out that there is clear evidence to show that two statues have disappeared. One of these may have been that of Krsna.

18 years. It is not unlikely that Krsna may have added southern Mahsrastra and Konkan to his ancestral dominion. This statement, however, is based upon mere conjecture.

Krsna's administration was to some extent modelled on that of the Mauryas. The only epigraph of his, known so far, refers to a cave excavated by a Nasik official, who is described as *Samananam mahamatra*. Obviously this office of *Samananam mahamatra* was analogous to Dharmamahamatras of Asoka. The officer was expected to look after the Buddhist establishments and meet their needs. The Satavahanas were Hindus, and yet we find them solicitous about the welfare of the Buddhists.

The cave excavated in Krsna's reign is the earliest one at Nasik and is therefore naturally of no high architectural grandeur. Pillars have no capitals ; they are square at the top and bottom and octagonal in the middle.

Satakarni I c. 189-179 B.C.

The next ruler of the dynasty was king Satakarni¹. It is difficult to state whether he was the son or nephew of Krsna. Puranas make him Krsna's son, but the relievo figures at Naneghat however omit Krsna altogether. First comes the statue of Simuka, then those of Sri Satakarni, Naganika and Kumara Bhaya. Then there is empty space of two statues now lost, after which follow the statues of Maharathi Tranakayira, the father of Naganika, Kumara Hakusiri and Kumara Satavahana. Krsna is omitted altogether. This is rather inexplicable, if Krsna were the father of Satakarni. The order of the statues suggests that Satakarni was the son of Simuka. We have, however, assumed that the Puranic tradition is correct and taken Satakarni to be the son of Krsna.

A flood of light is thrown upon the Satavahana history of the time of Satakarni and his predecessors and successors by several inscriptions discovered at Naneghat. The inscriptions are, however, mutilated and lend themselves to several conflicting interpretations. Buhler, who last edited the Naneghat inscriptions, maintained that the larger inscription was engraved during the minority of prince Vedisri, when his mother Naganika was ruling as queen-regent. This view has been recently challenged by Prof. V. V. Mirashi, who maintains that Vedisri was not a minor but a ruling king at the time when the record was incised². Bhagwanlal Indraji, who first edited the inscriptions also thought that it was incised not during the regency of Naganika, but in the reign of her son Vedisri³. Naganika is usually taken to be the widow of king Satakarni, but since her relievo figure at Naneghat follows that of Simuka and precedes that of Satakarni, it is possible to argue, as Dr. Katare

¹ Mallakarni and Santakarni are two other variations of the name of this infer.

² *J.N.S.I.*, XIV, p. 26f. Prof. Mirashi does not construe the term *Kumuravara* with word Vedisri immediately following, but takes it to be the name of Karttikeya, to whom homage is paid along with other deities.

³ *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 312.

has done¹, that Naganika was the wife of Simuka and mother of Satakarni. The Naneghat inscriptions further refer to Vedisri and Sati, princes Bhaya, Hakusri and Satavahana. It is not yet possible to determine with certainty the relations of these princes either with Naganika or Simuka or Satakarni, nor can we identify them with any rulers mentioned in the Puranas.

Naneghat inscriptions undoubtedly refer to a mighty ruler ruling over the entire Deccan. The inscription of Kharavela also refers to a king named Satakarni, ruling over the Deccan; he eventually succeeded in stemming the tide of Kharavela's invasion. We, therefore, assume that it is king Satakarni, the third ruler of the dynasty, whose greatness and victories are described in the larger Naneghat inscription and that Naganika was his widow. The Puranas give a reign of only ten years to Satakarni and it is, therefore, quite possible that his widow Naganika may have survived him by several years. Possibly she was a regent in the beginning². Kumara Bhaya may have been a brother of king Satakarni or a son of his who died early. Vedisri Hakusiri and Satavahana³ were probably the sons of king Satakarni and queen Naganika. Vedisri and Hakusri probably died in their childhood and Satavahana succeeded his father at the end of the regency with the *biruda* of Purnotsanga. It should be however clearly understood that all these hypotheses are pure assumptions; we have no evidence to substantiate them, or any other rival theory, as proved facts of sober history.

Let us now revert to the career of king Satakarni. Naganika's inscription at Naneghat describes him, as the first and the most prominent hero on the earth (*pathaviya pathamavirasa*), whose victorious army met no opposition (*apratihatacakasa*), who was the lord of Daksinapatha and who performed Rajasuya once and Asvamedha twice. It is therefore, quite clear that Satakarni had a number of victories to his credit which eventually made him the lord of the Deccan. Who his opponents were, is, however, not known.

It is not, however, possible to determine the precise extent of his kingdom. Daksinapatha vaguely denotes the Deccan but this need not necessarily prove that the dominion of Satakarni covered the entire peninsula. In the first century A.D., we find the Periplus distinguishing Dachinabades (Daksinapatha) from Damarica, the extreme south of the peninsula. Daksinapatha, over which Satakarni ruled obviously excluded that portion of the peninsula which was to the south of Mysore. Kharavela's record shows that in the Eastern Deccan there was a Dravida confederacy in c. 200 B.C. It would, therefore, appear that Satakarni I did not rule over the eastern Deccan as well. We would not be far wrong if we assume that his dominions included the modern States of Maharashtra and Mysore. His

¹ I. H. Q., XXVII, p. 213.

² [This is not likely. See her description in the Naneghat inscription as one who used to fast for a month, lived in her house the life of an ascetic, was self-controlled etc.—V.V.M.].

³ It is possible to argue that Hakusiri and Satavahana were the grand sons of Satakarni and sons of Vedisri.

queen Naganika belonged to Kalalaya family, coins issued by which no doubt at later date, have been found in Mysore. Kalalayas were, Maharathis and therefore merely feudatories and we may then well presume that the former princely State of Mysore was also included in Satakarni's dominion. This is also suggested by his title Daksinapathapati. The conquest of Bombay, Karnatak and Mysore was probably the achievement of Satakarni. He may have celebrated it by the performance of one of his two Asvamedhas.

A fairly large number of copper coins have been found in Malva with the legend Siri Satasa, and it has, therefore, been assumed by some scholars that Malva might have been annexed by king Satakarni I¹. Malva has always been a bone of contention between the imperial powers of the north and the south and had changed hands frequently in the course of Indian history. There is, therefore, nothing improbable in Satakarni having annexed it to his dominion in c. 180, when the Mauryan power had collapsed and the Sungas had not yet succeeded in firmly establishing themselves. It is, however, not unlikely that king Sata of the Malva coins may be Satakarni II. If Satakarni I had conquered Malva, it could be retained by his house only for a short time. For we find Agnimitra, the crown-prince of Pusyamitra Sunga, ruling there as Viceroy in c. 160 B.C.

According to the chronology accepted by us, king Kharavela of Kalinga was a contemporary of Satakarni I and gave him considerable trouble. In the second year of his reign he sent an expedition to the West defying the power of Satakarni and attacked Musika-nagara, situated on the confluence of the Krsna and the Musi, about 100 miles south east of the city of Hyderabad. Two years later he penetrated perhaps further west, as he claims to have received allegiance from a number of Rathikas and Bhojakas, who were Satavahana feudatories ruling in Maharastra. The humiliation of these feudatories must have been a blow to the prestige of Satakarni. It appears that he was taken by surprise by these unexpected invasions and lost his ground in the beginning. He, however, soon managed to put his eastern frontier in a proper state of defence. Kharavela does not claim to have undertaken any further expedition against Satakarni later than his 4th year. We may, therefore, well presume that Satakarni soon succeeded in re-establishing his authority right up to the eastern border of the former State of Hyderabad.

Satakarni was a devout orthodox Hindu and celebrated a number of Vedic sacrifices. These are all enumerated with due pomp by his widowed queen in her famous inscription at Naneghat. Two of these, Rajasuya and Asvamedha (which was performed twice) undoubtedly had political significance and probably commemorated important victories or achievements. Others were purely religious. Among these were Agnyadheya, Aptoryama, Dasaratra, Bhagala-dasaratra, Trayodasaratra, Angirasatrira, Satatira and Chando-pavamanatrira. Gavamayanasattra was performed twice. Only Brahmanas are entitled to perform this *sattra*; this would show that the Satavahanas belonged to that caste.

¹ C.H.I., I, p. 522.

Honoraria to the presiding priests were given on these occasions in a liberal way. In the Aivamedha sacrifice for example the *daksina* consisted of an elephant, a horse with its silver accoutrement, a village and 14,000 *Karsapanas*¹. In Gavamayana, the honorarium consisted of 10,000 cows.

The Naneghat record opens with a salutation to Prajapati, Dharma, Indra, Sahkairsaria and Vasudeva of Candravamsa, and the four Lokapalas—Yama, Varuna, Kubera and Vasava. It is interesting to note that at the time of the record Vasava was distinguished from Indra and Yama from Dharma. Satakarni had also a leaning towards the Bhagavata school, which was becoming popular at this time ; for Sankarsana and Vasudeva, mentioned in the record, are the special deities of that school. Whether the last deity referred to in the record is Kumara or Kartikeya is not quite certain².

The Puranas unanimously allot a reign of only ten years to this ruler. It seems to be rather short for his numerous achievements. But the short reign is confirmed by the Naneghat inscription, which shows that his queen Naganika had to act as regent for a long time after the death of her illustrious husband³. The king left behind him not more than three sons, again showing that his life was cut short in its prime. The Naneghat records make distinct reference to three princes, Kumara Vedisri, Hakusari and Satavahana. The Puranas, however, unanimously state that the successor of Satakarni was Purnotsanga. Purnotsanga was probably a *biruda* of one of these princes, most probably Satavahana. One of the Nasik records mentions a donation by a lady who is described as a daughter of the royal minister and a grand-daughter of Mahahakusri. Scholars have identified the grand-father of this lady with prince Hakusari, the son of Satakarni. This, however, appears to be extremely improbable. The characters of the record definitely belong to the 1st and 2nd century A.D. The record gives the titles of all other relations of the lady ; some of them are seen to be Amatyas (ministers or officers) and some Bhandagarikas (treasurers). But it is strange that Hakusari, the grandfather, has no title whatsoever. This would prove that he was a mere commoner and not a king or a prince. The Jain tradition refers to a Satavahana king named Saktikumara, who is described as a lascivious king. But whether Saktikumara, can become Hakusari, is not certain. It appears that princes Vedisri and Hakusari though elder ones, did not ascend the throne⁴. They probably died before attaining majority. The youngest prince Kumara Satavahana seems to have succeeded his father with the *biruda* of Piirnotsanga. We feel inclined to make this assumption because the coins bearing the legend Satavahana undoubtedly belong to the 2nd century B.C. and Kumara Satavahana, the younger son of Satakarni, is the only king

¹ *Karsapanas* were silver pieces weighing about one-third tola. They are described as punch-marked silver coins in modern numismatic works.

² (See S.J., Vol. I, pp. 121 f. V.V.M.).

³ (*Loc. cit* V.V.M.).

⁴ (It seems, on the other hand, that Vedisri was reigning at the time. See S. I., Vol. I, pp. 121 f. V.V.M.).

with the name Satavahana who could have issued these pieces¹. We, therefore, suggest the identification of Prince Satavahana, the younger son of Satakarni, with Purnotsanga, mentioned as his successor in the Puranas.

Purnotsanga c. 179-161 B.C.

The next ruler of the dynasty was Purnotsahga² of the Puranic list and we have tentatively identified him with *Kumara Satavahana* of the Naneghat record. He is not known to us from any epigraphs and Puranas do not give his relationship with his predecessor, Satakarni I.

If the time allotted to this ruler is correct, he may well have come into hostile contact with the Sungas. The Sunga crown-prince Agni-mitra was ruling at Vidisa (modern Besnagar near Bhopal) and the *Malavikagnimitra* refers to his conflict with Yajnasena, a king in Berar. The latter had imprisoned his cousin Madhavasena and had refused to set him free, unless his own brother-in-law, who was a minister under the Mauryas was released by Pusyamitra. Agnimitra then invaded Berar, defeated its king Yajfiasena and got Madhavasena released. Kalidasa tells us that he then ordered that Berar should be divided between Yajnasena and his cousin Madhavasena.

The plot of the drama, as given by Kalidasa, refers to Yajnasena as an independent king. It is, however, not unlikely that he was under the sphere of influence of the Satavahanas. Otherwise, it would appear improbable how an insignificant king should thus boldly challenge the power of Agnimitra and his father Pusyamitra who was the lord paramount of northern India. The plot of the drama would suggest that Berar was not being directly administered by the Satavahanas by c. 150 B.C. It was in the interest of Purnotsanga to give diplomatic and military support to Yajnasena, who was a partisan of the Mauryas. For his immediate northern neighbours, the Sungas, who were his rivals in the Deccan, were the deadliest enemies of the Mauryas. This probably was the beginning of the long struggle between the Satavahanas and Sungas.

If our suggestion that *Kumara Satavahana* of the Naneghat inscription is identical with Purnotsanga is correct, the three coins bearing the name Satavahana should be attributed to this ruler. At this time c. 150 B.C., coins with the legend giving the king's name had become common in the north. Agnimitra, the Satavahana's rival at Vidisa, had issued coins bearing his own name. Satavahana Purnotsanga might have emulated his example. These coins have an elephant

¹ Professor V. V. Mirashi has attributed these coins to king Satavahana, the founder of the dynasty. He flourished in c. 250 B. C. and at that early period the pattern of inscribed coins was not adopted even by the kings of northern India, who were in closer contact with the Greeks. It, therefore, seems more probable that king Satavahana of the three coins was a later ruler and identical with the prince of the name mentioned at Naneghat. It may be pointed out that we have a similar case in the Vakataka history. The regent Prabhavati-gupta had three or at least two sons Divakarasena, Damodarasena *alias* Pravarasena or Damodarasena and Pravarasena; of these Pravarasena, the youngest succeeded to the throne at the end of the regency.

² Purnotsanga and Purnasangha are other variations of this name. Purnotsanga appears to be the correct reading.

on one side and the Ujjayini symbol on the other¹. One of them was found in Kondapur excavations and two others were purchased in the former Hyderabad State. It is likely that the type was intended for circulation in the home province of the Satavahana empire.

KING OF THE DYNASTY.

Skandastambhi 11-143 B.C.

The next ruler Skandastambhi (c. 161-143 B.C.) is a shadowy personality. He is not only not referred to in the inscriptions, but those Puranas which give the shorter list of about 18 kings of this dynasty, also usually omit him. His relationship with his predecessor is also not stated. We do not know of any events in his reign. The Puranas state that he was succeeded by Satakarni II, but the relationship of the two kings is not given.

Satakarni II 143-86 B.C.

Satakarni II (c. 143 B.C. to 87 B.C.) had the longest reign in the dynasty; the Puranas unanimously state it to be of 56 years. During the long reign of Satakarni II, the Suhga power was on the decline. It is but natural that Satakarni should have taken advantage of this situation and pushed his frontiers further to the north. It appears that after defeating the Sungas, he annexed Malva—Jabalpur region to the Satavahana empire in c. 90 B.C. The Suhga king, Bhaga was probably his opponent.

This inference is based almost entirely on the evidence of coins. A large number of coins have been found in Malva and Western India bearing the legend *Siri Sata* (or Sri Sati) or *Siri Satakanisa*. The provenance of the coins published by Rapson was vaguely known as Western India; some of them had elephant with trunk upraised on one side and Ujjayini symbol on the other², while others substituted the elephant by the Hon. In 1942, five more coins of Sata were published by the present writer; 4 of them had an elephant on one side while the fifth had a lion. Other symbols were similar to those occurring on the Malva coins. In some cases the legend was *Soto*, in some Satakarni and in some *Ratio Siri Satakanisa*³. The precise provenance of these coins was not known. Prof. Mirashi published in 1947 a lead round coin of the Bull type with the legend *Ramno Sara Satakanisa*⁴. In 1951 Dr. Katare published a new Satakarni coin found in Hosangabad district of the usual Eran type but having the clear legend *Siri Satasa*. In 1952 a large number of copper coins collected in Malva have been published, which have the usual Satavahana motifs like Elephant, Lion etc., but are uninscribed⁵. Rapson, Mirashi and Katare are all inclined to ascribe these coins to Satakarni I. This king was a powerful ruler and there is nothing improbable in his having issued some of these coin-types, even

¹ J.N.S.I. VII p. I; XI p. 5.

² B.M.C.A.K. Pl. 1-5-6. Quite recently (in 1952) a large number of copper coins have been published, collected in Malva by Mr. N. R. Advani, which have the usual Satavahana motifs of Elephant, Lion, etc., but are uninscribed. One of them contains a fragmentary legend, probably standing for [Sata] kani, J.N.S.I. XIII.

³ J.N.S.I., IV., pp. 25-28.

⁴ *Ibid* VIII 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIII, 209.

though he had a short reign of ten years. Inscribed coins had, however, not become common in his time (c. 189-179 B.C.) and were rare even in the Northern India. Tree within railing, river with fish and Ujjayini symbol, which occur on most of the coins of Satakarni, are characteristically Malva symbols and their occurrence on these coins may presuppose the conquest of that province, which had not taken place at the time of Satakarni I; the Sungas were firmly entrenched in Malva in 170 B.C. and were trying to interfere with the politics of the Deccan. It is difficult to understand how the coins of their opponent Satakarni I could have become current in their dominion of Malva. The coin of Satakarni published by Katare was actually found in Malva. It is true that on the strength of palaeography, it has been argued that the Satakarni of the coins should be identified with Satakarni I. But the difference between Satakarni I and II is only about fifty years, Satakarni II and palaeography, especially on coins, will not be able to give any decisive clue. For instance the form of *ta* on the coin of Sata published by Rapson (Pl, I, 1-2) is almost Asokan, while that of the same letter on the coin published by Katare shows a round lower limb suggesting a later date. All things considered, I am inclined to attribute most of the early coins¹ having the legend Sata or Satakani to Satakarni II². A few of them might have been issued by Satakarni I.

A short record on one of the Sanci gateways (*toranas*) refers to its erection by Ananda, a foreman of king Satakarni. This record renders it probable but not certain that Satakarni, the master of Ananda, was ruling over Sanci. This probably is rendered almost certain by the discovery of the coins of king Sata or Satakarni in Malva. For the reasons, already discussed above, we prefer to identify the king Satakarni of the Sanci record with king Satakarni II. Towards the end of the rule of this king (143-87 B.C.) the power of the Sungas had declined, and Malva could well have been wrested from them by the Satavahanas. According to our view, the Sanci gateway was erected some time between 100 and 75 B.C.

Recent numismatic discoveries tend to show that after occupying Malva, Satakarni II marched eastwards and occupied Dahala or Jabalpur area also. Two copper coins, one with the name Satakarni and the other with the name Sati, were found in a village at Tewar near Jabalpur. A third coin of this king was found in the excavations at Tripuri in 1952, in a definitely Sunga stratum. Copper coins usually do not travel long and the discovery of these three coins near Jabalpur makes it fairly certain that their issuer Satakarni II had occupied the province of Dahala also. This may be a step towards the march on Pataliputra.

Lambodara, c. 87-69 B.C.

Apilaka, c. 69-57 B.C.

Meghasvati, c. 57-39 B.C.

Svati, 30-21 B.C.

¹ King Satakarni of the coins published in *B.M.C.A.*, VII, 179 to G. P. 4, is a ruler of the second century A.D.

² Smith had assigned these coins to king Svatikarni or Satakarni, the 10th ruler in the Puranic list, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1903, p. 607.

The Puranas expressly state that Lambodara was the son of Satakarni II and that he was succeeded by his son Apilaka. The relationship of the next two rulers with each other or with Apilaka is not stated. There is divergence among the Puranas about the duration of the reign of the last king. We have assumed that he ruled for 12 years rather than 18. The name of this ruler Svati or Svatikarna may have been an abbreviation and corruption of Satakarni.

Very little is known about the political events in the Satavahana history of this period, but there are clear indications that the Satavahanas were extending their sphere of influence in the east and north-east at this time. There is some evidence to suggest that the Satavahanas had annexed Andhra province during this period. A coin of Meghasvati, the third ruler of the above group was found in Andhra province. The legend on the coin is fragmentary and reads only *Ghasada* : but it can hardly stand for the name of any other ruler than Meghasvati. Its palaeography also suggests that it was issued in the 1st century B.C., and according to our chronology the time of Meghasvati is 57-39 B.C. A coin of Apilaka, the 2nd ruler in the above group, was picked up in the Mahanadi, in the Chattisgad division of Madhya Pradesh¹. The find-spot of this coin would tend to show that by c. 60 B.C. the Satavahanas were gradually advancing north-east perhaps with Pataliputra as their ultimate goal. They had already occupied Jabalpur in the reign of Satakarni II. It is true that the evidence for the spread of the Satavahana rule over Chattisgad and Jabbulpore is very slender; it consists of only the find-spots of solitary coins. But it is confirmed by the Puranic tradition which ascribes the conquest of the Sungas and Kanvas to the Satavahanas at c. 50 B.C. The Satavahanas must have used Chattisgad and Jabbulpore as spring-boards for the invasion of the Gangetic plain.

The power of the Sungas and the Kanvas was declining during c. 87-21 B.C., when these rulers were ruling. With Chattisgad and Jabalpur in their possession, the Satavahanas could well have penetrated into the Gangetic plain. We may therefore well believe the Puranic tradition in this respect, which suggests but does not prove that sometime between 75 B.C. and 25 B.C., the Satavahanas crossed sword with both these powers and perhaps penetrated right up to Pataliputra. The occupation of Malva and Jabalpur in the time of Satakarni II would also have helped the northern

¹ See J.A.S.B., 1937 N. p. 93 for the coin of Apilaka. its legend is *Ramno Sivasiris Apilakassa*. K. N. Dikshit, who published this coin, thought that its palaeography would place it in the 1st century A.D. rather than in the 1st century B.C. Since no Apilaka is known to have ruled in the 1st or 2nd century A.D., it is best to attribute the coin to Apilaka of the 1st century B.C., Palaeography of coins cannot be decisive when the difference is of 100 years only. The coin of Apilaka is blank on one side, suggesting that it must be fairly early. The spelling of the king's name on the coin as Apilaka would show that the variations of this king's name as Apitaka, Apadava, Apistava are all due to the textual corruption.

expedition. In later times we find that when the Rastrakutas got a foothold in Malva, they used it as a spring-board for marching into the Gangetic plain.

We have so far discovered no Satavahana coins or inscriptions in the Gangetic plain or at Pataliputra. The reason seems to be the short duration of the Satavahana occupation of the Gangetic plain. The *Bhavisya Purana* distinctly says that the base-born Andhri king, who will kill the Kanva ruler Susarman will enjoy the earth (i.e. Pataliputra or Kanva dominion) only for a short time¹. The Yuga-Purana in the *Gargi-samhita* states that the excellent Sata king will frustrate the efforts of the Sakas, desirous of conquering Kalinga and Satavahana kingdoms, and then rule the earth for ten years only². This statement may, however, refer to the Kusana occupation of Kalinga in the days of Wima Kadphises and Kaniska and an attempt to invade the Deccan from the east.

We have marshalled above such evidence, no doubt very slender, as is available at present to suggest the invasion of the Gangetic plain by the Satavahanas sometime between c. 50 B.C. and 25 B.C. It is far from conclusive, but renders the Puranic account not altogether unbelievable. We cannot state which king or kings are to be credited with this achievement. It may very probably have been Svati or Svatikarna,³ the last ruler of this group, who ruled for eighteen years, from c. 39 to 21 B.C.

The Jain tradition, which states that Satavahana was the son of a maiden born from Sesa, narrates how king Vikramaditya attacked Paithan in order to kill Satavahana. We do not know whether king Vikramaditya, the reputed founder of Vikrama era, was a historic king at Ujjayini, and if so, whether he was at war with the Satavahanas. If there was a war between the two, we shall have to place it sometime during c. 40 and 30 B.C. The Malavas who were at this time occupying Jaipur-Ajmer area, may not have liked the Satavahana occupation of Avanti and Akara (Malva) and this may have been the cause of the war. Satavahanas, however, retained their hold on Malva, it may be after a short expulsion by Vikramaditya. The history of the whole period is extremely obscure and we can only suggest some tentative reconstruction on the above lines. Future archaeological discoveries alone will enable us to reconstruct it with confidence and certainty.

Skandasvati, Mrgendra Kuntala, Svatikarna, and Puloma I (21 B.C.—22 A.D.)

The relationship of these four kings is not given by the Puranas. They had very short reigns. Together they ruled for 20 years only. This would suggest disputed succession, internal commotion or foreign invasion. It is not unlikely that there was a revolt in the south

¹ *Hatva Kanvam Susarmanam tad-bhrtyo vrsalo bali Gam bhoksyaty Andhra-jatiyah kancit-kalam a-sattamah* \ D.K.A., p. 38.

² J.B.O.R.S., XVI, p. 22.

³ It is quite likely that Svatikarna occurring in the name of the king may have been a corruption of Satakami.

during the reigns of Skandasvati and Mrgendra Svatikarna, in which the province of Kuntala was lost and Mrgendra lost his life. His successor may perhaps have reconquered this province and taken the title Kuntala Svatikarna. If we are to believe the tradition recorded in the *Kamasutra*, this king put an end to the life of his chief queen by a pair of scissors¹. His successor Svatikarna had a very short reign of only one year. What was the cause of his quick exit, we do not know.

It is very probable that these short reigns are concealing a number of sordid facts ; we, however, get no clue to their nature. Political turmoils and internecine wars might have been rampant. If Pataliputra had been really occupied at c. 25 B.C., it must have been lost during this troubled period. We can therefore well believe in the Puranic tradition of a short rule of the Satavahanas in the Gangetic plain.

The Puranas give no clue to the relationship of Puloma I, the 4th king in the above list, either to his predecessor or to his successor. His name has been frightfully distorted in different manuscripts of the Puranas; some of them credit him with a reign of 24 years and others with 36 years. We have accepted the former alternative. Since this king had a long reign, we may well presume that he restored stability to the empire after the period of anarchy through which it had passed.

Arishtakarna.

Puloma's successor was Aristakarna², and he had also a long reign of 25 years. It was towards the end of his reign that Bhumaka, the Saka Ksatrapa, succeeded in establishing his rule in Gujarat and Kathiavad. These provinces did not belong to the Satavahana dominions, but towards the end of Aristakarna's reign in c. 45 A.D. Bhumaka invaded Malva. Aristkarna was unable to oppose Bhumaka and the Satavahanas appear to have lost Malva towards the end of his reign (c. 47 A.D.)

Hala Mantalaka, Purindrasena, Sundara, Satakarni, Cakora Svatikarna, and Aivasvati (47—86 A.D.)

The next period of about 40 years, during which as many as six kings mentioned above came to throne was undoubtedly a dark period in the history of the Satavahana dynasty. The Puranas do not enlighten us about the mutual relationship of these six rulers. Their short reigns tell their own tale. The first two kings Hala and Mantalaka³ ruled for five years each. The reign period of the next king Purindrasena is not recorded in the Matsya-purana, and is variously given as 12 or 21 years in others. We have assumed it

¹ *Kartarya Kuntalah Satakarnih Satavahano Mahadevim Malay avatith jaghdna— Kamasutra.*

² Nemikrsna, Nemikamsa, Aristavarna are some of the important variations of the name of this ruler.

³ Mundulaka, Kundalaka, Pantalaka and Pattallaka are some of the important variations of the name of this ruler.

to be one year only since most of the reigns of this period are of short duration. The next king Sundara Satakarni ruled for one year and his successor Cakora Svatikarna¹ for six months only. The Puranas must be relying on a definite tradition when they give short reigns of one year and six months. These short reigns may be due to internal revolts, disputed successions or foreign invasions and consequent disruption. There is ample evidence to show that the last is the correct hypothesis in the present case. It will be shown in Chapter VI how the date of Nahapana can be shown to be c. 60 to 110 A.D. His predecessor Bhumaka had already conquered Gujarat and Kathiavad. Nahapana conquered Malva and then proceeded to attack the Satavahana dominion in its home province. There was a long struggle between the two rival houses ; one Jain tradition records how the Satavahana king used to invest Broach every year. In the earlier phase of the struggle the Sakas inflicted several defeats on the Satavahanas ; it is not improbable that some of the six kings of the above group had short reigns, because they were killed in war. The defeat on the battle field may have encouraged revolts at home. There may have been also disputed succession owing to sudden deaths of the ruling kings. During this period the Satavahanas lost Konkan, Northern and Central Maharashtra and Malva. Some kind of stability may have been restored by Sivasvati who could maintain himself upon the throne for twenty-eight years, from c. 58 to 86 A.D.

The first king of the above group, Hala, is the reputed author of a Prakrit anthology of erotic verses named *Gathasaptasati*. A later tradition, as known to - Rajasekhara, asserted that the Satavahanas had issued a regulation that Prakrit alone should be used in their court. All their official records are in Prakrit; it is therefore no wonder that one of the kings of the dynasty should have completed an anthology of Prakrit verses. It is likely that some of the poets, whose verses have been selected by Hala, may have received patronage at his court. A tradition known to Merutunga asserted that he paid fabulous sums for the verses he selected. The *Gathasaptasati* in its present form is a redaction of the 4th century A.D.,² but its kernel goes back to the 1st century A.D. and may be assigned to king Hala. Tradition asserts that Gunadhya, the author of the original *Brhatkatha*, as also Sarvavarman, the author of the Katantra grammar, were the ministers of king Satavahana of Pratisthana. Smith has identified this Satavahana with Hala³ but the identification is by no means certain. Hala had a short and troubled reign and one may wonder whether it was marked by an extensive literary activity.

A recently published Prakrit work named *Lilavai* credits king Hala with an effort to invade Ceylon⁴. The adventure eventually became unnecessary as the king of Ceylon offered his daughter

¹ Cakora is one of the mountains which was included in the kingdom of Gautamiputra Satakarni. Whether Cakora Satakarni was connected with it we do not know.

² (It is of a still later age. See S. I., Vol. I, pp. 76 f.-V, V. M.)

³ Z.D.M.G., 1902, p, 660.

⁴ *Satavahana Commemoration Volume*, p. 100.

Lilavati in marriage to Hala. Hala had a short reign of five years and the rise of the Saka power under Bhumaka and Nahapana must have rendered any military expedition to Ceylon almost impossible; Sober history is unaware of any Satavahana king having ever undertaken an expedition to Ceylon. The feat is not ascribed even to Gautamiputra Satakarni, the greatest military genius of the dynasty. We need not therefore attach any historical value to the political events casually and cursorily mentioned in the *Lilavati*.

Sivasvati¹ the last king of this group, had a fairly long reign of 28 years from c. 58 to 80 A.D. He seems to have succeeded in establishing a stable rule and reorganising the administration in what remained of the old empire. Smith has identified this ruler with Mathariputra Sivalakura of the Kolhapur coins². This identification is, however, untenable; it will be shown later how the Kolhapur kings who issued the bow-and-arrow type of coins do not belong to the Satavahana dynasty. It is also very doubtful whether he can be identified with king Sakasena of Kanheri inscriptions Nos. 14 and 19.

The Yugapurana of the *Gargi-samhita* describes the Saka occupation of Pataliputra and then narrates how the greedy Saka king will attack the Kalinga and Sata (i.e. Satavahana) kingdoms and perish in the attempt. Whether this prophecy has any historical foundation, we do not know. The Sakas never reached Pataliputra. It is possible that Wima Kadphises, who had penetrated right up to Pataliputra in c. 70 A.D. may be the king referred to as the Saka invader. The discovery of the Puri Kusana coins in large numbers in Orissa renders the invasion of Kalinga either by Wima Kadphises or Kaniska very probable. It may be that Kaniska launched an attack on the Satavahanas from Kalinga, while his Satrapa Nahapana was harrying them from the north and the west. Sivasvati and possibly his successor Gautamiputra Satakarni had thus to fight the Scythian war on several fronts. We are only suggesting these possibilities without claiming any definite historicity for them. The evidence available is too slender to warrant a definite conclusion.

Gautamiputra Satakarni. c. 86-110 A.D.

Gautamiputra Satakarni³ ascended the throne in c. 86 A.D. and ruled for about 24 years. His relationship with his predecessor is not given in the Puranas. The fortunes of his family had reached the lowest ebb at the time of his accession. Nahapana had conquered a number of Satavahana provinces and was firmly entrenched there. Kaniska was perhaps trying to penetrate from the east. Before the end of his reign, Gautamiputra not only reoccupied all the lost provinces, but also carried the war into Nahapana's dominions and conquered some of his provinces like Kathiavad and Kukura (south-

¹ Z.D.M.G., 1902, p. 602.

² Sivasvami is another variation of this name. Sivasvati may also have stood for Siva Satakarni. *J. B.O.R.S XVI. 22.*

³ The Puranas assign him a period of 21 years only; the postscript to Nasik Inscription No. 10 is however dated in the 24th year of his reign. We may therefore presume that he ruled for 24 years.

east Rajputana). He may, therefore, well claim to be the establisher of the glory of the Satavahana dynasty, as he is actually described by his mother in her well-known record at Nasik. Gautamiputra combined an attractive and majestic personality with rare personal courage and remarkable power of military leadership¹. How he reorganised his forces after their successive defeats in the earlier reigns, and how he reconquered provinces after provinces we do not know. Obviously he must have reconquered Central and Northern Vaha-rastra first and Konkan thereafter. Eastern and Western Malva (Akara-Avanti) and south-east Rajputana (Kukura) must have been then occupied. A Jain tradition records that the Satavahana forces used to invest Bharukacha, the capital of king Naravahana (obviously Nahapana) every year for a long time, but without success. It is obvious that the struggle between the two dynasties was a long and protracted one and seems to have lasted for the greater part of the reign of Gautamiputra. Each side tried to weaken the other by diverting the ships to its main port—Kalyan in the case of the Satavahanas and Broach in the case of Nahapana. Eventually not only was Nahapana overthrown, but his whole Kshaharata family was uprooted². Apparently there were some Saka and Parthian feudatories of Nahapana in Kathiavad; they shared the same fate³ and that province was also annexed. Gautamiputra celebrated his memorable victory over Nahapana by recalling his silver currency and over-stamping it with his own symbols and legend. A large hoard of such coins was found at Jogathembi near Nasik in 1907.

The precise extent of Gautamiputra's entire dominion is not easy to determine. The question whether his mother's inscription describes his entire dominion or names only the provinces he had conquered is hotly debated. That all the provinces of the kingdom are not mentioned would be clear from the circumstance that southern Maharashtra, and Karnataka which undoubtedly formed part of Gautamiputra's kingdom are omitted from the list. The provinces mentioned are probably the important ones in the kingdom of Gautamiputra they included Asmaka (district watered by the lower Godavari), Mulaka (Paithan district), Vidarbha (Berar), Akara and Avanti (Malva), Kukura (south-eastern Rajputana), Suratha (Kathiavad) and Aparanta (Konkan). That Gautamiputra's empire extended much further to the south and the east is shown by the inclusion of the mountain Siritana (Sristana or Srisaila in Kurnool district) and mountain Mahendra which was situated between the Krsna and the Godavari. The inclusion of Mahendra mountain and Asmaka would show that Andhradesa formed an integral part of the empire. We have shown ahead;- how it was conquered as early as 75 B.C. during the reign of Satakarni II.

¹ Cf. *Patipunnacandamandalasasirikapiyada.sanasa varavarana-vikamacaruvika-masa aparimitam anekasamaravajita-ripu-saghasa, ... ekasurasa Nasik Iscr. No. 2*

² *Khaharatavansa-niravasesakarasa.*

³ *Saka-Yavana-Pallava-nisudanasa.* It is doubtful whether there were also some Yavana principalities in the Deccan or Central India which Gautamiputra could have crushed. The mention of Yavanas is probably conventional.

The view that it was conquered only in the days of the next king Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, seems untenable. The non-discovery of the coins of Gautamiputra in that province is purely accidental¹. The description of Gautamiputra as one whose draft animals had drunk water of the three oceans² would also suggest that Andhradesa was included in his kingdom.

The exact southern extent of the kingdom of Gautamiputra is not easy to determine. Ptolemy mentions as the contemporaries of Polemaios (Pulumavi, the successor of Gautamiputra), Baleokuros of Hippokoura, Kerolothros (Keralaputra) of Karonra (Karur) and Pandion of Modoura (Madura). It is doubtful whether Pulumavi had made any fresh conquests in the south. Sristana hill in Kurnool district is expressly included in Gautamiputra's dominion. It may have included part of the Coromandal coast. But the territories to the south and south-west of Mysore were excluded from it.

The prosperity and stability of the reign of Gautamiputra is fairly reflected in his coinage³. When he exterminated the Ksaharata family, he recalled the silver currency of Nahapana and counterstruck it with the legend giving his name; he also introduced the symbols of his dynasty on the coins like Caitya above the river, Ujjayini symbol etc. Whether Gautamiputra imitated the example of Nahapana and issued his own silver currency is difficult to state. The Jogathembi hoard, which contained more than 10,000 silver coins counterstruck by Gautamiputra, contained not a single silver coin which was his own issue. The coins in the hoard were in circulation for more than twenty-five years, and if they contained no silver coins of Gautamiputra, the presumption is that he issued none. We have however recently found a few rare silver coins, having the legend Gautamiputra only. They are most probably the issues of Gautamiputra Yajnasri Satakarni⁴.

Gautamiputra however issued a large number of potin coins with Elephant on the obverse and the Caitya on the reverse. In the Tarhala hoard of about 1,200 decipherable coins, 573 were of Gautamiputra Satakarni. The attribution of large round potin coins with Elephant on the obverse and Tree with large leaves on the reverse to Gautamiputra is doubtful, as there is no full and clear legend upon them. The term Gautami is there on these coins, but they could as well have been issued by Gautamiputra Yajnasri Satakarni who also had occupied southern Gujarat. It is now definitely proved that these coins were circulating in Gujarat⁵. It is therefore clear that during their short occupation of this province, the Satavahanas had issued their own currency for the use of their new subjects.

¹ [As a matter of fact, some coins of Gautamiputra have been found in Andhra.-V.V.M.]

² *Thamudtoyapita-cahanasa*.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar held that Gautamiputra Satakarni was himself defeated by Rudradaman, *I.A.*, 1918, p. 154. This view presupposes the joint rule of the father and the son, which is very improbable. About the identity of the king defeated by Rudradaman, see Chapter VI.

⁴ See *J.N.S.I.*, VIII, p. III. For a contrary view, see *Ibid.*, IX p. 93, X, p. 23.

⁵ *J.N.S.I.*, XII, p. 26.

We shall now discuss a number of incidental problems connected with Gautamiputra. R. G. and D. R. Bhandarkar have argued that Gautamiputra Satakarni and his son Vasisthiputra Pulumavi were ruling conjointly. This theory is untenable. In Nasik inscription No. 5 inscribed in the 24th year of Gautamiputra, his mother is described as *mahddevi* and *rajamata*; in Nasik inscription No. 2, issued in the 19th year of her grandson Pulumavi's reign, she is in addition described as *maharajapitamahi*, obviously because her grandson was then on the throne. If we assume that the description of a lady as *mahddevi* and *rajamata* justifies the inference that she was the wife and mother of a king at the same time, showing thereby that her husband and son were ruling jointly, will it not follow that the description of Balasri also as *mahdraja-pitamahi* would show that her husband, son and grandson were ruling together at one and the same time ? And yet the Bhandarkars do not accept this conclusion. The argument that Nasik inscription No. 10 issued in the 18th year of Gautamiputra's reign refers to a cave donated in the second year of Pulumavi in inscription No. 2, and thus shows that the two kings were ruling together at the end of the father's reign is also untenable. The inscription in question refers to an enlargement of the cave donated in the 18th year of Gautamiputra, which was carried out in the second year of the reign of Vasisthiputra. It does not prove that the second year of Pulumavi was earlier than the 18th year of Gautamiputra. There is thus no ground to assume that Gautamiputra was ruling with his son. A king named Gautamiputra Vilivayakura is known from the Bow and Arrow type coins found in Kolhapur. It will be shown later that this prince cannot be identified with Gautamiputra Satakarni.

It is from the time of Gautamiputra Satakarni that we notice inscriptions giving metronymics to many of Satavahana kings. It has been argued that this was due to matrilinear succession, the crown passing in the Satavahana dynasty, not to a ruler's son but to his sister's son. In several cases, however, the Puranas expressly state that the successor was the son of the predecessor. Gautamiputra Satakarni himself was succeeded by his own son and not his sister's son. There is in fact not a single known case in the Satavahana family of a sister's son succeeding the predecessor.

The custom of giving the metronymic was popular in Kausarhbi, Central India, Maharastra and the Eastern Deccan from c. 100 B.C. to c. 300 A.D. Not only the kings but also the commoners are seen following it. It may be probably due to polygamy. Thus Ajatasatru was called Vaidehiputra to indicate that he was the son of a Vaidehi princess, and not of a Kosala one, both of whom were among his father's spouses. It is also possible that the custom of mentioning the *gotra* of the mother may have originated in families where not only the father's but also the maternal uncle's *gotra* was avoided in selecting a bride or bridegroom as is the case with the Yajurvedi Brahmanas of Maharastra even today. It is however not yet possible to give any convincing reason for the adoption of this nomenclature

by a number of families during the centuries preceding and following the Christian era. The custom in a restricted sense goes back to “ the Vedic age. We find Kausikiputras and Kautsiputras mentioned in the Vedic literature. But why it died down soon after the beginning of the Gupta age, is a mystery.

Gautamputra died after a reign of about 24 years in c. 110 A.D. He was the greatest ruler among the Satavahanas and had the reputation of being a just and efficient ruler also. It is interesting to note that he owes the recognition of his place in history to his devotion to his mother¹. The latter had the misfortune to survive her son, and records his glorious achievements in a eulogy which she had got inscribed in a cave which she had jointly dedicated with her son. Had not this eulogy been composed, we could hardly have known much about the achievements of this distinguished ruler.

Vasisthiputra Pulumavi c.110-138 A.D.

Gautamputra was succeeded by Vasisthiputra Pulumavi in c. 110 Puranas expressly describe him as Gautamputra's son and inscriptions confirm this information. The Puranic statement that he ruled for 28 years is rendered probable by one of his inscriptions being dated in his 24th year. We may, therefore, place his reign from c. 110 to 138 A.D. He is identical with king Polemaios of Baithana mentioned by Ptolemy and was the contemporary of Tiastenes or Castana of Ujjayini who ruled from c. 115 A.D. to 125 A.D., as will be shown in Chapter VI.

Rapson has advanced the view that king Satakarni, the overlord of the Deccan, who is claimed to have been defeated by Rudradaman twice before the year 150 A.D., should be identified with Vasisthiputra Pulumavi. He further identifies this ruler with, Vasisthiputra Sri Satakarni of the Kanheri inscription, who was the son-in-law of a daughter of Mahaksatrapa Rudradaman². There are almost unsurmountable difficulties in accepting this view. It is difficult to believe that Rudradaman would have committed the mistake of misnaming the king, who was his near relation and whom he had defeated twice. How could he have confounded a Satakarni with a Pulumavi who ascended the throne in c. 110 A.D. It is not very likely that Pulumavi could have married a grand-daughter of his contemporary Castana. In the Nasik *prasasti* (eulogy) of his grandmother, issued in his 19th regnal year, there is nothing to suggest that the extensive conquests of her son had already evaporated before the 19th year of her grandson's reign³. The silence of the record about the achieve-

¹ *Avipana-matu-sususakasa*. Rapson thinks that in the Post-script of Nasik inscription dated in the 24th year of Gautamputra's reign, the queen mother is associated with him probably because she was taking an active part in the administration owing to her son's failing health. This does not seem probable. If Gautamputra was rather too old to administer the kingdom unaided, the case of his mother might have been worse. The association of the mother must obviously have been due to the charity in question being sanctioned at her request.

² *B.M.C.A.K.*, Introduction pp. xxxviii.

³ Rapson thinks that Pulumavi had been already defeated before the 19th year of his reign because the territorial titles which Gautamputra won 'by this conquests are not seen inherited by him. The construction of the *prasasti*, however, did not make it possible to again describe Vasisthiputra as the ruler of the provinces, ruled over by his father.

ments of Pulumavi is obviously due to its express purpose being to eulogise Gautamiputra who was associated with the original dedication of the cave. Rudradaman claims to have wrested Konkan from the Satavahanas; we have got some records of Vasisthiputra at Kanheri, which was certainly included in it. We have a large number of inscriptions of Pulumavi at Nasik and Karli, and none of them suggests that he had been defeated.

There are serious chronological difficulties in assuming that Gautamiputra continued to rule down to c. 130 A.D. and that his son was defeated by Rudradaman. These will be indicated in Chapter VI. In order to overcome them, R.G. Bhandarkar and D.R. Bhandarkar assumed that the father and the son were ruling together. We have however, already shown above how this theory of joint rule is untenable.

Political events in the reign of Pulumavi are shrouded in mystery. Castana was sent down from the north to reconquer the Deccan for the Scythians. From his outpost at Ajmer, he conquered Ujjayini and then proceeded to occupy Cutch and Northern Gujarat. Vasisthiputra Pulumavi reconciled himself to the loss of Malya but decided to oppose any further expansion. In the meanwhile Castana died and was succeeded by his son Jayadaman. It seems very probable that towards the end of his reign, Pulumavi defeated Jayadaman and reduced him to the status of a mere Ksatrapa¹. It is not improbable that the marriage of a daughter of Rudradaman with his younger brother Vasisthiputra Satakarni was dictated on the battle-field by Pulumavi.

The discovery of the coins of Pulumavi in Andhra country and of an inscription of his at Amravati afford clear evidence of his holding a firm sway over that province. Several scholars have argued that it was Pulumavi, who for the first time conquered Andhra province². But we have already shown above how it is very likely that the province was annexed to the Satavahana kingdom in the reign of Apilaka and Meghasvati by the middle of the 1st century B.C., if not even earlier. As shown in the last section there is no doubt that Gautamiputra was ruling over it. It was once argued that Pulumavi's sway extended over Coromandal coast also³. The coins with the motif of ship with two masts found near Coromandal coast, which were once doubtfully attributed to Pulumavi, have now been proved to be the issues of Sri Yajna Satakarni⁴. A record of Pulumavi has been found in Bellary district of Madras State. But whether he is this ruler or the last king of the dynasty, it is difficult to decide.

¹ The other alternative is to hold that Jayadaman is seen using the lower title Ksatrapa on the coins, because he predeceased his father Castana. See Chapter VI.

² *J.B.B.R.A.S., N.S.I.*, pp. 10-11; *Early History of Andhra Country*, pp. 62-63.

³ *B.M.C.A.K.*, pp. xxxix.

⁴ *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 43 f.

The record does not give the characteristic epithet of Pulumavi to him, viz. Vasisthiputra. On the other hand it is dated in the eighth year of the king's reign, whereas the Puranas state that the last king Puloma. ruled for seven years only. Whether the record belongs to Vasisthiputra Pulumavi or not, there can be no doubt that his dominions included the ceded district of the Madras State.

The belief long entertained by scholars that Vasisthiputra Pulumavi was the king crushed by Rudradaman has prevented the proper appreciation of his career and achievements. It was no doubt true that he could not retain trans-Narmada. territories conquered by his father. But it must be admitted that very few Deccan states have succeeded in doing so in Indian history. There is no doubt that Pulumavi continued to hold northern Maharashtra and southern Gujarat. It appears that he succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat if not on Castana at least on his son Jayadaman. A portrait silver coin of his discovered in 1952 shows that his features showed an aquiline nose and grim determination. He was a worthy successor of his father. He continued the toleration policy of his dynasty ; we find him making several donations to Buddhist establishments, though he himself was an orthodox Hindu.

Sivasri Satakarni c. 138-145 A.D.

According to the Puranas Vasisthiputra Pulumavi was succeeded by Sivasri Satakarni, who is credited with a short reign of seven years. Puranas do not give the metronymic in any case; it would therefore appear very probable that this Sivasri Satakarni is identical with Vasisthiputra Satakarni of the Kanheri record who had married a daughter of king Rudradaman. We may well infer from the common epithet Vasisthiputra that Vasisthiputra Pulumavi and Vasisthiputra Satakarni were uterine brothers; some weight is lent to this view by the circumstance of [Vasisthiputra] Sivasri Satakarni having a short reign of 7 years only. He had succeeded a brother who had a long reign of 28 years, and so his own reign was naturally not long. Puranas do not give the relationship between these two rulers. King Sri Sivamaka Sata of the Amravati record may perhaps be identical with this ruler.

Vasisthiputra Siva Sri Satakarni was the son-in-law of the Saka King Rudradaman who ascended the throne in c. 140 AD. The long standing rivalry between the two houses may have been probably kept under check for some time by this circumstance.

It appears that some Saka chiefs entered the service of the Satavahanas as their generals and were granted the feudatory status with the right to issue coins. The coins of a Saka king named Mana who was the son of Bharadvaja have recently come to light¹. His family was ruling in south Hyderabad.

¹ J.N.S1., VII, p. 90; J.N.S.I. XI, p. 59.

The marriage of Vasisthiputra Satakarni with the Saka princess had a curious numismatic consequence. The son-in-law took a fancy for the Ksatrapa coinage and issued some silver pieces, having the bust of the king on the obverse as on the Saka coins. One such coin of this ruler, existing in the Prince of Wales Museum collection in Bombay, has been recently published¹.

Numismatic and epigraphical evidence shows that this ruler was ruling over most of the Satavahana empire. The discovery of his record at Kamheri shows that he held Konkan. The Tarhala hoard, which contained 32 coins of this ruler, proves that he was holding sway over Berar. The lead coins with the legend Vasisthiputra Siva Sri Satakarni found in Andhra country attest to his rule over it-

This king ruled down to 145 A.D. and it does not appear that Rudradaman launched any attack on him. The Junagad inscription describes the Satavahana king defeated as not a distant relation and surely that is not the phraseology to be used for a son-in-law.

Sivaskanda Satakarni. 145-175 A.D.

Puranas mention Sivaskanda Satakarni as the next ruler. He was the son of his predecessor Sivasrni Satakarni, as stated in the Puranas. Sivaskanda Satakarni may have been abridged into Skanda Satakarni, which in Prakrt would appear as Khada Satakarni. The present ruler may thus be identical with king Khada Satakarni, 23 of whose coins were found in Tarhala hoard². On some coins in Andhra districts we have the name of the king as Vasisthiputra Sri Canda-Satakarni. It is not unlikely that the issuer of these coins may also be identical with the present ruler. Skanda can also become *Canda* in Prakrt. Letters *ca* and *kha* are undistinguishable at this period and *ca* on the coins of Andhradesa can also stand for *Kha*. We therefore tentatively suggest the identity of Siva Khada Satakarni with Sri Canda Satakarni. Rapson has suggested that Vasisthiputra Siva Canda (=Sivaskanda) Satakarni may have been a brother of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, as suggested by common metronymic. But there is nothing against a nephew of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi having married a bride of Vasistha *gotra* like his uncle.

King Satakarni, defeated twice by Rudradaman I before 150 A.D., was most probably Sivaskanda Satakarni. Polygamy was common among kings and therefore Sivaskanda Satakarni may well have been a son of Siva Sri Satakarni, but born of a queen other than the Saka princess. He would thus be a step son of Rudradaman's daughter and the Junagad record may well describe him as not distantly-related with the Saka conquerer. Rapson has assumed that the king

¹ A king named Rudra Satakarni is known from some coins found in Andhradesa, *B.M.C.A.K.* pp. 46-7. The name does not occur in the Puranic list and it is not impossible that he may be identical with Siva Sri Satakarni. Siva and Rudra are synonyms.

² *J.N.S.I.* II. p. 83.

defeated was Vasisthiputra Pulumavi who was Rudradaman's son-in-law, but we have already shown how this suggestion is untenable. All the known facts of history are very well explained by assuming that it was Sivaskanda Satakami who was defeated by Rudradiiman. The defeated ruler is described as a Satakami and Sivaskanda Satakami had that name. He is shown above to be a contemporary of Rudradiiman. He was most probably his daughter's step son, and is therefore naturally described as a not-distant relation.

The Satavahanas had probably lost Malva and Northern Gujarat earlier. As a result of the two defeats suffered now, they lost Kathiavad and Northern Konkan. Their sway over Maharashtra, Berar and Andhra country was not affected by these defeats. Sivaskanda Satakami is represented by 23 coins in the Tarhala hoard and a large number of his coins are found in Andhra country.

Puranas do not give the duration of the rule of Sivaskanda Satakarni, and it is not therefore easy to determine it. One Ms. of the *Vayupurana*, however, omits king Sivasri Satakami and mentions a Satakami as the immediate successor of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi and credits him with a long reign of 29 years. We have therefore assumed that this ruler is identical with Sivaskanda Satakami and assigned him a reign of 29 years. This however is a pure hypothesis, to be proved or disproved by later discoveries.

One of the Kanheri records is dated in the 13th year of a king named Vasisthiputra Chatarapana Satakami. It is clear that the ruler belonged to the Satavahana dynasty but his identity is difficult to determine. The earlier view that he is to be identified with the father or son of Yajna Sri Satakarni is no longer tenable ; for it is now clear that the legend does not at all contain the name of Chatarapana. The identity of the ruler would be difficult to determine until the meaning of the mysterious term Chatarapana is known. If however our assumption that Sivaskanda Satakami ruled for about 29 years is tenable, it is not unlikely that he may be identical with the king Vasisthiputra Chatarapana Satakami of the Kanheri record. We have shown above how it is quite likely that this ruler may have had the epithet of Vasisthiputra. The ruler of the Kanheri record cannot be identified with Gautamiputra Satakami and Yajnasri Satakarni, because they were both Gautamiputras. He cannot be identified with Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, because he was not a Satakami. He therefore may be tentatively identified with Vasisthiputra Sivasri Satakarni.

The reason why we have credited this ruler with a long reign of 29 years may be indicated here. His successor Gautamiputra Yajna Sri Satakami is known to have wrested some of the lost provinces from the Sakas. There was an internecine war in the Saka dynasty from c. 181 to 196 A.D. It is likely that this struggle rendered the conquests of Yajna Sri possible. We have therefore to place his reign between c. 174 and 203 and thus prolong that of his predecessor to c. 174 A.D.

Gautamiputra Yajna-Sri Satakarni c.174-203 A.D.

Sivaskanda Satakarni was succeeded by Gautamiputra Yajña Sri Satakarni as the Puranas do not mention the relationship between the two rulers. Yajñasri's inscription found at Chinna Gajam is dated 'in his 27th year'; we may therefore well presume that he ruled for 29 years, as slated in most of the Puranas¹.

Yajñasri Satakarni was an able and ambitious prince; he considerably retrieved the fallen fortunes of his dynasty. A war of succession arose between Saka Ksatrapa Jivadaman and his uncle Rudrasimha in c. 180 A.D. Yajñasri took its full advantage and attacked the Sakas from the south. There is no doubt that he wrested back northern Konkan from them, for two records of this ruler are found at Kanheri, giving endowments to the monks staying there. One of these is dated in his 16th year; this would show that the reconquest of Northern Konkan took place by c. 190 A.D. One silver coin of Gautamiputra Yajñasri Satakarni was found in Kathiavad and another in Besnagar. But it would be hazardous to conclude from this that he had succeeded in reconquering Kathiavad and Malva. The solitary coins may have travelled there through commerce.

This king continued to rule over the territory from Konkan to Andhradesa. His inscriptions have been found at Kanheri in Konkan, Nasik in Maharashtra and Chinna Gajam in Andhradesa. In the Canda and Tarhala hoards he is richly represented², showing that he had a long and prosperous reign. In Andhradesa, his coins are found in large numbers at several places. The ship-mast type of coins which were for a long time attributed to Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, have now been shown to be the issues of Gautamiputra Sri Yajña Satakarni. The findspot of these coins would suggest, but not prove, the extension of the Satavahana power to Coromandal Coast. The Satavahana empire under this ruler extended practically over the whole of Deccan to the south of the Narmada and the north of the Pennar river³.

Vijaya Satakarni. Candra Sri Satakarni. Pulumavi III.

Our knowledge of the Satavahana history is very meagre subsequent to the death of Gautamiputra Yajñasri Satakarni. According to the Puranas, three kings mentioned above succeeded him in the stated order. Of these the second is stated by the Puranas to be the son of the first, but his relationship to the third ruler is not given. He is on the other hand described as some one among the Andhras. He may have been a distant scion who usurped the throne. Bhandarkar had thought that the rule of the last rulers was confined only to the Eastern

¹ Some Mss. assign him a reign of 19 years only. One Matsya Ms. changes the tense into the present and says *Nava txirsani Yajñasrih kurute Satakarnikah*. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 42. This suggests that the Purana was written in the 9th year of this monarch's reign.

² The Tarhala hoard of about 1225 coins had 250 issued by this ruler.

³ A silver coin of this ruler was found in 1951 near Jabalpur; it may lend some weight to the view that the upper Narmada valley was also included in his empire. We cannot however exclude the possibility of the coin having gone there with a pilgrim or a trader, *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, p. 46.

Deccan, where the coins of Candra Sri¹ have been found. But four coins of Vijaya and Pulmnavi each were later found in the Tarhala hoard, suggesting that the dominion included both Andhradesa and Berar and the adjoining territories.

How the mighty Satavahana empire dissolved in less than thirty' years after the death of Yajnasri Satakarni is not clearly known. We do not get any records of the successors of Yajna Sri in Konkan and northern Maharashtra. On the other hand we begin to get inscriptions of the Abhiras there towards the end of the 2nd century. These Abhiras were building their power carefully. We find them playing the part of the king-makers at the Ksatrapa court at c. 175 A.D. It appears that they eventually became strong enough to oust the later Satavahana rulers from Northern and Central Maharashtra.

¹ The *Kaliyugarajavrttanta* states that Andhra kings Candri and Pulomah were in the occupation of palaliputra just before the accession of Candragupta I in c 300 A.D. There was a difference of at least 75 years between Puloma III and Candragupta I and so they could not have been contemporaries. The Satavahanas are not at all likely to have held Pataliputra towards the end of their dynasty, when their power had become extremely feeble. The *Kaliyugarajavrttanta* is more probably a late forgery. See *J.N.S.I.*, VI p. 34.

CHAPTER 3

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE SATAVAHANAS IN MAHARASTRA*

AFTER THE BREAK-UP OF THE SATAVAHANA EMPIRE ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF THIRD CENTURY A. D. several small kingdoms arose in the different parts of Maharashtra. The Puranas mention the Andhras, Abhiras, Gardabhins, Yavanas, Tusaras, Sakas, Munmdas, Mannas and Kilakilas as the successors of the Andhras (*i.e.* the Satavahanas)¹. This statement has not been fully borne out by the records discovered so far; but there is no doubt that some of these families were ruling in the Deccan after the downfall of the Satavahanas. That the Abhiras rose to power in Northern Maharashtra is shown by the inscription of the Abhira *Rajan* Isvarasena in a cave at Nasik². The names of some other Abhira kings are known from inscriptional and literary records. The Andhras were evidently identical with the Sriparvatiyas mentioned by the Puranas in the same context later on. They were undoubtedly the kings of the Ikshvaku family whose records have been found in the lower Krishna valley at Nagarjunikonda and neighbouring places³. The Sakas were probably the descendants of the *Mahasenapati* Mana, who declared his independence in the country of Mahisaka⁴. No records of the remaining dynasties such as the Gardabhins, Yavanas, Tusaras, Murundas, Maunas and Kilakilas have yet been discovered. We have indeed some references to the king Vikramaditya of the Gardabhilla family in late literary works, but he belongs to a much earlier age, *viz.*, the first century B.C., in which, however, his existence is rendered doubtful on account of the far-spread Empire of the Satavahanas. One other family, on the other hand, which the Puranas mention as having risen to power after the Kilakilas is known from inscriptions and Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. This is the illustrious family of the Vakatakas, whose founder Vindhya-sakti, the Puranas tell us, succeeded the Kilakilas or Kolikilas⁵. The Puranic account of the successors of the Satavahanas cannot therefore be accepted *in toto*, but to a certain extent it is corroborated by the

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¹ *D.K.A.*, p. 45 f.

² Inscr. No. 1, *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 1 f.

⁴ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 98 f.

⁵ *D.K.A.*, p. 48.

existing sources. We are here concerned only with the dynasties that were ruling in Maharastra.

ABHIRAS.

The Abhiras were an ancient race whose original habitat lay in the north-western parts of India. The *Mahabharata* mentions three divisions of the Abhiras, viz., those who lived on the bank of the Sarasvati, fishermen and mountaineers¹. In this part of the country lay the holy place called *vinasana*, where the sacred river Sarasvati is said to have gone underground through hatred of the Sudras and Abhiras living there. Elsewhere, the Punjab is stated to be the strong-hold of the Abhiras. It was in that part of the country that Arjuna was attacked by the Abhiras as he was escorting the wives of the Yadavas after the death of Kṛṣṇa. These and other references indicate that the part of the Punjab between the Satlaj and the Yamuna was their home-land. Like some other tribes of the Punjab, they appear to have spread from there to the east and the south. Ptolemy places their country Abiria in Central Sindh. The *Brhatsamhita* of Varahamihira mentions the Abhira and Kohkan countries among the *Janapadas* of the South. Some Abhiras occupied influential positions in Saurashtra in the early centuries of the Christian era. In some Puranas they are classed with the people of the southern countries like Maharastra, Vidarbha, Asmaka and Kuntala. Gradually Khandes became their stronghold. Even now the Abhiras or Ahirs predominate in that part of Maharastra.

The Abhiras generally followed the profession of cowherds. They were consequently associated with the Sudras. Patanjali discusses in his *Mahabhasya* whether Abhira was a sub-caste of the Sudras and concludes that it is a different caste. In the *Kasika*, a commentary on Panini's *Astadhyayi*, the Abhiras are called *Mahasudras* or superior Sudras. A Mahasudra was one of the functionaries at the coronation ceremony of kings. Commentators explain the term Mahasudra as a Commander of the Sudra army'. This shows that the Abhiras from very early times occupied positions of power and vantage at the royal courts.

Like other tribes of the Punjab, the Abhiras had a republican form of government. In the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta they are mentioned together with such other well-known republican tribes of the North as the Malavas and the Arjunayanas. Unlike these latter tribes, however, they are not known to have struck any coins in the name of their *gana* or republic.

Some Abhiras are known to have occupied high political position under the Western Ksatrapas. An inscription found in Saurashtra mentions an Abhira General named Rudrabhuti who was serving under the Western Ksatrapa Rudrasimha. According to the Puranas, the Abhiras who rose to power after the Andhras (i.e. the Satavahana-nas) were *Andhrabhṛtyas*, i.e., servants of the Andhras. They were therefore occupying influential positions in the State. One of them, Isvarasena, usurped power after the downfall of the last Satavahana king Pulumavi IV.

¹ For this and other references see C.II., Vol. IV, p. xxxi f.

THE ABHIRAS.C.& SC.

Very few inscriptions of the Abhiras have been discovered so far. The earliest of them is in a cave at Nasik¹. It is dated in the ninth regnal year of the Abhira king Isvarasena, the son of the Abhira Sivadatta. Isvarasena, following the custom of the Satavahanas, called himself Madhariputra, *i.e.*, son of a lady who belonged to the Madhara *gotra*. Like the earlier Ksatrapas and the Satavahanas, he bore the simple title *Rajan*, but there is no doubt that he was independent as he mentions no suzerain. His father Sivadatta bears no royal title, which shows that Isvarasena himself was the founder of the Abhira dynasty.

Isvarasena founded an era which continued in use for nearly a thousand years and became known in later times as the Kalacuri or Cedi Samvat² ; for it was then used by the Kalacuri kings of Tripuri, who were ruling over the Cedi country. It was started in A.D. 249-50. So its epoch for a current year is A.D. 248-49 and that for an expired year is A.D. 249-50. Its year began on Karttika sukla pratipada. Its months were *amunta* in Maharashtra and Gujarat and *puntimanta* in Madhya Pradesh including Chattisgarh.

The Nasik cave inscription is the only known record of the reign of the Abhira king Isvarasena. He did not strike any coins. At least none have been discovered so far. So it is not possible to say how far his rule extended. But judging by the spread of his era which must have been consequent on his conquests, his kingdom probably comprised Gujarat, Konkan and Western Maharashtra³.

According to the Puranas, ten Abhira kings ruled for sixty-seven years. The Puranas do not, however, mention any royal names. Vatsyayana's *Kamasutra* mentions one Abhira Kottaraja, who was murdered in another's house by a washerman at the instigation of his brother⁴. Yasodhara, a commentator of the *Kamasutra*, states that he was ruling at Kotta, but Kottaraja was probably his personal name. He may have been one of the successors of Isvarasena.

Recently another Abhira king named Vasusena has become known from an inscription discovered at Nagarjunakonda. It is dated in the year 30, which is referred to the Abhira era founded by Isvarasena⁵. The date, therefore, corresponds to A.D. 279-80. It records the installation of the image of Astabhuja svamin on Svetagiri.

¹ Inscr. No. 1, *G.I.*, Vol. IV,

² *G.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xxii.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxiv.

⁴ *Kamasutra* (Kashiram Series), p. 260, *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. xxxiv, n. I.

⁵ *Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXIV* pp. 197 f. This is, however, very doubtful.

The period of sixty-seven years assigned by the Puranas to the rule of ten Abhira kings appears to be too short. Perhaps the expression *sapta-sasti-satan-ihā* stating the period of Abhira rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vayupurana*¹, is a mistake for *sapfa-sastim satan-ch-cha*. In that case Abhira rule may have lasted for 167 years, i.e. till A.D. 416.

The Feudatories of the Abhiras.

Though the names of Abhira kings have passed into oblivion, those of some of their feudatories have become known from inscriptions discovered in Central India, Gujarat and Khandesa. One of these was Isvararata, whose fragmentary copper-plate inscription was discovered some years ago at Kalachala near Chota Udaipur in Gujarat². Only the first plate of the grant has been found. It mentions Isvararata as meditating on the feet of a lord paramount (*paramabhattaraka-padanudhyala*). The plates were issued from Praekasa, which seems to be identical with Prakasa on the Tapi in North Khandesa. They record the grant of the village Kupika, situated in the patta of Vankika. The donated village cannot now be traced, but Vahkika, the headquarters of the territorial division in which it was situated, may be identical with Vankad. about 20 miles from Chota Udaipur. Isvararata seems, therefore, to have been ruling over Central Gujarat and some portion of North Khandesa.

The names of three other feudatories, viz., *Maharaja* Svamidasa (Year 67), *Maharaja* Bhulunda (Year 107) and *Maharaja* Rudradasa (Year 117), have become known from their copper-plate grants³. Those of the first two were discovered at Indore and so their dates were referred to the Gupta era when they were edited by R. C. Majumdar. But their close similarity to the third grant found at Sirpur in Khandesa in respect of characters, phraseology and mode of dating leaves no doubt that they, like the latter grant, originally belonged to Khandesa. Their dates must therefore be referred to the Abhira era and taken to correspond to A.D. 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 respectively. All of them were issued from Valkha, which was evidently their capital. This place has not yet been definitely identified, but may be identical with Vaghli, now a small village, about 6 miles north by east of Calisganv in the Jalgaon District.

¹ D.K. A., p. 46.n.37.

² G. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 603 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV. Inscriptions. Nos. 2-4.

Svamidasa, Bhulunda and Rudradasa, though they bear the title *Maharaja*, describe themselves in their grants as *parama-bhattaraka-padanudhyata*, i.e., 'meditating on the feet of the lord paramount'. They were therefore feudatories of the contemporary Abhira Emperors.

One other feudatory family ruling in Khandesa, which had similar names ending in *dasa*¹, has become known from an inscription in Cave XVII at Ajintha. It gives the following genealogy :—



The elder son of Krshnadasa whose name is lost became over whelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisamba. He began to lead a pious life and got the Vihara cave XVII and the Caitya Cave XIX excavated at Ajintha for the use of the Buddhist Bhiksus during the reign of Harisena, 'the moon among the princes'. This Harisena was the last known Vakataka king who was ruling in *circa* A.D. 475-500. The elder son of Krshnadasa was thus a feudatory of the Vakatakas. He was preceded by ten princes, the first of whom must have been ruling in *circa* A.D. 275-300. In its earlier period the family evidently owed allegiance to the Abhiras, but later on it seems to have transferred it to the Vakatakas.

SOME OTHER FEUDATORIES.

The Abhiras seem to have soon extended their sway to Central India also. One of their feudatories in this part of the country was the Saka king Sridharavarman, whose inscriptions have been found at Kanakheda near Sanci² and at Eran in the Saugor district³.

¹ Inscr. No. 27, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Inscr. No. 5, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

³ Inscr. No. 119, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

The former bears a date which has been variously read. The present writer has shown elsewhere that the correct reading of it appears to be the year 102, which, on the evidence of palaeography, must be referred to the Abhira era. It therefore corresponds to A.D. 351-52. The title *Mahadandadyaka* which is prefixed to the name of Sridharavarman indicates that he began his career as a military officer of the contemporary Abhira king. Later, he seems to have risen to the status of a feudatory. As the power of the Abhiras declined, he declared his independence and assumed the title *Rajan* and *Mahaksatrapa*, which are noticed in his other inscription discovered at Eran.

The Eran inscription is incised on a pillar called *Yasti*, erected by Satyanaga, the *Araksika* and *Sendpati* of the Saka king Sridharavarman as a memorial to the Naga soldiers who had laid down their lives in a battle fought at the *adhisthdna* of Erikina (Eran). In this inscription Satyanaga, who hailed from Maharastra, expresses the hope that the *yasti*, raised by the Nagas themselves, would inspire future generations to perform similar brave deeds ; for it was a place where friends and foes met together in a spirit of service and reverence. Satyanaga's hope was fulfilled in later times ; for another inscription on the same pillar has recorded that the brave king Goparaja, the ally of the Gupta Emperor Bhanugupta, died at the same place, fighting bravely against the enemy who was probably the Huna king Toramana and that his wife immolated herself on his funeral pyre. The aforementioned inscription of Sridharavarman is also noteworthy as containing the earliest epigraphical reference to the name Maharastra.

Another feudatory of the Abhiras was Subandhu, who was ruling from Mahismati, modern Mahesvar in Madhya Pradesh. Only two grants of this king have been discovered so far, one of them being from some place in the former Badwani State¹ and the other from the famous Bagh Caves². The former bears the date 167, which in view of the close resemblance of the grant to those of the *Mahdrdjas* of Khandesa mentioned above in respect of characters, phraseology and royal sign manual, must be referred to the Abhira era. It is therefore equivalent to A.D. 416-17. Unlike the *Maharajas* of Khandesa, Subandhu does not refer to any suzerain even in general terms, which shows that he had declared his independence. It is noteworthy that Abhira rule ended just about this time according to the Puranas. Subandhu's kingdom which lay between the flourishing Gupta Empire north of the Narmada and the rising Traikutaka power in the south may have served as a buffer State. Subandhu ruled from Mahismati. His successors may have continued to hold the country until it was annexed by the Vakataka king Harisena in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.

¹ Inscr. No. 6, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

² Inscr. No. 7, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

THE TRAIKUTAKAS.

The Traikutakas derived their name from Trikuta, the Three-peaked Mountain or the district in which it was situated. From Kalidasa's reference to this mountain in the description of Raghu's *digvijaya*¹ it was clear that it was situated in Aparanta or North Konkan, but its exact location was uncertain for a long time. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji identified it with Junnar in the Poona district, which is encircled by three ranges of hills² Rai Bahadur Hiralal proposed its identification with the Satpuda hills³, but this is precluded by the fact that the inscriptions and coins of the Traikutakas have been found only in South Gujarat, North Konkan and Maharastra. The matter is now finally settled by the mention of the Purva-Trikuta-Visaya or the Eastern Trikuta district in the Anjanciri plates of the Hariscandriya King Bhogasakti⁴ which shows that Trikuta was the name of the range of hills bordering the Nasik district on the west. A tax levied on the residents of that district was assigned for the worship of the god Bhogesvara whose temple was situated at jayapura near Nasik.

The names of the known Traikutaka kings end in either *dalla* or *sena* and thus resemble those of the Abhiras Sivadatta and his son Isvarasena mentioned in the Nasik cave inscription. Bhagwanlal Indraji therefore thought that the Traikutakas were identical with the Abhiras. He suggested that Abhira was the racial and Traikutaka the territorial designation of the dynasty. The Candravalli inscription of the Kadamba king Mayurasarman⁵, which, on palaeographic grounds, can be referred to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., mentions Trekuta (i.e. the Traikutakas) separately from Abhira. It shows, therefore, that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were different. The Abhira was an imperial family to which the Traikutaka owed allegiance. Khandesa was the stronghold of the Abhiras as the Nasik district was that of the Traikutakas.

The Traikutakas seem to have risen into prominence soon after the downfall of the Satavahanas, but we have no records of the family during the first two centuries of their rule. The first known Traikutaka king is *Maharaja* Indradatta, whose name is mentioned only in the legends of the coins of his son *Maharaja* Dahrasena⁶. The coins of the Traikutakas are closely imitated from those of the Western Ksatrapas which were previously current in Maharastra. They have, on the obverse, the king's bust as on the Ksatrapa coins but without any date, while, on the reverse, they have the usual Ksatrapa symbols, the caitya, the sun and the moon inside a circularly written legend.

¹ *Raghuvamsa*, Canto IV, v. 59.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I (Old ed.), Vol. 1, Part i, p. 57.

³ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 283-84.

⁴ *Inscr. No. 31, c. 1. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁵ *A. R.*, *A. S. M.*, (1920), p. 50.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV. P. clxxix f.

From inscriptions and coins we get the following genealogy of the Traikutaka kings : —

Indradatta
|
(son)
Maharaja Dahrasena (K. 207 = A.D. 456-57)
|
(son)
Maharaja Vyaghrasena (K. 241 = A.D. 490-91).

As stated above, no records of the reign of the first king Indradatta have yet been found. He is known only from the coins of his son Dahrasena. These coins have been found at Daman and Kamrej in South Gujarat, Karhad in the Satara district and Kazad, in the Indapur taluka of the Poena, district. His copper-plate inscription found at Pardi in the Surat district mentions his Asvamedha or horse-sacrifice, which shows that he had declared his independence after the downfall of the Imperial Abhiras. The Pardi plates were, issued from the king's victorious camp at Amraka and record the grant of a village in the Antar-Mandali visaya, which evidently included the territory on both the banks of the Mandali or Mindhola river. Dahrasena was a worshipper of Visnu as he calls himself, *parama-vaishnava* on his coins and *Bhagavat-pada-karmakara* in his copper-plate grant. His empire comprised southern Gujarat, Kohkan and Northern Maharashtra. He may have reigned from *circa* A.D. 440 to A.D. 456.

His son and successor Vyaghrasena is known from a copper-plate inscription found at Surat² and silver coins found at Kazad and other places. The plates were issued from Aniruddhapura, which has not yet been satisfactorily identified. They record the grant of a village in the *ahara* or territorial division of Iksaraki, which has been identified with Accharan, about 9 miles north of Surat. Like his father, Vyaghrasena was a devout worshipper of Visnu. He ruled from *circa* A.D. 465 to A.D. 492.

One more inscription of the Traikutakas, inscribed on a single copper plate, was found deposited inside a Buddhist Stupa at Kanheri near Bombay³. It is dated in the year 245 (A.D. 194-95) and records the construction of a *Caitya* (i.e. Stupa) which a pilgrim from Sindh dedicated to Saradvatiputra (Sariputra), a famous disciple of the Buddha. The inscription does not mention any king, but refers in general terms to the victorious reign of the Traikutakas. The king ruling at the time must have been the successor of Vyaghrasena. About this time the Traikutaka kingdom was invaded by the mighty Vakataka king, Harisena. As in other cases, he did not probably annex the territory but was content with exacting a tribute. About fifty years thereafter the country was overrun by the Kulacuri king

¹ Inscr. No. 9, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

² Inscr. No. 9, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

³ Inscr. No. 10, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

Krsnaraja or his father. Krsnaraja's coins have been found all over the territory which was previously under the rule of the Traikutakas. He therefore seems to have brought Northern Maharashtra and Konkan under his rule by the middle of the sixth century A.D.

THE VAKATAKAS.

The Vakatakas occupy the same position of eminence in the ancient history of South India that the Guptas do in that of North India. At one time their empire extended from Malva in the North to the Tungabhadra in the South and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. They were great patrons of art and literature. The liberal patronage which they extended to Sanskrit and Prakrit poets made the Vaidarbhi and Vachchhomi *nils* famous throughout the country. They themselves composed Prakrit *kavyas* and Sanskrit and Prakrit *suhhasitas* which have evoked unstinted praise from poets and rhetoricians. Some of the most magnificent *Viharas* and *Cuities* at *Ajitha* were excavated and decorated by their ministers and feudatories. There is therefore no doubt that they exercised most profound influence on the culture and civilization of the Deccan.

Still the history and even the name of this illustrious dynasty had passed into oblivion. The Puranas no doubt mention Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravira¹ (who is evidently identical with Pravarasena I), but they place the former after the Kilakilas or Kolikilas, who succeeded the Satavahanas. The *Visnupurana* states that these Kolikilas were Yavanas or Greeks. Dr. Bhau Daji thought that Vindhyaśakti also belonged to the same race and so he remarked in 1862 that "the Vakatakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as in the execution of most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism². It is now accepted that Vindhyaśakti was a Brahmana of the Visnurvrdha *gotra*³. This well illustrates the great strides that research has made in the history of the Vakatakas during the last hundred years.

Even the period during which the Vakatakas flourished was long uncertain. All their records are dated in regnal years which afford no clue to their age. Their grants are written in box-headed characters which soon became stereotyped. Experts therefore differed widely in interpreting their palaeographic evidence. While Buhler placed the Vakatakas in the fifth century A.D.⁴, Kielhorn and Sukhtankar relegated them to the eighth century⁵. The latter estimate of their age appeared to be supported by the mention, in the Vakataka grants, of *Maharajadhiraja* Devagupta, the maternal grandfather of Vakataka Pravarasena II, whom Fleet identified with

¹ D. K. A., pp. 48 and 50.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII, p. 69 f.

³ Inscr. No. 3, C. 1. I., Vol. V.

⁴ A. S. W. I., Vol. IV, p. 119.

⁵ Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p. 213 f.

Maharajadhiraja Devagupta of Magadha¹, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.D. Buhler's estimate of the age of the Vakatakas was, however, proved to be correct by the discovery, in 1912, of the Poona plates of Prabhavatigupta², which showed for the first time that Prabhavatigupta, the chief queen of Vakataka Rudrasena II and mother of the crown-prince Divakarasena, was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta king Candragupta II. Further progress in our knowledge of the history of the dynasty was made by the discovery, in 1939, of the Basim plates³ of Vindhyaśakti II, which proved that the Vakataka family branched off as early as the end of Pravarasena I's reign. The plates thus corroborated the statement in the Puranas that Pravira (*i.e.*, Pravarasena I) had four sons, all of whom came to the throne. Two of these sons *viz*, Gautami-putra and Sarvasena have now become known from the records of their descendants ; the names of the remaining two are still unknown. Still, the progress so far achieved in our knowledge of the history of the Vakatakas is not inconsiderable.

Chronology.

The chronology of the Vakatakas is still more or less conjectural and there are wide differences of opinion in regard to the interpretation of available evidence. Jayaswal's view that the Vakataka king Vindhyaśakti was the founder of the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era is untenable ; for the Vakatakas themselves did not use it in dating their own records. Still, like the Abhiras, they may have risen to power in *circa* A.D. 250⁴. We may tentatively assign a period of about twenty years to Vindhyaśakti's reign (A.D. 250 to 270). His son Pravarasena I is stated in the Puranas to have ruled for sixty years⁵. This does not appear improbable in view of his performance of four Asvamedhas and several Vajapeya and other Srauta sacrifices. He may therefore have ruled from about A.D. 270 to A.D. 330. The Vakataka family branched off after the death of Pravarasena I. The Puranas tell us that Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom founded separate kingdoms⁶. Only two of these have so far become known *viz.* one ruling from Nandivardhana near Nagpur and the other from Vatsagulma, modern Basim in the Akola district. As Pravarasena had a long reign of sixty years, his eldest son Gautami-putra predeceased him. He was therefore succeeded in the Nandivardhana branch by his grandson Rudrasena I. The latter may have ruled for about twenty years (A.D. 330-350). Vakataka grants tell us that when his son Prthivisena I succeeded him, his treasure and army had been accumulating for a hundred years⁷. He may therefore have begun to reign in A.D. 350. He seems to have had a long reign ; for he is said to have lived to see a succession of sons and grandsons. Besides, his son Rudrasena II was a junior con-temporary of the Gupta Emperor Candragupta II (A.D. 380-413),

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII. p. 13.

² *Inscr. No. 2, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ *Inscr. No. 23, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ *History of India 150 A.D. —350 A.D.* pp. 108 f.

⁵ *D. K. A.* p. 50.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ See *Inscr. No. 3, C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

whose daughter Prabliavatigupta was married to him. Prthivisena I may therefore have had a long reign of about fifty years (A.D. 350-400). Rudrasena II, who succeeded him, had a short reign ; for his wife Prabhavati was acting as a regent for his son Divakaramitra for thirteen years at least¹. Rudrasena II may therefore have ruled for about 5 years (*circa* A.D. 400-405). So far there is not much difference of opinion as regards the periods of rule of the Vakataka kings.

R. C. Majumdar has tried to determine subsequent chronology as follows² : —

“The Rddhapnr plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravara-sena II describe the dowager queen Prabliavatigupta as *sagra-varsa-sata-diva-putra-pautrd*. This passage means that Prabhavali-gupta lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons. She appears to have survived her brother Kumaragupta, whose reign came to an end in A.D. 455. She was probably born about A.D. 365. She became a widow about A.D. 420, when she had three minor sons Divakarasena, Damodarasena and Pravarasena. She acted as regent for Divakarasena for thirteen years. As the 100th year of Prabhavatigupta fell before the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II, working backwards, we get the following approximate years of accession of her three sons—Divakarasena A.D. 420, Damodarasena A.D. 435, and Pravarasena A.D. 450”.

The main plank in the chronological structure raised by Dr. Majumdar is the description of Prabliavatigupta in the Rddhapur plates as *sagravarsa-sata-diva-putra-pautra*, which he has altered into *sagra-varsa-sata-jiva-putra-pautra* and translated as ‘one who lived for a full hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time’. As the compound stands, it seems to connect the expression *sagra-varsn-sata-jiva* with *putra-pautra*, the intended meaning being that Prabhavatigupta had sons and grandsons living a life of full hundred years. This is not of course to be understood literally. The intention is to express the wish that they would be long-lived, as when such adjectives as *dirghayu* or *ayusmat* are used in the description of small children. The expression must therefore be taken to mean that Prabhavatigupta had at the time sons and grandsons who, it was hoped, would be long-lived. It does not refer to the long life of Prabhavatigupta at all³. To a widow like Prabliavatigupta a long life of a hundred years would be most distasteful. She is not likely to have boasted of it in her own grant.

Besides, Majumdar’s interpretation of the expression in question would lead to an absurd position. Majumdar supposes that the Vakataka queen had three sons, Divakarasena, Damodarasena and

¹ Inschr. No. 2, C. I. I. Vol. V.

² J. R. A. S. B., VI. XII, p. 1 f.

³ To have living sons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and so the epithet *jivaputra* is often noticed in the description of women in literature and inscriptions. The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected *with jiva*. For *jivaputra* used in the description of women, see *Rgveda*, X, 36, 9 ; *Mahabharata*, V, 144, 2; *Ramayana* IV, 19, 11. See also the Nasik Cave inscription of Gautami Balasri *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 73.

Pravarasena. This is against the evidence furnished by the wording in the Rddhapur plates¹. Again, Dr. Majumdar says that Prabhavati-gupta was born about A. D. 365 and became a widow in A.D. 420, i.e., when she was in the advanced age of 55 years. Her eldest son was then about six years old ; for she was acting as Regent for him for at least thirteen years. We shall therefore have to suppose that Prabhavati had no male children till she was nearly fifty years old, or that all her sons born before had died and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession. Such a supposition does not appear reasonable. It does not therefore appear that Prabhavati was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasena II when she issued her Rddhapur plates.

We have shown above that Rudrasena II died in *circa* A.D. 405. Thereafter Prabhavati was acting as Regent for her son Divakarsena for at least thirteen years. The young prince also seems to have been short-lived. He appears to have died soon after Prabhavati's Poona plates. So he may be referred to the period A.D. 405-420. He was succeeded by his younger brother Damodarasena *alias* Pravarasena II who had a long reign of about thirty years (A.D. 420-450)². His son Narendrasena and grandson Prthivisena II may each have reigned for about twenty years — the former from A.D. 450 to A.D. 470, and the latter from A.D. 470 to A.D. 490. The period thus conjecturally assigned to Prthivisena II, is corroborated by the date of his feudatory, the Uchchakalpa prince Vyaghra, whose stone inscriptions have been found at Nahna and Ganj in Central India³. He was probably ruling from G. 150 to G. 170, i.e., from *circa* A.D. 470 to A.D. 490 and was thus a contemporary of the Vakataka Prthivisena II, who flourished in the same period.

As regards the Vatsagulma branch, its founder Sarvasena was a contemporary of Rudrasena I of the Nandivardhana branch. He may therefore have flourished from *c.* A.D. 330 to A.D. 350. His son Vindhyaśakti's Basim plates are dated in the 37th year⁴. So he had evidently a long reign of about 45 years. He may therefore have reigned from A.D. 355 to A.D. 400. His son Pravarasena II seems to have died young ; for on his death his son ascended the throne at the early age of 8⁵, Pravarasena II of this branch may have therefore reigned from A.D. 400 to A.D. 410 and his son, whose name is unfortunately lost, from A.D. 410 to A.D. 450. Devasena, who succeeded the latter may have ruled from A.D. 450 to A.D. 475 and his son Harisena from A.D. 475 to A.D. 500. The story in the eighth chapter of the *Dasakumaracarita* seems to have had a historical

¹ In the Rddhapur plates the expression *Vakatakanana Maharajah*, which is invariably used in Vakataka records in connection with the names of ruling kings, is used with the name of Damodarasena, but not with that of Pravarasena II, who was actually reigning at the time. This would be strange unless the two were identical.

² His Pandhurna plates (No. 14, C. I. I. Vol. V) are dated in his twenty-ninth regnal year.

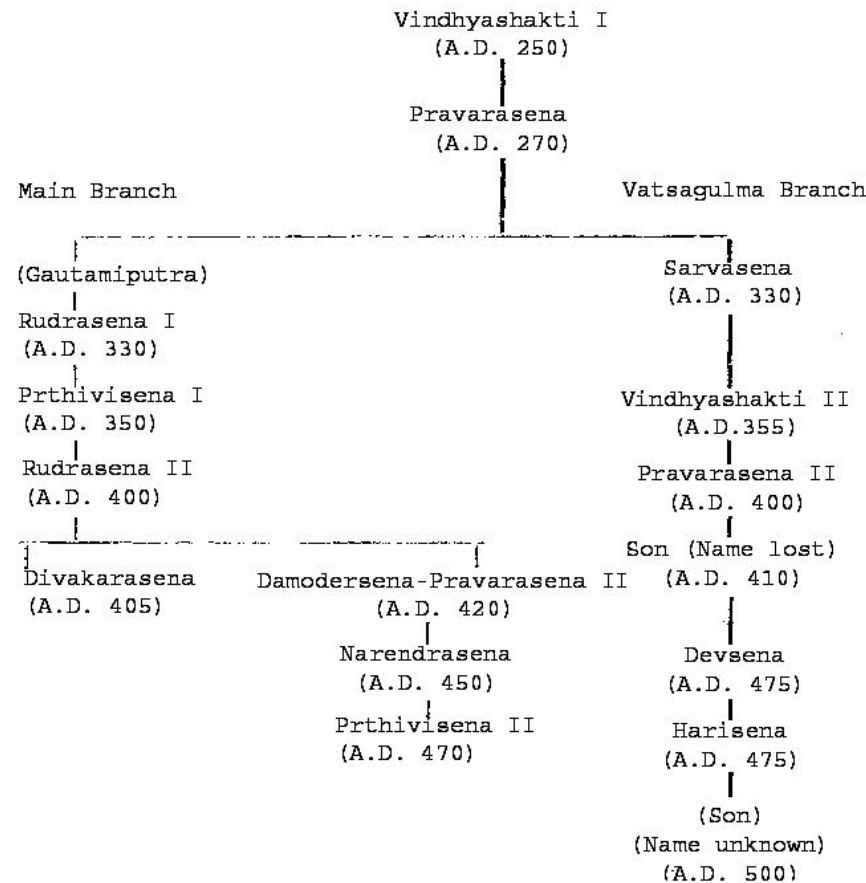
³ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 233 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 12.

⁴ Inscr. No. 23, V. 1. I., Vol. V.

⁵ Inscr. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

basis. If so, Harisena was succeeded by his son who may have ruled for a short period of ten years (A.D. 500 to A.D. 510). Soon thereafter the country was conquered by the Kalacuris.

The Vakataka chronology may therefore be stated as follows.: —



The Home of the Vakatakas.

The original home of the Vakatakas is generally believed to have been in North India. Vincent Smith thought that the origin of the family must be sought somewhere in the area known as Central India². With this clue, Jayaswal derived the dynastic name Vakataka from Vakata, which he identified with Bagat, a village in the northernmost part of the former Orchha State, six miles east of Cirgaum in the District of Jhahsi³. The following arguments are generally advanced to prove the northern origin of the Vakatakas :—

(1) The Puranas mention Vindhyasakti I, the founder of the Vakataka dynasty, and his son Pravira (i.e. Pravarasena I), towards the close of the section dealing with the kings of Vidisa⁴. Vindhyasakti and Pravira were therefore ruling somewhere in Central India, not far from Vidisa.

(2) Rudradeva, mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as a king of Aryavarta exterminated by Samudragupta⁵, is identical with Rudrasena I of the Vakataka family. He is

¹ The years in the brackets give the approximate years of accession.

² *J. R. A.* 8., (1914), p. 317 f.

³ *History of India 150 A. D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 67.

⁴ *D. K. A.*, pp. 49-50.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 7.

one of the very early kings of the family and as he is mentioned as a king of Aryavarta, the family must have been ruling north of the Narmada in its early period.

(3) Two stone inscriptions of a prince named Vyaghradeva, who describes himself as 'meditating on the feet of Vakataka Prthivi-sena' have been found in Central India, at Nacne-ki-talai in the former Jaso State and at Ganj in the former Ajayagadh State¹. This Prthivisena must on the evidence of palaeography be identified with the first Vakataka king of that name, who was the son and successor of Rudrasena I. That this Vyaghra flourished in this period is also shown by the mention of his name among the princes exterminated by Samudragupta.

(4) Some records and coins of the Vakatakas have been found in North India- A set of plates issued by Pravarasena II was found at Indore². Coins of Pravarasena and Rudrasena bearing the dates 76 and 100 have been found in North India³. Jayaswal has shown that these dates refer to the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era, which was really started by the Vakatakas.

On these grounds the Vakatakas are believed to have originally hailed from North India. We shall now examine these grounds critically.

(1) The names of Vindhyaśakti I and PravTra (i.e. Pravarasena I) occur in the Puranas not in connection with the history of Vidisa, but with reference to the rulers of Purika. This is shown by the preceding verse which mentions Sisuka, the daughter's son of the king of Vidisa, who ruled at Purika⁴ viz.,

The Puranas next proceed to state that thereafter Pravira, the son of Vindhyaśakti, ruled from two capitals Purika and Canaka for sixty years⁵. Purika, we know from the *Harivamsa*, was situated at the foot of the Rksavat mountain which is usually identified with the Satpuda range⁶. The town was, therefore, situated south of the Narmada. PravTra annexed the kingdom of Sisuka and made Purika a second capital of his empire which then, extended to the Vindhya mountain. This Puranic passage is therefore no indication that the Vakatakas were ruling north of the Narmada in the early period of their history.

¹ *Ibid* Vol. III, p. 233, f; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 71 f.

² Inscr. No. 9, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150 A. D.—350 A. D., pp. 71 f.

⁴ *D. K. A.*, pp. 49-50.

⁵ Pargiter's critical text reads *bhoksyate ca samah sastim purim Kancanakam ca vai*; but Jayaswal very ingeniously conjectured *Purikam canakam*, which is also sugges'ed by a MS. of the *Vayupurana*, See *D. K. A.*, p. 60 note 33.

⁶ See *Harivamsa* Visnuparvan, 38, 22. For the identification of Rksavat with the Satpuda mountain, see *Raghuvamsa* canto V, v 44. The *Visnupurana* mentions the Rksavat mountain as the source of the Tapi, Payosni, and Nirvindhya, which take their rise in the Satpuda mountain.

(2) Rudradeva mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription as exterminated by Samudragupta cannot be identified with the Vakataka king Rudrasena I; for the former was a king of Aryavarta whereas no inscriptions of the latter have been found north of the Narmada. The only stone inscription of Rudrasena I's reign discovered so far was at Deotek in the Canda District. He was therefore ruling in Vidarbha. Besides, as Dr. Altekar has pointed out¹, if Rudrasena I had been exterminated by Samudragupta, it is extremely unlikely that his son Prthivisena I would ever have selected a Gupta Princess (Prabhavati-gupta) to be his daughter-in-law. The argument based on the identification of Rudradeva with Rudrasena I has thus no weight.

(3) Prthivisena whose feudatory's inscriptions have been discovered in Central India is probably identical with Prthivisena II, not with Prthivisena I; for we have no indication of the spread of Vakataka rule north of the Narmada in the earlier age. On the other hand, in the later period of their history the Vakatakas are known to have extended their supremacy north of the Vindhyas. The Balaghat plates of Prthivisena II state that his father Narendrasena's commands were honoured by the king of Mekala, (the country round Amara-kantaka)². This is also shown by the covert references to Narendrasena in the Ramhani plates of Rharatabala who was ruling over this territory³. Narendrasena's son Prthivisena II seems to have extended his rule still further in the North. His feudatory Vyaghra-deva is probably identical with the Uccakalpa prince of the same name, who was ruling over the territory in c. A.D. 470-490⁴. This Vyaghradeva cannot be identified with Vyaghraraja, the ruler of Mahakantara, who was defeated by Samudragupta; for the latter was a prince of Daksinapatha. The inscriptions of Vyaghradeva at Nacne-ki-talai and Ganj do not therefore evidence early rule of the Vakatakas, much less their home-land, north of the Narmada.

(4) Almost all the records of the Vakatakas have been discovered in South India. The only record which is said to have been found in North India is the Indore copper-plate grant of Pravarasena II. It was in the collection of Pandit Vamanasastri Islampurkar⁵. The Pandit used to collect Sanskrit manuscripts and historical records from different parts of the country. Two other grants found in his possession at Indore belong to the *Maharajas* of Khandesa⁶. The Indore plates of Pravarasena therefore probably belonged to some part of Vidarbha. Some of the places mentioned in them can be traced in Vidarbha.

As for the coins said to have been issued by the Vakataka king Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I, Dr. Altekar has shown that Jayaswal's readings and interpretations of their legends are

¹ *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 105.

² Inscr No. 18 *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Inscr. No. 19, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ Inscr. Nos. 20-22. *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 52.

⁶ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 5 and 8.

Incorrect¹. The coin ascribed to Pravarasena is really of Virasena. The symbols which Jayaswal read as 76 are the branches of a tree. As for the coins of Rudrasena, what Jayaswal read as *Rudra* is really the *tri-ratna* symbol. The symbol supposed to denote the number 100 is really a *svastika*. Besides, the figures on the coin, supposing they are correctly read, cannot refer to the Kalacuri-Cedi era; for the era was not started by the Vakatakas and has not been used by them in dating their own records.

There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove the northern origin of the Vakatakas. On the other hand there are several indications which point to the Deccan as their home-land. Some of them may be noted here.

(1) The earliest mention of the name Vakataka occurs in a pilgrim's record at Amaravati in the Guntur taluka of the Andhra State². It records certain donations of a *grhapati* named Vakataka. Most of the inscriptions at Amaravati mention countries, rivers and places of South India. The name of the native village of this *grhapati* Vakataka is unfortunately lost, but it must have been situated somewhere in South India, perhaps in the neighbouring country of the Deccan. This Vakataka was probably the founder of the family which later adopted his name even as Gupta was the progenitor of the Gupta family and Satavahana was of the Satavahana family.

(2) Several technical terms which occur in the land-grants of the Vakatakas are noticed in those of the Pallavas also³. They are, however, conspicuous by their absence in northern records. This points to the southern origin of the Vakatakas.

(3) Some of the titles which the Vakatakas assumed in their early records e.g., *Haritiputra* and *Dharmamaharaja* are noticed only in the grants of southern dynasties such as the Vinhukada Satakarnis, the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Early Calukyas. They are not noticed in northern grants⁴.

(4) A ministerial family which served the Vakatakas loyally for several generations hailed from Vallum in the Southern region⁵. This place has not yet been definitely identified, but may be identical with modern Velur, which lies about 30 miles north by east of Hyderabad. The royal family also may have belonged to a place in South India, not very far from Vallura.

The evidence adduced above clearly points to the southern origin of the Vakatakas.

Early Rulers.

Vindhyasakti I is the earliest known king of the Vakataka dynasty According to the Puranas, he rose to power after the Kilakila or Kolikila Yavanas.⁶ The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha. Glorifies

¹ J. N. S. 1., Vol. V, pp. 130 f.

² See *Amravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum.*, p. 304.

³ C. I. I., Vol. V, p. xv.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. xv.

⁵ *Inscr.* No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V,

⁶ D. K A., p. 48.

him as the banner of the Vakataka family' and gives the valuable information that he was a *dvija*, which usually means a Brahmana. Later Vakataka inscriptions mention Visnuvrdha as the *gotra* of the Vakatakas. How Vindhyasakti was related to the *grhapati* Vakataka mentioned in the Amaravati inscription we do not know, but it is not unlikely that like the *Mahasenapati* Mana who founded an independent kingdom in the country of Mahisaka, he occupied an influential position under the last Satavahana king, which facilitated his rise to power.

According to some scholars, Vindhyasakti originally hailed from Central India. His name occurs at the end of a passage which enumerates the kings of Vidisa. It is therefore supposed that he was ruling at that city. This is, however, a mistaken view. The passage mentions not him but his son Pravira (*i.e.* Pravarasena I) as the ruler of Purika, which was previously governed by the daughter's son of the king of Vidisa. As shown above, Purika was situated at the foot of the Rksvat or Salpuda mountain. Vindhyasakti I may have belonged to the Central Deccan. The Puranas state that Pravarasena I had two capitals Canaka and Purika. The former may have been the original capital of the Vakatakas¹. It has not yet been definitely identified, but may have been situated in the Deccan not far from Vallura, the home of a ministerial family which served the Vakatakas for several generations.

Vindhyasakti is mentioned only in one record *viz.*, the inscription in Cave XVI Ajintha². He is said to have increased his power by fighting great battles. When enraged, he was irresistible. He defeated all enemies by the might of his arms. He had a large cavalry, by means of which he exacted submission from his foes. We have no information about the extent of his kingdom. His name is supposed to indicate that he spread his rule to the Vindhya mountain; but according to the Puranas, this was achieved not by him but by his son Pravira who overthrew the king of Purika. Vindhyasakti may however have extended his power to Vidarbha. His name is generally omitted in the Sanskrit and Prakrit charters of his descendants. Even in the Ajintha inscription no royal title is prefixed to his name. From this it is argued that he received no formal coronation³. This is hardly convincing. The reason for the omission of his name in subsequent charters is that not he but his son Pravarasena I was the real founder of the Vakataka Empire. No royal title is prefixed to his name in the Ajintha inscription because that record is in verse. It may be noted that it mentions no such title in the case of other rulers also who were undoubtedly crowned. In fact the *Visnupurana* explicitly states that Vindhyasakti was *murdhabhisikta* or crowned⁴. So there is no reason to doubt that he reigned as an independent king. He probably flourished in the

¹ D.K.A., p. 50. Jayaswal suggest *Purikam canakam ca vai* in place of *purim Kancanakam ca vai*, as already stated.

² Inscr. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

³ N. II. I. P., Vol, VI, p. 12.

⁴ D. K. A., p. 48, No. 84.

period A.D. 250-270. The Puranas credit him with a long reign ,of 96 years¹ but this period, if correct, may represent his long life, not his reign.

Vindhyaśakti I's successor Pravarasena I was the most powerful king of the Vakataka family. He is invariably mentioned at the head of the royal genealogy in all Vakataka grants. He invaded and annexed the kingdom of Purika where a scion of the Naga king of Vidisa. was reigning, and thus extended the northern limit of his empire to the Narmada. He then seems to have made Purika his second capital. We have no further knowledge of his conquests; but it is not unlikely that he raided Daksina Kosala (Chattisgarh), Kalinga and Andhra. Definite proof of these conquests is, however, lacking. He may also have conquered parts of North Kuntala comprising the Kolhapur, Satara and Solapur Districts of Maha-rastra, but of this also we have no definite proof. That he had a large kingdom is shown by his performance of four Asvamedha sacrifices, indicative, perhaps, of the extension of his political power in the four directions of his kingdom.

It is suggested by some scholars that Pravarasena I, carried his arms north of the Narmada and succeeded in extending his suzerainty over the Saka Ksatrapas of Malva and Saurashtra. It is pointed out in support of this view that the Ksatrapas Rudrasimha II and Yasodaman II, who were the contemporaries of Pravarasena I, did not, unlike their predecessors, assume the title *Mahakshatrapa*². This may, however, be due to the rise of another powerful Saka prince in Central India, viz., Sridharavarman, whose inscriptions have been found at Kanakheda near Sanci and Eran in the Saugor District³. Jayaswal's view⁴ that Pravarasena I had a large empire in North India is also untenable; for we have no vestiges of Vakataka rule north of the Narmada in this early period. The only proof of Vakataka suzerainty in North India is furnished by the lithic records of Vyaghraraja, the feudatory of the Vakataka Emperor Prthivisena, at Nacna and Ganj in Baghelkhand, but as shown elsewhere, these records belong to a much later age, Prthivisena mentioned therein being the second king of that name who flourished nearly two centuries after Pravarasena I.

Pravarasena I was a pious man and a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion. He performed, besides the four Aivamedhas already mentioned, all the seven Soma sacrifices⁵. The Puranas make a special mention of his Vajapeya sacrifices which, they say were marked by munificent gifts to Brahmanas⁶. Thereafter he assumed the unique

¹ D.K.A., p .48.

² N. H. I. P., Vol. VI, p. 58 f.

³ Inscr. Nos. 5 and 119, O. I. I., Vol. IV.

⁴ *History of India*, 150 A. D.—350 A. D., p. 93 f.

⁵ The seven Soma sacrifices (*sapta-soma-samstha*) are usually named as follows—

Agnistoma, Atyagnistoma, Ukthya, Sodasin, Vajapeya, Atiratra and Aptoryama. Vakataka inscriptions generally name all these except Atyagnistoma and add Brhaspatisava and Sadyaskra to them. See inscr. No. 3, C. I. I. Vol V.

⁶ D. K. A., p, 50. One MS. of the *Vayupurana* mentions Vajimedhas (i.e. Asvamedhas) in place of Vajapeyas

Imperial title *Samrat* or Emperor. He is the only known king of historical times who assumed this title. The Basim plates¹ mention two other titles of his viz. *Dharmamaharaja* and *Haritipulra*, which indicate his association with the Southern Kings like the Pallavas and the Kadambas.

It is not possible to state the exact limits of the Empire of Pravara-sena I. That Vidarbha, Northern Kuntala, and Dakshina Kosala were under his rule seems pretty certain. His sphere of influence may have extended to Kalinga and Andhra. By his Asvamedha sacrifices he proclaimed his supremacy in the Deccan. He sought to strengthen his position still further by a matrimonial alliance with the Bharasivas, the powerful Naga rulers of Padmavati. The Bharasivas originally belonged to Vidarbha; for a stone inscription² of the second century A.D. mentioning the Bhara king Bhagadatta has been found at Pauni in the Bhandara District of Vidarbha. Later, they seem to have migrated to North India where they carved out an independent kingdom for themselves at Padmavati, modern Padam Pavaya in the former Gwalior State- Padmavati is mentioned in the Puranas as one of the four principal seats of Naga power. Copper coins of Bhavanaga, the *Adhiraja* of the Bharasivas have been found at Padmavati³. The Vakataka grants give considerable information about the Bharasivas⁴. They were so called because they carried on their shoulders the emblem of Siva (perhaps his *trisula* or trident) and believed that they owed their royal power to his grace. They performed as many as ten Asvamedha sacrifices and got themselves crowned with the water of the Ganga which they had obtained by their valour. The description plainly indicates what prominent part the Bharasivas played in the liberation of the country from the yoke of the Kusanas. The Bharasivas drove the foreigners away from North India and recovered the holy places of Prayaga and Banaras from their grip. Jayaswal conjectured that the Dasasvamedha ghat at Banaras was reminiscent of their performance of ten Asvamedhas. Bhavanaga, the *Maharaja* of the Bharasivas was a powerful king. He gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamiputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I. This matrimonial alliance seems to have greatly increased the power and prestige of the Vakatakas ; for it is invariably mentioned in the grants of the descendants of Gautamiputra even as the Licchavi alliance is mentioned in the records of the Guptas. The Puranas assign a period of sixty years to the rule of Pravarasena I, whom they call Pravira. This is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Asvamedhas and several Vajapeya and other Soma sacrifices. He reigned probably from A.D. 270 to A.D. 330.

The Ghatotkaca cave inscription mentions Deva, a very active, learned and pious Brahmana, by whose influence the whole country together with the king performed religious duties. He seems to have been the Prime Minister of Pravarasena I and was mainly responsible for the phenomenal religious activity noticed in the latter's reign.

¹ Inscr. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. IV.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 11 f.

³ See *Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati*. p. 27 f.

⁴ Inscr No. 3, C. I. I., Vol V.

According to the Puranas, Pravarasena I had four sons, all of whom became kings, It seems therefore that the extensive Empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his sons after his death. Until recently this statement of the Puranas appeared incredible; for there was no evidence that the Vakataka family had branched off so early. All the discovered records were therefore assigned to the same line, notwithstanding apparent discrepancies in the genealogy noticed in them. The discovery of the Basim plates in 1939 showed for the first time that besides Gautamiputra mentioned in several land-grants, Pravarasena I had another son named Sarvasena. The present writer next showed that his name was also mentioned in the inscription in Ajintha cave XVI, but had been misread by the earlier editors of the record¹. We may therefore well believe the statement in the Puranas that Pravarasena had four sons, though the names of only two of them viz., Gautamiputra and Sarvasena have so far become known. The extensive empire of the Vakatakas was divided among them. The eldest son Gautamiputra had predeceased Pravarasena I, but his son Rudrasena I seems to have continued to reign from Purika. The second son Sarvasena established himself at Vatsagulma, modern Basim in the Akola District of Vidarbha, which had long been known as a holy place. The names of the other two sons are not yet known as no records of their families have been discovered so far. One of them may have been ruling over the upper Krsna valley, comprising the modern districts of Kolhapur, Satara and Solapur. This branch seems to have been soon overthrown by Mananka, the founder of the Early Rastrakuta dynasty, who rose to power about A.D. 375². The fourth branch may have been holding Daksina Kosala (or Chattisgad). It was also ousted by a king named Mahendra, who was ruling over the territory when Samudragupta invaded it in the course of his southern *digvijaya*³.

The Main Branch.

As stated above, Gautamiputra, the eldest son of Pravarasena I, predeceased his father ; for in the records of his successors the expression *Vakatakanarh Maharajah*, which invariably precedes the name of every ruling prince, is not applied to him. His son Rudrasena I succeeded Pravarasena I and ruled over northern parts of Vidarbha probably from the old capital Purika. In later Vakataka records of this branch he is invariably described as the daughter's son of Bhava-naga, the *Maharaja* of the Bharasivas. This plainly indicates that he had the powerful support of the Naga rulers of Padmavati. Only one inscription of his reign has been discovered so far viz., that at Deotek in the Canda District. It is not dated, but its palaeographic evidence⁴ leaves no doubt that Rudrasena mentioned in it was the first Vakataka king of that name.

The Deotek inscription⁵ records the construction of a Dharmasthana or temple by Rudrasena at Cikkamburi, modern Cikmara near

¹ Mirashi, 'The Vatsagulma Branch of the Vakataka Dynasty', P. I. H. C. IV, p. 79. f.

² Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 178 £

³ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

⁴ Inscr. No. 1, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁵ *Loe. oit.*

Deotek. It is incised on a large slab of stone after chiselling off an earlier record, issued probably by a *Mahamatra* of Asoka, prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals. Rudrasena I was a devout worshipper of Mahabhairava, the terrific god created by Siva for the destruction of Daksa's sacrifice. He had therefore no regard for the *ahimsa* doctrine of Asoka. He caused the earlier inscription of the great Buddhist Emperor to be chiselled off to make room for his own record.

Rudrasena I was a contemporary of the mighty Gupta Emperor Samudragupta. His age was therefore a period of great convulsion in North India. Soon after his accession, Samudragupta, with the powerful support of the Licchavis of Visali, embarked upon a career of conquest and annexation in North India. He overthrew a large number of princes of Aryavarta. Among them is mentioned one Rudradeva¹, who, according to some scholars, is identical with Vakataka Rudrasena I; but as shown above, the Vakatakas were not ruling north of the Narmada in this early period. Rudrasena I can therefore hardly be described as a ruler of Aryavarta. Perhaps Rudradeva was the Western Ksatrapa Rudrasena III, who flourished in that period. Among other kings exterminated by Samudragupta were the Naga princes Nagadatta, Ganapatinaga and Nagasena. Of these, Ganapatinaga was probably a ruler of Padmavati; for his coins have been found there². He seems to have succeeded Bhavanaga. The other Naga princes may have been ruling over small states in Central India. Their overthrow by Samudragupta must have deprived Rudrasena I of the powerful support of the confederacy of Naga kings of North India and greatly lowered his power and prestige.

After these northern conquests Samudragupta led an expedition to the South. His way lay through Daksina Kosala, the ruler of which was probably a feudatory of the Vakatakas. It is not known what measures Rudrasena adopted for his aid, but the prince Mahendra was defeated and had to acknowledge Gupta suzerainty³. He had to allow Samudragupta to pass through his territory for the conquest of other southern kingdoms. His successors continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy and dated their records in the Gupta era as shown by the Arang plates⁴ of Bhimasena II of G. 182 (A.D. 501-02).

Samudragupta continued his victorious march and subjugated Vyaghraraja of Mahakantara (Bastar District), who probably belonged to the Nala family, Mantaraja of Kurala, Mehendragiri of Pistapura and several other kings of Kalinga and Andhra. These kings were previously under the sphere of influence of the Vakatakas. They now threw off the Vakataka yoke and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

² *Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati* p 49 f.

³ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 7.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 342 f. I have shown that the correct reading of the date of this inscription is 182 (A. D. 501) not G. 282 as read by Hiralal.

Though the kingdom of Rudrasena I was thus much reduced in size, he maintained his independence and did not submit to the mighty Gupta Emperor. Perhaps Samudragupta prudently avoided a direct conflict with the Vakataka king. The latter's kingdom occupied a strategic position with regard to the dominion of the Western Ksatrapas, whom he had not yet been able to overthrow. He therefore thought it wise to maintain friendly relations with the king of Vidarbha. There are no signs of Gupta supremacy in the Vakataka records of that age. Some scholars have drawn attention to the use of the title *Maharaja* applied to early Vakataka kings as contrasted with the dignified title *Maharajadhiraja* used in connection with the Gupta king Devagupta (i.e. Candragupta II), from which they have inferred that the Vakataka kings were occupying a subordinate position¹. This view is untenable. Grandiloquent royal titles were not in vogue in South India. Isvarasena, the founder of the Abhira dynasty, has only the ordinary title *Rajan* prefixed to his name in the Nasik cave inscription. The Visnukundin king Madhavavarman I, who performed as many as eleven Asva-medhas, uses only the title *Maharaja* in his records². The powerful Kalacuri Emperors Krsnaraja, Sankaragana and Buddharaja, whose dominion comprised Malva, Gujarat, Kohkan and Maharastra including Vidarbha, have no title prefixed to their names in their own records³. Pravarasena I, no doubt, assumed the imperial title *Samrat*, but that was because he had performed the Vajapeya sacrifices, which entitled him to do so⁴. The drafters of Vakataka records were therefore following the current practice when they prefixed the title *Maharaja* to the names of the Vakataka kings and *Maharajadhiraja* to that of the Gupta king Candragupta II. The titles do not indicate any subordinate status of the Vakatakas.

That the Vakataka kings were not feudatories of the Guptas is also indicated by the fact that they did not adopt the Gupta era, but dated all their records in regnal years. As they did not themselves strike any coins, they were not loth to use Gupta currency as they had previously been using Saka coinage⁵, but that was no indication of Gupta suzerainty. Their relations with the Guptas seem, however, to have been very friendly.

Rudrasena I was succeeded in *cira* A.D. 350 by his son Prthivisena I. He is highly eulogised in the grants of his successors as possessing the noble qualities of truthfulness, compassion, self-restraint and charity, besides heroism and political wisdom. He is compared with Yudhi-sthira, the great Pandava hero of the Mahabharata fame, who was well known for such virtues. Prthivrsena I followed a peaceful policy which brought happiness and contentment to his people. The contemporary Gupta kings Samudragupta and Candragupta II were follow-

¹ *H. C. I. p.*, Vol. IV, p. 180.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 25; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 338.

³ Inscr. Nos. 12, 14 and 15, *G. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

⁴ Inscr. No. 3, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V; *D. K. A.*, p. 50.

⁵ Several hoards of Saka coins have been found in the Chindavada District of Madhya Pradesh and Wardha and Akola Districts of Vidarbha.

ing an aggressive policy in the north, subduing their neighbours and annexing their kingdoms. Prthivisena I wisely refrained from being entangled in these wars and devoted himself to the consolidation of his position in the south and ameliorating the condition of his subjects. The results of his policy are summed up in the following words in the official records — “ Prthivisena I had a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years.”

Prthivisena lived to a good old age. The description in the Vakataka grants shows that he had sons and grandsons when he died. He may therefore have reigned for about fifty years from A.D. 350 to A.D. 400. It was previously supposed on the evidence of some readings in the inscription in Ajintha cave XVI that he defeated the king of Kuntala and annexed his kingdom¹. It has since been pointed out that the inscription describes Vindhyaasena (or Vindhyaasakti II) of the Vatsagulma branch, not Prthivisena of the main branch². The latter, however, took part in another campaign which took place a few years before the close of his reign. In *circa* A.D. 395, Candragupta II, who by that time had become the lord paramount of a large part of North India, launched his attack on the Western Ksatrapas of Malva and Saurashtra. The causes of this war are not known. The Ksatrapas were ruling over these provinces for more than three hundred years and had grown very powerful. It is therefore not unlikely that in this campaign Candragupta II sought the alliance of the Vakataka Emperor Prthivisena I, whose country bordered on that of the Ksatrapas. The combined strength of the Guptas and the Vakatakas was sufficient to wipe out the Western Ksatrapas, who disappeared from history about this time. Candragupta II then annexed the provinces of Malva and Saurashtra to his dominion and made Ujjayini his second capital. He is the prototype of the legendary Vikramaditya who exterminated the Sakas, ruled from Ujjayini and was a great patron of art and literature. To cement the political alliance formed on this occasion, Candragupta gave his daughter Prabhavatigupta in marriage to the Vakataka prince Rudrasena II, the son of Prthivisena I. This matrimonial alliance between the ruling houses of Malva and Vidarbha recalled a similar event which had occurred some five centuries before in the time of the Suhgas. Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitra* which has for its theme the marriage of Agnimitra, the king of Vidisa, with the Vidarbha princess Malavika, was probably staged at Ujjayini on the occasion of this royal wedding³.

Like his father Prthivisena I was a devout worshipper of Siva. During his time the Vakataka capital seems to have been shifted from Purika to Nandivardhana, modern Nandardhan or Nagardhan, about 28 miles from Nagpur. This place is surrounded by strongly fortified forts such as Bhivgad and Ghughusgad, which may have been the reason for its selection as the royal capital.

¹ A. S. W. I., Vol. IV, pp. 124 f.

² Mirashi, 'The Vatsagulma Branch of the Vakataka Dynasty', *P. I. H. C.* IV, p. 79 f; No. 25, *C. I. P.*, Vol. V.

³ Some Sanskrit plays such as the *Viddhasalabhanjika* of Jayasekhara and the *Karnasundari* of Bilhana were first staged on similar occasions.

Prthivisena I was succeeded by his son Rudrasena II in *circa* A.D. 400. Unlike his ancestors who were all Saivas, this prince was a Vaisnava; for he ascribed his prosperity to the grace of Cakrapani (Visnu¹). This change in his religious creed was evidently due to the influence of his wife Prabhavatigupta, who, like her father Candragupta II, was a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (i.e., Visnu). She greatly venerated the *pada-mulas* of Ramagirisvamin i.e., Rama-candra on the hill Ramagiri, modern Ramtek, which lies just three miles from the then Vakataka capital Nandivardhana. Both of her known grants were made near the foot-prints (*padamulas*) of the god after fasting on the Karttika-sukla-pratipada².

Rudrasena II died soon after his accession, in A. D. 405, leaving behind two sons Divakarasena and Damodarasena. The former was about five years old at the time. At this crisis in the history of the Vakatakas, Candragupta II came to the help of his daughter. He sent some of his trusted generals and statesmen to help her in governing her kingdom. Prabhavatigupta's Poona plates³ which were issued from the capital Nandivardhana in the thirteenth year, evidently of the reign of the boy prince, revealed for the first time that she was a daughter of the famous Gupta Emperor Candragupta II and thus placed Vakataka genealogy on a sound footing. Unlike other charters of the Vakatakas, this grant is inscribed in nail-headed characters and gives in its initial portion the genealogy, not of the Vakatakas, but of the Guptas. Gupta influence was evidently predo-minent then at the Vakataka court. Among the Officers who visited the Vakataka court at the time was the great Sanskrit poet Kalidasa. He composed his world famous lyric *Meghaduta* while in Vidarbha; for he makes Ramagiri (modern Ramtek) near the Vakataka capital the place of the exiled Yaksha's residence⁴. The route of the cloud-messenger from Ramagiri to Vidisa, described in the *Meghaduta* suits only Ramtek and no other place. Kalidasa's graphic description of the six-year old Sudarsana in the 18th canto of Raghuvamsa was probably suggested by what the poet saw at the Vakataka court.

Divakarasena also was short-lived. He was succeeded in *circa* A.D. 420 by his younger brother Damodarasena, who, on coronation, assumed the name of Pravarsena II. Several land grants⁵ of this prince have come down to us. They record his donations of fields or villages in the modern districts of Amaravati, Wardha, Nagpur, Betul, Chindwada, Bhandara and Balaghat. The latest of these grants is dated in the 29th regnal year. Pravarsena II had therefore a long reign of about thirty years (A.D. 420-450).

The earlier grants of Pravarsena II were made at the old capital Nandivardhana. The latest of these is that recorded in the Belora plates and belongs to the 11th regnal year. The next known grant

¹ Inscr. No. 3, C. 1.1. Vol. V.

² Inscr. Nos. 2 and 8, C. I. I. Vol. V.

³ Inscr.No. 2, C.I. I. Vol.V.

⁴ Mirashi, Location of Ramagri, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I. pp. 12 f.

⁵ Inscr. Nos. 3-16, C. I.I. Vol. V.

is of the 18th regnal year, issued from Pravarapura. It seems therefore that he founded a city named Pravarapura and shifted his capital there some time between his 11th and 18th regnal years. This Pravarapura is probably identical with Pavnar in the Wardha District where some interesting sculptures of the Vakataka age have recently come to notice¹.

Pravarasena II was a devout worshipper of Sarhbhu (i.e. Siva), by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the *Krtayuga* or Golden Age. He was a very liberal king. More than a dozen land-grants of his have been discovered so far- He was also a poet of no mean order. Some of his Sanskrit verses have been preserved in Sanskrit anthologies. He composed also several Prakrit *gathas*, some of which have been incorporated in the *Gathasaptasati*. The well-known Prakrit *Kavya Setubandha* is also ascribed to him². Some scholars doubt his authorship of this *kavya* on the ground that its theme is Vaisnava, while the king was a devotee of Siva³. The argument has little force. We might as well doubt Kalidasa's authorship of the *Raghuvamsha*, for he also was a Saiva while the theme of that *kavya* is the glorification of the family of Ramacandra, an incarnation of Visnu. Pravarasena may have undertaken to compose the *Setubandha* at the instance of his mother who was a devotee of Visnu. From stanza 9 of the first Canto of this *kavya* it seems that Pravarasena began to compose it soon after his accession and evidently received considerable help from Kalidasa in case of difficulties. Hence in the colophons of the different cantos the authorship of the *kavya* is ascribed to both Pravarasena and Kalidasa. Pravarasena built a magnificent temple of Ramacandra at Pravarapura when he shifted his capital there. He decorated it with beautiful panels illustrating various incidents in the story of Rama. Some of these panels have recently been discovered at the site of the temple on the bank of the river Dham near Pavnar.

Pravarasena II was succeeded by his son Narendrasena in circa AD. 450. The Balaghat plates state that he enticed the royal fortune by means of the confidence which he had produced in her by his good qualities⁴. Dr. Kielhorn took this description as suggesting that he superseded his elder brother⁵. It has also been supposed that there was a division of the kingdom between him and his elder brother whose name is lost in the inscription in Ajintha Cave XVI. Both these suppositions have been proved to be baseless; for the princes mentioned in the Ajintha inscription belonged to the Vatsa-gulma branch which had already been separated from the main branch of the Vakataka family⁶. Narendrasena is also referred to

¹ Mirashi. 'Pravarapura, An Ancient Capital of the Vakatakas', *Sarupa-Bharati*, p. 270 f.

² Mirashi, 'Some Royal Poets of the Vakataka Age', *Studies in Indology*, Vol I pp. 96 f.

³ *H. C. I. P.*, Vol. IV, pp. 183 f.

⁴ Inscr. No. 18 *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 269.

⁶ Inscr. No. 25, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

covertly in the Bahmani plates of the Pandavavamsi king Bharatabala who was his feudatory¹.

Narendrasena followed an aggressive policy in the north and east and made some conquests. The Balaghat plates state² that his commands were obeyed by the rulers of Kosala, Mekala and Malava. Since the time of Rudrasena I the country of Kosala (or Chattisgadha) was being ruled by a feudatory family which owned the supremacy of the Guptas. It used the Gupta era in dating its records. At this time, however, Gupta power was tottering on account of the onslaughts of the Hunas. The ruler of Daksina Kosala, who was probably Bhimasena I mentioned in the Arang plates³ seems to have submitted to the Vakataka king.

Mekala is the country near Amarkantak, where the Narmada called *Mekalasutd* takes its rise. Before the rise of the Guptas this country was under the Maghas- When Samudragupta defeated the Maghas and annexed their territory, he seems to have placed a Pandavavamsi feudatory in charge of this country. The Bahmani plates give the following genealogy of this family — Jayabala, his son Vatsaraja, his son Nagabala and his son Bharatabala. Of these, the first two owned the suzerainty of the Guptas. Nagabala, who was reigning when the Gupta Empire was convulsed by the Huna invasions, declared his independence and assumed the title *Maharaja*. He tried to increase his power by forming a matrimonial alliance with the contemporary king of Daksina Kosala. His son Bharatabala was married to Lokaprakasa, the daughter of the afore-mentioned king Bhimasena I of Chattisgadha. Narendrasena seems to have forced him to acknowledge his suzerainty. Bharatabala makes a veiled reference to it in his Bahmani plates.

Malava the third country whose ruler is said to have honoured the commands of the Vakataka king Narendrasena, was under the direct rule of the Guptas ever since it was conquered from the Western Ksatrapas. The Huna invasions seem to have weakened the power of the Guptas in this part of the country. The Mandasor inscription⁴ of V. 529 (A.D. 473-74), states that during the short period of 36 years (between V. 493 and 529) several princes held the country of Dasapura (modern Mandasor) which lies only a few miles north of Ujjayini. The Mandasor inscription of V. 524 also indicates that there were several uprisings of the enemies of the Guptas which were quelled by their feudatory Prabhakara ruling at Dasapura. Some of these hostile princes might have sought the aid of the Vakataka king in throwing off the Gupta yoke.

Towards the end of Narendrasena's reign, the Vakataka territory was invaded by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman. The Nalas were ruling over the Bastar State and the adjoining territory where their

¹ Inscr. No. 19, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Inscr. No. 18, C. I. I., Vol. V.

³ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 342 f.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III. p. 83.

Inscriptions¹ and coins² have been found. Bhavadattavarman pressed as far as Nandivardhana, the former capital of the Vakatakas, which he occupied for some time. A copper-plate inscription issued from Nandivardhana records his grant of a village in the Yeotmal District in Vidarbha. It plainly indicates that the Nalas had occupied a considerable portion of the Vakataka dominion.

The Vakatakas also admit this disaster to their arms. The Bala-ghat plates³ state that Narendrasena's son Prthivisena II raised his sunken family. He seems to have been forced to shift his capital from Pravarapura to Padmapura, now a small village near Amganv in the Bhandara District. This place is mentioned as the place of issue in an unfinished copper-plate inscription⁴ found in the Durg District of Madhya Pradesh. Here Prthivisena consolidated his power. He then raided the enemy's territory and devastated their capital Puskari⁵. The Nalas were then forced to abandon Vidarbha and return to their home province.

Prthivisena was the son of Narendrasena from Ajjhitabhatarika, a princess of Kuntala⁶. Some scholars identify her family with the Kadambas of Vanavasi⁷, but it is more likely to be the Rastrakuta family of Manapura. This latter family was founded by Mananka, who is described in the Pandarangapalli plates discovered near Kolhapur as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country⁸. This family appears to have wielded considerable power and often came into conflict with the Vatsagulma branch of the Vakatakas. Ajjhitabhatarika married to Narendrasena, was probably a daughter of the Rastrakuta king Avidheya, who flourished in circa A.D. 440-455.

Prthivisena II, who succeeded his father in circa A.D. 470, was an ambitious prince. He not only retrieved his position in Vidarbha, and regained his kingdom but carried his arms even farther than his father. Two stone inscriptions of his feudatory Vyaghradeva, who expressly mentions the suzerainty of the Vakataka *Maharaja* Prthivisena have been discovered at Nacna and Ganj in Central India⁹. As shown above, this Prthivisena must be identified with the second Vakataka king of that name¹⁰. His feudatory Vyaghradeva was evidently identical with the Uccakalpa prince Vyaghra who flourished in the same period (A.D. 470-490) in that part of the country. The Uccakalpa kings were previously the feudatories of the Guptas whose era they used in dating their records. When the power of the Guptas declined in the second half of the fifth century A.D. they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vakatakas.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 153 f.

² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, p. 29 f.

³ Inscr. No. 18, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ Inscr. No. 17, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 f.

⁶ Inscr. No. 18, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁷ *N. H. I. P.*, Vol. VI, p. 108; *H. C. I. P.*, Vol. IV, p. 184.

⁸ Mirashi, 'The Rastrakutas of Manapura', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I p. 178 f.

⁹ Inscr Nos. 202 *C.I.I.* Vol V,

¹⁰ Mirashi, 'Vakataka Prithivisena, the Suzerain of Vyaghra', *Belwalkar Felicitation Volume*, p. 288 f.

Unlike most of his ancestors, Prthivisena II was a devotee of Visnu. He is the last known member of this main branch of the Vakataka family. He may have closed his reign about A.D. 490. "Thereafter, his kingdom was incorporated in the dominion of Harisena of the Vatsagulma branch.

The Vatsagulma Branch.

The existence of the Vatsagulma branch was unknown until the discovery of the Basim plates in 1939. Several members of it were indeed mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha, but owing to a sad mutilation of that record their names were misread by its previous editors. These names have since been restored and it has been conclusively shown that the princes of this branch ruled over South Vidarbha stretching from the Indhyadri range in the north to the Godavari in the south¹.

The founder of this family was Sarvasena, who is mentioned in the Basim plates as The son of Pravarasena I. His name occurs also in The mutilated Ajintha inscription but it was misread as Rudrasena and taken to refer to Rudrasena I, though the latter was not the son but was the grandson of Pravarasena I. Sarvasena made Vatsagulma, modern Basim in the Akola District, the capital of his kingdom. In course of time this place became a great centre of learning and culture and gave its name to Vachhomi, the best poetic style².

From the Basim plates³ we learn that Sarvasena continued the title *Dharmamaharaja* which his father Pravarasena I had assumed in imitation of southern kings. In extending his kingdom Sarvasena was assisted by his minister Ravi, the son of the Brahmana Soma from a Ksatriya wife. The descendants of this Ravi served this branch of the Vakatakas loyally for several generations⁴.

Sarvasena is known as the author of the Prakrt *Kavya Harivijaya*, which has been highly eulogised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians⁵. This *kavya* has unfortunately not yet come to light, but from quotations in rhetorical works its theme seems to be the removal, by Krsna, of the Parijata tree from heaven for the appeasement of his wife Satyabhama. The theme is embellished with the descriptions of the city Dvaraka, the hero Krsna, the season spring, sunset, horses, elephants, etc. as required in a *Mahakavya*. It is one of the earliest *kavyas* in Sanskrit and Prakrt literatures. It seems to have served as a model for the later Sanskrit and Prakrt *kavyas* of Kalidasa and Pravarasena II. Sarvasena also composed several Prakrt *gathas*, some of which have been incorporated into the Prakrt anthology *Gathasaptasati*.

¹ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Rajasekhara, *Karpuramafijari*, Act I, v. 1; *Kavyamimamsa* (First Ed. G.O.S.) p. 10.

³ Inscr. No. 23, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁴ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁵ Mirashi, 'Some Royal Poets of the Vakataka Age', *Studies in Indology*, Vol I, p. 96 f.

Sarvasena flourished in the period *circa* A.D. 330-355. He was followed by Vindhyaśakti II. His name in the form *Vindhyaśena* occurs in the Ajintha cave inscription, but it was misread as Prthivi-sena by the editors of the record. The correct name has since been restored.

Vindhyaśena came into conflict with the Rastrakvita king Mananka, who was just then rising to power in the upper Krsna valley. The Ajintha inscription states that Vindhyaśena vanquished the ruler of Kuntala, while the Rastrakuta inscriptions record Mananka's victory over Vidarbha and Asmaka¹. As both Vindhyaśena and Mananka claim a victory over each other, neither of them seems to have emerged completely victorious from this war. The relations of the two families appear to have improved later on when Mananka's successor Devaraja came under the political influence of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II.

The Basim plates, which brought the existence of this branch to notice for the first time, are dated in the 37th regnal year of Vindhyaśakti II. They were issued from the royal capital Vatsagulma, and register the grant of a village situated in the territorial division of Nandikata, modern Nanded in Marathvada. The genealogical portion of the grant is written in Sanskrit and the formal portion in Prakrit. This grant shows how Sanskrit was gradually asserting itself. Other inscriptions of both the branches of the Vakataka family are all in Sanskrit. Vindhyaśakti also assumed the title *Dharmamaharaja* like his father and grandfather. He may have closed his reign in *circa* A.D. 400.

Vindhyaśena was succeeded by his son Pravaraśena II, about whom little is known. He receives only conventional praise in the Ajintha Cave inscription. He had probably a short reign (A.D.) 400-415; for when he died his son was only eight years old. The name of this boy prince has not been preserved in the Ajintha inscription. He was followed in *circa* A.D. 450 by Devasena, whose fragmentary inscription, found somewhere in Vidarbha, has been preserved in the British Museum². It was issued from Vatsagulma, which shows that the city continued to be the capital of this branch to the last.

Devasena had a very pious and capable minister named Hastibhoja. The Vakataka king entrusted the government entirely to him and gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. Hastibhoja is eulogised in the Ajintha³ and Ghatotkaca Cave inscriptions⁴ which were caused to be incised by his son Varahadeva.

Devasena was succeeded in *circa* A.D. 475 by his son Harisena, who is the last known Vakataka king. He was a brave and ambitious king who extended the limits of his Empire in all directions. The

¹ Mirashi, 'The Rastrakutas of Manapura', *Studies in Indology* Vol I, p. 178 f.

² Inscr. No. 24, *G. I. I.*, Vol. V. Another inscription of this King has recently come to notice near Basim

³ Inscr. No. 25, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁴ Inscr. No. 26, *C. I. I.*, Vol. V.

inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha, which is unfortunately very much mutilated, mentions in lines 14-15 several countries which Harisena had conquered or made to pay tribute. They lay in all the four directions of Vidarbha viz., Avanti (Malva) in the North, Kosala, Kalinga and Andhra in the East, Lata and Trikuta in the West and Kuntala in the South. Harisena thus became the undisputed suzerain of a vast Empire extending from- Malva in the North to Kuntala in the South and from the Arabian Sea in the West to the Bay of Bengal in the East. All this vast country was not under the direct administration of Harisena. The rulers of most of these countries were probably allowed to retain their respective kingdoms on condition of regular payment of tribute. Since Harisena claims to have subjugated Malva, he must have overrun and annexed the kingdom of the main branch of the Vakatakas. The king of Malva may have been Dravyavardhana, who just at this time had overrun and occupied Ujjayini (A.D. 475-495)¹. In Kalinga Harisena's invasion led to the establishment of the Eastern Ganga dynasty, which started a new era of its own in A.D. 498². In Andhra Harisena overthrew the contemporary Salankayana king and gave the throne to the Visnukundin prince Govindavarman. The latter's son Madhavavarman I married a Vakataka princess who may have been Harisena's own daughter³. Similarly in Kosala we find that the family of Sura was supplanted by the Kings of Sarabhapura⁴. In the West the ruler of Rsika (Khandesa) was a feudatory of Harisena as stated explicitly in the inscription in Cave XVII at Ajintha⁵. The Traikutakas, who ruled further in the West, were allowed to continue in the enjoyment of their kingdom on payment of tribute. In the South the ruler who belonged to the Rastrakuta family continued to rule as a feudatory of the Vakataka Emperor⁶. Harisena probably reigned from circa A.D. 475 to A.D. 500.

Harisena had a pious and efficient minister named Varahadeva, who was liked alike by the king and his subjects. He was a son of the afore-mentioned Hastibhoja. He was a pious Buddhist. He caused the magnificent Ajintha Cave XVI to be excavated and decorated with paintings. The inscription⁷ which he caused to be incised in its verandah is our chief source of information for the history of the Vatsagulma branch. At Gulvada, a few miles from Ajintha he caused some more caves to be excavated for the Buddhist monks- The inscription⁸ he has left there gives the complete genealogy of the ministerial family to which Varahadeva belonged.

¹ Mirashi 'New Light on Yasodharman' *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I. p. 206 f.

² Mirashi, 'Epoch of the Ganga Era', *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI. p. 327 f.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 193.

⁴ Mirashi, 'Three Ancient Dynasties of Mahakosala', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 231 f.

⁵ Inscr. No. 27, C. I. I. Vol. V.

⁶ See that the ruler of Kuntala is mentioned as a feudatory of the King of Vidarbha in the story of Visruta in the *Dasakumdracrita*. As shown below, the story has a historical basis.

⁷ Inscr. No. 25, C. I. I., Vol. V.

⁸ Inscr. No. 26, C. I. I., Vol. V.

Harisena closed his reign by A.D. 500. He may have been followed by one or two princes, but even their names have not come down to us. Ultimately in *circa* A.D. 550 Vidarbha was conquered by the Kalacuri king Krsnaraja of Mahismati. He placed his feudatory Svamiraja in charge of it. The latter's plates¹ dated in the Kalacuri year 322 (A.D. 573) have been discovered at Nandardhan.

Harisena at his death was ruling over an extensive empire — larger than any since the time of the Satavahana king Gautamiputra. On his death it seems to have suddenly crumbled to pieces. The causes that led to the disintegration of the mighty Vakataka Empire have not been recorded in history, but the story in the eighth chapter called Visrutacarita of Dandin's *Dasakumaracarita* seems to have preserved a trustworthy tradition about the last period of the Vakataka rule².

The narrative points to the existence of a large Southern Empire. The Emperor was directly administering the country of Vidarbha, but he had a number of feudatories who ruled over Kuntala, Asmaka, Rsika, Murala, Nasikya and Konkan. A young prince succeeded to this vast Empire after the death of his illustrious father. This prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the study of the science of politics. His father's old minister advised him again and again to apply himself to the study of the *dandaniti*, but he turned a deaf ear to it. Coming under the evil influence of his licentious courtier, he gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and indulged in all kinds of vices. His subjects imitated him. Confusion and chaos became rampant in the state. Finding this a suitable opportunity, the crafty ruler of the neighbouring country of Asmaka sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha to egg the king on in his dissolute life. He also contrived to decimate his forces by various means. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, the ruler of Asmaka instigated the king of Vanavasi (North Kanara District) to invade Vidarbha. The latter advanced with a large force and encamped on the bank of the Wardha. The young emperor of Vidarbha also mobilised his forces and called his feudatories to his aid. Among those who joined him were, besides the treacherous prince of Asmaka, the rulers of Kuntala, Murala, Rsika, Nasikya and Konkan. The prince of Asmaka secretly caused disaffection among the feudatories also. They treacherously attacked the emperor in the rear while he was fighting with the invader. The young prince was killed in the battle. The crafty ruler of Asmaka then caused dissensions among the feudatories, who fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. The ruler of Asmaka then appropriated the whole booty and giving some part of it to the King of Vanavasi, induced him to go back and himself annexed the whole of Vidarbha. In the meantime, the old minister of Vidarbha safely escorted the queen with

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 611 f.

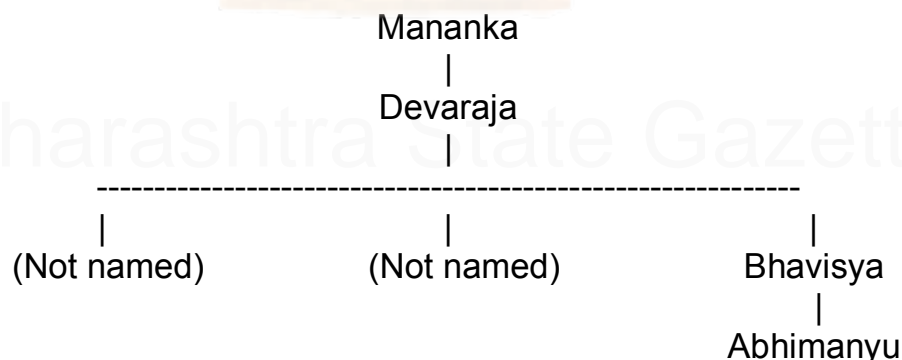
² Mirashi, 'Historical Data in Dandin's *Dasakumaracarita*' *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 168 f.

her son and daughter to Mahismati where the late emperor's half brother was ruling. The latter made advances to the widowed queen, but was repulsed. He then wanted to kill the little prince, but was himself murdered by Visruta, who turned out to be a relative of the latter. Visruta placed the boy prince on the throne of Mahismati and vowed to oust the ruler of Asmaka from Vidarbha and place the prince on his ancestral throne.

The narrative seems to reflect truthfully the political condition in Vidarbha soon after the death of Harisena. Dandin, whose ancestors originally belonged to Vidarbha, had evidently reliable sources of information. The details which he has given about the kingdoms flourishing in the period are substantiated in all material points by contemporary inscriptional evidence. It seems, therefore, that the vast empire of Harisena suddenly crumbled to pieces through the incompetence of his successor and the defection of his feudatories. As Dandin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know if Harisena's grandson regained the throne of Vidarbha with external aid. He may have succeeded in doing so with the support of the Visnukundin emperor Madhavavarman I, who was his relative. But he could not have ruled for a long time; for as stated before, the Kalacuri king Krsnaraja, who, in the meantime, had established himself at Mahismati extended his rule to Vidarbha, North Maharashtra, Gujarat and Konkan by AD. 550. The Somavamsis conquered Daksina Kosala, while the Gangas and Visnukundins proclaimed their independence in Kalinga and Andhra, respectively. The Rastrakutas were growing powerful in Kuntala or Southern Maratha Country. Thus disappeared the last vestiges of Vakataka power after a glorious rule of about 300 years.

THE RASHTRA-KUTAS OF MANAPURA.

The history of the Early Rastrakutas has been unfolded during the last few years¹. The first grant of the family to be discovered was published by Bhagwanlal Indraji. Its findspot is not known, but as it was from the collection of Dr. Bhau Daji, it was probably found somewhere in Maharashtra. It gives the following genealogy :—



The plates were issued by the Rastrakuta king Abhimanyu while residing at Manapura and record the grant of the village Undikavatika in honour of god Daksina-siva. Fleet identified Undikavatika with Oontia, about 300 miles from the Mahadeva Hills in Madhya

¹ Mirashi, 'Historical Data in Dandin's Dasakumaracarita' *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 178 f.

Pradesa, and Daksina-Siva with the shrine of Mahadeva in the same hills. He thought that Manapura, the king's capital, was the place of the same name in Malva, about 12 miles south-east of Mhow. Later, Dubreuil identified Devaraja with Sudevaraja, and Mananka with Manamatra, both belonging to the so-called dynasty of Sarabhapura. which ruled in Chattisgad. Jayaraja mentioned in Sarabhapura grants was, according to Dubreuil, one of the sons of Devaraja not named in the Undikavatika plates. Some years ago, another set of plates, called the Pandarangapalli plates, was discovered in a village near Kolhapur. These plates brought to notice another son of Devaraja named Avidheya. While editing these plates, Dr. Krishna, who accepted the aforementioned identifications proposed by Dubreuil, put forward the theory that Devaraja (or Sudevaraja), the son of Mananka (or Manamatra), had three sons, viz., Avidheya, Jayaraja and Bhavisya, among whom was divided the extensive Rastrakuta Empire of the Deccan which extended from the Mahanadi and the Tapi to the Bhima, comprising the three Maharashtra. Jayaraja was ruling over the eastern part on the bank of the Mahanadi, Bhavisya over Northern Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, and Avidheya over Southern Maharashtra extending up to the banks of the Bhima. Krsna, the son of Indra, and Govinda, who are mentioned as defeated by the Calukya Jayasimha and Pulakesin II of Badami, belonged to this family. After overthrowing Govinda, Pulakesin II became the lord of the three Maharashtra.

This theory was contested by Dr. Altekar¹, who pointed out that there could not have been any extensive Rastrakuta Empire in the Deccan in the sixth century AD., because, firstly, most of these kings do not describe themselves as Rastrakutas and secondly, there were other kings such as the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kalachuris and the Kadambaras, who were ruling over the major part of Maharashtra, and not the Rastrakutas.

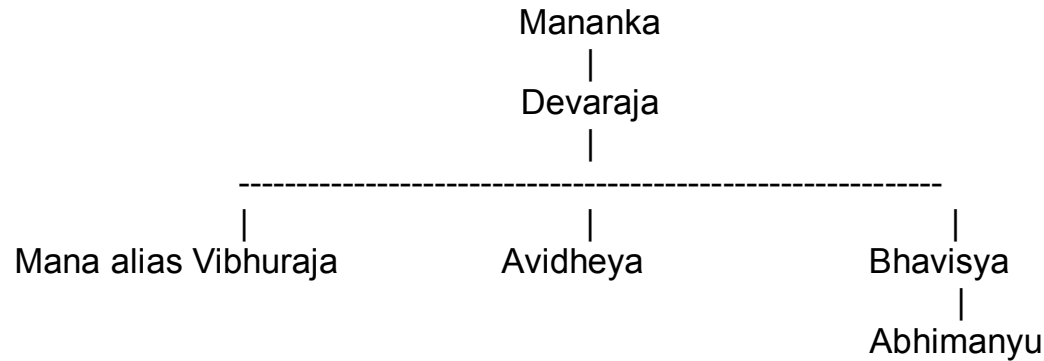
In an article which the present writer published subsequently², he stated that he agreed with the main conclusion of Dr. Altekar that there was no extensive Empire of the Rastrakutas in the sixth century A.D. before the rise of the Calukyas of Badami. The theory of the existence of such an empire is based on the identification of Manamatra with Mananka and Devaraja with Sudevaraja, for which there is no basis. Besides, the characters and seals of the grants of the descendants of Mananka differ from those of the grants of the descendants of Manamatra. Mananka was therefore altogether different from Manamatra. While the former and his descendants were ruling over Southern Maharashtra, the latter and his successors were holding the Bilaspur and Raipur Districts of Madhya Pradesh. They are known as the kings of Sarabhapura.

There is, however, no reason to doubt", as Dr. Altekar has done, the identification of Mananka and Devaraja mentioned in the Undikavatika. plates with the homonymous princes mentioned in

¹ A. B. O. B. I., Vol. XXIV, p. 148 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p. 25 f.

the Pandarangapalli plates. Another grant of this dynasty which was recently found in the Daund Taluka of the Poona District, has brought to notice the third son of Devaraja viz, Mana *alias* Vibhuraja. The genealogy of these Early Rastrakuta kings may therefore be stated as follows :—



From the find-spots of the plates in the Kolhapur and Poona Districts it is clear that this family was ruling in Southern Maharashtra. Mananka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country¹. We know that Kuntala was the name of the upper Krsna valley. The places mentioned in the Pandarangapalli plates can be identified in the Satara District. These Early Rastrakutas were, therefore, ruling over Kolhapur, Satara and Solapur districts. Their capital Manapura, which was plainly founded by Mananka and named after himself, is probably identical with the town Man, the head-quarters of the Man *taluka* of the Satara District.

On palaeographic grounds the Pandarangapalli and Undikavatika grants have been referred to the 5th century A.D. The use of the Jovian year Bhadrapada in recording the date of the Pandarangapalli plates also corroborates this date; for these Jovian years were not generally used in the South after the 5th century A.D. Unfortunately, all these grants are either undated or are dated in regnal years. They consequently afford no help in definitely fixing the period of these Rastrakutas. They seem, however, to be contemporaries of the Trai-kutakas, who were ruling over North Konkan Gujarat and North Maharashtra and of the Vakatakas who held Vidarbha during the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. They were probably known in their days as *Kuntalesas* or Lords of Kuntala; for as stated above, Mananka, the founder of the dynasty, is described as the ruler of Kuntala. The records of the Vakatakas contain occasional references to their clashes or to their matrimonial alliances with the kings of Kuntala. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha mentions, for instance, that Vindhyaasena (or Vindhyaasakti II) of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vakataka family defeated the Lord of Kuntala. The latter was previously identified with the contemporary Kadamba king of Vanavasi, but the kingdom of the Kadambas was not contemporaneous with that of the Vakatakas as none of their records have been found in Southern Maharashtra. Mananka, on the other hand, is described as the Lord

¹ *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 182 f.

of Kuntala and is said to have conquered the Vidarbha and Asmaka countries. These references may be to the same indecisive battle fought between the Early Rastrakutas of Manapura and the Vakatakas of Vatsagulma. Manarika, who was thus a contemporary of Vindhya-sena, may have flourished about A.D. 400. From the Balaghat plates¹ we learn that Narendrasena of the Pravarapura branch married the Kuntala princess Ajjhitabhatarika. She also must have belonged to this very Rastrakuta family. Finally, the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajintha² records a victory of the Vakataka king Harisena over a ruler of Kuntala. The latter must have belonged to this very family.

From certain passages in the *Kuntalesvaradautya*, a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kalidasa, which have been cited in the *Kavyamimamsa* of Rajosekhara, the *Srngarapraksa* and *Sarasvatikanthabharana* of Bhoja and the *Aucityavicaracarca* of Ksemendra, we learn that the famous Gupta king Candragupta II-Vikramaditya sent Kalidasa as an ambassador to the court of the Lord of Kuntala. Kalidasa was not at first well received there³, but he gradually gained Kuntalesa's favour and stayed at his court for some time. When he returned, he reported to Vikramaditya that the Lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing his kingdom on him i.e., Vikramaditya⁴. This Kuntalesa is supposed by some scholars to be the Vakataka Pravarasena II⁵, but this view does not appear to be correct. Gupta influence was no doubt predominant at the Vakataka court during the reign of Pravarasena II, but the Vakatakas did not call themselves *Kuntalesas* and their rule does not seem to have extended to the Kuntala country in this period, though some of them are known to have raided it. This Kuntalesa to whose court Kalidasa was sent as an ambassador seems to be an early member of the Rastrakuta family of Manapura, perhaps Devaraja, who flourished in circa AD. 400-425. The influence of Candragupta II, at the court of two such important families of the South as the Vakatakas and the Rastrakutas corroborates the statement in the Mehrauli pillar inscription that even then (i.e., after the death of Candragupta II), the southern ocean was perfumed by the breezes of his prowess⁶.

Harisena's raid on Kuntala does not appear to have resulted in the extermination of this family. Harisena may have contented himself with exacting a tribute from it as he appears to have done in the case of some others such as the Traikutakas. It is noteworthy that a Kuntalesa appears as a feudatory of the Emperor of Vidarbha in the story of Visruta, which has been shown above to have a historical basis.

¹ Inscr. No. 18, C. I. I., Vol. V.

² Inscr. No. 25, *ibid*.

³ Mirashi, 'The Kuntalesvaradautya of Kalidasa', *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 1 f.

⁴ *Loc. cit*, p. 3.

⁵ S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, Vol. I, pp. 271-74.

⁶ C. I. I., Vol. in, p.141.

Some records of the Later Calukyas state that Jayasirhha of the Early Calukya dynasty of Badami defeated the Rastrakuta king Indra, the son of Krsna. As Dr. Altekar has pointed out, this statement occurs in very late records, composed more than five centuries after the event. So one cannot be sure that these kings actually reigned in the 6th century A.D. But Govinda who invaded with his troop of elephants the territory to the north of the Bhimarathi (i.e. the Bhima, a tributary of the Krsna) at the time of the accession of Pulakesin II, may have belonged to this family as already conjectured by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar¹. This king could not, however, have been the great-grandfather of the Rastrakuta king Krsna I, as supposed by Dr. Bhandarkar, for the interval between these kings is too large to be covered by three generations.

The Aihole inscription² states that this Govinda immediately obtained a reward for the services he rendered to Pulakesin II. Ravikirti, the author of that inscription, is unfortunately not explicit on this matter, but he undoubtedly implies that Govinda was won over by Pulakesin II and induced to turn back. The very fact that Pulakesin thought it wise to adopt conciliatory measures in dealing with him shows that he was a powerful foe- His descendants do not, however, appear to have held Southern Maharashtra for a long time; for Pulakesin soon annexed both Northern and Southern Maharashtra and extended the northern limit of his Empire to the bank of the Narmada. That he ousted, the Rastrakutas from Southern Maharashtra is shown by the Satara plates³ of his brother Visnu-varadhana which record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhima. This Early Rastrakuta family of Manapura seems thus to have come to an end in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS OF MAHISHMATI.

The inscriptions of the Katakuris or Early Kalacuris do not mention their capital. Still, they probably ruled from Mahismati. This city is usually identified with Omkar Mandhata which from very early times has been famous as a holy place. The description in the *Raghuvamsa* that it was surrounded by the Narmada like a girdle suits Mandhata very well; for it is situated in the midst of the Narmada. Some other references⁴ however, seem to indicate that Mahismati was identical with Mahesvar. Mahismati is often referred to in Sanskrit literature as the capital of the Kalacuris. It was the capital of Kartavirya Sahasrarjuna, from whom the Kalacuris claimed descent. Besides, some later princes of the Haihaya dynasty, who ruled in the South as feudatories of the Calukyas, mention with pride their title *Mahismati-pura-var-adhivara* 'Lords of Mahismati, the best of towns', which shows that their ancestors were previously ruling from Mahismati.

¹ *Early History of India*, (Collected Works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III), p. 170.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303 f.

⁴ *Potdar commemoration Volume*, p. 317 f.

THE EARLY KALACHURIS.

We have seen above that Subandhu was ruling at Mahismati in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. It is not known if the early Kalacuris, who rose to power at the same place, were descended from him ; for there is a long period of nearly 150 years which separates them and for which no records have yet come to light. The early Kalacuris rose into prominence of the downfall of the Traikutakas. The last known date of the Traikutakas is the year 245 (A.D. 494-95) furnished by the Kanheri plate. The next known date of the Kalacuri era from Gujarat and Maharastra is the year 299 (A.D. 541) furnished by the Sunao Kala plates¹ of Sangamasimha. He was evidently ruling over some territory which was previously included in the Traikutaka kingdom. Sangamasimha, who calls himself *Mahasdmanta* was evidently a feudatory of some other power. The only powerful dynasty to which he may have owed allegiance was that of the Kalacuris. The Kalacuri king ruling at the time must have been the father of Krsnaraja. His name unfortunately has not come down to us.

Krsnaraja's father, using Mahismati as his base, seems to have extended his power in the east, west and south. In the west he overthrew the Traikutakas, whose territory he divided among his feudatories. The Mauryas were placed in charge of Aparanta or North Kohkan, while Sangamasimha was appointed to rule over Gujarat or at least the central part of it. We do not know whether Maharastra was annexed during his reign or during that of his successor-

Krsnaraja, who succeeded his father in circa A.D. 550, seems to have extended his kingdom still further. His coins² are imitated from those of the Traikutakas. They have on the obverse the bust of the King and on the reverse the figure of the bull (Nandi) surrounded by the legend running round the edge viz. *Parama-Mahesvara-mata-pitr-padanudhyata-sri-Krsnaraja*, meaning that (this is a coin of) the illustrious Krsnaraja, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father and is a devout worshipper of Mahesvara. These coins have been discovered over a very wide area including Rajputana and Malva in the north, the districts of Nasik and Satara in the south, the islands of Bombay and Sasti in the west and the districts of Amravati in Vidarbha and Betul and Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. As these coins were in circulation for 150 years after the time of Krsnaraja and were used by several later dynasties, It is not possible to say whether all this territory was included in the dominion of Krsnaraja, but there is no doubt that Gujarat, Kohkan and Maharastra including Vidarbha were comprised in it.

The only record of the reign of Krsnaraja is that incised on the Nagardhan plates³ of Svamiraja. They were issued from the erstwhile Vakataka capital Nandivardhana near Nagpur by Svami-raj's brother Nannaraja and record two grants—(i) one of twelve

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 33 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. olxxx f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 611 f.

nivartanas of land made by a Corporation of Mahamatras (Elephant-drivers) and (ii) the other of the village Ankollika made by the king Svamiraja at Prayag. Svamiraja is described in the grant as meditating on the feet of the lord paramount', which indicates his feudatory status. His suzerain is not named, but he could have been none other than the Kalacuri Krsnraja, as the date K. 322 (A.D. 573-74) falls in his reign (A.D. 550-575). The family of Svamiraja is also not named in the grant, but as the names Svamiraja and Nannaraja occur in some other Rastrakuta grants found in Vidarbha, Svamiraja and his brother must have belonged to the same lineage.

Krsnaraja's son and successor Sankaragana is known from several records. His own Abhona plates¹ were issued from his camp at Ujjayini and record the donation of some land in a village in the Marathvada region of Maharashtra. The grant shows that Sankaragana's empire extended from Malva in the north to Maharashtra in the south. That Gujarat also was included in it is shown by the Sankheda plate of his General Santilla. Sankaragana ruled probably from *circa* A.D. 575 to A.D. 600.

Sankaragana was succeeded by his son Buddharaja. Soon after his accession Buddharaja had to face an invasion of his territory by his southern neighbour Mangalesa of the Early Calukya Dynasty of Badami. In this struggle Buddharaja was completely routed and fled away leaving his whole treasure behind him, which was captured by Mangalesa². The latter then resolved that he would make an expedition of conquest in the north and plant a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhagirathi, but he could not follow up his victory because just then his feudatory Svamiraja of the Calukya family who was ruling at Redi in South Konkan rose in rebellion. Mangalesa had to rush to Redi to chastise the rebellious feudatory. He killed him and made a grant by way of thanksgiving. The Mahakuta inscription³ which contains the earliest reference to Mangalesa's victory over Buddharaja is dated in A.D. 601-02. Its contents show that it was put up soon after the defeat of Buddharaja, which may therefore have occurred in *circa* A.D. 601.

Mangalesa could not execute his plan of leading an expedition to North India for planting a pillar of victory on the bank of Bhagirathi; for he was fully occupied in ensuring the succession of his son and thwarting the schemes of his ambitious nephew Pulakesin II. This gave the necessary respite to Buddharaja, who seems to have soon consolidated his position. Both his known grants are dated after his defeat by Mangalesa. The earlier of them⁴ was made at Vidisa in Central India and is dated in K. 360 (A.D. 610). It registers

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 38 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. xlviii.

³ *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17, 18.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 47 f.

the donation of a village in the Nasik District. The other grant¹ was made at Anandapura (modern Vadnagar in North Gujarat) a few months later and registers the donation of a village in the Broach District. Both these grants were made during the victorious campaigns of the Kalacuri king, which were probably undertaken to meet the danger of invasion of Malva by the contemporary powerful king Siladitya I—Dharmaditya.

Some scholars² identify the Malva king who, according to Bana's *Harsacarita* invaded Kanauj, killed Grahavarman and threw his wife Rajyasri into prison, with the Kalacuri Buddharaja; but the theory does not stand scrutiny. In A.D. 605, when these events took place, Mangalesa was still supreme in the south. Though he could not, for some reason, carry out his original plan of leading an expedition to North India, the danger of his attack could not have passed altogether. Buddharaja could not therefore have thought of carrying his arms as far north as Kanauj, leaving the southern frontier of his own kingdom exposed to the attack of his powerful neighbour.

With the accession of Pulakesin II in *circa* A.D. 610, the political situation in South India changed completely. The young Calukya prince was as ambitious as he was powerful. After consolidating his position in the Kamataka he subdued the neighbouring princes, the Gangas and the Alupas. He next turned his attention to the north. He stormed Puri, the capital of the Mauryas, who owed allegiance to the Kalacuris³. It is not known what measures Buddharaja took to defend his feudatory against the mighty invader. Pulakesin reduced Puri after a hard-fought battle. He then invaded Maharastra. The Aihole inscription says that Pulakesin used all the three royal powers (viz. energy, counsel and royal position) to gain his object and ultimately became the lord of the three Maharastras comprising ninety-nine thousand villages⁴. Diplomacy seems to have played as great a part in achieving this victory as actual fighting. The inscription does not mention Pulakesin's adversary, but there is little doubt that he was Buddharaja. His defeat may have taken place in *circa* A.D. 620.

After conquering Maharastra, Gujarat and Konkan, Pulakesin parcelled out the territory among his relatives and feudatories. He placed his brother Visnuvardhana in charge of Southern Maharastra⁵. Northern Maharastra may similarly have been given to some other relative. Gujarat was made over to the Sendrakas⁶. In Vidarbha the old feudatory family of the Rastrakutas may have been allowed to continue⁷. Who was appointed to govern Konkan is not known.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 51.

² J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XIX, p. 406 f.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 6.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 303 f.

⁶ G. I. I. Vol. IV, p. lvii f.

⁷ We have some inscriptions of the Rastrakutas of Vidarbha of later times. *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 25 f.

Later, it was placed in charge of Pulakesin's son Jayasirhha *alias* Dharasraya¹.

History does not know the names of Buddharaja's successors. They probably continued to rule at Mahismati as feudatories of the Calukyas. One of them made a last attempt to regain the kingdom of his ancestors, but it was not successful and the Haihayas (as the Kalacuris came to be called) were reduced to the same position of servitude as the Gangas and Alupas who had already submitted to the Calukyas². As this revolt is mentioned in Vinayaditya's grant of Saka 609, it must have occurred before A.D. 687. Thereafter the Haihayas or Kalacuris remained loyal to their suzerains and gaining their confidence, became matrimonially allied with them. Later, they turned their attention to the north where they found a suitable opportunity to carve out a kingdom for themselves in the second half of the seventh century A.D.³.

THE MAURYAS.

The province of Aparanta (North Konkan) was included in the kingdom of the Traikutakas, as shown by the copper-plate inscription of the dynasty found in the Stupa at Kanheri⁴. Their capital of this province may have been Surparaka, modern Sopara in the Thana District, where fragments of Asoka's edicts have been found. After the overthrow of the Traikutakas, Aparanta was included in the dominion of the Kalacuris. Coins of the Kalacuri king Krsna-raja have been found in the island of Bombay. But the country was not directly administered by the Kalacuris. They gave it to a feudatory family called the Mauryas. Whether this family was descended from the Imperial Maurya dynasty of Pataliputra is not known; but it is noteworthy that other traces of the far-famed Maurya race have been found in Western India. The Kanasva inscription⁵ dated A.D. 738-39 mentions the Maurya king Dhavalappa, who was probably holding the fort of Citod. This family probably succumbed to the attack of the Arabs, who are credited with a victory over them. Another Maurya family was ruling at Valabhi (modern Vala) in Saurashtra. A later scion of it named Govinda was peigning from Vaghli in Khandesa as a feudatory of the Mahamandalesvara Seunacandra II⁶. Whether the family ruling in North Konkan in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. was related to any of these branches of the great Maurya family is not known.

The first notice of the Maurya family ruling in North Konkan occurs in the description of the conquests of the early Calukya king Kirtivarman I (A.D. 566-598). In the Aihole inscription he is described as the Night of Destruction to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas⁷. The Mauryas, who had shortly before begun to reign in Konkan, were not very powerful and could be easily subdued. Whether their suzerain Krsnaraja lent them any aid is not known.

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. lix f.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 64.

³ *C. I. I.* Vol. IV, p. lxviii f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 29 f.

⁵ *Ind., Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 56.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. H, p. 221,

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

Kirtivarman seems to have annexed some portion of Konkan which he assigned to the feudatory Svamiraja of the Calukya family who had his capital at Revati-dvipa, modern Redi, south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri District. Later, this Svamiraja seems to have sided with the Kalacuri king Buddharaja and revolted just when Mangalesa invaded the latter's territory¹. Mangalesa had therefore to give up his original plan of making conquests in North India and planting a pillar of victory on the bank of the Bhagirathi. He rushed to Revati to punish Svamiraja, whom he defeated and deposed. Mangalesa then appointed Indravarman of the Batpura lineage, who was evidently related to his own mother, as Governor of the newly conquered territory. Indravarman is known from his grant made at Revati-dvipa in A.D. 610².

Though the Mauryas were ruling over North Konkan for about seventy-five years, we have little knowledge of their history. The only record of their reign is that discovered at Vada in Thana District. It is still unpublished, but from the account given by Bhagwanlal it seems to have belonged to the reign of the Maurya king Suketuvarman and records the installation of the god Kotisvara by one Simhadatta, the son of Kumaradatta³.

Soon after his accession, Pulakesin II turned his attention to the conquest of North Konkan. He sent a large army and a fleet of hundreds of large ships to attack the Maurya capital Puri, 'the goddess of fortune of the Western Ocean'⁴. The Aihole inscription gives a graphic description of the hard-fought battle. The Maurya king was defeated and his kingdom was annexed to the Calukyan Empire.

Puri which continued to be the capital of North Konkan even after this conquest, has not yet been satisfactorily identified. It is described in later records as the chief town of the Konkan fourteen hundred⁵. Some scholars identify it with Gharapuri, better known as Elephanta with its magnificent Cave temples. Gharapuri lies about six miles on the east side of the Bombay harbour and has two landing places known as Mora Bandar and Raj Bandar, the former of which is supposed to be reminiscent of its having been the Maurya capital. The island is, however, too small to be the capital of a State. It is, besides, completely isolated from the mainland and is therefore unsuitable to be the seat of government. Another view is that Puri is identical with Rajapuri, also known as Danda Rajapuri near Muriid in the former Janjira State⁶. It is situated at the mouth of a long creek and has a well-fortified fort nearby. It is surrounded by the sea on three sides and is connected with the mainland on the fourth. Pulakesin II had therefore to employ both his army and navy to reduce it. The description, by the Kanarese poet Ranna, of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 161 f.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

³ *Bern. Gaz.*, (First Ed.,) Vol. XIV, pp. 372-73.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 1 f.

⁵ In some inscriptions the number of villages is given as fourteen thousand
Cf*****. C.I.I.Vol.IV.,P.149.

⁶ For a detailed discussion of this question, see *P. I. H. C.*, Vol. IV, P- 86 f.

the plight of the Silahara king Aparajita who was besieged in it also suits Rajapuri. Raima says, “ Hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyasraya’s army on the other, Aparajita trembled ‘like an insect on a stick both the ends of which are on fire’¹. Rajapuri near Murud may therefore be taken to be the Mauryan capital Puri, the chief town of the Konkan fourteen hundred.

The magnificent cave temple of Siva at Elephanta was probably carved out of solid rock during the reign of these Maurya kings. There has been considerable difference of opinion about the age of the Elephanta Caves. Burgess² placed them about A.D. 800, while Hiranand Sastri³ thought that they were wrought in the Gupta age. Gupta, however, would refer them to the first half of the sixth century A.D. on the evidence of close similarity of some sculptures there with those at Badami. The last view seems to be probable. We do not know to what religious sect the Mauryas belonged, but their suzerains the Kalacuris were *parama-mdhesvaras* or devout worshippers of Siva. The Pasupata Sect of Saivism had considerable influence at their court. The *Dutaka* of Sankaragana’s Abhona plates was a Pasupata⁴. Again, the queen of Sankaragana’s son Buddharaja is described in his Vadner plates as Pasupata-rajni⁵. Hiranand Sastri has noticed the sculpture of Lakulisa, the founder of the Pasupata sect, in one of the caves at Elephanta⁶. It is therefore not unlikely that the caves at Elephanta were excavated at the instance of the Kalacuri suzerains of the Mauryas.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 41.

² *C. I. I.*, p. 467.

³ *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 11.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 50.

⁶ *A Guide to Elephanta*, p. 23 f.

CHAPTER 4.

THE WESTERN KSATRAPAS*

CASUAL REFERENCES WERE ALREADY MADE IN A PRECEDING CHAPTER to the Saka rulers in Malva and Gujarat, with whom the Sata-vahanas had often to fight both offensive and defensive wars. We shall now devote this chapter to describe the rise and fall of the Saka power in Western India.

The Saka rulers of Malva, Gujarat and Kathiavad are usually referred to as Western Ksatrapas in ancient Indian history.¹ They are called Western Ksatrapas to distinguish them from the Saka Ksatrapa families ruling in the Punjab and adjoining territories, who are usually designated as Northern Ksatrapas. They are called Ksatrapas because they invariably used the title Ksatrapa or Mahaksatrapa to designate their ruling status. The title Ksatrapa looks Sanskritic and can be easily and correctly explained as *Ksatran patiti ksatriyah*, he is a Ksatrapa who is the protector or leader of the Ksatriyas or the military class, i.e. military captain or general or governor. In early Sanskrit literature this word nowhere occurs in this sense. The word is of Iranian origin. Ancient Achaemenian records refer to provincial governors as Ksatrapavans or protectors of the kingdom². The Sakas and Kusanas had come into close contacts with the Parthians in Persia, who also used this term to denote provincial governors. They therefore began to use it to denote the status of their own provincial governors and viceroys, introducing also a new modification of it, Mahaksatrapa, to denote the higher ones among these officers. It was but natural for the Sakas of Western India to take the title Ksatrapa, because they were subordinate rulers, owing allegiance to Saka emperors of the Punjab. They however continued the title even after they had become independent, probably out of a sentimental attachment to it.

The Saka rule in Malva and Gujarat was a natural consequence of the establishment of a Saka Empire in the Indus valley and the

* This chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

¹ Early writers like Prinsep, Thos and Newton described the Ksatrapa kings as members of a Sah or Sena dynasty ; this was due to their failure to read correctly the ending termination *simha*, with which the names of many of the kings ended. As the medial vowels were usually omitted in the legends, the mistake was natural.

² *Ksatra* in ancient Iranian always denotes a kingdom.

Punjab. The early Saka rulers of Western India, were feudatory, governors of the contemporary Saka emperors, as the Nizam in later times was of the Moghal emperors of Delhi. When Saka rule in the Punjab was replaced by the Kusana empire, the Sakas of Western India transferred their allegiance to that power. From about 150 A. D., they became independent, and their Kusana overlords sank into insignificance ; nevertheless they never assumed imperial titles like *Rajadhiraja*, but were content with their hereditary titles of *Ksatrapas* and *Mahaksatrapas*.

The history of the Sakas in northern India is still shrouded in considerable mystery. Scholars widely differ as to the date of the first Saka emperor, Maues, who is known to us from his extensive coinage. It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into a discussion of rival theories. We have assumed as a working hypothesis that Maues was ruling from c. 90 B.C. to 60 B.C. Maues appears to have descended into the Sindh Valley from Seistan and occupied the delta first. It is interesting to note that Sindh was known as Scythia even down to the middle of the first century AD¹. It continued to be under the Scythian rule down to c. 200 A.D., but very little is known about the history of the Saka rulers who ruled there. The term Western Ksatrapas, as conventionally known to scholars, does not include the Saka Ksatrapas also who ruled over Sindh.

Jain tradition refers to a brief interval of four years of Saka rule at Ujjayini, which was put an end to by king Vikramaditya, who drove out the Sakas and founded the Vikrama era in 57 B.C.² It may well be doubted whether an era known after Vikrama was really started in 57 B.C.; but there seems to be nothing improbable in the Sakas of Sindh having made an effort to establish themselves at Ujjayini at about 60 B.C. Maues was then at the height of his power and he may well have sent a general to capture Ujjayini. The attempt however eventually proved to be abortive. No Saka coins belonging to the first century B.C. have been found at Ujjayini or in Malva. This circumstance would confirm the statement of the Jain tradition that the Saka rule at this time did not last for more than 4 years.

Mathura was a centre of Saka power from c. 50 B.C. to 50 A.D. and there were a number of Saka Ksatrapas or viceroys ruling at that place. Prominent among them were Saka Kusulaka and his son Patika, and Rajuvula and his son Sodasa. These were ruling down to c. 10 A.D. and were most probably the feudatories of Saka emperors, Azes and Azileses who succeeded Maues in the Punjab. No evidence is so far available to show that any effort was made by the Sakas at this time to found a principality in Western India.

KSHAHARATA DYNASTY.

The Kshaharata dynasty is the earliest known Saka dynasty of Western India. Liaka Kusulaka is described as a Ksatrapa of Chaharata and Cuksa in the Taxila copper plate of Patika; very

¹ Sohoff: *The Periplus*, Para. 38.

² *Kalakacharya- Kathanaka*.

probably like Cuksa, Chaharata i.e. Ksaharata was also the name of a locality or division in the vicinity of Taxila.¹ A fragmentary inscription found at Ganeshra mound near Mathura refers to a Stupa probably constructed by Ksaharata Ghataka, who was most probably a Ksatrapa.²

This record would suggest that some members of the Ksaharata family were connected with or settled near Mathura before one of its branch migrated to the Deccan. The scanty available evidence seems to show that members of the Ksaharata family had served as Ksatrapas in the North—Western Frontier Province and the Eastern Punjab or Northern U. P. before one of its members migrated to the Deccan in search of new pastures. Those who came to the Deccan continued to adopt Ksaharata as their family name, as it was connected with their place of origin. At this time both Saka and Parthian families were ruling in northern India and there was considerable racial mixture between them. It is therefore not easy to state whether Ksaharatas were Parthians or Sakas. The name Nahapana has a Parthian look, but his son-in-law Usabhadata is expressly described as a Saka.

So far Bhumaka was known to be the earliest ruler of this dynasty, but recently a coin has come to light in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, which shows that he may have had a predecessor as well. The find-spot of this coin is not recorded, nor is it possible to read the name of this early ruler on his solitary copper coin. The obverse type Dharmacakra and Lion capital connect this unknown ruler both with Bhumaka and the Mathura Ksatrapas; its reverse type Nike would suggest that he was a predecessor of Bhumaka.

There is considerable controversy about the date of the Taxila plate of Patika. The generally accepted view at present is that the Mathura Ksatrapas are to be placed a few decades earlier or later than the beginning of the Christian era. The obverse type of the Ksaharata coins, Arrow pointing downwards and Thunderbolt with a pellet³ between them bears a close resemblance to a joint type of Spalirises and Azes II, where we have Discus, Bow and

¹ Konow's view that Ksaharata may have denoted a higher title than Ksatrapas (*I. H. Q.*, 1935, p. 135) does not seem to be a tenable one, the coin legend *Ksaharatasa Ksatrapasa Bhumakasa* goes against it; Dr. Indrajit described the rulers of this dynasty as of Ksarosti family (*B. O.*, I, p. 23); he thought that they owed their surname to the circumstance of their being the descendants of the crown prince Kharaosta mentioned in the Lion Capital inscription of Mathura. He thought that when Kharaosta was ousted by Ksatrapa Patika, some of his relatives may have accepted service under him and may have been sent to the Deccan for its conquest (*J. R. A. S.* 1890, p. 641). This is an ingenious theory and would be compatible with the date assigned here to Bhumaka. But it is very doubtful whether the surname Ksaharata can be connected with Yuvaraja Kharaosta. The rulers of the family would have taken a surname not from Kharaosta, who never came to the throne, but from his father Rgjuvula. Konow took Cuksa to be modern Caca in the north of Attock District. This seems to be more probable than the view of Cunningham, who identified it with Sirsukh, a part of the ancient city of Taxila.

² *J. B. A. S.*, 1912, pp. 122-23.

³ This pellet would probably stand for the Discus on the joint coinage of Spalirises and Azes.

Arrow.¹ The time of Azes II like that of the Mathura Ksatrapas is somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era. We may therefore well assume that the Ksaharatas started for the south at about 25 A.D. The Ksaharata ruler of the Prince of Wales Museum coin was perhaps the earliest ruler, and we may place his reign from c. 25 A.D. to 40 A.D. When he was ruling and what the extent of his dominion was we do not know. But we could not be far wrong in assuming that he might have succeeded in establishing a foothold at Ajmer, from which his successors could penetrate into Malva.

Bhumaka.

The next known Ksaharata ruler is Bhumaka², who also is known to us only from his coins. We may tentatively place his reign between 40 and 60 A.D. The coins of this ruler are found in the coastal regions of Gujarat and Kathiavad and sometimes in Malva³; we may therefore well assume that his dominion included part of Gujarat and Kathiavad. Where his capital was we do not know. Nor do we know whether he was in possession of Ujjayini. Probably the Satavahanas were holding Malva down to 50 A.D.

Being fresh from the north, Bhumaka used Kharosthi script for the obverse and Brahmi script for the reverse of his coins. Probably, being the ruler of a small kingdom, he could not manage to bring die-cutters from the north, who also knew the Greek script, which was so common on the coins of the north at this time. The motif of his coin type, Lion Capital and Dharmacakra on the obverse and Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet on the reverse suggest that he could not have been far removed in time from the Mathura Ksatrapas and Spalirises and Azes II. Both their motifs are rather rare in Indian numismatics and their adoption by Bhumaka cannot but suggest the above conclusion. If the date here assigned to Bhumaka is correct, it will follow that he may have professed to be a governor of Gondopharnes or Wima Kadphises.

The regal title of Bhumaka on his coins is Ksatrapa, which was also assumed by a number of Saka potentates in Northern India. As already pointed out, this title, though of Achaemenian origin, had become quite popular in the Saka and Parthian administration. India, however had coined a higher title named Mahaksatrapa, to denote a higher status, which was usually conferred by the emperor in recognition of special services. Bhumaka, however, is seen to use only the lower title of Ksatrapa throughout his reign, which ended probably in c. 60 A.D.

¹ See *B. M. C.A.K.*; Pl. IX, 237-39 and *P. M. G.*, I, Pl. XIV, 396. It may be pointed out that the larger coins of Bhumaka are intermediate in size between the joint type of Spalirises and Azes and the copper coins of Nahapana. This also would show that chronologically Bhumaka is much nearer to Azes than Nahapana. The introduction of the Greek legend and bust on the silver coins of Nahapana was due to a currency reform undertaken by him, and not to his being an earlier ruler.

² Konow has suggested that Bhumaka may be identical with Ysamotika, the father of Castana, the founder of the second Ksatrapa house. He connects Ysamotika with the Saka word Ysma meaning earth (*Kharosthi Ins.*, p. LXX). This view is extremely improbable. Ysamotika was a commoner; he is never given any royal title in the coin legend of his son. Bhumaka on the other hand was a Ksatrapa. The acceptance of the view of Konow would further make Castana and Nahapana contemporary rulers ruling over practically the same territories.

³ *B. M. C. A. K.*, p. cvii.

Nahapana.

Nahapana is the next Ksaharata ruler, his relationship to Bhumaka is not known, but it is not unlikely that he may have been his son. But on his coins and in his inscriptions, Nahapana expressly described himself as a Ksaharata. He continues the reverse type of his predecessor, Arrow, Thunderbolt and Pellet, but the Lion Capital and Dharmacakra on the obverse are replaced by the royal bust with a circular legend in Greek characters but Prakrt language intended to stand for PANNIWAHAPATAC NAHANAC¹. The reverse gives this legend both in Brahmi and Kharosthi scripts. Nahapana is the only king so far known who has issued *triscriptal* coins.

Before we proceed to describe the career and achievements of Nahapana we have to discuss his date at some length, because widely divergent views are held on the subject. Jayaswal held that Gautamiputra Satakarni overthrew Nahapana in 57 B.C. and founded the Vikrama era². Messrs. Dubreuil,³ K. A. N. Shastri⁴ and Bakhale⁵ place the overthrow of Nahapana in c. 10 B.C. It is argued that the dates 41, 42 and 46 of the records of Nahapana are the dates in the Vikrama era or in the era of Azes, which was founded at about the same time. Nahapana was overthrown soon after the year 46 of this era, i.e. at about 10 B.C. R. D. Banerji places his overthrow about 25 years later⁶.

The above theories which place Nahapana in the first century B.C. or soon thereafter are untenable. Jayaswal assumes that the overthrower of Nahapana was an earlier Satakarni, the eighth ruler of the dynasty according to his theory, who had ruled for 56 years from 100 to 44 B.C.⁷ There is no evidence to show that he was known as Gautamiputra. And supposing that he founded the Vikrama era to commemorate his victory over Nahapana, is it not strange that he and his descendants should have religiously boycotted its use in all their official and dated records which have come to light? Nor is it possible to place Nahapana from c. 40 B.C. to 10 B.C., as is done by Messrs. Shastri and Bakhale. It is no doubt true that the coins of Nahapana, showing the bust of the king with the Greek legend on one side, show considerable Greek influence. But we may point out that a greater approximation to the Greek type is shown by the gold coins of the Kusanas, who undoubtedly ruled from c. 78 A.D. to 200 A.D. When Nahapana succeeded in founding a fairly big empire in the Deccan, he naturally introduced a currency reform, which was responsible for the introduction of the bust and Greek legend on his coins, features which are absent from the copper currency of his predecessor Bhumaka.

The Pauranic evidence clearly shows that Gautamiputra Satakarni came towards the end of the first century A.D.; but it is argued that he defeated not Nahapana, but some of his descendants. It is

¹ B. M. C. A. K., p. 65.

² J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 249.

³ *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 19-25.

⁴ J. R. A. 8. 1926, p. 643.

⁵ J. B. B. R. A. S., N. S. I., p. 245.

⁶ I. A., 1908, p. 63.

⁷ J. B. O. R. S., XVI, p. 278.

assumed that after the death of Nahapana in c. 10 B.C., a number of his relations and descendants continued to rule the Deccan, who are referred to as Ksaharatakula in the Satavahana record. It is further argued that these successors of Nahapana, for some reasons unknown to us, issued coins with their own different busts, but bearing the name of their illustrious predecessor¹. The date of Nahapana can, therefore, be 10 B.C., even if we have to place Gautamiputra in the first century A.D. The latter defeated not-Nahapana, but some of his-descendants, among whom the kingdom was divided.

This argument is ingenious but not convincing. There is no doubt a striking diversity in the features of the busts on the coins of Nahapana counterstruck by Gautamiputra Satakarni. But that can as well be due to the unequal artistic skill of the different artists entrusted with the task of preparing the dies. In the far off Deccan, it was difficult to get artists who would be well grounded in all the three scripts, Greek, Kharosthi and Brahmi,² and would also be good portrait engravers. Otherwise we cannot understand the undisputed fact of Greek script being corrupt on those coins where the bust is young and correct on those coins where it is old.

That several successors of Nahapana should all have decided to put their individual busts upon their coins but refrained from giving their names appears improbable. In contemporary times even petty rulers like Jayadaman, Rajuvula and Sodasa never failed to give their names on coins. Why then should we suppose that about half a dozen successors of Nahapana should have followed this unusual procedure ?³

Another important circumstance goes against this view. One of the records of Nahapana gives the ratio between the contemporary silver and gold currency as 35 : 4.⁴ This pre-supposes the simultaneous existence of the two currencies. But it is well known that there was no gold coinage current in the first century B.C.⁵ We cannot therefore put Nahapana in the last quarter of the first century B.C.

Banerji's argument, that the palaeographical differences between the Girnar inscription of Rudradaman (dated in 150 A.D.) and the Nasik inscriptions of Nahapana show that at least one century must have elapsed between them,⁶ has not much cogency. In ancient India communications were difficult and it would not be fair to compare the palaeography of records separated by hundreds of miles. If we compare the scripts of the Nasik records of Nahapana and Gautamiputra Satakarni we find that they are contemporaneous ; there is hardly any palaeographical difference between them.

¹ Scott first advocated this view in *J. B. B. R. A.S.*, XXII, p. 236; it is accepted by almost all those who place Nahapana at c. 10 B. C.

² It is interesting to note that some die-cutters were good in engraving Greek letters but poor in engraving Kharosthi ones ; while others were well grounded only in Brahmi.

³ It has also been suggested that the busts are merely copies of the busts on Roman coins from c. 30 B. C. to 150 A. D., *J. R.A.S.* 1908, p.551.

⁴ Nasik inscription Nos. 12 : *E. I.*, III, p. 82.

⁵ Neither Maues nor Vonones, neither Azes or Azilises, who ruled at about this time, had issued any gold coins. Their currency was only in silver and copper.

⁶ *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, pp. 10 ff.

There is another circumstance suggesting that Gautamiputra had defeated Nahapana himself and not any of his successors. The very first charitable donation that Gautamiputra made in the flush of his victory consisted of a field near Nasik, which is described as in possession of Usabhadata till that time.¹ This Usabhadata can be hardly any other than the famous son-in-law of Nahapana. There are scores of land—grants recorded in the caves of Western India, but they never mention the names of the earlier owner of the property donated. If it is mentioned in the solitary case, the reason must have been the well—known position of the former owner.

The view here advocated that Nahapana came to the throne in c. 55 A.D.² well explains all the known facts of the Saka and Satavahana history. The years of his records 41, 42 and 46 are his regnal years ; some of his coins show the king's bust as that of an old man of about 75 with sunken cheeks and toothless jaws ; so he may well have had a long reign of about 50 years. Gold currency became common with the accession of Wima Kadphises in c. 50 A.D.; we can therefore well understand how one of the inscriptions of Nahapana should refer to the ratio of 1 : 35 between the prices of the gold and silver coins.³

It is generally assumed that the king Nambanus, referred to as the ruler of Ariake or the Western Coast by the *Periplus*⁴ is the same as Nahapana, Nambanus being a scribe's mistake for Nahapana. The *Periplus* was written in the latter half of the first century A. D. and we can understand the reference to Nahapana in that work as the ruler of Ariake and Broach.

If we place the accession of Nahapana in c. 55 A.D., the time of his predecessor Bhumaka would be 30 to 55 A.D.; we can then well explain the striking similarity of his coin type with that of one obscure type of Spalirises and Azes to which we have referred above; for Bhumaka flourished only about 25 years later than these rulers. We can also understand the adoption of Dharmacakra and Lion Capital as the reverse device of the coins of Bhumaka, for the Mathura Ksatrapas, who had dedicated the famous Lion Capital there, flourished at about the beginning of the Christian era, i.e., about 25 years earlier than the time of Bhumaka.

The usual view that the overthrow of Nahapana is to be placed soon after 124 A.D. is no doubt a plausible one;⁵ the next Ksatrapa family in Western India was using the Saka era and it is plausible to suggest that the years in the inscriptions of Nahapana and his son-in-law should also be referred to the same era; and this leads to the logical conclusion that Nahapana was ruling as a Mahaksatrapa down to the year 46 of the Saka era, i.e. 124 A.D. This assumption

¹ *E. I.*, VIII, p. 71.

² Gopalachari also places the accession of Nahapana at about this time. *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 58.

³ *E. I.*, VII.

⁴ Schoff, *The Periplus*, p. 39.

⁵ Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 485. Tripathi, *History of Ancient India*, p., 216. Rapson, *B. M. C. A. K.*, p. xxvi. In the first edition of thin work, Dr. Bhagwanlal, Indrajai had also adopted the same view ; *B. O.*, I, i. p. 29.

however, does not explain a number of events in the Satavahana and Ksatrapa history. Under this theory we have to bring down the reign of Gautamiputra Satakarni down to at least 130 A.D., and that of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi down to at least 152 A.D. Rudra-daman however claims that before the year 150 A.D., he had twice defeated king Satakarni, the lord of the Deccan, and we have shown already how neither Gautamiputra nor Vasisthiputra can be identified with this ruler. The known events of the Ksatrapa history : viz. the advent of Castana, the expanse of the Saka power under him, the reign of his son Jayadaman, the set back that beset his progress and the re-establishment of the Saka power under Rudradaman can also not be properly accounted for during a short period of less than twenty-five years.

The most plausible theory that can at present be advanced about the date of Nahapana is to place his reign between c. 55 and 105 A.D. How the known facts of Satavahana history can be most satisfactorily explained by this hypothesis, is already shown in a previous chapter.

Nahapana's career was undoubtedly a meteoric one, but unfortunately very few of its details are known to us. The kingdom which he inherited from Bhumaka probably comprised Ajmer and northern Gujarat. Nahapana extended it by annexing Malva, southern Gujarat and Konkan and Northern Maharashtra. All his extension of the kingdom was at the cost of the Satavahana empire.

The Satavahana chronology is still very much unsettled and it is not possible to state with certainty as to which Satavahana kings were the opponents of Bhumaka and Nahapana. According to the chronology proposed in the second chapter Hala, (37-42 A.D.), Mandalaka (42-47 A.D.), Purindrasena (47-52 A.D.), Sundara Svatikarna (53 A.D.), Cakora Svatikarna (53 A.D.), and Sivasri (53-81 A.D.) would be the contemporaries of Bhumaka and Nahapana. It is not unlikely that the short reigns of some of the above rulers may be due to troubles arising out of the Saka invasion. It is very probable that Sundara Svatikarna and Cakora Svatikarna, who had short reigns of one year and six months only, may have died while fighting with Bhumaka and Nahapana. All this, however, is mere conjecture. The only certain fact is that in c. 60 or 70 A.D., Nahapana succeeded in wresting away from the Satavahanas Eastern Malva (Akara), Western Malva, (Avanti), Konkan (Aparanta) and Northern and Central Maharashtra. He was already ruling over Kathiavad, Northern Gujarat, Central Rajputana, upto and even beyond Ajmer. His was thus an extensive kingdom extending from Ajmer to Poona, from Saugar in C. P. to Dvaraka in Kathiavad.

Curiously enough, the extent of the dominion of Nahapana has to be inferred from the places where charitable actions are known to have been performed by his son-in-law Usabhadatta, (Rsabhadatta).¹ Besides excavating a number of caves at Nasik and Karli in northern and central Maharashtra, Usabhadatta had given in charity several thousands of coconut trees at the villages of Nanahgala and

¹ Nasik inscription Nos. 10 and 12, E.I., VIII, pp. 78f. and 82f.

Cikhalpadra (in Kapura district), both obviously located in Korikan. He is known to have established free ferry service on several rivers in northern Konkan, Dahanu in Thana district, Parada (Pardi) and Tapi in Surat district, the Damana and the Banas in Ahmadabad district.

Further, he constructed rest houses and tanks at Govardhana near Nasik in Northern Maharashtra, Broach and Sopara in southern Gujarat and Korikan, and Dasapura or Mandsore in north-western Malva. It is thus quite clear that Central and Northern Maharashtra, Korikan, Southern and Northern Gujarat and Malva¹ were undoubtedly included in the dominions of Nahapana. Usabhadata had performed the marriages of eight Brahmanas at Prabhasa or Somanath in Kathiavad and donated a village at Puskara near Ajmer. Of course it is possible to argue that Usabhadata may have visited these places as a pilgrim, though they were not included in the dominion of his father-in-law. But this is not likely, Ajmer was the base of operation even of Bhumaka, and some copper coins of both Bhumaka and Nahapana have been found there. Kathiavad is claimed to have been conquered by Gautamiputra Satakarni and obviously it must have been from Nahapana. So we shall be perfectly justified in assuming that Kathiavad and Ajmer were also included in the dominions of Nahapana. It is interesting to note that famous holy places like Banaras, Allahabad and Gaya, which were obviously not included in the dominions of Nahapana, are not mentioned as places of charity of Usabhadata.

It is thus clear that central Rajasthan, Majva, Kathiavad, Kachcha, Northern and Southern Gujarat and Northern and Central Maharashtra were undoubtedly included in the dominions of Nahapana. Vidarbha does not appear to have been included in it. There was a holy place named Ramatirtha, 3 miles north of Harigal in Dharvad district. But Ramatirtha mentioned in the inscription of Usabhadata could not have been this place. The Brahmanas at Ramatirtha along with those at Govardhana and Sopara were the sharers in the gift of 32,000 coconut trees at Nanarigala in Korikan. Ramatirtha could therefore obviously not have been so far away from this place as the holy place of that name in Dharvad district.²

Malva, Southern Gujarat and Northern and Central Maharashtra must have been wrested from the Satavahanas after a bitter struggle. It is likely that Nahapana may have derived some help in the beginning from his overlord W'ima Kadphises, who had at this time carried his arms right up to Pataliputra.³ If it transpires from further

¹ Bhagwanlal Indraji did not include Eastern Malva in the kingdom of Nahapana (*B. G.*, I, i. 24). He thought that Nahapana might have advanced through east Rajputana by Mandasore in West Malva along the easy route to Dohad as far as South Gujarat, from where his power spread by sea to Kathiavad and by land to Nasik. He excluded Northern Gujarat and eastern Malva from Nahapana's dominions. It, however, appears almost certain that Akara (Eastern Malva) and Avanti (Western Malva) which Gautamiputra claims to have conquered, must have both belonged to Nahapana. Banas river on which Usabhadata established a ferry, flows in Ahmadabad district.

² Ramatirtha was near Selarvadi in the Poona District See *E.I.*, XXV, p. 168. (V.V.M.)

³ This is shown by the discovery of 23 coins of Wima Kadphises in the Kumrahar excavations at Pataliputra.

discoveries that the Satavahanas were holding Pataliputra at the time of its conquest by Wima Kadphises, as appears probable from the Puranic tradition, it is quite natural that Wima may have extended a helping hand to his lieutenant Nahapana in delivering a staggering blow to the common enemy near the heart of his empire. The greater part of the conquests of Nahapana however may have been due to his own exertions and initiative. His successes, however, were duly acknowledged by his suzerain by investing him with the higher title of Mahaksatrapa towards the end of his reign.

The struggle between Nahapana and the Satavahanas seems to be reflected in the story of Naravahana, king of Broach, narrated in Jain tradition. Naravahana is most probably the Sanskritised form of Nahapana. Broach is mentioned as the capital of Naravahana in the Jain story and it could very well have been the capital of Nahapana. The Satavahana king is stated to have repeatedly besieged Broach, but had to retreat discomfited every time. Eventually he had the recourse to a stratagem. One of his ministers, pretending to be dissatisfied with his king, repaired to Nahapana and took service under him. He then induced his new master to spend greater and greater amounts upon charity, which impoverished his treasury and weakened his military forces. Taking advantage of this situation the Satavahana king attacked Nahapana and defeated and killed him.¹ There is ample evidence to show that Usabhadata, the son-in-law of Nahapana, had been extremely liberal to Buddhism and Brahmanism. No record has so far been found enumerating any donations of Nahapana himself. But it is not unlikely that he may have been also as liberal as his son-in-law. In that case the story recorded in the Jain works may have some substratum of truth under it.

The only definite incident of the long reign of Nahapana referred to in contemporary records is the expedition that he had sent under his son-in-law Usabhadata to relieve the Uttamabhadras, who had been besieged by the Malavas.² The Malavas were in possession of the Ajmer-Jaipur area before its annexation by the Ksaharatas. They were a freedom loving republic and were constantly trying to regain their independence. This time they did not succeed; for Usabhadata claims that they fled away at the mere report of his advent. Uttamabhadras have not yet been identified, but the Malava homeland at this time was Ajmer-Jaipur tract and Usabhadata is known to have celebrated his victory by some charities at Puskara lake near Ajmer. It is likely that the Uttamabhadras were in power near Jaipur. It has been suggested³ that they may have been the descendants of the king Uttamadata of Mathura, who is known from

¹ This account is based upon an old *gatha* quoted in Avasyaka Sutra, and its commentary *Curni*. The *gatha*, which belongs to *Niryukti* and is as old as the beginning of the Christian era merely mentions the name of Nahapana. The details of the story are given only in the *Curni*, which was composed in the 9th century A. D. We can therefore well understand how it mentions Hala as the conqueror of Nahapana. For the original passages, see *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI. pp. 290-3.

² *J. N. S. I.*

³ Nasik inscription No. 10.

his coins to have ruled in c. 1st century B.C. This is possible but not certain. This incident shows that there were dissensions among the Hindu rulers and that the Sakas were following the age old imperial policy of Divide and Rule.

According to the hypothesis here accepted, the inscriptions of Nahapana are dated in his regnal years. His latest known date is 46; he therefore had a long reign of about fifty years. This is rendered extremely probable by the aged bust of the ruler appearing on some of his coins where he appears with sunken cheeks and teethless jaws. Down to his 45th year, Nahapana is referred to as a Ksatrapa only, but in the succeeding year, a record of his minister Aryaman found at Junnar, describes him as a Maha-ksatrapa. It is possible to argue that the higher title was due to a fresh victory won against the Satavahanas. But Nahapana was very old at this time and so one may well doubt whether he could have scored fresh victories after his forty-fifth regnal year. Very probably his imperial overlord Huviska had conferred this title on Nahapana in his old age in recognition of his long and meritorious services.

It is not possible to identify the capital of Nahapana. Minnagar is mentioned as the capital of Nimbanus by the *Periplus*, and to judge from its direction, given in that book, it may have been somewhere to the north-east of Broach. Some scholars hold that Minnagar may have been Mandasore. But Mandasore was too far away in the north to be a suitable capital for Nahapana's kingdom. The view that Junnar may have been his capital is equally unconvincing, it was in the far south eastern corner of his kingdom. Broach was perhaps the most flourishing port of Nahapana's kingdom and may well have been his capital.

Soon after the 46th year of Nahapana's reign his dynasty was overthrown by Gautamiputra Satakarni. The decisive battles were probably fought in the vicinity of Nasik, for a reference to the camp of his victorious army is made in one of his Nasik inscriptions by Gautamiputra Satakarni, his conqueror. As a result of his military victories, the Satavahana conqueror was able to annexe Central and Northern Maharashtra, the whole of Gujarat and Kathiavad, and Eastern and Western Malva. It is quite possible that the campaign may have lasted for more than two years.

Whether Nahapana was himself defeated by Gautamiputra or an immediate successor of his, it is difficult to say. The view that some of the immediate successors of Nahapana were issuing coins with the name of their illustrious predecessor, but with busts of their own, is untenable, as already shown above. We cannot however altogether exclude the possibility of a successor of Nahapana being overthrown within a year or two of his accession.¹ On the whole, however, it appears most probable that Nahapana

¹ Nahapana was a famous king and we would have expected his name to be specifically mentioned in the eulogy of his conqueror at Nasik. It is however equally probable that his name may have been omitted because the record emphasises the destruction of his entire family.

himself was defeated. In the Jogaltherhbi hoard, there were no coins of any successor of his and the Jain tradition, above referred to, expressly refers to the overthrow and death of Naravahana himself. It appears that not only Nahapana but his sons, nephews and grandsons all perished in the sanguinary struggle; for the Nasik eulogy of Gautamiputra describes him as the exterminator of the entire Ksaharata family.

Recently however (in 1951 A.D.) several coins of a Saka king named Mana have come to light,¹ who was ruling near Kondapur in Central Hyderabad towards the end of the second century A.D. The reverse of these coins shows device of Arrow and Thunderbolt, which was the special feature of the coins of both Bhumaka and Nahapana. It would therefore appear that though the Ksaharata family was overthrown in c. 105 A.D., some distant scions of it succeeded in carving out a small principality near Kondapur after about fifty years. The political passions must have cooled down by that time; Sakas had become practically Indians and later Sata-vahanas may not have objected to a Ksaharata raising himself to the status of a feudal chief. Very little is however known of king Mana and his dynasty. His father was a mere general (*mahasenapati*)² but he was successful in achieving the status of a feudatory.

THE HOUSE OF CHASTANA.

The Satavahana emperors in the Deccan were the rivals of the Kusana emperors in the north. The Ksaharatas professed to be the feudatories of the latter and their overthrow was not quietly accepted by the Kusanas. Huviska who was most probably the Kusana emperor in c. 105 A.D., had a firm grip at this time over the Northern India up to Pataliputra. He soon sent a new lieutenant named Castana to recover the lost provinces. The new adventurer was given the status of a Ksatrapa. He was a man of humble origin, for his father Ysamotika is never given any regal title in the coin legends of his son. The foreign look of the father's name no doubt suggests that Castana was a Saka, but he obviously belonged to a stock different from that of the Ksaharatas. A daughter of Rudradaman, a grandson of Castana, describes herself as born of the Kardamaka family. This may be therefore taken to be the surname of the new Saka house. Kardamaka was probably an Indianised form of some Persian or Scythian name.³

Ptolemy states that a king of Ujjayini named Tiastanes was a contemporary of a king of Paithan named Polemois. It is now generally agreed that Tiastanes is identical with Castana and Polemois with Vasisthiputra Pulumavi. We have placed the overthrow of Nahapana by Gautamiputra Satakarni in c. 110 A.D. Soon thereafter Vasisthiputra succeeded his father and Castana appeared on the scene to re-establish the Saka supremacy.

¹ J. N. S. I, XII, p. 90.

² (Ma' a himself was *Mahasenapati*. He later became independent and assumed the title of *Rajan*. *Studies in Indology*, III, 69. V.V.M.)

³ Dr. H. C. Ray Choudhury states that Kardamaka is the name of a river in Persia and the family of Castana may have hailed from it. It was once held by some scholars that Castana might be connected with the district or tribe of Cuksa mentioned in the Taxila plate of Patika. But it appears that the real spelling of this name is not Cutsa but Cuksa.

Castana.

Silver coins of Castana are a close copy of the silver currency of Nahapana. The obverse shows the remnants of corrupt Greek letters and the headdress of the new ruler is markedly similar to that of Nahapana. This circumstance will show that the two were not far removed from each other in time. It is not impossible that Castana and Nahapana may have been to some extent contemporaries. This was the view advocated in the first edition of this work, where Bhagwanlal had suggested that Castana might have been a younger contemporary of Nahapana. He suggested with some hesitation that Castana might be the chief of the Uttamabhadras whom Usabhadata went to assist in the year 42; when Malavas were driven away, Castana might have consolidated his power and taken possession of Malva and established his capital at Ujjayini. In the beginning during the life time of Nahapana, Bhagwanlal thought, the power of Castana might have been small; a few years after the overthrow of Nahapana, he wrested away Gujarat and Kathiavad from the Satavahanas and assumed the title of Mahaksatrapa.¹

The above view, however, is only partly tenable. To judge from the name, the Uttamabhadras appear to be of Indian origin, while Castana was undoubtedly a Saka. Ajmer was an outpost of Naha-pana's kingdom and it is not likely that Castana may have been allowed to rule there in a more or less independent capacity. It is doubtful whether there was any independent Scythian ruler in Sindh in c. 120 A.D., who could have sent Castana to reconquer Gujarat and Malva. It is therefore best to assume that Castana was sent to the south by the contemporary Kusana emperor Huviska to retrieve the fortunes of the Scythian rule after the power of Nahapana had been shattered in c. 105 A.D.² In the royal portrait gallery at Mathura, a statue has been found along with those of Wima and Kaniska which seems to be that of Castana. The reading of the inscription is rather doubtful, but Castana seems to be a more probable reading than Mastana. It is therefore almost certain that Castana came to Kajputana as a viceroy of Huviska. The view of Oldenberg,³ Burgess,⁴ and Dubreuil⁵ that Castana was feudatory of Gautamiputra Satakarni, who for some unknown reason had entered the service of the Satavahanas and joined hands with them in overthrowing Nahapana, also seems to be untenable. It is true that Castana has adopted the *Caitya* symbol of the Satavahanas on his coins; but that may as well be due to his having wrested a district of the Satavahana kingdom where that symbol was common. Does not the silver currency of the Guptas, introduced in the districts wrested from the Western Ksatrapas, borrow a number of Saka motifs and features? It is true that Castana was ruling over Akara and Avanti, which had been conquered by Gautamiputra. But he could have got these

¹ B. G. I, i, p. 32.

² We may here refer, passingly to Fleet's view that Bhumaka, Nahapana and Castana were Co-viceroy's ruling in KothiaVad, Gujarat Konkan and Ujjayini, *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 993.

³ I. A. X.

⁴ A. S. W. I., IV, p. 87.

⁵ *Ancient History of the Deccan*.

provinces as a conqueror rather than as a feudatory governor. The fact that he was issuing independent coinage would show that he was not a feudatory of the Satavahanas.

Being a governor of Huviska Castana must have at the beginning of his career, proceeded from Mathura and occupied Ajmer in c. 120 A.D. It is worth noting that this city was not claimed to be within their dominions by the Satavahanas. From Ajmer, Castana gradually extended his power towards Cutch; three Andhao inscriptions found in Cutch show that Ksatrapa power was well established there in 130 A.D. Since Ujjayini is mentioned as a capital of Tiastanes or Castana by Ptolemy, there is no doubt that he eventually succeeded in conquering Malva; but when this conquest was effected we do not know. Probably the victories enabling these annexations² were achieved towards the end of the reign of Vasisthi-putra Pulumavi say in c. 130 A.D. As a recognition of the services rendered to the Scythian cause, the title of Mahaksatrapa appears to have been conferred on Castana by Huviska towards the end of his reign. The difference in the features of the busts on the coins of Castana suggest that he was about 40 at the beginning of his career and 55 at its end. He may be well presumed to have had a reign of about 15 years. We may place its close in c. 135 A.D.

Jayadaman.

Castana had a son named Jayadaman, who has issued coins only as a Ksatrapa. The title Mahaksatrapa is never given to him in the official records of the dynasty. This may be due to two causes. He may have predeceased his father, his coins with the title Ksatrapa being issued by him when only a crown prince.³ Or he may have been reduced to the position of a Ksatrapa by a crushing defeat on the battle field. Jayadaman's son Rudradaman claims that he was elected to the throne by the people of all classes assembling together and that he acquired the title of a Mahaksatrapa by his own merit, i.e., not by a hereditary claim. Had these specific claims not been made by Rudradaman it would have been possible to assume that Jayadaman predeceased his father Castana and could not therefore assume the higher title of Mahaksatrapa. As matters stand at present, it appears more reasonable to presume that Jayadaman was reduced to the lower status of a mere Ksatrapa by a defeat inflicted by some foreign power. This power can hardly be any other than the Satavahanas. Though therefore the Satavahana records discovered so far do not refer to any offensive against the Sakas soon after the death of Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, it is very likely that his successor Vasisthiputra Sivasri made a determined effort to regain some of the provinces wrested by Castana and succeeded in doing so, by inflicting a humiliating defeat upon Jayadaman, reducing him to the feudatory status of a mere Ksatrapa. The marriage of Vasisthiputra

¹ *E. I.*, XVI, p. 233.

² One or two coins of Castana were found at Junagad in Kathiavad; they could have gone there during the reign of his illustrious grandson. It will be hazardous to assert on the strength of their evidence that Castana had conquered Kathiavad also.

³ It is argued by D. R. Bhandarkar that the Andhao inscriptions point to a joint reign of Castana and his grandson Rudradaman. The theory is however not very convincing. (This view is held by many Scholars. See *H.C. I.P.*, Vol. II. p. 183.-V.V.M.)

Sivasri with a granddaughter of the vanquished king seems to have been dictated on the battle field.

Jayadaman's reign was probably a short one and may be presumed to have ended in c. 140 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Rudradaman I.

Rudradaman.

Rudradaman I was the real founder of the greatness of his dynasty. The provinces, which his grandfather had wrested from the Satavahanas, had been lost by his father. Rudradaman was; however, able, cautious and ambitious and he soon planned a reconquest of his dominion. The different stages by which he built up his extensive kingdom are not known, but his Junagadh record, dated in 150 A.D., shows that he eventually re-conquered Kathiavad, Eastern and Western Malva,¹ Gujarat and Northern Kohkan from the Satavahanas. The war with the Satavahanas probably started sometime after the death of Rudradaman's son-in-law Vasisthiputra Sivasri, say in 145 A.D.² The new king Sivaskanda Svati was most probably a step-son of Rudradaman's daughter. If so, we can well understand how Rudradaman boasts that he did not utterly destroy the power of his Satavahana opponent, because he was related to him not remotely. When once defeated Sivaskanda tried to retrieve the situation by organising a second campaign ; but this time also he was worsted. As a result of these victories, Rudradaman became the undisputed ruler of Malva, Gujarat, Kathiavad and Northern Konkan. These provinces however represented only a part of his wide dominion. He was also ruling over Cutch, Sindh, Marvad and Ajmer and perhaps the whole of Rajasthan.

In his Girnar record Rudradaman claims to have defeated the Yaudheyas, who were occupying the South-Eastern Punjab. That Rudradaman should have found it necessary to go to this territory to defeat the Yaudheyas would show that the Kusana empire was getting feeble at c. 150 A.D. and had to rely upon the help of distant viceroys to put down disturbances in the home provinces. The defeat of the Yaudheyas implies the defeat of the Arjunayanas and the Malavas also. Rudradaman thus practically became the master of the entire Rajasthan.

The wide dominion of Rudradaman was naturally divided into viceroyalties. Gujarat and Kathiavad constituted one province and was being governed in 150 A.D. by a Parthian viceroy named Suvisakha. The selection of a Parthian to this post would attest to the close relationship between the Scythians and Parthians at this time. Northern Konkan and Northern Maharashtra, Malva, Sindh and Marvad probably formed separate provinces. The capital of the king continued to be at Ujjain, where it was during the reign of his grandfather. 150 A.D. is the only known date of Rudradaman I. The busts on some of his coins show that he must have lived upto the age of 60, and we may therefore presume that he continued to

¹ (Malva had already been conquered by Castana. Ptolemy calls him the ruler of Ujjain V.V..M.).

² The Kanheri inscription of his daughter shows that northern Konkan, which Rudradaman claims to have conquered continued to be under the Satavahanas during the reign of his son-in-law.

rule down to c. 165 A.D. During the latter part of his reign he was associated in the administration with his eldest son Damaghsada or Damajada,¹ as his crown prince with the lower title Ksatrapa.

No coins have been found of Rudradaman with the lower title Ksatrapa. There can however be little doubt that like his father he began his career as a Ksatrapa; he proudly claims that he obtained the title of the Mahaksatrapa as a result of his own exertions. It would appear that as in the case of his grand-father Castana, the title was conferred upon him by his suzerain Huviska in recognition of his conquests. But by c. 145 A.D. the hold of the Kusanas over their Deccan viceroys had grown weak; as shown above, they had to rely upon their Deccan Viceroy to put down rebellions nearer home. It would therefore appear that when Rudradaman inflicted smashing defeat on the Satavahanas and wrested the lost provinces, he himself assumed the higher title of the Mahaksatrapa without the sanction of the imperial power. This title, like the title of *Senapati*, originally denoted a dependent or feudatory status, but Saka rulers of Western India continued to use it even after they had become completely independent.

We get a fairly good picture of the personality and achievements of Rudradaman from his Girnar record. Skilled in the use of the different military weapons, Rudradaman was a daring and successful general; he took pride in following the chivalrous code of warfare which did not permit the annihilation of an enemy, who had sued for protection. His sparing his opponent Satakarni shows that this was no mere boast. As a king, he was a good administrator and was very keen in maintaining peace and order in his realm. His subjects paid the usual taxes sanctioned by custom ; they had not to pay any forced benevolences, even when costly public works were undertaken like the construction of the Sudarsana dam. He was well known for his liberality, and he seems to have patronised Hinduism; cows and Brahmanas are mentioned in connection with his charity, and not monks and monasteries. Rudradaman was also a scholar and poet; it is claimed that he was skilled in composing poems noted for easy and graceful style. He was further well grounded not only in dry logic but also in fine music. It will thus be seen that like Samudragupta of a later age, Rudradaman was a successful general, a skilful administrator, an accomplished author and a connoisseur of music. He was no doubt a Saka, but had thoroughly imbued Hindu culture. He was perhaps a greater admirer of that culture than his Hindu opponents the Satavahanas, who preferred Prakrt to Sanskrt for their official records and were extending their patronage to the heterodox Buddhism as well.

If Rudradaman is thus so well known to us, it is entirely due to his executing the grand project of reconstructing the dam of the Sudarsana lake across the Palasini river near Girnar. This dam had been originally constructed in the reign of the Maurya emperor Candra-

¹ Damajada is the Indianised form of the Saka name Damaghsada and is used in the coin legends of his son.

gupta (c. 300 B.C.) and canals were taken from it during the reign of his grandson Asoka (c. 250 B.C.). The dam lasted for more than 450 years when it suddenly collapsed through excessive winter rains in 150 A.D. Rudradaman's ministers were opposed to its rebuilding owing to the heavy cost involved. But Rudradaman decided to accede to the request of the local leaders and got the dam rebuilt without imposing any fresh taxation. It is the *prasasti* (panegyric) engraved near this dam that gives a glimpse into the character, personality and achievements of Rudradaman.

Damaghsada.

Rudradaman was succeeded by his son Damaghsada in c. 165 A.D. He was associated with his father in the administration as crown prince with the title Ksatrapa. His coins as a Mahaksatrapa are few and show an aged portrait. We may therefore assume that he had a short reign of about five years only.¹ During his short reign, the kingdom which he had inherited, most probably remained intact. The Satavahanas were still reeling under the blows inflicted by Rudradaman; the Kusanas had grown weaker and the Sassanians had not yet come on the scene. There was therefore no power to challenge the supremacy of the Western Ksatrapas in their extensive dominion.

Jivadaman and Rudrasimha.

Damajada was succeeded by his eldest son Jivadaman² in c. 175. To judge from his coin portrait, he was a young man of about thirty at the time of his accession.³ He had the misfortune of having an able and ambitious uncle named Rudrasirhha who soon began to conspire to usurp the throne with the help of Abhira generals, who were then in the service of the Ksatrapas.⁴ Soon after 181 A.D., Rudrasirhha accomplished his object and became a Mahaksatrapa, driving away his nephew into exile. The Abhiras however did not allow Rudrasirhha to enjoy the kingdom peacefully; one of their generals Isvaradatta⁵ succeeded in becoming a Mahaksatrapa in c. 188 A.D. He however allowed Rudrasirhha to rule as a Ksatrapa under him. Rudrasirhha utilised his position to undermine the power

¹ At the time of the first edition of this work, Mahaksatrapa coinage of Damajada was unknown ; hence Bhagwanlal Indraji had concluded that he did not rule in that capacity, *B. G.*, i., p. 40.

² He had a younger brother named Satyadaman, who ruled as a Ksatrapa under him for a short time. But to judge from the features of his bust, Satyadaman must have been raised to this status after the restoration of Jivadgman in c. 197 A. D. For a contrary view, see *B. M. C. A. K.*, p. c. xxix.

³ The view of D. R. Bhandarkar that Jivadaman was not a Mahaksatrapa in c* 175 A. D., but rose to that position after the death of his uncle Rudrasimha in c. 197 A.D. is untenable ; see *J. N. S. I.*, I, pp. 18-20.

⁴ In the Gunda inscription, dated 181 A.D., Rudrabhuti, an Abhira general, refers to Rudrasirhha, as a Ksatrapa, ignoring altogether the existence of Jivadaman, who was then the Mahaksatrapa. See *E.I.*, XVI, 233. Hence the above conjectures.

⁵ Following other scholars, I have assumed that Isvaradatta was an Abhira, but it has to be added that there is no definite evidence to prove this. It is usually assumed that king Isvarasena Abhira of a Nasik inscription (*E.I.*, VIII, p. 88) may be identical with king Isvaradatta of coins. This also lacks conclusive proof.

and influence of Isvaradatta and managed to oust him in two years.¹ The year 191 A.D. saw him ruling again as a Mahaksatrapa, which he continued to do down to 197 A.D.

The struggle for the throne between the uncle and the Abhiras, naturally affected the power and prestige of the Saka kingdom. The contemporary Satavahana king Yajnasri Satakarni wrested away Northern Konkan and annexed it to his dominion. His solitary silver coins have no doubt been found in Kathiavad and Besnagar also. But it may be risky to assume from this circumstance that both Kathiavad and Malva were also reconquered by him. For there is ample evidence to show that the Ksatrapas continued to hold these provinces during the reign of Rudrasimha.

Rudrasimha was succeeded by his dethroned nephew Jivadaman as a Mahaksatrapa in 197 A.D. Whether reconciliation was effected between the uncle and the nephew or whether the latter succeeded in defeating the former, we do not know. The former alternative seems to be more probable, for we find Rudrasimha's son Rudrasena working as a Ksatrapa under Jivadaman towards the end of his reign. Jivadaman had a short reign after his restoration, for we find his nephew Rudrasena ruling as a Mahaksatrapa in 200 A.D. Jivadaman will be always remembered by historians as the first king in ancient India who started a long series of dated coins. This series starts with the year 100 or 101 or 102 of the Saka era and continues down to the year 310. These coins enable us to fix the limits of the reigns of different kings with remarkable accuracy.

Rudrasena (200-220 A.D.).

Rudrasena enjoyed a fairly long reign of 22 years not undisturbed by any internal or external disturbances. He had two brothers Sanghadaman and Damasena, and two sons Prthivisena and Damajadasri. Circumstances were thus quite favourable for an internecine struggle for the throne. But growing wiser by the bitter experience of the past two decades, which had affected the fortunes of their kingdom, the Western Ksatrapas now appear to have decided that the crown should pass from the ruling king to his younger brothers in succession and not to his eldest son. We thus find Rudrasena succeeded as a Mahaksatrapa by his younger brothers Sanghadaman and Damasena in succession. In the next generation we find three sons of Damasena, Yasodaman I, Vijayasena and Damajadasri III ruling one after the other. A generation later Visvasena was succeeded by his brother Bhartrdaman. This arrangement of succession seems to have been preferred, as it ensured the

¹ Bhagwanlal had placed the intervention of Isvaradatta in 249 A. D. and Rapson in 238 A. D. The former of those views is now no longer tenable. It rested on the belief that a break of continuity in the reign of the Mahaksatrapas of the regular dynasty was shown by the absence of dated coins between the Saka years 171-176. Further discoveries however have now shown that there was no such break in coinage. Abhira leaders were working as generals under the Ksatrapas at about 180 A.D., as shown by the Gunda inscription ; it is therefore assumed here that Isvaradatta had ousted the Sakas during Saka years 110-112 (188-190 A.D.), for which period we have no saka coins issued by any Mahaksatrapa. As to Rapson's theory of Isvaradatta's usurpation in c. 238 A. D., it may be pointed out that there is no definite evidence to show that the Abhiras had risen to power at this time.

succession of experienced rulers and removed the temptation to rebel from the minds of the younger brothers of ruling Maha-ksatrapas. It no doubt rendered the prospect of accession of the eldest son of the ruling king remote; he was however, offered the status of Ksatrapa under his uncles. Thus we find both Prthivisena and Damajada II ruling as Ksatrapas under their uncles Sanghadaman and Damasena. They however could not rule as Mahaksatrapas.

The find-spots of the inscriptions show that during the reign of Rudrasena, Kathiavad¹ continued to be under the Saka rule. Whether Sindh and Marvad continued to be ruled by them is not definitely known. At about this time the Abhiras carved out a principality for themselves in the Nasik region; originally they must have professed themselves to be the feudatories of the Satavahanas or the Ksatrapas according to the exigencies of the situation. They ruled in Konkan and Northern Maharashtra throughout the 3rd century A.D. Ujjayini continued to be the capital of the Sakas. They were now completely Indianised and we find the orthodox Ikshvaku ruler Virapurushadatta (c. 250 A.D.) marrying a Saka princess of the Ujjayini house. She was probably a daughter or grand-daughter of Rudrasena. Saka Moda, whose sister had donated a sculpture at Amravati in Andhra country,² was probably a member of the entourage that accompanied the princess to her new home. Prabhudama, a sister of Rudrasena, figures in a seal found at Vaisali in far off Bihar.³ The seal describes her as Chief Queen, but does not give the name of her husband. He was probably a Hinduised Saka ruler, who had carved a principality in Magadha after the collapse of the Kusana empire. There is no doubt that Rudrasena had succeeded in restoring the prestige of his house, shaken during the internecine struggles of the earlier generation; matrimonial alliances with his house were sought after by the rulers in the distant provinces of India. As may be expected, his coinage is also numerous, suggesting a time of peace and prosperity.

Sanghadaman and Damasena.

According to the new convention about succession, at the death of Rudrasena, the crown passed to his younger brother Sanghadaman and not his son Prthivisena, though he was working as a Ksatrapa under his father towards the end of his reign. To judge from his portrait Sanghadaman was a man of not more than 40 at the time of his accession in 222 A.D., but he could rule only for less than two years. For he was succeeded by his younger brother Damasena in 223 A.D.

The homeland of the Malavas consisting at this time of Jaipur, Ajmer and Udaipur area, had been annexed to their kingdom by the Sakas for more than a century. The Malavas now broke into a rebellion and their leader Sri-Soma, succeeded in freeing his home-

¹ Mulwasar and Jasdan inscriptions from southern and northern Kathiavad ; the first of these is dated Saka 122 (200 A. D.) and the second in Saka 126 or 127. Both refer to tank constructions. *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 652.

² *E. I.* XX, 19.

³ *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 136.

land from the Saka bondage before 226 A.D., as is shown by his Nandsa Yupa inscriptions.¹ This struggle for freedom, which terminated before 226 A.D., was probably a long one, and it is not unlikely that the premature end of the reign of Sanghadaman may have been due to his dying on the battlefield, while fighting against the Malavas. The loss of Ajmer-Marvad must have rendered the hold over Sindh a difficult task; and we may well presume that the Western Ksatrapas lost it by 230 A.D. During the reign of Damasena, the Saka kingdom thus became confined to Malva, Gujarat and Kathiavad.

Viradaman and Yasodaman.

Viradaman and Yasodaman. During the first ten years of the reign of Damasena (c. 223 to 233 A.D.) Prthivisena and Damajada II, the sons of his elder brother, were functioning as Ksatrapas.² Later we find his own son Viradaman raised to that status in 234 A.D. Probably this son pre-deceased his father, for his younger brother Yasodaman succeeded his father as a Mahaksatrapa in 238 A.D.³

Though not more than 40 at the time of his accession Yasodaman ruled only for about two years. The cause of the premature end of his reign is not known.⁴

Vijavasena.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Vijayasena, who ruled for ten years down to 250 A.D. His copious coinage found all over Gujarat and Kathiavad in which every year of his reign is represented, suggests a peaceful and prosperous reign.

Damajada III.

In 250 A.D. he was succeeded by his younger brother Damajada III. Being the youngest of the four brothers, who ruled in succession, Damajada III had naturally a short reign of five years.⁵

Rudrasena II.

In 255 A.D., we find him succeeded by Rudrasena II, who was the son of his eldest brother Viradaman. The new Mahaksatrapa had a long reign of 22 years (255—277 A.D.) but very few incidents in it are known.

For reasons not known at present, the office of the Ksatrapa was in abeyance for about 35 years, from c. 239 to 265 A.D. Rudrasena revived it towards the end of his reign elevating his eldest son Visvasimha to that status in 275 AD.

The Saka dominion suffered further diminution during the period 230—275 A.D. We find a Saka chief Sridharavarman ruling as an independent king at Sand in Eastern Malva in c. 266 AD.⁶ The copper coinage of the Sakas, which was confined to Malva, suddenly

¹ *E. I.*, XXVII, p. 252.

² Their known years are 222 and 233 A. D. respectively, but it may well be presumed that Pithiv;sena continued to be a Ksatrapa down to 232 A. D.

³ There is a gap of two years in the Mahaksatrapa coinage from 236-238 A. D. ; Rapson places Isvaradatta Abhira's usurpation during this interval, *B. M. C. A. K.*, pp. cxxxiii fv. See *ante* p. 18 for our view.

⁴ New discoveries of coins have shown that Damajada was ruling as a Mahaksatrapa during every year of the period 250-55 A. I). ; this circumstance has rendered untenable Dr. Bhagwanlal's view that Isvaradatta was ruling in c. 249 A. D.. See *B. G.*, I, I.

⁵ Bhagwanlal had suggested that Yasodaman might have been ousted by Vijayasena in the first edition of this work I, i.p. 46., But there is no sufficient evidence to support the conjecture.

⁶ This is the date of the record according to *R. D. Banerji*, *E. I.*, XVI p. 232. N. G. Majumdar placed him 40 years later (*J. A. S. B.*, N. S., XIX p. 343). (Sec. also C.I.I. IV, pp. xxxvii f—V.V.M.)

comes to an end in c. 240 AD. It would thus appear that at least portions of Malva were lost by the Sakas in c. 250 A.D.¹

The deterioration in the technique of the coinage starts in c. 240 A.D. Till the time of Yasodaman II, the busts on the Ksatrapa coins were individual portraits; he started the practice of mechanically reproducing the features of the predecessors.

The discovery of a hoard of Ksatrapa coins near Karhad in Satara district, in which the Saka rulers of the latter half of the 3rd century from Vijayasena (240—250) to Visvasena (294—304 A.D.) were represented, had led Bhagwanlal to suggest the conquest of Maharashtra by the Western Ksatrapas at this time.² The Saka power was now on the decline and such a venture was out of question. The Abhiras were in power in Central Maharashtra and there is no evidence to show that they were defeated by the Ksatrapas. Karhad was a famous holy place (*tirtha*) and the hoard found near it may have been the earnings of a Brahmana who had gone to the Ksatrapa dominions to make a fortune by collecting honoraria. By itself this hoard cannot prove the extent of the Ksatrapa dominions to southern Maharashtra.

Visvasena Bhartrdaman c.279 to c. 304 A. D.

Rudrasena II was succeeded by his eldest son Visvasena in c. 279 A.D. He however had a short reign of three years and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhartrdaman in 282 A.D. Bhartrdaman had a fairly long reign of about 20 years ; during its latter half his son Visvasena was associated with him in government as a Ksatrapa. The coinages of both these rulers is copious; it appears that they succeeded in restoring prosperity to the Saka dominion during their rule.

In 284 A.D. the Sassanian emperor Varaharan II conquered Seistan and Sindh and appointed his brother the governor of those provinces. Sindh, however, had been already lost by the Sakas and the extension of the Sassanian power over that province did not affect them. Bhartrdaman, however, was anxious to establish cordial relations with the new rising power. He did not take part in the war of succession that ensued between Varaharan III and Narseh,³ but when the latter came out successful, he sent ambassadors to congratulate him. The even tenor of his reign was not affected by any events in contemporary Sassanian history.

The coinage of Bhartrdaman as a Mahaksatrapa extends only upto the year 294 A.D. His son Visvasena, however, was ruling as a Ksatrapa down to 304 A.D. We may therefore well presume that the father continued to be a Mahaksatrapa down to that year.

¹ It is however also possible that the copper currency may have been supplanted by the silver one as an administrative reform. In that case we cannot presume the loss of a part of Malva, only on that circumstance.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., VI, pp. 16-17 ; B. G. I, 48-49.

³ The Paikuli inscription mentions the king of Avant; as siding with Varaharan III in the war of succession. At the time however Avant; was probably not included in the Saka kingdom. Some local ruler of Avanti, possibly a Saka, may have joined the side of Varaharan III.

The long career of about 180 years of the house of Castana came to an end in 304 A.D. In that year we find a new Saka king Rudra-sirhha II,¹ ascending the throne as Ksatrapa setting aside both Bhartrdaman and his son Visvasena. The new ruler was the son of one Swami Jivadaman, who is mentioned without any royal titles whatsoever. The names of the rulers of the new dynasty suggest that it may have been a collateral branch of the house of Castana, but so far no definite evidence has come forth to substantiate this conjecture.

The transfer of power from the house of Castana to that of Rudra-sirhha was probably not a peaceful one.² There was a short struggle for the throne, but Rudrasimha brought the situation under control in less than a year. We find him ruling as a Ksatrapa in 304 A.D.— a year in which Visvasena of the earlier house is also known to have ruled as a Ksatrapa. Rudrasimha ruled as a Ksatrapa for 12 years and was succeeded by his son Yasodaman in 316 A.D. He continued to rule down to at least 332 AD., which is his last known year. He may however well have ruled for a few years more.

Yasodaman II.

Rudrasimha II and Yasodaman are the only two rulers of the new dynasty, and curiously enough they are both seen content to assume only the lower title of a Ksatrapa. On no coins of theirs does the higher title Mahaksatrapa figure in the coin legend. The founder of a new dynasty may naturally be presumed to be anxious to assume the highest title borne by the ruler ousted by him, and if Rudrasimha II as well as his son Yasodaman II were content with the lower title of the Ksatrapa, there must have been compelling reasons for their doing so.

Subordination to an outside power, which prohibited the assumption of the higher title Mahaksatrapa indicative at this time of independent status, suggests itself as the most probable cause of this significant circumstance. But which that outside power was cannot be definitely stated at present. It does not seem likely that the Sassanians had at this time succeeded in imposing their overlordship over the Western Ksatrapas. Their emperor Narseh had sustained a signal defeat at the hand of the Roman emperor Galerius in 303 A.D. and had to cede extensive territories to the conqueror in order to recover his family. Narseh's successor Hormuzd had a short reign of seven years, during which he undertook no military expeditions. The next ruler Shapur III was a baby in arms at the time of his accession. So it is clear that Sassanian overlordship could not have been the cause of the lower title of the rulers of the new house.

The most plausible theory that can at present be suggested in this connection is this : the rulers of the new house were the nominees and proteges of the Vakataka emperor Pravarasena I, and so could

¹ Following old practice, I have described this ruler as Rudrasimha II. Since he belonged to a different house, we should strictly speaking call him simply Rudrasimha.

² In the earlier edition of this work, Dr. Bhagwanlal had suggested that the failure of heirs might have been the cause of the rise of the new dynasty *B. G.*, I, i. p. 49. But the fact that its last ruler Visvasena could not rise to the status of a Mahaksatrapa would militate against this conjecture.

not assume the higher title of Mahaksatrapa, a portion of Malva having been already lost by the Ksatrapas by c. 275 A.D. The dominions of the Vakataka emperor were on the borders of the Saka kingdom and he may well have sought to bring it under his control by supporting the cause of the upstart Rudrasimha II and by giving him military help to oust Bhartrdaman and his son Visvasimha, who were the legitimate occupants of the Saka throne. When Rudrasirhha thus got the throne, at his formal coronation his imperial master might have imposed the condition that he should not assume the title of the Mahaksatrapa, which at this time indicated an independent status. Pravarasena was on the throne from c. 275 to c. 335 A.D. and it is during 304 to 335 A.D. that the Western Ksatrapas did not assume the higher title. Pravarasena's overlordship over Rudrasirhha II and Yasodaman II is, however, only a theory at present, which still lacks conclusive evidence in its favour.

332 A.D. is the last known date of Yasodaman II. Thereafter there is a long and unusual gap of 16 years in the Ksatrapa coinage. At the end of this period, we find a new Saka dynasty emerging on the scene. Rudrasena III is its first ruler known from his coins. Since, however, his coin legend refers to his father Rudradaman II as a Mahaksatrapa, we may well presume that the latter was the founder of the new house. If so, he might have ruled for a few years before 348 A.D., the first known year of his son, say from 345 to 348 A.D. It is also not unlikely that Yasodaman II might have ruled for three or four years more after 332 A.D., his last known date.

The unusually long interregnum of sixteen years in the Ksatrapa coinage, which can be conjecturally reduced to about ten years, as shown above, does not appear to have been due to any foreign intervention. The Vakatakas have grown weak at this time, nor is there any evidence suggesting a Sassanian conquest. Internecine struggle between Yasodaman II and Rudradaman II was probably responsible for a period of anarchy, during which the coinage seems to have stopped altogether. In this struggle Rudradaman II eventually got the throne. He did not rule long, for no coins of his have been found so far. We have therefore conjecturally suggested above that he might have ruled as a Mahaksatrapa from c. 345—348 A.D.

FOURTH SHAKA DYNASTY. Rudradaman II to (c.345 A.D. to c. 400 A.D.).

As remarked above, the founder of this dynasty is at present known only from the coin legend of his son. When we note how Rudrasirhha II, the founder of the 3rd Saka dynasty, refrains from giving any royal title to his father in his coin legend, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Rudradaman II was the real founder of the fourth Saka dynasty, since he is expressly described as a Mahaksatrapa in his son's coin legend. The non-discovery of the coins of Rudradaman II himself must be regarded as purely accidental. It would however indicate that he did not long survive his hard won victory. His son succeeded him in or just before 348 A.D., which is his first known year.

Rudrasena III had a long reign of 30 years, but it was far from peaceful. His silver coinage shows a significant gap of 13 years from 351 to 364 A.D. There was a great political upheaval during this period, which rendered life and prosperity unsafe throughout the kingdom. We find people burying their hoards for safety both in the heart of the kingdom as well in its outlying cities.¹

Who had eclipsed the power of Rudrasena III during this period 351-364 A.D. is not yet definitely known. At about 355 A.D., the Guptas had no doubt become a great power under Samudragupta ; but that emperor does not appear to have launched any attack on the kingdom of the Western Ksatrapas. In his time the boundaries of the Gupta empire were just touching eastern Malva, and the Ksatrapa kingdom lay to its west. It is interesting to note that the Allahabad record of Samudragupta does not mention the Western Ksatrapas among the rulers vanquished by that emperor. It is just possible that the Sassanian emperor Shapur II, who is stated to have led an expedition to the east in 356-7 A.D. may have penetrated to Kathiavad from his base in Sindh and totally eclipsed the power of Rudrasena III for a decade or so. Sassanians, however, do not specifically claim the conquest of Kathiavad, nor is any Sassanian influence to be perceived on contemporary culture, antiquities or coinage of the province. We have to admit that the cause of the eclipse of the Ksatrapa power at this time is still unknown.² A few lead coins mostly belonging to the period of the interregnum in the silver coinage have been found. They, however, do not bear the name of the issuer, nor is their provenance known. It is not unlikely that they may have been issued by the conqueror of Rudrasena III.

Rudrasena was able to reassert his position and regain the throne by 364 A.D. He ruled for 14 years more; 378 A.D. is his last known date.

Ksatrapa history becomes considerably confused after the death of Rudrasena III. He was succeeded not by his son or brother, but by his sister's son Svami Satyasimha.³ This succession is unusual and may not have been a peaceful one. 382 A.D. is the only known

¹ This is proved by the Uparkot hoard (*J. B. B. R.A.S.*, 1899, pp. 203-9) found near Junagad and the Sarvania hoard (*A.S.I.A. R.*, 1913-14, pp. 227-45) found near Ratlam; both these hoards contain no coins of the reign of Rudrasena III later than the year 351. These coins of Rudrasena were also in the mint condition, showing that the hoards were buried soon after 351 A. D.

² The present writer has advanced a tentative view that Sarva Bhattaraka, who started the so-called Valabh; coinage may have temporarily overpowered Rudrasena III (*J. N. S. I.*, VI, 19-23) ; but this theory also has its own difficulties.

³ Both Cunningham and Bhagwanlal had read Rudrasimha as the father's name in the coin legend and assumed that Satyasimha was the son of Rudrasirha III, the last Ksatrapa ruler. The reading Rudrasena now appears to be more probable and enables us to assign a more probable place to this ruler in the genealogical and chronological scheme.

year of Satyasimha and we may presume that he ruled from c. 380—83 A.D. During the next five years, not only his own reign but that of his son Rudrasena IV came to an end. In 388 A.D. we find Rudrasimha III ruling as a Mahaksatrapa. The new ruler was a son of Satyasimha, but the latter's relationship to Rudrasena III or his predecessors is not known. It is likely that Satyasimha, the father of the new ruler, was a brother of Rudrasena III, and therefore he might have felt justified in ousting Rudrasena IV, who was descended through a sister of Rudrasena III. But all this is purely conjectural, though probable.

The quick succession of three rulers in less than five or six years must have weakened the Ksatrapa power considerably when Rudrasirhha III ascended the throne in c. 388 A.D. The chaotic situation in the Ksatrapa kingdom must have been under the close watch of the Guptas, who were the next door neighbours of the Ksatrapas and were anxious to extend their rule over the whole of northern India. Candragupta II, the ruling Gupta emperor, soon realised that the Ksatrapa kingdom, torn by internal dissensions and ruled by weak kings, was a good target of attack. His original plan was probably to carry out the invasion in co-operation with his son-in-law the Vakataka ruler, Rudrasena II, who was the southern neighbour of the Ksatrapas. The sudden death of Vakataka king, however, appears to have postponed the invasion.¹ The invasion is referred to in a Gupta record from Malva as an undertaking of the emperor, bent upon conquering the entire world.² Unfortunately this record is not dated ; otherwise, we would have been in a position to find out the date of the disappearance of the Ksatrapa rule from Western India. As it is, we can determine it only approximately. 388 A. D. is the last known date on the coins of Rudrasirhha III³ and 409 A.D. is the earliest known date on the silver coins of the Gupta conqueror Candragupta II. It would thus appear that the Ksatrapa invasion was planned towards the end of the last decade of the fourth century and carried out early in the first decade of the 5th. Erakina, modern Eran in Saugar district of Madhya Pradesh, was probably the base of military operations, from which the armies advanced westwards to Ujjayini and Kathiavad. Amrakadava, a military officer, who is recorded to have given a donation at Sand in 412 AD., probably participated in this venture; banners of victory and fame obtained by him, to which reference is made in his record, were probably his souvenirs of the Ksatrapa campaigns. The diplomatic moves on the campaign were probably being supervised by the minister Saba, who had his headquarters at Bhilsa, in the vicinity of which he donated a cave to Siva in the Udayagiri hills.

¹ (For another possible view see the section on the Vakatakas, V.V.M.)

² Udayagiri Inscription of Candragupta II, C. I. I., III, No. 6.

³ The date in the Saka era is 310, but it is not unlikely that a unit digit may have followed the symbol for ten. In that case his reign can be prolonged by a period of one to nine years.

No particular incidents or battles of this campaign are known so far. It may have probably lasted for three or four years. Candragupta secured a decisive victory and decided not to allow the foreign dynasty to continue to rule even in a feudatory capacity. Accordingly, the entire kingdom was annexed to the Gupta empire and constituted into a new province. The important all-India port of Broach was located in this province, and the new conquest thus enabled the Gupta empire to control a considerable portion of India's trade with Western world.



Maharashtra State Gazetteers

CHAPTER 5

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND CULTURE* (200 B.C. TO 500 A.D.)

INTRODUCTION.

WE HAVE SEEN ALREADY HOW THE MATERIAL FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EVEN THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DECCAN during the period 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. is very meagre. The case is much worse with reference to the data bearing on the cultural history of the age. We can hardly point to any Smṛti as being written in the Deccan during this period. The *Saptasati* excepted, there is hardly any other work that can be described with confidence, as being written in the Deccan during this period. We have to rely upon fragmentary and detached statements that are now and then made in votive and historical records. The evidence of sculptures and paintings will be of some help to us in getting some concrete ideas about the dress, ornaments and furniture. And it will be necessary to supplement our information by the data collected from the contemporary Smṛti and classical literature, though it may not be definitely assignable to the Deccan.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

Varna-vyavastha or caste system was a salient feature of Hindu society since early times, and it continued to be so during our age as well. The four main castes, Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras are frequently referred to in our records. It is interesting to note that Buddhist laymen continued their loyalty to the caste system. Thus, one lay donor at Kuda, Ayitula by name, expressly describes himself as a Brahmana and it is but reasonable to assume that his outlook was generally shared by other Buddhists, who continued to describe themselves as members of the particular caste to which they belonged according to the Hindu Smṛtis and conventions.

Professional designations were, however, more in vogue than the caste ones; we find donors describing themselves as Maharathis, Mahasenapatis, Mahabhojas, Malakaras, Gandhikas, Suvarnakaras etc., rather than as Ksatriyas or Vaisyas. It appears that the four great theoretical castes had already sub-divided themselves into a number of sub-groups based upon the professions they were following; these latter were more in use in designating individuals than the theoretical names of their castes.

Brahmanas occupied a prominent position in the religious sphere. They were the priests of the community and took a prominent part

* This chapter is contributed by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt.

in its religious life. They officiated at the various sacrifices and got handsome honoraria, especially from the richer and ruling classes. Though our records do not contain any specific references to their learning and scholarship, we may well conclude that they were the custodians of the traditional learning and used to initiate the rising generation in it. Unfortunately our records do not refer to the Vedic Sakhas to which the different Brahmanas mentioned in them belonged.¹ It is therefore not possible to make any statement about the probable distribution of the Vedic Sakhas during our period.

Some Brahmanas, however, exchanged the sacrificial ladle for the battle-axe. The Sungas and the Satavahanas, the Vakatakas and the Kadambas were Brahmanas who had trespassed upon the sphere and domain of the Ksatriyas, and we may well suppose that among their Brahmana subjects, there was no dearth of persons to follow their example in order to win laurels in the administrative or military field. It is not unlikely that some among the Amatyas, Mahamatras and Lekhakas or Secretariat officers may have belonged to the Brahmana caste.

Ksatriyas followed their traditional profession of arms and distinguished themselves as generals and administrators. We may well suppose that the Maharathis and Mahabhojas, Mahasenapatis, Mahamatras and Amatyas, who figure so prominently in the records of Western India, were generally members of the Ksatriya caste. The fighting forces in the army must have been largely recruited from the Ksatriya caste, but some undoubtedly belonged to the Vaisya and Sudra classes as well. It is interesting to note that some Ksatriyas also often took to other professions. One of the donations at Kanheri is by two Ksatriya brothers Gajasena and Gajamitra, who were following the commercial profession and are expressly described as Vanijakas.² The Vaisya caste was always a composite one and its members were usually described with reference to the particular professions they were following. This class mainly consisted of agriculturists and traders. The former are usually referred to in our records as Kutumbikas or Halayikas. Gahapati appears to have been the designation of the more prosperous section of the landed peasantry. Thus, in one record³ the donor widow describes her dead husband as Halayika and her living son as Gahapati; obviously the son had attained to a higher status, enabling him to finance his mother's donation. Ordinarily traders were called Vanijakas, but the more substantial among them were called as Sethis. In some cases the father is described as Gahapati and the son as a Sethi,⁴ in some cases, one and the same individual is described both as a Gahapati and a Sethi.⁵ It would appear probable that Gahapatis or members of small landed aristocracy used to deal in trade also; and when they became prosperous merchants, they were given the designation of Sethis. One section of the trading class specialised in the transport of goods from place to place. This was a strenuous

¹ (Vakataka inscriptions mention the Sakhas of the Yajurveda. *C.I., I., Y 11, 21, 83* etc. V.V.'M.)

² *A. S. W. I., Kanheri No. 4.*

³ *I. C. T. W. I., p. 38.*

⁴ *I. C. T. W. I., p. 13.*

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 16

work and required a fleet of bullock carts and pack animals besides a strong military guard. Those who specialised in this line were called Sarthavahas or caravans ; they are often referred to in the cave inscriptions of Western India.¹

Among the professions and castes mentioned so far, Maharathis, Mahabhojas, Mahasenapatis stood high in the social order, only next below the king. Rajamatyas (royal ministers), Amatyas (officers), Mahamatras (ministers), Bhandagarikas (treasury officers) must have ranked next below them. The position of the learned Brahmanas was probably on a par with them. Sresthins, Naigamas, Grahapatis Sarthavahas and Vaidyas came next. Lower down in the social scale were Halakiyas (farmers). Suvarna-karas (goldsmiths), Gandhikas (perfumers), Vardhakis (carpenters), Malakaras (gardeners), Lohavaniyyas (smiths), Tilapisakas (oilmen) occupied a still lower position. The landless labourer (Sudra) and the untouchable belonged to the lowest strata, Vaidyas or physicians often figure in our records as men of substance, but whether they belonged to any particular caste, we do not know.

Our records show that the professions of the Lekhaka (clerk or secretariat officer), Ganapaka (accountant or troop leader), the trader, the doctor, etc. were often followed from generation to generation. This was probably the case with the majority of the population. People, however, could change their profession according to their liking, as shown above already.

Sudras naturally figure rather rarely in our records. Mugudasa, the donor in the cave inscription No. 8 at Nasik, calls himself a Dasa and was probably a Sudra. This Sudra donor donates a cave, showing that some members of his caste were often men of substance.² We may well presume that they may have participated in trade and commerce; a vast majority of the artisan class was probably recruited from this class, as also the majority of the fighting forces.

There is no reference to slavery in our records. But contemporary Smrtis like those of Manu and Yajnavalkya refer to several varieties of slaves. It is quite likely that the prisoners of war were reduced to the status of slaves, as stated in the Smrtis. It is also probable that in times of acute distress, famishing people may have sold themselves into slavery. But persons of these categories could regain their free status on payment of a ransom, either by themselves or by their friends or relatives.

It is curious to note that untouchables are rarely referred to in our records. This is probably due not to the non-existence of this unfortunate class, but to its non-participation in the religious and social life portrayed in our records. Only in one place is the cobbler or Carmakara referred to.

Caste system was regarded as the very foundation of Hinduism in our period and good and great kings like Gautamiputra Satakarni³ are often described as rulers who took steps to prevent the mixture

¹ *C.T.W.I.*, p.19,27.

² See Nasik Ins. Nog. 16,16,17 and Kuda No. 13.

³ *Vinvatita-chatuvana-samkarassa*, Nasik Inscr. No. 2.

of castes. But what precisely was done to accomplish this desideratum, it is difficult to say. We have seen above that several individuals in society often followed professions not permitted to their castes. Whether the mixture of castes was prevented by prohibiting inter-caste marriages, we do not know. Our records do not refer to any intercaste marriages, but contemporary Smṛti writers like Manu and Yajñavalkya permit them if *anuloma*. It is further to be noted that Gautamiputra, who is credited with preventing the mixture of castes, had accepted a Saka bride for his son Vasisthiputra Satakarni. The orthodox Ikṣvaku rulers in the Eastern Deccan had also formed a marriage alliance with the Saka rulers of Ujjayini. Caste system was undoubtedly far from rigid during our period.

A Brahmana minister of a contemporary Vakataka king named Soma is described as a good follower of the rules of Śrutis and Smṛtis even when he had married a Kṣatriya lady.¹

The Smṛtis mention a number of mixed (*sankara*) castes like Ambastha, Parasava, Ugra, etc. which were supposed to be due to intercaste unions. They nowhere figure in our records. Probably intercaste marriages were not yet held as disreputable and the children born of such unions were regarded as belonging to the caste of their father.

When intercaste marriages were allowed, naturally there was no objection to interdining. Yajñavalkya allows a Brahmana to take food even with a Sudra if he is one's farmer, barber, milkman or a family friend.

Renunciation was the ideal for the Buddhist aspirant for salvation and a large number of men and women followed it, as is clear from the frequent references to monks and nuns in our records. Hinduism had the corresponding institution of Vanaprastha and Sanyasa *asramas*, but it is difficult to state how far it was popular. Nandabalika, who figures as a donor in one of the Junnar records, is described as the wife of Rsimulasvamin. It is very probable that her husband, who is described as a rsi may have become a Sanyasin of the Hindu order. There are, however, no other clear references to the members of this order.

Manu and Yajñavalkya generally approve of the joint family ideal; but a line in the *Manusmṛti* approves also of division in family as lending greater support to the cause of Dharma.¹ Vast majority of donative records, however, refer to fairly big joint families. The donation is usually in the name of the senior member or manager of the family, but he invariably associates his brothers, sons and daughters in his benefaction. One record refers to a joint family of two brothers who did not separate after the death of their father.³

¹ A.S. W. I., IV, p. 139.

² ***** ¹ *Manusmṛti* IX. III.

When brothers separate, each of them has to separately perform religious rituals like graddha ; so separation led to greater frequency of religious rituals.

³ ***** Junnar Inscription, No. 20.

The donor of another record associates his parents and children with his benefaction.¹ This is obviously the case of a grown up son taking over the family management, when his parents had become too old to look after it. Amaravati inscription No. 38 refers to a donor named Khanda and his daughter-in-law, who is described as staying in her house. Probably this is a case where the son had separated from his father and the new establishment had continued its separate existence even after the son's death.

The invariable association of brothers, sons, daughters, etc. with the benefactions of the head of the family would suggest that all these had the right to a share in the family property. What that right was is, however, not clear. Probably the son's right by birth was already recognised in Western India during our period. Subsidiary sons are not referred to in our records; but probably the adopted son was recognised; but he had not yet become popular in society. The custom of *niyoga* was probably dying down.

The custom of describing a person after the *gotra* of his mother was very common in our period. Several Satavahana rulers are so described; we have Gautamiputra Satakarni, Vasisthiputra Pulu-mavi, Vasisthiputra Satakarni, Madhariputra Sakasena, etc. Similar nomenclature prevailed among the Ikshvakus, also; king Santamula is called Vasisthiputra there. Several Maharathis and Mahabhojas are seen described as Gotiputtas, Kochiputtas, Kosikiputtas, etc.² The custom was adopted by Abhiras also; one of their kings Isvarasena is called Madhariputra, in a Nasik record. It is, however, not only the ruling classes who had this custom. In one Nasik record a Brahmana is described as Varahiputra and two Malavali records refer to Kausikiputra Sri-Nagadatta of Kaundinya Gotra and Haritiputra Kondamana of Kaundinya Gotra, both of whom appear to be Brahmanas.³ The custom was not unknown to the Vaisyas; and the engineer of one of the *Sanci toranas* is described as Vasisthiputra.

Nor was this custom confined only to the Deccan or Southern India. Among the Magha rulers of Kausambi, we have Kautsiputra Pothasiri and Gautamiputra Sivamagha and the eldest son of the Vakataka emperor Pravarasena I was Gautamiputra. This peculiar custom of naming a son after the *gotra* of his mother is not to be seen later than c. 500 A.D.

What is the origin of this peculiar nomenclature? One view is that it is a survival of the matriarchy, which was common in the Deccan in prehistoric times. But the Satavahana rulers were orthodox Brahmanas and are not known to have followed matriarchal traditions. The succession in their family is always seen from the father to the son. It is, therefore more probable that the custom was due to polygamy. Bimbisara had several wives, one from the Vaideha house, another from the Kosala royal family and so on. His successor Ajatasatru is therefore described as Vaidehiputra in order

¹ Kanheri inscription No. 1.

² Karli No. 1, 14, etc.

³ *Liiders' List* Nos. 1131, 1195-6.

to indicate the family to which his mother had belonged. It is equally probable that Satakarni was called Gautamiputra because he had other step-brothers, who were not born of his own mother who belonged to a royal family of the Gautama Gotra. In medieval and modern times in Rajputana, a similar nomenclature prevailed owing to a similar cause.

Several personal names during our period show that Siva and Visnu were popular deities, Siva, Sivakhada, Sivaguta, Vinhupalita, etc. In Buddhist families names like Buddha, Buddharaksita, Buddhapalita, Dhamma, Ananda, etc. were common. The *Manu-smṛti* disapproves the practice of naming girls after the lunar mansions (*nakṣatras*) ; but the records of our period show that the practice was fairly common in spite of the ban of the Smṛtis. We came across Uttaradatta in Kuda inscriptions Nos. 1 and 9, Svatimitra in Kuda inscription No. 4, Asadhamitra in Karli No. 12 and Pusyanaka in Bedsa No. 3.

The data about the position of women in our period is rather meagre. There is no reference to the marriageable age of girls nor to their education or sacred initiation. Contemporary Smṛtis like those of Manu and Yajñavalkya disapprove of girls' *upanayana* and encourage their marriage just at about the age of 13 or 14. We may well presume that in the Deccan of our period such was actually the case. We come across some nuns in our records but most of them seem to have taken the holy order during their widowhood. It is doubtful whether we have any instance of a girl becoming a nun before her marriage. Contemporary Smṛtis are tardy in recognising the proprietary rights of women ; the *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* formulated the revolutionary proposal of recognising the widow as her husband's heir, but it was not followed in Northern India for a long time. In the 6th act of the *Sakuntala* we find the property of a sonless merchant escheating to the crown, though he had left several widows behind. Some records of Western India show, however, that women could hold property and also dispose of it. Thus, a Hindu lady named Svatimitra and a Buddhist lady named Vyaghra are seen donating caves at Mahad. But we do not know whether they were widows inheriting the husband's properties or wives in coverture disposing of a portion of their *Stridhana*. Kuda inscription No. 15 refers to a donation by a lady described as the wife of a Brahmana layman. Probably this is the case of a widow inheriting her husband's property and donating a fairly big part of it for religious purposes. Junnar inscription No. 27 mentions one donation by Nandabalika, wife of Mulasvamin, and another by Lakṣminika, wife of Nadakatorika. Probably these donors were donating part of the property inherited by them as widows. If such was the case, it would follow that the advocacy of Yajñavalkya of the widow's right of inheritance was bearing fruit in the Deccan during our period. Two inscriptions from Kuda record interesting donations ; one of them is a donation by a daughter of Hala, a royal minister, and the other by a daughter of a Mahabhoja. Pitalkhora inscription

No. 3 records one donation by a daughter of a royal physician.¹ The names of the husbands of none of these three lady donors are given in the epigraphs. Is it likely that these ladies were unmarried at the time of the donations and had inherited some property through their fathers which they were utilising for financing their donations ? All these ladies belonged to richer sections of the society and it is not unlikely that there was the custom prevailing in them of giving a share to the daughters in the moveable property of the family. It is however, equally possible that the non-mention of the husbands' names may be accidental. In that case we shall have to assume that women could alienate part of their Stridhana during their coverture, apparently without their husband's concurrence.

More than about 30 per cent. of the donations recorded at Amravati, Karle and Nasik are gifts given by women. It is quite possible that though not heiresses² in their own right, these ladies got the necessary funds from their husbands or parents for financing their donations. But even this assumption will show that women could, in actual practice, get the necessary funds from their family properties, though not strictly entitled to their own shares in it. It is, however, quite likely that the Deccan was more liberal in recognising women's right of inheritance, [Such was the case even in the days of Yaska, c. 600 B.C., Nirukta, III 5.1.] and that many of our female donors may have got the necessary funds through the properties acquired by them either as heiresses to their fathers and husbands or as Stridhana during coverture. It is a pity that the short donative records should not supply us sufficient data to throw more definite light on the problem of women's rights of inheritance.

Queen Nayanika was acting as Regent of the great Satavahana empire, during the minority of the heir-apparent.³ Our records, however, do not disclose any ladies filling any administrative posts, as they undoubtedly did under the later Calukya and Rastrakuta administrations. The titles *Mahasenapatini*, *Maharathini*, etc., which some ladies are seen to be using, are obviously courtesy titles due to the status of their husbands.

The Purdah custom was not common. In Amravati sculptures we come across ladies offering worship in public shrines, taking part in assemblies, playing on instruments and entertaining guests with their husbands. In one scene, we find a chief engaged in carrying discussion with an audience mostly consisting of women. Whether Purdah was introduced in royal families in our age, it is difficult to say.

Our records do not refer to any case of widow's remarriage . or to her becoming a Sati. Usually the widows led a life of restraint and austerities devoting themselves to spiritual pursuits. Balasri, the widowed mother of Gautamiputra Satakarni, is described as leading a life befitting a royal widow, in as much as she was devoted to truth, charity and *ahimsa* and spent her time in practising austerities, fasts and religious observances. Some Buddhist widows became nuns also.

¹ *I.C. T. W. I.*, p. 40.

² Such was the case even in the days of Yaska, c. 600 B.C.,*****
Nirukta, III 5.1.

³ (This does not seem to be correct. See Ch. 2 above and *S.I.*, I, pp. 121 f—V.V.M.).

Food and Drink.

During the period under review, Hindu society was partly vegetarian and partly non-vegetarian. The Hinayana Buddhism permitted meat eating, if the animal was known to be not expressly killed for the purpose of the monk concerned. Mahayana Buddhism and Jainism prohibited meat, but they had not become strong in the Deccan during our period. Wines figure among the imports at Broach; it is clear that rich liquors, imported from the west, were served at the royal table, while country wine was drunk by the poor. Brahmanas, Buddhists and Jains however generally refrained from the use of wines. The use of betel leaves was quite common.

Dress and Ornaments.

The usual dress for men consisted of an upper garment and a lower *dhoti*, both unstitched. The sculptured figures in Western Indian caves show that a head-dress also was fairly common both for men and women. The women are usually seen covering their heads with a piece of cloth ; at Kuda a lady is seen wearing a tall conical cap. Perhaps she may be Scythian.

The royal ceremonial head-dress often consisted of a close fitting crested cap, with a crest jewel at the forehead; Gautamiputra Yajna-sri Satakarni is seen wearing such a cap on his silver coins. In paintings and sculptures ladies rarely cover their breasts with a blouse or *coli*. This seems to be an artistic convention ; it may be well doubted whether in actual practice women did not cover their breasts with a portion of their saris, if not by a *coli* or blouse piece. On Gupta coins queens are seen using a bodice, the two ends of which are seen being tied between the breasts. They also wear a loose upper garment flowing down to their ankles over their back.

The dress of the Scythians was considerably different. They used coats, overcoats and trousers, as would be clear from the sculptured effigy of Saka Moda at Amaravati. Nahapana is seen wearing a thick grooved *Pagadi*, whereas Rudradaman and his successors are seen wearing a cap resembling a modern steel helmet. The Saka kings are seen having long hair on the head, which is seen falling on their necks.

Ornaments were very popular both with men and women. A large number of them were used over the forehead; the crest jewel used over his forehead by king Yajna-sri Satakarni is very graceful. The designs of ear-rings were striking, and they were used both by males and females. Saka and Satavahana kings wore prominent ear-rings. Varieties in necklaces of gold and pearls seen in Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda sculptures and Ajanta. paintings are striking. Several types of zones were in vogue. A gauzy pearl ornament was used by women both over the breasts as well as thighs. The arms were adorned with Keyuras of various designs. A large number of bangles, often set with pearls or jewels, figured on the forearms. Rings were quite common, but the nose-ring was still unknown. The number of anklets used on the feet was not small.

The fashions of dressing the hair were as numerous as graceful. An examination of the paintings at Ajanta will disclose several new types of coiffures even to the modern fashionable ladies. False hair

was often used to increase the volume of the braid in order to give it different artistic shapes. The use of paints, pastes and lip-sticks was not unknown. Chairs, tables, cots, jugs, jars and vessels of different attractive shapes were in use in higher families. Horses and elephants were in use among the higher and richer sections; the bullock cart was the vehicle of the common man.

ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Trade, industry, agriculture and the connected arts and crafts were the mainstay of the economic life of the society in Western India during our period.

The *Rayatvari* system seems to have been prevailing in the Deccan during our period, as it does now. We usually come across small pieces of land being owned by ordinary individuals. Thus one donor at Junnar gives a gift of a field of 15 Nivartanas¹ at the village of Puvanada, and another of 20 and 9 Nivartanas at Vatalika. Obviously land was divided into small units and owned by individual proprietors. It is, however, likely that the Maharathis, Mahabhojas and Mahasenapatis, who were feudal chiefs or high officers, may have owned fairly extensive pieces of land. For instance, Usavadata is seen in the enjoyment of a field of 200 Nivartanas at the village of Kakhadi². Revenues of villages and houses may have also been assigned to civil and military officers, as is recommended in Smrtis. We get some instances of monasteries being assigned the revenues of entire villages ; the same could as well have been the case with the Amatyas and Mahamatras.

The state owned some pieces of arable land, in different towns and villages, which it used to get by escheat or purchase. These are described as royal lands (*rajakam khetam*) in one Nasik record.³ When the king possessed no personal land of his own and desired to make a land grant, he had to purchase the land required. We find Usavadata purchasing a field for 4000 karsapanas (=Rs. 1,500) in order to gift it to the monks at Nasik.⁴ Waste and fallow land belonged to the state, but under the Gupta administration the village councils had to be consulted at the time of their disposal. Such formalities are not mentioned in connection with land transfers, described in Western Indian records. We, however, find that land transfers were regularly recorded in the registers kept for the purpose in the city and village councils.

Some Nasik records refer to the donations of entire villages. Thus, Nasik inscription No. 19 refers to the donation of the village of Samalipada in exchange of the village of Sudisana. This exchange obviously suggests that the gift of the village meant the gift of its royal revenues ; it did not interfere with the private ownership of land. When ownership in private land was transferred, it was usually small fields which the king used to purchase or which used to belong to the state.

¹ See Junnar NOB. 9, 14 and 18. The dimension of a Nivartana is not definitely known, but it was probably equal to four or five acres.

² *E. I.*, VIII. p. 71.

³ Nasik inscription No. 3.

⁴ Nasik No. 10.

Our records supply no data to determine the incidence of the land taxation; nor do we know anything about the share which the lessees received from the lessor. Probably his share varied from 40 to 50 per cent. of the gross produce.¹ There is no datum to determine the price of land in Western India during our period; Nasik inscription No. 10 refers to the sale of a piece of land for 4000 silver Karsapanas (=Rs. 1,500) but we do not know the dimension of the field purchased. In the Gupta empire the arable land was usually sold at about three Dinaras (=two and a quarter tolas of gold) per Kulyavapa. But the precise dimension of the Kulyavapa is not known and so we do not get any definite idea of the land prices. Nivartana is the land measure frequently occurring in our records, but its precise size is not known-It appears that it was about four acres in extent.

Crops grown in our period were the same that are grown at present in Western India, viz., Jvari, Bajra, wheat, sugarcane, rice, gram, cotton, oil seeds and betel leaves. Timber and fire-wood were important forest products and they figure among the exports to foreign countries. Lead mines were worked in the Deccan and supplied the metal for the Satavahana currency. It is likely that the gold mines near Maski may have been worked in our period, as also the diamond mines near Golconda.

Cotton industry seems to have been the most thriving industry of the Deccan during our period. Rough, fine and coloured cotton cloth figures prominently among the exports from Broach, as described by the *Periplus*. Tagara, Ter in the former Hyderabad state, and Pratisthana, the capital of the Satavahana empire, were great centres of the cotton industry. The Andhra province also had a large number of the centres of this industry.

During the first century of the Christian era, there was considerable trade carried on with the outside world through the ports of Western India. Broach was the most prominent among them. Among the imports of this port, the *Periplus* mentions Arabian and Italian wines, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, fine and rough cloth, bright coloured girdles, storax, flint glass, antimony and gold and silver coins. For the use of kings were imported costly silver vessels, singing boys, beautiful maidens and choice ointments. The exports of this port included spikenard costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, carnelian, onyx, stones, lycium, cotton cloth of all kinds, silk, long pepper and such other things as are brought from various market towns.

Broach was the main centre of foreign trade, but there were other ports on the western coast which had their own share of both foreign and coastal trade. Among these may be mentioned Surparaka or Sopara in Thana district, which figures as a harbour in the Jatakas also. Kalyan in Thana district was a flourishing port. For a time, it was the rival of Broach, as most of the Satavahana exports and imports took place through it. During the Saka-Satavahana struggle, the Sakas tried to block it several times. Kalyan had several flourish-

¹ *Yajnavalkyasmṛiti*, undoubtedly composed during this age, permits the lessor 50 per cent share. See 1.166.

ing merchants, some of whom figure as donors at Kanheri and Junnar during the 2nd century A.D.¹ As late as the 6th century A.D., Cosmas Indicopleustes enumerates Kalyan among the five chief marts of Western India with trade in brass, cloth and timber and fire-wood.

Seumulla or Ceul near Bombay, Mandagora (probably situated on the Rajapuri creek), Palipamai (either Pale near Mahad or Dabhol), Buzantion (Vaijayanti or Vijayagada) are other ports mentioned by the *Periplus*. Some of the above ports like Sopara and Kalyan have now become land-locked.

Dvaraka, Prabhasa and Valabhi were the principal ports of Kathiavad and Khambayat of Northern Gujarat.

From the *Periplus*, we get a clear idea of the routes of the overseas trade. Ships from the western countries started from Arabia Felix (Aden) and followed the Arabian coast as far as Kane, from where the route to India diverted ; some ships sailing to the Indus and on to Broach, and others direct to the ports of Limyrike on the Malabar coast. The ships used to start from Arabia in July, as they could thereby utilise the monsoon to accelerate their speed.

Ujjayini in Malva, Paithan in Maharashtra and Tagara, probably Ter in the former Hyderabad state, were the chief inland centres of trade. There were brought down to Broach from these market towns various articles of exports, through bullock carts or on pack animals. Among the minor trade centres, we may mention Junnar, Karahataka (Karhad in Satara district), Nasik, Govardhana and Vaijayanti. Roads were bad or non-existent according to the author of the *Periplus*, but he is probably over-drawing the picture. They appear to be sufficiently good and workable. We find residents of Vaijayanti in Karnataka making donations at Karle, residents of Karhad and Nasik in Maharashtra giving gifts at Bharhut in Baghelkhand and citizens of Dattamitri in Sindh donating caves at Nasik. Sea communications were also well developed ; Buddhist monasteries at creek heads like Kanheri show that priests also travelled by sea in the company of merchants, who built or excavated monasteries for their use. River traffic was not much in vogue; rivers in Western India usually flowed through the hilly country and were petty streams ; along the Tapi and the Narmada, however, there was some traffic in Gujarat.

Thanks to the numerous donative records, we get a fairly good glimpse into the different cross-sections of the trading community-Traders in corn (*dhanikas*), perfumes (*gandhikas*), and jewels (*manikaras*) are frequently referred to. Garland-makers (*malakaras*), iron-smiths (*lohavanijakas*) or (*kammaras*), goldsmiths, (*suvana-karas*), braziers (*kasakaras*), stone-cutters (*Silavanijakas*) artisans (*avesanis*), carpenters (*vadhikas*), weavers (*kolikas*), potters (*kularikas*), hydraulic workers (*odayantrikas*) and oil-mongers

¹ Among the donors from Kulyan, some are merchants, some goldsmiths and some blacksmiths.

(*tilapisakas*) are seen vying with one another in making donations for religious objects connected with Buddhism and Hinduism. Caravans were the arteries of trade and are referred to as donors in several places. Farmers did not lag behind the traders and caravans in their religious zeal; they are referred to as *kutumbikas halayikas* and *gahnpatis*. The general impression produced by the votive records is that society was rich and prosperous and that the artisans, traders, caravans and farmers contributed a good deal to its well-being.

Guild organisation was a special feature of trade and industry during our period. Guilds were known as *srenis* and their aldermen were known *Sresthins*. Our records refer to the guilds of weavers, potters, braziers, oil-mongers, hydraulic workers, bamboo-workers, corn-dealers, etc.¹. Sometimes, as at Govardhana, there were two guilds in the same town of one and the same industry viz., weaving. Guilds had executive committees of their own, consisting of four or five members, whose president (*sresthin*) carried on the executive work with their help. The guild must have been primarily intended to safeguard the interest of the particular trade or industry. It, however, also conducted banks, whose services were availed of not only by its members but also by the general public. Guilds and their banks were regarded as stable institutions, more enduring than kingdoms and empires. When Usavadata, the son-in-law of the great king Nahapana, who was most probably the governor of Northern Maharashtra, desired to make permanent arrangements for the annual supply of a fixed income to certain monasteries near Nasik, he did not issue orders to the local treasury officers to make an annual remittance. His endowment took the form of a permanent deposit in local guild banks, with instructions to hand over the annual interest to the beneficiaries. Obviously he regarded the guild banks as more enduring than the government of which he was a distinguished member. Empires were established and destroyed in the course of a few years or decades, but guilds and their banks lived from age to age. A Gupta record shows that guilds would carry out their liability even if they changed their head-quarters. Precaution, however, was often taken to get the permanent endowment at a guild bank registered in the office of the town municipality or *nigama sabha*, which was expected to see to it that the guild banks carried out their obligations from generation to generation.

It is a great pity that we should not have so far found the seals or sealings of even a single guild of the Deccan and Western India. The numerous guild sealings found at Vaisali give us quite a vivid picture of the working of the organisation during the Gupta period, showing how there were joint guilds of bankers, traders and caravans with their membership spread over a large number of towns. It is not unlikely that similar organisations may have existed in the Deccan also during our period, as they certainly did five hundred years later.

¹ See Nasik inscriptions NOB. 12, 15 ; Junnar inscriptions NOB. 16 and 31.

Let us now consider the currency problems. The larger part of the ordinary daily transactions was probably done by barter.¹ But silver, lead and copper currency was also in existence to supplement them. We have not so far found any specimens of gold currency current in Western India. The gold coins or Suvarnas, one of which is equated to 35 silver Karsapanas in a Nasik record, were probably the gold pieces weighing about 120 grains which were issued by the Kusanas in Northern India, some of which occasionally travelled down to the south with trade². Neither the Satavahanas nor the Sakas, neither the Abhiras nor the Traikutakas issued any gold currency.

Karsapana is a term applicable both to the silver and copper coins, but in our records it usually refers to a silver one. The Naneghat inscription of Nayanika refers to her husband giving a *daksina* of 24,400 Karsapanas on one occasion and of 11,000 on another. At that time the Satavahanas were issuing no silver coins. Probably the Karsapanas or punch-marked coins of Northern India were current in the kingdom or were minted in it by some private moneyers. At Kondapur several moulds of punch-marked coins were discovered which were in vogue in the Satavahana period. Only a few later Satavahana kings sporadically issued silver currency in the second century A.D.

The Western Ksatrapa currency was on the other hand pre-dominantly in silver. Each piece weighed about 30 grains. These coins were known in contemporary times as Rudradamakas, after the most powerful king of the dynasty, but this name does not occur in our records. A Nasik record tells us that 2000 Suvarnas were equal to 70,000 silver Karsapanas. If we ignore the alloy in both the coins, this equation shows that 1050 (35x30) grains of silver were equal to 120 grains of gold this gives the ratio between the prices of gold and silver as about 9:1. Silver being not indigenous to the country was dearer in India in the term of gold; this was also one of the reasons as to why so much of Roman gold flowed into the country.

We possess no data at present to give either the nomenclature or the relative value of the copper and lead currency that was profusely issued by the Satavahanas.

Our records give us a good idea of the money market. Nahapana's son-in-law Usavadata invested 2000 Karsapanas in one bank of the weavers' guild at Nasik as a permanent deposit, on which an interest at 12 per cent. per annum was guaranteed³. Another weavers' guild at the same place, however, agreed to pay only 9 per cent. interest to the same person. It is difficult to understand the causes for this difference in the rate of interest. When permanent deposits were fetching interest at so high a rate as 9 or 12 per cent. per annum, we may well conclude that short term loans must have been possible

¹ This is the reason why some of the governments of the day like the Ikshvaku and the Vakataka administrations did not issue any coins at all.

² In one Nasik record No. 12 the term *Prati* is also used as a synonym for Karsapana.

³ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that the silver coins introduced by Nahapana were known as Kusanas (*I. A.*, 1919 p. 81) is untenable. *Kusartamula* like *Chivaramula* was a sum given to the monks for the expense of purchasing *Kusanas*. What they were we do not know.

even for solvent parties at about the rate of 20 or 24 per cent. the *Manusmṛti* mentions 24 per cent.¹ as the normal rate of fair interest and its statement is thus confirmed by the epigraphical evidence in our age.

There is no sufficient evidence to reconstruct the price level of the period. One Nasik inscription gives 4000 Karsapanas as the price of a piece of land, but since no information is given either about its size or yield, the statement is not of much value. As regards the price of cloth we are on surer grounds. We find that usually 12 Karsapanas² were sufficient for the three robes of the monks. A Karsapana weighed about 50 grains and was thus somewhat heavier than the four anna silver piece. So about three rupees and a half were sufficient for the underwear, the upper garment and the robe of a monk.

We have no sufficient data to determine the cost of living during our period. Unfortunately no votive records give us any data about the money necessary to feed one monk every day. Northern Indian records of the Gupta period, however, show that one Dinara or $\frac{3}{4}$ tola of gold was usually sufficient to feed a monk throughout the year. The monthly cost of one sumptuous meal was thus about Rs. 2 in the pre-war value of that coin.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

The period 200 B.C. to 500 A.D. is one of the most interesting epochs in the religious and philosophical history of India. When imperial patronage of Asoka resulted in the spread of Buddhism both in India and abroad, Hinduism began to think seriously about its future and began to set its house in order. A counter-reformation was started in Hinduism, which aimed at eliminating its weak points which were exploited by Buddhism. Vedic sacrifices were not directly condemned; we find a number of the kings in our period performing them with great enthusiasm. The general population, however, was gradually weaned away from them when Bhaktimarga or the Path of Devotion began to be recommended as the best path for salvation.

In Bhaktimarga, the conception of a personal god taking paternal interest in the difficulties and welfare of the devotees is most prominent. This naturally began to appeal more to the masses in contrast to the Hinayana philosophy, which was an atheistic one and expected every person to rely upon his own exertions for spiritual uplift. Hinduism now began to advocate the gospel of *Avatara*; God surely comes down to the earth as frequently as necessary in order to support righteousness and destroy vice and tyranny.

It was sometime in our period that the epic *Jaya* was converted into the *Mahabharata*, an encyclopaedia of religion, philosophy and ethics. The lives of a number of heroes and Pauranic kings, which were described there, graphically emphasised the importance of a number

¹ See Chap. 10 below.

² One record at Kanherj however provides for 16 Karsapanas for the robe of each monk. This was rather an unusual and liberal provision.

of virtue so and good qualities, and began to shape and influence the lives of ordinary men. The philosophical side of Hinduism was also strengthened by the systematic exposition of the teachings of its various schools in the Sutras of Mimamsa, Vedanta, Yoga and Nyaya.

The above reforms and new activities in Hinduism had their natural repercussion on Buddhism. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, a new school arose in Buddhism which incorporated most of the new theories in Hinduism. The Buddha had averred that when he is once dead, nobody in heaven or earth will see anything more of him; his later disciples must be lamps unto themselves, relying upon the texts of his Dhamma as he was leaving for them. The new school of Buddhism, known as the Mahayana gave up this position altogether. It began to aver that Gautama Buddha was only one incarnation of the Dhammakaya and that the latter may reincarnate himself as frequently as may be necessary. In Hinayana Buddhism, Bodhisattva was the future Buddha in his earlier lives struggling to cultivate a number of virtues so that he may be eventually qualified to become a Buddha in some future existence. In Mahayana Buddhism, the Bodhisattva was a name given to an Arhat, who had voluntarily renounced his claim to Nirvana and consented to be born again and again with a view to help the struggling aspirants to salvation. He was prepared to transfer his: own good merit to sinners in order to secure their salvation.

Considerable thought ferment was thus produced in the domain of religion and philosophy during our period, 200 B.C. to 500 A.D., and it is reflected in the Hindu and Buddhist literature, especially after c. 200 A.D. The *Mahabharata* does not contain any direct attack on-or refutation of the Buddhism, but the *Brahmasutras*, the *Nyayasutras* and the *Yogasutras*, which were re-edited in the latter half of our period, contain sections refuting the tenets of Buddhism and Jainism. Vatsyayana in his *Nyayabkasya* attempts to combat the views of Nagarjuna and is criticised in his turn by Dinnaga, who seeks to defend the Buddhist view points. Uddyotakara soon came forward to defend Vatsyayana and refute his assailant Dinnaga.

The above movements in Hinduism and Buddhism were of an all-India character; but it is difficult to say what part Western India or the Deccan took in them. Very little is known not only about the time but also about the home province of the actors in this religio-philosophical drama. The great philosophers like Vatsyayana and Nagarjuna were all-India figures, who moved from place to place in India propagating their philosophical and religious views. It would be wrong to confine them to one province. Among these philosophers Nagarjuna, according to tradition, was long connected with Prati-sthana, the Satavahana capital; the Buddhist establishment at Nagarjunikonda was also probably named after him. The deep Mahayana influence which one sees at Ajanta may probably be due to the influence of his teachings.

To judge from the benefactions recorded, Hinduism and Buddhism were more or less equally balanced during our period. Philo-

sophical conflicts were often taking place between the followers of the two religions, which must have often engendered considerable heat. An epigraph at Ajanta exultingly observes that Krsna, Sankara and other gods have beat a precipitate retreat before the advance of the doctrine of the Buddha.¹ In spite of this philosophical acrimony among the top-rank combatants, the relations between the ordinary followers of the two religions were on the whole characterised by tolerance and harmony. During the succeeding age (500 to 1200 A.D.) there was some degree of intolerance shown by the followers of the different sects in the Deccan, but we get no traces of it during our period.

It appears that in spite of the contending claims of the rival philosophical disputants, the average man used to take the common-sense view that a substantial uniformity underlay their fundamental principles ; an individual may make such synthesis of their principles as appeals to his temperament and extend his patronage to all without any distinction. The Saka king Rudradaman was undoubtedly a Hindu, but he had taken the view of not causing any loss of life except on the battle-field. Obviously he was trying to make a synthesis of Hinduism and Jainism in his life. King Santa-mula of the Ikshvaku family in the eastern Deccan was an enthusiastic follower of the Vedic religion and had performed a number of sacrifices. But his sisters, daughters and daughters-in-law were all Buddhists. Some of them had, however, given donations to Brahmanas as well.² The second king of the Satavahana dynasty Krsna was most probably a Hindu but he had appointed a special officer to look after the needs and welfare of the monks and nuns of his dominions. It is interesting to note that several records describe donations given both to the Buddhists and the Hindus. The main purport of Nasik inscriptions Nos. 10 and 12 is to record a grant made to the Buddhist monks residing in those caves. But they contain at their end other donations of the donor given to Hindu gods and Brahmanas as well.

The spirit of tolerance that prevailed in the Deccan at this time was the order of the day throughout the country. The Guptas were orthodox Hindus, but had extended their patronage to the Buddhist University at Nalanda. Some of their officers were Buddhists like those of the Satavahanas, and one of them is seen making a benefaction in favour of the Buddhist establishment at Sanci for the spiritual³ welfare of his Vaisnava sovereign Candragupta II. In the Kadamba dynasty kings Krsnavarman and Mrgesvaravarman performed Asvamedha sacrifices out of their regard for Vedic religion and made grants to Jain establishments out of their reverence to Jainism.⁴

¹ *I. C. T. W.I.*, p. 77.

² *E. I.*, XX, p. 16.

³ *C. I. I.*, III pl 37.

⁴ *I. A.*, VI p. 24.

There are many records of our period which show that the Jains used to respect Hindu teachers as well.¹ The Guptas were orthodox Hindus, but the best tribute to their rule is given in a contemporary Jain record.²

It is indeed surprising that so far no records should have been found in Western India throwing light on the existence and condition of Jainism in this part of the country. Kahaum (in Gorakhpur district), Mathura and Udayagiri (near Sanci) were well-known centres of Jainism in northern India. In South India, owing to the patronage of the Kadambas and Gahgas, Karnatak had become a stronghold of Jainism. In Tamil country, Jainism had become so popular that the Jains convened a special *sangam* of theirs in c. 470. It is however strange that neither in the Deccan nor in Gujarat, we should so far have found any Jain epigraph belonging to our period. Since, however, a council was convened by the Svetambara-Jains first in Vira Samvat 840 (363 A.D.) and then in 980 (503 A.D.) at Valabhi to determine the texts of their sacred works, we may well presume that Gujarat and Kathiavad had fairly numerous Jain followers in the 4th and the 5th centuries A.D. The non-discovery of epigraphical evidence is perhaps purely accidental, due to the absence of thorough explorations and excavations.

Let us now survey the general position of Hinduism during our age. The echoes of the revival of Vedic religion which arose as a reaction to the Buddhist and Jain attack on Vedic sacrifices, can be heard in the Deccan also. If Pusyamitra Suhga performed two Asvamedha sacrifices in the north, Satakarni I, who was almost his contemporary, performed the same number of them in the Deccan. This ruler was a staunch advocate of the gospel of Vedic sacrifices ; the Naneghat record of his widow shows that besides the two Asvamedhas he also performed a large number of other Vedic sacrifices. Among these were Agnyadheya, Anvarambhaniya, Aptoryama Gargatriratra, Angirasatriratra, Chandogapavamanatri-ratra, Dasaratra, Bhagaladasaratra, Trayodasaratra, Satatiratra, Gavamayana and Rajasuya. These sacrifices were performed with due pomp and in a manner befitting the dignity of the emperor of the Deccan. Honoraria (*daksinas*) given to the priests were liberal. The record is unfortunately fragmentary, but it enables us to ascertain the *daksina* expected to be given by a royal sacrificer at the different sacrifices.

Agnyadheya was an ordinary sacrifice and its *daksina* was ten cows and a horse. Gavamayana sacrifice lasted for a year ; it was performed twice by Satakarni and the *daksina* given on each occasion was 1100 cows to priests in addition to gifts given to the spectators. The same *daksina* was given at Ahgirasamayana and Ahgirasa-triratra sacrifices. In the Chandopavamana and Bhagaladasaratra sacrifices, the *daksina* was a thousand cows each. The Anvaram-bhaniya sacrifice was more costly, for the *daksina* was 1700 cows, 10 elephants and 289 silver pots. In the Rajasuya sacrifice 100 cows,

¹ C. I.I., in. p. 47.

² *Ibid*, pp. 67,258.

one horse, one horse-carriage and a huge heap of corn were given as *daksina*. In the Asvamedha sacrifice the fee was heavy ; the king gave away one horse with silver ornaments, 12 sets of gold ornaments, one village, one elephant and 14000 cows. One sacrifice whose names ended with...rika (Pundarika?) entailed the rather unusual *daksina* of eleven thousand cows and a thousand horses. In another sacrifice twelve villages were given as *daksina*, but its name has not been preserved.

It should not however be supposed that the Vedic sacrifices were popular only with the Satavahanas. Rulers in most of the other contemporary dynasties in the Deccan performed them. The Ikshvaku king Santamula (c. 250 A.D.) performed Agnistoma, Vajapeya and Asvamedha sacrifices.¹ Several petty rulers also performed the Asvamedha sacrifice, e.g. Vijayadevavarman of the Salakhayana family (c. 320 A.D.), Dahrasena (c. 460 AD.) of the Traikutaka house and Krsnavarman of the Kadarhba dynasty. There is no wonder that the Bharasivas and the Pallavas, who claimed to be powerful rulers, performed the Horse Sacrifice several times. The great Vakataka emperor Pravarasena I (c. 300 A.D.) not only celebrated four Horse Sacrifices, but also performed Agnistoma, Aptoryama, Ukthya, Sodasin, Brhaspatisava and Vajapeya. The Maukharis of Badva in Rajputana performed Triratna sacrifice in 239 AD.,² and the Malava chief Soma, who liberated his homeland from the Sakas in c. 226 A.D. celebrated the event by the performance of the Ekasastiratna-sattra,³ which was quite appropriate for the occasion.⁴

The gospel of the Vedic sacrifice, however, was gradually losing its popularity in the course of time. Satakarni I performed a number of Vedic sacrifices, but Gautamiputra Satakarni performed none.⁵ Within a 100 years this cannot happen, when all round such sacrifices were being performed. The reasons may be different. In the Vakataka dynasty the example of Pravarasena I, who performed a number of sacrifices, was not emulated by any of his successors. Stone Yupas commemorating Vedic sacrifices are not to be seen after 400 A.D.

Pauranic religion was getting more popular in the course of time. Gautamiputra Satakarni is compared to Rama, Kesava (Krsna), Arjuna and Bhima in valour; it is quite clear that the heroes of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* were quite popular in our period. The glory of this king is further compared to that of king Nabhaga,

¹ *E. I.*, XX p. 16.

² *Ibid*, XXII, p. 52.

³ *Ibid*, XXVII, p.

⁴ When gods had first offered this sacrifice everything around them had become sapless ; trees had lost their freshness and kine their strength. But as a result of this sacrifice nature regained its original vigour and brilliances and there ensued a period of all round prosperity, like the one which must have begun in the Malava republic, when it wrested its freedom from the Saka yoke.

⁵ His eulogy described how he followed Trivarga, how he was an abode of the Vedas, how he organised festivities and *samajas* for his subjects, but is altogether silent about his having performed any Vedic sacrifices. Had he performed any of them, they would not have been passed over by the court panegyrist.

Nahusa, Sagara, Yayati and Ambarisa; it is quite clear that the Puranas giving an account of their lives were quite popular. Which, however, were these Puranas and to what extent they agreed with or differed from their modern versions is unfortunately not known. The Puranas popularised Bhaktimarga and its ascendancy eventually proved unfavourable to Vedic sacrifices.¹

The age obviously believed in the efficacy of charity in securing religious merit (*punya*). The benefactions of Usavadata are worth analysing. He used to feed a lakh of Brahmanas every year ; he had given three lakhs of cows on one occasion, and thirty-two thousand of cocoanut trees on another. He had built *ghats* (flights of steps) on several rivers and constructed rest-houses at Broach, Dasapura Govardhana and Sopara. He had dug wells and tanks, laid out gardens and maintained free ferry services on several rivers. He had arranged and financed the marriages of eight Brahmanas at the holy *tirtha* of Prabhasa.

The further statement that Usavadata had given sixteen villages and 7,000 Karsapanas to gods and Brahmanas is worth pondering. The donees in the case of the Brahmanas were most probably a colony of learned Vedic scholars (*srotriyas*), who were settled down in an *Agrahara* colony, as was done in later times. But who were the donees in the case of gifts to gods ? *Prima-facie* they should be temple establishments, but it is rather surprising that we should neither have discovered any Hindu temple belonging to our period in the Deccan or Western India nor found any reference to it in our epigraphs. For instance, when Usavadata names the monastic establishments in whose favour he gave his charities, we can identify them. But we do not get the names of Hindu temples in whose favour he had given his charity. Usavadata's records refer to his excavating caves for Buddhist monks and building rest-houses for travellers. But they do not mention a single Hindu temple built by him. It is possible to argue that the donations to gods, especially when coupled with donations to Brahmanas, may simply mean a benefaction in favour of Brahmanas, who were performing in their houses the sacrifices in favour of gods prescribed in the Srutis, Smrtis and Puranas.

Such however, does not seem to have been the case. Temples to Hindu gods like Vasudeva and Sankarsana were raised in Northern India at Besnagar and Ghosundi as early as the 2nd century B.C. These deities are mentioned also in the Naneghat inscription of queen Nayanika. It is quite possible that the images of these and other Hindu gods existed in our period and were worshipped in public temples in favour of which Usavadata's donations earmarked for gods were given. The non-discovery of the images and temples of the Hindu gods will have to be pronounced as accidental in view of the clear references to village temples existing in the *Gatha-*

¹ At Naneghat, however, we find homage paid to Sankarsana and Vasudeva, incarnations of Bhagavat, in a record which celebrates Vedic sacrifices. King Satakarni had managed to combine a respect for the Vedic religion with a regard for Bhaktimarga. But such instances were few.

saptasati.¹ It appears that the temples were becoming gradually commoner in our age and some of them had been benefited by Usavadata's benefactions.

In Northern India temples had become more common in our age. Prthivisena had founded a temple of Siva named after himself at Karamdanda in U. P. in c. 425 A.D. At Mandasore in Malva, a temple of the Sun was built by a guild of weavers in c. 540 A.D. At Udayagiri and Bhumra in Central India and Bhitargahv in the U. P., there existed other Hindu temples, now mostly in ruins.

The different benefactions of Usavadata fall under the category of *istapurta* as described in the Smrtis. This theory of getting religious merit by public benefactions was getting popular in our age. Ekadasi,² Purnima and eclipse days had not yet acquired any particular sanctity, for very few of our grants are made on these days. Among the twelve definitely known dates of donations recorded at Nasik and Karli, only three were made on the occasion of the full-moon days ; the rest were given on such odd days like the 13th day of the 2nd fortnight of the summer, the first day of the second fortnight of the rainy season, second day of the third fortnight of the winter, etc. Nor is any *samkranti* or eclipse associated with any dates of donations. Obviously the view that the days of *Samkranti* or eclipse are the occasions of special sanctity particularly suited for sacred gifts had not yet become popular. Astrology had not yet begun to influence the daily life of the community.

Renunciation had become quite common among the Buddhists and Jains during our period ; even women were becoming nuns in these communities. *Sanyasa* as the fourth aim of life is recommended with a rather lukewarm zeal in the contemporary smrtis of Manu and Yajnavalkya, but it had not yet apparently become popular. Gautamiputra Satakarni is described as following *trivarga* or the three *purusarthas* of life; *trivarga*, consists of Dharma, Artha and Kama, but omits Moksa that was believed to be possible by renunciation or *Sanyasa*. The dowager queen Nayanika. is however, described as a *gahatapasa* or a recluse at home; this expression obviously suggests that there were recluses in Hindu society who were staying in the forest. Nandabalika, one of the donors at Junnar, is described as the wife of Rsi Mulasvamin; it is quite likely that her husband had renounced the world and taken *Sanyasa*, as permitted by the contemporary Smrtis. Hindu *Sanyasins* could not be the recipients of any gifts ; that seems to be the reason why they figure so very rarely in our records. We may well suppose that a fair percentage of idealistic Hindus eventually renounced the world in the evening of their lives.

Pilgrimage to holy places is strongly recommended in the epics and Puranas. Usavadata is seen visiting Puskara near Ajmer and Prabhasa in Kathiavad and making special donations there. The same must have been done by many other pious Hindus. No references however

¹ The date of this work is uncertain, but the references to the temples occurring in the passage probably refer to our period.

² (This is not correct. Several grants of the Vakatakaa were made on Ekadasi days or on the occasion of their Farana—V.V.M.)

are found in our records to pilgrims going to Kasi. A Nala ruler from Bastar District is however visiting Prayaga on a thanks giving pilgrimage in the 4th century A.D. Probably pious Hindus of Western India visited Kasi, Prayaga and Gaya, as they did Puskara and Prabhasa. Our records had probably no occasion to mention such visits.

Siva, Visnu, Ganesa, Sankarsana, Vasudeva, Dharma, Indra, the Sun and the Moon figure as the popular Hindu deities during our period. Temples dedicated to them probably existed, though they are not referred to in our records. A large number of persons bear names connected with Visnu, Siva, and Skanda. It is clear that Vaisnavism and Saivism were becoming popular. The Bharasivas no doubt performed ten Horse-sacrifices, but they were constantly bearing on their body an emblem of Siva and not Yupa or a sacrificial pillar. Kumara-gupta I performed a Horse-sacrifice, but he describes himself as a *paramabhagavata* and not *paramavaidika*. The Vakataka king Rudrasena II attributed his prosperity to *Cakrapani*; the Nala king Bhavadattavarman felt that his restoration was due to the favour of Mahasena. We do not come across a single king ascribing his good luck or prosperity to the favour of any Vedic deity. Vedic gods had become far off and distant figures, to be invoked at sacrifices performed by the rich; they had ceased to appeal to ordinary individuals.

We have no sufficient data to find out the relative popularity of Vaisnavism and Saivism in the Deccan of our period. The Saka rulers were obviously Saivas, as indicated by the personal names of most of them. It is difficult to state what was the persuasion of the Satavahanas. The homage to Sankarsana and Vasudeva in the Naneghat inscription and the comparison of Gautamiputra to Rama and Kesava, Nabhaga and Ambarisa, would suggest that they were perhaps Vaisnavas. Among the commoners, both faiths seem to have been fairly popular. Several individuals in our records bear names of which Naga is a constituent. This would show that Naga worship was also common.

Let us now try to ascertain the condition of popular religion. The Smrtis, Puranas and epics had become popular in our period and their heroes and Avataras had become standards of comparison. The notion of the present time being the Kali age had also taken root, as shown by several records of this period, though not belonging to our area.¹ Pilgrimages to holy places were common, as shown already.

In his daily life the average pious Brahmana used to perform the religious rites and rituals prescribed in contemporary Smrtis like those of Manu and Yajnavalkya; Vedic sacrifices were beyond his means. He offered his *sandhya* prayer morning and evening ; the noon-time *sandhya* had not yet come into vogue. *Pranayama*, *Suryopasthana* and *Gayatrijapa* were the main constituents of the

¹ I. A., V. 57 ; E.I., VIII. 163 ; C. I. I. , III. 44, 145.

sandhya. Whether the modern Pauranic verses were added to it in our age we do not know. Morning *sandhya* was followed by the worship of tutelary deities and watery oblations to the manes. Five great sacrifices (*pancamahayajnas*) were popular in the age and many donations were given to Brahmanas to enable them to perform them. Smarta fire was no doubt maintained by the priests ; whether it was kept by the average householder is doubtful. Sixteen Samskaras were common for male children. Upanayana was gradually dying down in the case of girls ; the monthly Sraddha was very popular. Sacrifices like the *Caturmasyesti* and *Agrahayanesti* were probably performed only in priestly families. It is doubtful whether the Puranas in their pre-Gupta version extolled the efficacy of gifts on the days like those of Sarhkrantis and eclipses ; at any rate none of the gifts in our records were given on these days. Astronomical-cum-astrological notions had not yet become popular in society. Almost any day was regarded as equally good for doing a meritorious or religious act. Many records of later days describe how the donor realised the transitoriness of the mundane glory and decided to make the grants ; such observations do not occur in our epigraphs. This would show that the age was keeping an even balance between *Artha* and *Kama* on one side and *Dharma* and *Moksa* on the other.

Hindu Philosophy.

No Hindu philosophical works written between 200 B.C. and 500 A.D. can be definitely ascribed to Western India. It is therefore difficult to give any local picture of Hindu philosophy during this age. So far as the general progress of philosophy during this period is concerned, it may be pointed out that the Mimamsa-sutras were written early in this period. The *Sabarabhasya* written in c. 300 A.D. widened the scope of *Mimamsa*. It left the narrow field of ritualism and began to advocate its own views about the nature of the soul, God, salvation, etc. The development of Vedanta during this period is difficult to visualise. In the Samkhya system, the *Samkhyakarika* of Isvarakrsna, which gives the most authoritative exposition of the system, was composed in the 4th century A.D. In the sphere of Yoga, the *Yogasutras* as well as the *Vyasabhasya* on it were composed in our period. In the Nyaya-Vaisesika school the *Nyayasutras* of Gautama were probably written in the 2nd century B.C. and its commentary the *Nyayabhasya* towards the end of the 4th century A.D. From c. 400 the Nyaya-Vaisesika school became constantly engaged in controversies with the Yogacara and Madhya-mika schools of Mahayana Buddhism.

Buddhism.

To judge from epigraphic evidence, Buddhism was fairly popular in Western India down to the end of the Satavahana period. Rival rulers like the Satavahanas and the Ksaharatas, though not themselves Buddhists, are seen vying with one another in excavating Vihara and Caitya caves for the Buddhist monks and in making grants for the day to day expenditure of the monastic establishments. Donors to the Buddhist monasteries are seen hailing from all classes, high and low; besides ruling kings, they include feudatories like the Maharathis and the Mahabhojas, high government officials like ministers, generals and district officers, members of higher classes

like merchant princes, caravan leaders and physicians and several persons in the ordinary walks of life like farmers, merchants, goldsmiths, ironsmiths, garland-makers, etc.¹ The gospel of the Buddha had made a deep and wide appeal to all the sections of the community, including the foreigners like the Greeks and the Scythians.

Later tradition no doubt states that the Buddha had once visited Pratisthana or Paithan, the future Satavahana capital; but we may doubt its accuracy. Among the missionaries sent by Asoka for the spread of Buddhism there was one Greek convert named Dharma-raksita, who was sent to Aparanta or Northern Konkan and who may have tried to spread the religion in Maharashtra as well. Earliest traces of Buddhism in Western India go back to about c. 250 B.C. and one may wonder whether the religion had made much progress before the advent of the missionaries despatched by Asoka.

The most ancient Buddhist records in Western India are those at Kolhapur, Pitalkhora and Sopara. When Dharmaraksita came to Northern Konkan, he apparently induced Asoka to get a set of his edicts engraved at Sopara; we have, however, so far discovered only fragments of fourteen rock edicts at that place. The inscription on the lid of a casket at Kolhapur is almost in Mauryan characters; the same is the case with the records in the Pitalkhora caves. It is quite clear that the missionaries of Asoka succeeded in making a fair and rapid headway. A number of people were converted and some Buddhist establishments were established. Their number was not quite small; for in the reign of the second Satavahana king Krsna we find the Hindu government appointing an officer to supervise over the Buddhist monks and their establishments.

Our records incidentally refer to a number of Buddhist sects. The Bhadrayanias or the Bhadrayanlyas were the recipients of some benefactions at Nasik and Kanheri, the Mahasarhghikas at Karli, the Dharmottariyas at Sopara, Junnar and Karli, the Cetiya at Nasik and the Aparajitas at Junnar. Most of these sects belonged to the protestant school, which raised the standard of revolt at Vaisali. Thus the Bhadrayanlyas and the Dharmottariyas belonged to the school of the Vajjiputtas; the Mahasarhghikas were the earliest to cause a schism owing to their peculiar view that the Buddha was a *Lokottara* person inherently possessing superhuman powers. Cetiya school was a sub-section of this sect. The Mahisasakas, the Bahusutiyas and the Aparamahaseliyas, who figure in the records of the Eastern Deccan, are not mentioned in Western India. Of these the Mahisasakas represented the pure Theravada, while the others were branches of the Mahasarhghikas.

The development of huge monastic establishments naturally led to a sense of possession among the monks. The followers of some

¹ We may, however, note that the epigraphs preserved for us almost all belong to the Buddhist establishments. There were no similar establishments in Western India in our age belonging to Hinduism. Had they existed, donations made to them might have given us some idea of the classes from which the adherents of Hinduism were hailing. Very probably the followers of both the religions hailed from all the classes of the community.

schools got a vested interest in some endowments ; thus some of the donations at Nasik were given for the exclusive use of the members of the Bhadrayaniya sect, and some at Karli for that of the Mahasamghika sect. Usually, however, the benefactions were intended for the monks hailing from the four quarters, irrespective of the sects to which they belonged. Even in such cases the administration of the trust property must inevitably have been vested in the hands of the monks in power at the locality.

Almost to the end of our period, Buddhism in Western India was of the Hinayana variety. The Mahayana school began to become popular only at about 400 A.D. As may be expected, the objects of worship in the early caves are the Stupas ; the human figure of the Blessed One does not occur either at Bhaja or at Bedsa, or either at Karli or at Nasik.¹ In the early Caitya halls at Ajanta also, the object of worship is the Stupa. The figures of the Buddha appear in caves Nos. 16, 17 and 19, which belong to the end of the 5th century A.D. The Buddha figure became common in Northern India about two hundred years earlier.

The Buddhist mode of worship was similar to the Hindu one. Lamps were kept burning and scents and flowers were offered to the Stupa after its ceremonial sprinkling. Kuda inscription No. II records the gift of a field to provide for the burning of a lamp in the Buddhist Caitya.

The wide popularity of Buddhism must be partly ascribed to the strenuous efforts of the Buddhist monks. The Mahasthviras, Sthaviras, Bhanakas and Tevijjas incessantly travelled in the country in winter and summer, popularising the gospel of the Blessed One. A record at Nagarjunikonda shows that Western India including Karnatak and Kohkan was visited by Ceylonese Buddhist monks also for the purpose of evangelisation. The monks travelled both by land and sea. Most of the Buddhist centres like Kalyan, Nasik, Karli and Junnar are situated in the passes leading from Konkan to Ghats; the caves at Kanheri, Kuda and Mahad are at the heads of creeks, from where the monks must have embarked for their coastal journeys.

We get a fairly graphic picture of the lives of the monks and nuns of our period. In a solitary record at Bedsa we find a reference to a monk who is described as *aranaka*; probably he lived in a forest and came to the village for begging. As Buddhism became more and more popular, caves began to be constructed for their residence. It is however curious that we have not so far come across any structural monastery or Caitya in Western India, built in bricks during our period.

Buddhist establishments in Western India consisted of a monastery (*vihara*) and an attached temple (*caitya*). Monasteries had a square or rectangular hall with an entrance in front and small cells on all the three sides, each cell being usually intended for one monk. In some establishments as at Junnar, there were reception halls (*upasthanasalas*) and dining halls (*bhojanamandapas*) also.

¹ The Buddha figures appearing at Karli are all later additions.

Invariably arrangement was made for the construction of a cistern for drinking water (*pantyapodhi*) and bath (*sanapodhi*). Caves in Western India are generally plain with few decorative sculptures. The Buddha had prohibited the decoration of monks' residences by paintings but in Western India paintings were introduced in caves as early as the first century A.D. The Nasik cave donated by Balasiri was originally painted; one of the donations made by her son was for providing paintings in it. The paintings have now faded off. At Ajanta paintings became the order of the day from about 400 A.D.

The monastic establishment was given in charge of the head abbot who was called *mahasami* or *mahaswmi*; he is mentioned as the trustee and recipient of a benefaction in one Nasik record.¹ He probably corresponded with *mahaviharasvami* at Sanci² and managed the whole establishment. In some records the property is stated as being conveyed into the hands of Samgha³; even then the actual administration must have been carried on by the *viharasvamin*.

Monks usually came down from hills to the adjoining villages for getting their food; we have rare references to the provision being made for their meals⁴. The laity however was expected to make provision for the supply of robes and medicines to the monks. Three robes permitted by the order were usually supplied in duplicate at the end of the rainy season, when the monks dispersed for their usual journeys in the country for preaching the gospel. Two sets of three robes usually cost twelve *Karsapanas*. In some caves, however, the provision consisted of sixteen and not twelve *Karsa-panas*. Provision was also made by pious laymen for the medical treatment of the monks; Nasik inscription No. 15 shows a Saka lady making a permanent endowment for the medicinal expenses of the monks staying at the local monasteries.

In addition to this provision for robes *Usavadata* is seen providing 4½ *Karsapanas* to each monk for the expenses connected with *Kusana*.⁵ What however this *Kusana* expense was we do not know. Probably it was for out of pocket expenses, incurred while the monks were touring. The Buddha had prohibited the monks from receiving any cash in gold and silver; the monks at Vaisali had pleaded that this rule should be rescinded, but they were overruled in the second council of Vaisali. It would appear that in course of time this taboo against gold and silver was removed and monks were permitted to possess money.

This conclusion is further confirmed by the large number of monks and nuns who figure as donors in our epigraphs. Thus the three elephant sculptures at Karli were the gifts of the venerable monk Indradeva; two other sculptures there were financed by monk Bhadasama⁶. A nun named Goa was so rich⁷ as to finance the

¹ *E.I.*, VIII, 71.

² *G.I. I.*, III 272.

³ Nasik inscription No. 17.

⁴ One such reference occurs in Nasik inscription No. 10.

⁵ At Junnar the monks used to get one *Karsapana* per month apparently during the rainy season for a similar purpose; see inscriptions Nos. 15, 18, 21.

⁶ *E.I.*, VII 51.

⁷ *I. C. T. W. I.*, p. 6.

excavation of a cave at Mahad. Karli inscription No. 12 discloses another nun donor named Asadhamitra. At Ajanta, there are several donations made by monks like Sanghamitra, Buddhagupta, Sangha-priya, Drdhadharma, etc. Nasik cave No. 20 was originally begun "by a monk named Bhopaki, but was completed by a Mahasenapati."

How these monks and nuns got these funds is a mystery. Surely the savings out of the small *Kusana* allowance of four or five *Karsapanas* was not sufficient for this purpose. It is not improbable that the lay disciples of monks and nuns may have begun to supply them funds to enable them to finance these benefactions. It is also possible that they might have got the funds from the families which they had renounced at the time of entering the order. Whether they had begun to receive honoraria (*daksinas*) like the Hindu priests, is not known at present. About the internal organisation of the monastic life we get some interesting data. The establishment was under the management of the abbot (Viharasvamin), who received the donations, provided for the supply of robes and monks, and allotted rooms to the monks and arranged for their boarding when funds had been received for the purpose. Some monks as well as their pupils are described at Traividya in several Junnar inscriptions¹. Traividya was a title given to monks who were well grounded in the three Pitakas². It is thus clear that in some of our monasteries there were learned monks, who were devoting their time and energy in educating the novices in Buddhist philosophy and literature. This duty had been expressly imposed upon the senior monks by the Buddha himself. Some of the monks, thus devoting themselves to the cause of education, are called *ganacaryas*, probably because they had a number (*gana*) of students reading under them. It is quite possible that some of our monasteries had developed into small centres of higher Buddhist learning. It is unfortunate that we do not possess more data to get a better glimpse into their educational activity.

Nuns were admitted into the Buddhist Samgha during our period and we get several references to them. In most cases the nuns appear to have entered the holy order after their widowhood. Thus the donor of Karli No. 18 describes herself as the mother of Gunika; a nun at Mahad, Naganika, describes herself as the mother of Padumanika.³ This latter record however does not mention the names of any children of Padumanika, associated with her donation. It is therefore not unlikely that some ladies entered the holy order before their marriage. In this particular case this was quite possible. The record shows that both Naganika and her maternal uncle had entered the holy order and it is not unlikely that being zealous Buddhists they may have permitted their ward Padumanika to enter the order before her marriage. It is, however, not impossible that

¹ Cf. *Gay-acaryanam sthviranam Bhadanta-Sulasanam traividyanam antevasinam sthviranam Bhadanta—Caityasanam traividyanam*, Junnar No. 22. (This is Sanskrit rendering of the original Prakrit inscription.—V.V.M.)

² Originally it denoted Brahmanas who had mastered the three Vedas.

³ I, C T. W. L, p. 6.

the absence of the mention of the children of Padumanika as sharer in the merit of her benefaction may also have been due to her being issueless or a child widow.

When nuns were ordained, they could be the disciples either of monks or nuns. The *Vinaya-pitaka* forbids a monk to become a disciple of a nun and our records supply no such instance. Nuns could however become the preceptors of female novices. Thus the nun Padumanika had two female disciples named Bodhi and Asadha-mitra. Kuda inscription No. 24 shows that Pavailika was a disciple of the monk Vijaya, but was herself the preceptor of another nun named Bodhi.

While we get sufficient evidence to understand the monastic organisation of Buddhism, we are quite in the dark about the life of Buddhist laymen and laywomen. Our records refer to several laymen and laywomen, both Indian and non-Indian. But we do not know whether they were organically connected with the monastic order. The Buddha had envisaged no such connection and it appears that the Buddhist laymen and laywomen continued to remain members of the Hindu social order. Thus Kuda inscription No. 15 refers to an Upasika, who is described as the wife of a Brahmana. So even after embracing Buddhism, the converts continued their organic connection with the Hindu social order. Probably they also performed Hindu rituals.

As to Buddhist philosophy of our period, Hinayana was popular in the Deccan, till about 300 A. D. The traditional founder of the *Sunyavada* school was Nagarjuna and he is associated with Paithan, the Satavahana capital and Nagarjunikonda, a great centre of Buddhism in Andhra country. He probably flourished in c. 200 A.D. His pupil Aryadeva composed *Catuhstataka* in c. 250 A.D. Maitreya-natha, the founder of the Yogacara school, flourished in c. 200 A. D. and Asanga and Vasubandhu about 100 years later. Both these flourished in Northern India. The works of these scholars, while maintaining the reality of *Vijnana*, seek to refute the reality of the external world. As the Madhyamika and Yogacara schools hardly exercised any influence on the Buddhism in Western India, during our period, we need not further explain their philosophical stands.

Foreigners and Indian religions.

Let us now try to ascertain the attitude of Indian religions towards the foreigners, who had entered the country as conquerors and settled down as permanent residents. During our period both Hinduism and Buddhism used to convert and absorb all foreigners. The Greeks, the Parthians and the Scythians or the Sakas were the three foreign tribes that had penetrated into Western India, during our period. All of them felt irresistibly attracted to the faiths of the land and became either Buddhists or Hindus. The Western Kshatras had a great attraction towards Hinduism. Nahapana was a Parthian and probably continued allegiance to his ancestral faith. His daughter, Daksamitra, who was married to a Saka named Usavadata, became a Hindu along with her husband. We have a large number of benefactions of Usavadata and they show that he was more inclined to Hinduism than to Buddhism. He no doubt donated a cave to the

monks at Nasik and arranged for their boarding and clothing. But the bulk of his benefactions was in favour of Hinduism. He was in the habit of feeding a lakh of Brahmanas every year ; he had also given them in charity sixteen villages, three lakhs of cows, and thirty-two thousand cocoanut trees. He had undertaken holy pilgrimages to Prabhasa (Somanath) in Kathiavad and Puskara (near Ajmer) in Rajputana. When Brahmanas were receiving such liberal donations from the Sakas, it is no wonder that they readily undertook to act as their priests. A Brahmana named Gajavara of Segrava Gotra was the priest of the Saka ruler Sodasa of Mathura and there can be hardly any doubt that Usavadata and Nahapana never experienced any difficulty in getting a large number of qualified Brahmanas to officiate at their religious functions.

The Sakas, however, were not only accepted as Hindus but orthodox royal families had no objection to enter into matrimonial alliances with them. The Satavahanas were Brahmanas, but the most famous ruler of the dynasty, Gautamiputra Satakarni, who is credited with having stopped a mixture of castes, married one of his sons Vasisthi-putra Satakarni to a daughter of the Saka king Rudradaman in c. 130 A.D. A century later we find the Ikshvaku king Santamula marrying his crown prince Madhariputra Virapurushadatta to Rudradharabhat-tarika, who is described as a daughter of the Maharaja of Ujjayini. The name of the princess and the capital of her father make it clear that she belonged to the Saka dynasty of Ujjayini. It should not be however, supposed that the Sakas had a partiality only for Hinduism ; for our records show that many of them became Buddhists as well. Nasik inscription No. 15, records the donation of Saka laywoman Visnudatta in favour of the monks at Trirasmī hill for their medical relief. Nasik inscription No. 26, records the construction of a cave and water cistern by a Saka named Visnupalita. The names of both these Nasik donors Visnudatta and Visnupalita smack of Hinduism, but their donations are in favour of Buddhism. The donor in Karli inscription No. 20, who excavates a hall is described as Harapharana, son of Setapharana, a native of Abulama. The name of this donor is obviously Parthian ; it is thus clear that some Parthians would often accept Buddhism.

The Yonakas or Yavanas, who appear as donors in several records, were obviously Ionian Greeks, who had settled down in Western India. The Buddhist missionary sent to Northern Konkan by Asoka was also a Greek. In Sindh there was a Greek settlement established at Demetria or Dattamitri, which was founded by the Bactrian king Demetrius in c. 180 B.C. Broach was an international port, where some Greek traders must have come and settled down. According to one view, after conquering Sindh, Apollodotus penetrated to Broach from where he proceeded along the Narmada to Ujjayini. It is quite likely that this invasion may have left some Greek soldiers behind. In the Satavahana period Demetria in Sindh continued to be a centre of Greek population. Nasik inscription No. 13 records the benefaction of Indragnidatta, the son of Dhammadeva, who is expressly described as a Yonaka from Dantamitri, i.e., Dattamitri or Demetria in Sindh. Dhenukakata, probably located near Bombay, was another centre of Greek population. Two Greeks named

Sihadhaya and Dhamma are seen making donations at Karli¹. Two other Greek laymen, Irila and Yavana figure among the donors of Junnar².

Curiously enough there is no instance recorded in our epigraphs of Yavanas having embraced Hinduism as well. But this must be regarded as purely accidental. In the 2nd century B. C, we have the instance of the Greek ambassador at Besnagar becoming a devout Bhagavata and erecting a Garudadhvaja before departing back for his home. There may have been Yavanas in Western India also who felt attracted by the Bhaktimarga of Hinduism. Naturally the Greeks mentioned in votive records in Buddhist caves will be found to be belonging to that faith, rather than to Hinduism.

The followers of the different sects were living in peace and harmony. Both Hinduism and Buddhism knew how to absorb foreigners within their folds. Even balance was kept between Dharma and Moksa on one side and Artha and Kama on the other. Notions of astrology had not yet begun to sway the Hindu mind ; any time was regarded as auspicious for doing a religious or meritorious work. The life in Buddhist monasteries was still simple and the monks and nuns were making strenuous efforts to spread the gospel among the masses. In the realm of philosophy self complacency had not yet become the characteristic of the mental outlook of the leaders of our philosophical thought. They were anxious to examine new theories and movements and re-examine their position in their light. It is in the last two centuries of our period that the conflict of mind with mind and theory with theory began to occur for the first time in right earnest. Philosophical controversies were however carried on with decorum and without acrimony ; the followers of the different religions and sects continued to live in harmony.

EDUCATION, Language and Literature.

It is a matter of regret that we should possess very insufficient data to give an adequate picture of education, language and literature during our period.

We have already shown how several Buddhist monks referred to in our epigraphs are described as Traividya Sthaviras, who had also disciples of the same educational qualifications. It is clear that the Buddhist establishments of our period were gradually developing into modest centres of education, where the Tripitakas and the allied literature were taught, certainly to the monks and nuns and probably to laymen as well. The new Mahayana works of Nagarjuna, Asanga and Vasubandhu had not yet become popular in the Deccan.

Since very early times the private teacher, usually of the Brahmana class, was the pivot of the Hindu system of education. As their livelihood depended not so much upon the uncertain and voluntary fees paid by their students as upon the income which they obtained as priests, they used to flock into *tirthas* or holy places and capitals ; these therefore tended to become centres of Brahmanical education. Nasik on the Godavari and Karhataka (Karhad) on the Krsna were

¹ Karli inscriptions, Nos. 7 and 10.

² Junnar inscriptions, Nos. 5 and 7.

famous Tirthas and they were most probably centres of learning in our period also, as they certainly were in later centuries. Pratisthana, the capital of the Satavahana empire, and Ujjayini, the capital of the Ksatrapas, were also famous centres of education.

Reference is made in one epigraph to several villages being given by Usavadata to Brahmanas. These Brahmana settlements were known as Agrahara villages and they used to become centres of learning, as the Brahmana donees were generally anxious to discharge their traditional duty of teaching in return for the provision made by the state for their livelihood. Unfortunately there is only a passing reference to these Agrahara villages in the records of Usavadata; but the Pandarangapalli grant (c. 000 A.D.), describes the Brahmana donee as the teacher of a hundred Brahmanas¹; we may well presume that similar was the case with other Agrahara donees as well. The Western Ksatrapas were Hindus and lovers of Sanskrit learning. It is quite probable that they may have created several Agrahara villages to promote higher Sanskrit education.

The Vedas,² Puranas and Smrtis, Nyaya and Philosophy were the main topics of study in the Brahmanical centres of education. Classical Sanskrit literature was gradually developing and it must also have been cultivated, especially under the Ksatrapas. Rajasekhara records the tradition that the Satavahanas had made a rule that only Prakrit should be spoken in their court. We may well believe this statement, for all the Satavahana official records are without a single exception in Prakrit. This patronage of Prakrit was probably responsible for making the Maharastri Prakrit most prominent in the country. A lot of literature also must have been produced in that language. The statement of Hala in the *Saptasati* that he selected his 700 stanzas from a crore may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that he had selected his stanzas from the writings of several poets and poetesses. It is really unfortunate that we should have lost so much of lyrical poetry in Maharastri produced in our age.

Rudradaman proudly claims that he was an expert in writing Sanskrit works both in prose and poetry, which were characterised by simplicity, clearness, sweetness, variety and beauty arising from the use of conventional poetic terminology. The specific use of the term *alankṛta* shows that the author was well acquainted with the science of poetics, though works written in Western India on the subject during our period have not been preserved. The Girnar *prasasti* is a good example of a neat *gadya-kavya* or poetic prose. Compounds are preferred to simple words and they often consist of seven to seventeen words. Alliteration is frequently used with considerable skill and effect. Similes are common and the description is often vivid and telling, as for instance of the terrible destruction caused by the collapse of the dam.

¹ Cf. *Brahmanasatamadhyapakasya*, M.A.R., 1929, p. 197. (This reading is uncertain. See the original grant which is being published in E.I.—V.V.M.)

² Brahmanas, Ksatriyas and Vaisyas all performed their Upanayana during our age and were regarded as eligible for Vedic studies. The Upanayana and Vedic studies of women were gradually dying down in our period. Manu permits the formal Upanayana of women, but not Yajñavalkya.

What is more interesting is the fact that Sanskrit poetics was studied by the Prakrit poets also ; it is seen to be considerably influencing their composition. The *prasasti* of Gautamiputra Satakarni engraved in cave No. 2 at Nasik is a fine example of *gadya-kavya* in Prakrit. It begins with a series of long compounds describing the qualities of the king and the extent of his dominion, forming a fairly long sentence. Similies are numerous and effective and alliteration frequent. Objects of comparison are drawn from the epics and Puranas ; king's strength is described as equal to that of Himavat, Meru and Mandara and he is compared to Rama, Krsna, Arjuna and Bhima.

It is clear that the *Kavya* style was cultivated during our period in Western India. Unfortunately, no works have been preserved; the only specimens we get are from epigraphical *prasastis* (eulogies).

The literary activity of our period included the final redaction of the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, but Western India had probably no share in it. Among the poets Asvaghosa, Bhasa, Kalidasa, Sudraka and Visakhadatta, no doubt belonged to our period, but probably not to Western India. Among the Smrtis the present *Manusmrti* was probably composed in c. 200 B.C. and *Yajnavalkya-smrti* in c. 200 A.D. It is not unlikely that the last mentioned Smrti may have been composed in the Deccan. Its advocacy of the proprietary rights of the widow was accepted earlier by the Deccan than by the rest of India.

It was during our period that the decimal system of notation with the place value of zero was discovered in India. Striking progress in astronomy was recorded in the works of Aryabhatta. Considerable Greek influence is noteworthy in the development of this science during the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. It is quite probable that this influence became possible on account of the great commercial activities of the ports of Western India like Broach. It is quite possible that Indian astronomers might have gone to Alexandria from Broach, or that Greek almanac-makers may have come to India with the traders like the author of the *Periplus*. All this is however a mere conjecture. We have no definite information on the point.

The *Carakasamhita* and the *Susrutasamhita* assumed their present form in c. 200 A.D. The medical treatment to the monks in Western India, provision for which is made in some of our cave inscriptions, was probably according to the theories propounded in these works.

CHAPTER 6

THE CALUKYAS OF BADAMI *

THE CALUKYAS OF BADAMI WHO ARE FAMOUS IN HISTORY for evolving a distinctive style of temple architecture, now known as Calukyan architecture, ruled over Maharashtra for a period of well nigh two hundred years. Though Pulakesin I was the first paramount ruler of this dynasty, it was actually Kirtivarman I who established his sway over Maharashtra. The reign of Kirtivarman I began in the year A.D. 566-67 and the last ruler of this dynasty who lost control over Maharashtra soon after A.D. 757 was strangely enough another Kirtivarman, known to historians as Kirtivarman II.

There are various theories regarding the origin of the Calukyas. The epigraphical records of the period when the Calukyas first emerge into prominence do not say anything about their original home. Nor do we find any contemporary literary works which give us any clue to this. However, inscriptions of the later members of this family, known to historians as the Calukyas of Kalyani and the Calukyas of Vengi, as also some literary works of their period contain some traditional accounts of their origin. Some of them — mentioned here — would illustrate that these accounts not only differed from one another but were also fanciful inventions.

The Calukyas trace their descent to an original home at Ayodhya claiming their ancestry from the Moon. For example, the Kauthem plates¹ of Vikramaditya V (A.D. 1009) state that there ruled at Ayodhya fifty-nine kings of the Calukya family. After these, sixteen more kings ruled over the southern region. Subsequently their power was eclipsed temporarily but eventually their might was restored by Jayasirhha I.

Similar accounts are found in the Miraj plates of Jayasirhha II (A.D. 1024)², the Yevur inscription of Vikramaditya VI (A.D. 1077)³ and the Nilgunda plates⁴ of the same king. The Kannada poet

* This chapter is contributed by Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Nagpur.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 309 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 274 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 150 ff.

Ranna who was a contemporary of the later Calukya king Taila II (A.D. 973-997) states in his great poem ¹ also that one of the ancestors of the Calukya rulers reigned at Ayodhya.

According to another legendary account given in some other inscriptions, the Calukya race was descended from the Moon, who was descended from Atri, who was descended from Brahma. A third account — also found in an inscription — tells us that Hiranya-garbha-Brahma was born from the lotus in Visnu's navel. Hiranyagarbha-Brahma's son was Manu and Manu's son was Mandavya, whose son was Harita. Harita's son was Hariti-Pancasikha from whose *culuka* (or hollow of the palms) the Calukyas were born when he was pouring out an offering of water to the gods². The reference to this origin of the progenitor of the Calukya race from the *culuka* is also found in Bilhana's (the court poet of the later Calukya king Vikramaditya VI, who ruled from A.D. 1076 to 1126) *Vikramankadevacarita*, where the details are somewhat different. Here it is from Brahma's *culuka* that a powerful warrior was born from whom descended the Calukyas. The story states that when Brahma was engaged in his *sandhya* oblations, India requested him to create a warrior to put an end to the godlessness on earth. At this request Brahma looked at his *culuka* and the warrior referred to above suddenly sprang up³.

Almost an identical account of the original ancestor of the Calukyas is also found in an inscription of the Calukyas of Anhilvad⁴. It states that when Brahma was churning his *culuka*, viz., the ocean, a warrior whom he named Calukya sprang forth ready to obey his commands.

The account in the records of the Eastern Calukyas of Vengi⁵ contains some striking variations from the information given in the records of the Kalyani branch of the family. After tracing the genealogy from Brahma through the Moon and through mythical personages like Pururavas and Ayu, it goes on to mention two kings Satanika and Udayana; and this Udayana was the first of the fifty nine rulers who ruled in uninterrupted succession at Ayodhya. After these rulers a certain king of this dynasty called Vijayaditya went to the southern region in order to conquer it. But unfortunately after defeating the king Trilocana-Pallava, he died. His queen, who was pregnant at this time, took shelter in the residence of a saintly Brahmana called Visnubhatta-Somayajin at the *agrhara* of Mudivemu, where she gave birth to a son named Visnuvardhana. She brought him up performing all the rites that were suitable to his descent from the Manavyas and the Hariti-putras. The prince, when

¹ *Gadayuddha*, Asvasa 2.

² Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 339.

³ Benares Sarasvatibhavana edition, *Sarga* 1, verses 39-57.

⁴ Surat Plates of Trilocanapala of A.D. 1051, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.

⁵ See, for example, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

he grew into manhood, worshipped Nanda, the blessed Gauri, on the Calukya mountain and having propitiated the gods Kumara, Narayana and the assemblage of the Divine Mothers, assumed the insignia of sovereignty. He then conquered the Kadamba, Ganga and other princes and ruled over Dakshinapatha (the southern country) comprising seven and a half lakh villages and hamlets. The son of this Visnuvardhana and of his great queen, who was born of the Pallava race, was Vijayaditya. At this point we come to the real historical personage Pulakesi-Vallabha who is introduced as the son of this Vijayaditya.

Evidently all these stories originated round about the 10th century A.D., when the real significance of the name of the family — variously spelt as Caliki, Calki, Salki, Calkya, Calikya, Calukya, Calukika and so on — had been forgotten. And the earliest account of the original home of the Calukyas being Ayodhya appears only in records of the 11th century, *i.e.*, nearly five centuries after the founding of the Calukya kingdom. Moreover, the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty do not lay claim to an Ayodhyan origin. Apparently these fanciful stories and genealogies were concocted round about the 10th century A.D. when it was the fashion among many of the southern ruling families to draw up mythical and fabulous genealogies in order to give their families respectability. These genealogies are mostly fabrications until we come up to the authentic historical personages.

But there are quite a few sound reasons to believe that the Calukyas of Badami are of Kannada stock. Firstly, there is the reference in Rastrakuta inscriptions¹ to the invincible Karnataka army which had attained great glory by defeating the mighty monarchs Sri-Harsa and Vajrata and by defeating which the Rastra-kutas obtained the kingdom of the Calukyas. This would show that the Calukya army was known as the Karnataka army and that the Calukyas were renowned as Karnatakas, *i.e.*, of Kannada origin. Secondly, there is the fact that the names of some of the rulers of this family end in a typical Kannada regal suffix *arasa*, standing for the Sanskrit word *raja* (king). For example we have the name of Kirtivarman I being given as Katti-arasa even in a Sanskrit inscription issued by him². The Satara plates (which will be noticed later) of Kubja-Visnuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakesin II, give the name of Kubja-Visnuvardhana as Bittarasa on the seal of the grant. The Manor plates of Vinayaditya Mangalarasa of the Gujarat branch of this family dated Saka 613, which are also in Sanskrit, give the name of this prince as Mangalarasaraja³. The Adur inscription of

¹ Talegaum Plates of Krishna I, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275 ff; Samangad Plates of Dantidurga, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff. and Pimpri Plates of Dharavarsa Dhruva raja, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. :—

Kanciisa-Kerala-naradhupa-Cola-Pandya-sri-Harsa-Vajrata-vibheda-vidh a n as daksam Karnatakam balam=anantam=ajeyam-anyair = bhytyaih kiyadbhir=api yah sagasa jigaya.

² Godachi plates *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.

Kirtivarman II mentions his name as Kirtivarmmarasa¹. Finally the Dasavatara Cave inscription at Ellora mentions Dantidurga as having conquered Vallabharasa², i.e., the Calukya king. These name endings would show beyond any doubt that the Calukyas were of Kannada origin considering the fact that the suffix *arasa* appears even in Sanskrit inscriptions.

The third reason, which is stronger than the first two, is that not only the name endings but that even some of the names are purely Kannada. We have the first paramount ruler of this dynasty bearing the name Polekesi and this form of the name is the one found in the earliest inscriptions of this dynasty, though we find other forms like Polikesi, Pulekesi, Pulakesi, Pulikesi and Polakesi in some inscriptions. Various explanations have been offered regarding the etymology of this word. Most of these explanations take the first half of the word to be *puli*, meaning “tiger” in Kannada and the second half to be Sanskrit *kesin* meaning “haired”, the two halves making the meaning “tiger-haired” or “having a coat of short, thick and close hair like that of a tiger”³. A verse in the Kauthem plates would suggest that the name signifies “one by hearing whose name the hair of the hearers stand on end as with joy”, by connecting the first part of the name with the Sanskrit word *pulaka* (horripilation)⁴. One scholar derives the first half of the word from the Sanskrit root *pul* meaning “to grow” or “to be great” and takes *kesin* to mean a lion and explains the whole word as “the great lion”⁵.

But the earliest form of the name is Polekesi and, as suggested by Fleet,⁶ is in all probability the original form. And it is worth noting that it is this form which even Kielhorn has adopted⁷. So an attempt is made here to interpret this original form Polekesi. *Pole* in Kannada means impurity of child-birth, i.e., of the natal chamber, and in Kannada the word *kesi* as a shortened form of Kesava is found not only in literature but also in inscriptions. For example, the author of the famous Kannada grammar *Sabdamani-darpana* is Kesiraja and he also calls himself Kesava. In one of the inscriptions⁸ an officer of the Kalacuri monarch Bijjala is called by the alternative names of Kesava, Kesiraja and Kesimayya. An inscription of the Calukya king Somesvara I mentions a general named Kesava-gavunda, who is also referred to therein as Kesi-gavunda and Kesi-raj⁹. So the expression Polekesi can be taken to mean “he who was like Kesava, i.e., Lord Krsna (in his prowess) even in the natal chamber”. And we know that according to the *Puranas* Lord

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 376.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 29, f.n. 1.

³ Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343, f.n. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.* The Miraj plates etc. also give this verse.

⁵ “*The Hindu*” *Weekly Magazine*, April 2, 1961, p. I.

⁶ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343, f.n. 5.

⁷ *Supplement to the List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 1-2.

⁸ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 473.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 82.

Krsna exhibited superhuman qualities even in the natal chamber. Evidently this ruler was given the name Polekesi because he showed extraordinary qualities like Lord Kesava or Krsna even from the time of his birth. Accordingly we are led to the unexceptionable conclusion that this name is a Kannada word meaning “one who resembled Krsna in prowess from babyhood”. And this name Polekesi, as explained here, is quite appropriate in the case of one who was the real founder of the Calukyan kingdom and even more appropriate in the case of his famous grandson, the great Pulakesin II, who struck terror even in the heart of the mighty monarch of the north, Harsavardhana. [However, Pulakesin is the form of the name used by historians for these two monarchs, and so this form is adopted in the following pages for the sake of uniformity.]

The name of another prince of this family also shows the Kannada origin of this family. Kirtivarman I, the son of Pulakesin I, calls himself Katti-arasa in his Godaci plates¹ which are entirely in Sanskrit. *Katti* is a purely Kannada word meaning “sword” and *arasa* (Sanskrit *raja*), as already explained, means “king”. So Kirtiraja (by which name Kirtivarman calls himself in some inscriptions) is apparently a Sanskritised form of Katti-arasa. This name Katti-arasa or Kattiyara seems to have been quite common in the Calukya family.

Yet another name in this family indicative of a Kannada origin is Bittarasa, borne by the ruler Visnuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakesin II. As pointed out above, this form of the name Bittarasa is found on the seal of the Satara plates² of A.D. 617-18 and there can be no doubt that Visnuvardhana is the Sanskrit form of Bittarasa. It may be noted in this connection that another king of the Kannada country *i.e.*, the Hoysala king Visnuvardhana was better known as Bittiga or Bittideva which are only variants of Bittarasa. Bitta is only the Kannada form of Visnu and the fact that the prince used the Kannada form of his name—and not the Sanskrit form—on his seal proves that he belonged to the Kannada country.

Another reason which may be adduced to prove that the Calukyas belonged to the Karnataka country is that some of their inscriptions found even in the Tamil and Telugu countries are in Kannada. For example, the inscription of the king Vikramaditya II found at Kancipuram³ in the Tamil country is written entirely in the Kannada script and language. An inscription of Vijayaditya⁴ of this family found at Danavulapadu in the Kuddappah district (Andhra Pradesh) is also written in the Kannada language. This fact would

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

⁴ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, No. 49.

show the intense love which they had for their Kannada language thereby indicating their Kannada origin.

There is yet another piece of evidence to support this conclusion. The Vemulavada inscription¹ (10th century) of Arikesarin II—who belonged to a branch of this family and who was the patron of the famous Kannada poet Pampa—gives to this ruler some titles which are in Kannada, e.g., *noduttegelvom* and *priyagallam* though the inscription itself is in Sanskrit.

According to the preambles found in their inscriptions the Calukyas are said to be princes, who belonged to the *Manavya-gotra*; who were Haritiputras (descendants of Harita) ; who were nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the mothers of the seven worlds ; who acquired uninterrupted prosperity through the protection of lord Karttikeya; who obtained through the favour of god Narayana the boar crest even at the sight of which all kings were subjugated. The grants issued by the Eastern Calukya branch of this family state that the Calukyas acquired their kingdom through the favour of the goddess Kausiki. Though in the western Calukya records the acquisition of the kingdom is not attributed to the favour of Kausiki, in one² of them it is stated that the Calukyas were brought up by Kausiki and were anointed by the Seven Mothers. We also learn from inscriptions that the banner of the Calukyas was the *pali-dhvaja*.

These preambles very closely resemble those of the Kadambas of Banavasi excepting for the reference to the boar crest. Evidently the Calukyas, who were the political successors of the Kadambas, borrowed practically the whole preamble found in Kadamba records. Moreover, the fact that the Calukyas also claim descent from the same ancestors as the Kadambas, and that they were having the same tutelary deities, would even indicate that the Calukyas belonged to the same stock as the Kadambas to whose fortunes they succeeded.

The main authentic sources for the history of the Calukyas are inscriptions, though scattered references are available elsewhere. Among these references are the vivid accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang who travelled in India between the years A.D. 629 and 645 in the kingdoms of Pulakesin II and Harsavardhana. We then have a Persian chronicle giving an account of the time of Khusru II of Persia which says that there was an exchange of presents and letters between the Persian monarch and Pulakesin II. And we also have some information in later literature of the 10th and 11th centuries. But as stated at the outset, the authentic sources are, by and large, inscriptions.

¹ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XLV, p. 226(a).

² Lohaner plates of Pulakesin II, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 37.

The earliest mention of this family is found in one of the Prakrt inscriptions¹ of about the third century A.D. of the Ikshvaku family at Nagarjunikonda (Guntur district, Andhra Pradesh) where the word *Caliki* appears as part of a compound personal name *Khanda-caliki-Remmanaka*. This person is described as a *Mahasenapati* and *Mahatalavara*, which have been taken to be titles denoting a high dignitary. The next reference, in point of time, to this family is in the Badami inscription² of Vallabhesvara (i.e., Pulakesin I) of A.D. 543, where the king describes himself as a *Calikya*. However, the first prince mentioned in genealogies given in the inscriptions of this dynasty is Jayasirhha.

JAYASIMHA.

Strangely enough so far we have no inscriptions of Jayasirhha, and all that we know of him is from the inscriptions of some of his successors. For instance, in the Aihole inscription³ of Pulakesin II, Jayasimha is described as a very brave warrior, but no specific exploit of his is mentioned. In inscriptions of the 11th century, however, he is described as having founded the kingdom of the Calukyas, after defeating the Rastrakuta prince Indra, son of Krsna⁴. But we do not know of any Rastrakuta princes bearing these names at the beginning of the 6th century to which period Jayasirhha can be assigned. Further not much credence can be given to the information contained in inscriptions of the 11th century about the achievements of a prince of the 6th century especially when the contemporary records are totally silent about any such achievement. It may be noted, however, that a Rastrakuta chief called Dejjamaharaja was ruling about the sixth century somewhere near Gokak (Belgaon district, Mysore State)⁵. Even if the statements of the later inscriptions, namely that the Calukyas defeated the Rastrakutas before they became independent should be accepted, we cannot say whether this Dejjamaharaja was related to Krsna or Indra; and if he were related, the exact nature of the relationship cannot also be ascertained.

RANARAGA.

Of Jayasimha's son Ranaraga, the Mahakuta pillar inscription⁶ of Mangalesa states that "by (his) fondness for war (he) elicited the affection of his own people and caused vexation of mind to (his) enemies". We do not know who these enemies were. Apparently this is just conventional praise. And the Aihole inscription bestows similar conventional eulogies on this prince.

As Ranaraga's son Pulakesin I is known to have performed the *Asvamedha* sacrifice signifying that he was the paramount ruler, he appears to have been the first independent ruler of this family. Further the fact that he was the first prince of this dynasty to call

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol., XXVII, p. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 1 .

⁴ See, for instance, *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 289.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7.

himself *Maharaja* is another proof of his suzerainty. Evidently his father and grandfather viz., Ranaraga and Jayasimha were feudatories, probably of the Kadambas.

PULAKESHIN I

As stated above the first independent ruler of this dynasty was Pulakesin I. In the Aihole inscription he is stated to have acquired the town of Vatapi (modern Badami, Bijapur district, Mysore State) which became the Calukya capital and thus he was the real founder of the Calukya kingdom. However, the circumstances under which this kingdom was founded are not set forth anywhere. But as Vatapi lay apparently in the dominions of the Kadambas, it may be taken that the Calukyas, who presumably were the feudatories of the Kadambas, acquired a kingdom of their own by appropriating a part of the Kadamba dominion when the latter became weak. The Badami inscription¹ of Pulakesin I — which is the only available inscription of his reign dated Saka 465 (A.D. 543)—calls him Vallabhesvara and says that he fortified Vatapi. It also states that he performed the *Asvamedha* and other sacrifices according to Vedic rites and that he celebrated the *mahadana* of Hiranyagarbha. The Mahakuta pillar inscription² also credits him with the performance of this *mahadana* in addition to *Agnistoma*, *Vajapeya*, *Paundarika Bahusuvana* and *Asvamedha* sacrifices. The fact that he performed so many principal sacrifices indicates his paramountcy. In the Nerur copper—plate inscription of Mahgalesa³ Pulakesin is stated to have been acquainted with *Manudharmasastra*, the *Puranas*, the *Ramayana*, and the *Bharata (Mahabharata)*. He assumed the significant title of *Satyasraya*, the asylum of truth, which became a distinctive title of the rulers of this dynasty and was assumed by almost all of his successors. Though he was such a powerful ruler and wielded great authority, we have no specific information about any of his conquests or the extent of his dominions. He had also the titles of *Ranavikrama* and *Sripurthivivallabha*.

He had married Princess Durlabhadevi of the Batpura family and he seems to have had another wife named Indukanti⁴. He had two sons named Kirtivarman and Mahgalesa. As Mahgalesa in his Mahakuta pillar inscription refers to Durlabhadevi as his father's wife (*sva-guru-patni*), it is probable that Durlabhadevi was his step-mother.

Besides the Badami stone inscription mentioned already there are two copper-plate records which purport to have been issued

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 8. This inscription is the earliest record which gives date in the Saka era.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 356.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 161.

⁴ See Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, text-line 3. The word Indukanti has been taken to be a general epithet of Pulakesin I, meaning "he who had the brightness of the moon", However it seems more appropriate to take Indukanti to mean the name of his wife for in that case the *virodhabhasa* contained in the verse would be better brought out. Indukanti is taken by J. Dubreuil to refer to the name of a city. (*Ancient History of Deccan*, p. 11).

during his reign. But since they have been found to be spurious, they are not of any historical value¹.

KIRTIVARMAN I.

Pulakesin I was succeeded by his elder son, *Kirtivarman I*. Two inscriptions of his time have been found, both of them dated in the twelfth year of his reign. One of them is on copper-plates, while the other is engraved on stone. Since the latter² says that the twelfth year of his reign corresponded to Saka 500 (*i.e.*, A.D. 578) the first year of his reign would be A.D. 566-67. According to Kirtivarman's copper-plate inscription,³ he vanquished all his rival kinsmen (*dayada*) by diplomacy and valour and was ruling his subjects in accordance with the code of conduct pertaining to different castes and religious orders, and was keeping them pleased and happy. This inscription also gives him the purely Kannada form of his name, Kattiarasa, though the inscription itself is in Sanskrit.

The Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa credits Kirtivarman with victory over the rulers of Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Vattura, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala Ganga, Musaka, Pandya, Dramila, Coliya, Aluka, Vijayanti etc. Though it is impossible to believe that he could have conquered all the northern kingdoms mentioned here, his success over the rulers of the south and south-west may be regarded as fairly authentic, as some of them like the conquest of Vijayanti have been corroborated by the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II which states that Kirtivarman was "the night of doom" to the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas. The Kadambas were the rulers of Banavasi (also known as Vijayanti) and the surrounding country in the present Mysore State. As this inscription states that Kirtivarman inflicted utter defeat on groups of Kadambas, it is evident that there were several branches of the Kadambas all of which he crushed. And we know from the Kadamba records themselves that there were at least two, if not three such branches ruling independently.

The Nalas were ruling in parts of the present Madhya Pradesh (Bastar), Orissa (Jeypore) and Vidarbha. Their inscriptions have been found at Podagadh and Kesaribeda (Koraput district, Orissa). One of their copper-plates⁴ was issued from Nandivardhana identified with Nagardhan near Ramtek (Nagpur district) and mentions the grant of the village of Kadambagiri, identified with Kalamba in the Yeotmal district. A hoard of gold coins of this family was discovered at Edenga⁵, a village in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. It is known from inscriptions that the Mauryas were ruling in Konkan. The Coliya, Pandya, Dramila and Kerala kingdoms are too well known to require any identification. The Musaka territory comprised parts of modern Kerala and the Alukas (Alupas) were

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii., p. 344, note 6.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 305, Vol. V, p. 363.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

⁵ *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. I, pp. 29 ff.

ruling over parts of South Kanara district (Mysore State). The Gangas were reigning in south Mysore with their capital at Talakad (Mysore district). Thus Kirtivarman was the first king of this dynasty to have established his sway over parts of the present Maharashtra State. He was a great patron of art and perhaps he was the first to adopt the Buddhist rock-cut temple architecture to Hindu shrines. His stone inscription which is found in the Vaisnava cave at Badami¹ states that his brother Mangalesvara got made under his orders a temple of Visnu (Visnu-grha) and installed in it the image of Visnu and granted village of Lanjisvara (modern Nandi-kesvara near Badami) for meeting the expenses connected with the worship and offerings at the temple. Evidently this temple is the magnificent cave temple at Badami, 'containing admirable reliefs of Visnu seated on Ananta and Narasimha'. The record is dated in Saka 500, the 12th year of the king's prosperous reign on the full-moon day of the month of Kartika (31st October, A.D. 578). In this connection it is worth noting that it may be inferred from the Ciplun copper-plate inscription of Pulakesin II² that he (Kirtivarman) beautified the town of Vatapi.

Like his illustrious father he too performed the sacred sacrifices of *Bahusuvarna* and *Agnistoma*. He bore the titles *Ranaparakrama*, *Puru-Ranaparakrama* and *Satyasraya*(?). Sritvallabha Senanandaraja of the Sendraka family is mentioned in the Ciplun copper-plates as the maternal uncle of Pulakesin II, son of Kirtivarman I. So Kirti-varman's wife must have been a Sendraka princess, though we do not know her name. He had two sons named Pulakesin and Visnu-vardhana. Two spurious copper-plate grants³ mention two other sons of his named Dharasraya Jayasimhavarman and Buddhavarasa, but since their names are not found anywhere else, we cannot be sure whether he had these two sons or not.

MANGALESHA

His younger brother *Mangalesa*, succeeded him, as Kirtivarman's eldest son, Pulakesin was evidently too young to ascend the throne. The Mahakuta pillar inscription cites the cyclic year *Siddhartha* as the fifth year of his prosperous reign. This year corresponds to A.D. 601-02 and so Mangalesa must have begun to rule in A.D. 597-98.

Mangalesa was a great warrior and is described in the Aihole inscription as having led successful campaigns to the limits of the eastern and western seas. Evidently in one such campaign to the west he conquered Revati-dvipa which has been identified with modern Redi, a fortified promontory about eight miles from Vehgurla in the Ratnagiri district. The Mahakuta pillar inscription tells us that Mangalesa "having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered king Buddha and took possession of all

¹ *Intl. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 305: Vol. VI, p 368 and Vol. X, pp. 57-48.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III p. 51

³ *Ind. Ant* , Vol. IX, p. 124 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV., p 144.

his wealth “. From his undated Nerur copper-plates¹ we learn that this Buddha (Buddharaja) was the son of Sankaragana and the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II states that Mangalesa “took in marriage the damsel, viz., the Fortune of the Kataccuris having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary) with hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers”. All these put together show clearly that this Buddharaja, son of Sankaragana, was the Kalacuri monarch who reigned in the first quarter of the seventh century. This victory over Buddharaja must have taken place before 601-02, which is the date of the Mahakuta pillar inscription, which also states that Mangalesa had an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory on the Bhagirathi. But apparently he could not proceed beyond the Kalacuri dominions because he had to turn his attention towards quelling the rebellion of Svamiraja of the Calukya family who, according to the Nerur copper-plates, was killed by Mangalesa. Though this Svamiraja is described as belonging to the Calukya family, we have no means of ascertaining the exact relationship between him and the members of the ruling family. The Nerur copper-plates describe this Svamiraja as a great warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and possibly Mangalesa had to kill him because he would not bow down to the Calukya monarch. These plates record that Mangala-*raja* (Mangalesa) granted the village of Kundivataka in *Konkana-visaya*. This village has been identified with Kundi in Sangamesvar Taluka, Ratnagiri District,² or with Kudal about three and a half miles north-east of Nerur³.

Since Buddharaja mentioned above continued to rule till about A.D. 610, it may be surmised that he retrieved his possessions as soon as Mangalesa's attention was diverted towards troubles at home. So Mangalesa, who had the lofty ambition of carrying his conquests upto the Bhagirathi, had to content himself with erecting a *dharmastambha* (pillar of religion) at Mahakuta. Mangalesa's reign ended in disaster and he lost his life in the civil war which ensued between him and his nephew Pulakesin (who became later on Pulakesin II) who, as stated in his Aihole inscription, had to fight his own uncle Mangalesa who had tried to install on the Calukya throne his own son ignoring the lawful claims of Pulakesin. As it is known from inscriptions that the reign of Pulakesin II commenced in the year A.D. 610-11, Mangalesa must have died before this date.

We do not know the name of Mangalesa's son for whose sake he is stated to have made attempts to alienate the throne from the rightful heir, Pulakesin II. Mangalesa had the titles of *Ranavikranta* and *Uru-Ranavikranta*.

PULAKESHIN II.

As already stated, *Pulakesin*, who succeeded Mangalesa, had to wrest the throne from his uncle after a hard fight. In the Aihole inscription it is stated that Pulakesin went into exile, when he came to know the machinations of his uncle to secure the throne for his son;

¹ *Ind. And.*, Vol. VII, p. 161.

² *Bom. Gaz.*; Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 348 n.

³ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol IV, p. xlviii n.

and by wise counsel and prowess he crushed his uncle. His Koppar'am copper-plate inscription¹ is dated on the *Mahanavami* day in the month of Karttika in the twentyfirst year of his reign. Sewell has reckoned this date² as equivalent to 10th October, A.D. 631 and he considers that accordingly the accession of Pulakesin should have taken place on or after 11th October, A.D. 610. In this king's Goa copper-plates³ Satyasraya Dhruvaraja Indravarman of the Bappura family — evidently the same as the Batpura family to which his grandmother i.e., wife of Pulakesin I belonged — is reported to have made a grant on the full-moon day of the month of Magha in the Saka year 532 while ruling Revatidvipa and other regions as a subordinate of Pulakesin II. As the equivalent of this date in the Christian era works out to 5th January, A.D. 611, Pulakesin must have ascended the throne between these two dates i.e., 11th October, A.D. 610 and 5th January A.D. 611. At the time of his accession the Calukya kingdom, which had been vastly enlarged by the additions made by his father and uncle, had become engulfed in chaos and confusion owing to revolts and uprisings on all sides. A graphic account of how he put down the rebels and other enemies, and established order in his dominions is given in the Aihole inscription. First of all he is stated to have encountered two chieftains named Appayika and Govinda, who tried to overrun Pulakesin's territories north of the Bhimarathi with a huge army of elephants. One of them terrified at Pulakesin's might fled from the field, while the other was won over by Pulakesin, who then turned his attention towards the wealthy city of Vanavasi on the banks of the Varada, laid siege to it and captured it. Evidently, the Kadambas, the rulers of Vanavasi, who had formerly been the feudatories of the Calukyas had revolted during the period of confusion following the death of Mangalesa ; and Pulakesin had therefore to resubjugate. After this exploit he subdued the Ganga and Alupa rulers, who submitted to him meekly. It has already been noticed that the Alupas and Gangas were subordinates of the Calukyas even during the reign of his father, Kirtivarman I. It looks as though every subordinate of the Calukyas had taken advantage of the chaos and confusion following Mangalesa's demise and had tried to declare himself independent. So Pulakesin had the herculean task of reconquering them all. In addition to the Kadambas, the Alupas and the Gangas, he had to reduce the Mauryas of Konkan also to submission and capture Puri (probably their capital) with the assistance of his fleet of innumerable ships. Puri has been described as " the fortune of the Western Seas " and has been identified variously with Elephanta near Bombay or Rajapuri in Kolaba District, Rajapur in Ratnagiri District, or Thana⁴. Seeing the invincible might of Pulakesin, the Latas, the Malavas and the Gurjaras voluntarily became his feudatories. Apparently at this time Harsa was trying to expand his dominions by invading the Deccan. This infuriated Pulakesin whose authority had by now

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 257.

² *Ibid.*, p. 261.

³ *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 365.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 284.

extended up to the river Mahi and consequently the forces of these two mighty rulers met in battle in the region of the river Reva in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas. In this battle Pulakesin inflicted a crushing defeat on the great Harsa destroying his army of innumerable elephants.

By these numerous victories Pulakesin acquired the sovereignty over the three Maharastrakas with their 99,000 villages. The three Maharastrakas mentioned here do not denote any specific geographical areas but 'the three great administrative divisions' of his dominions. The expression *Maharastraka-traya* is to be taken in its literal sense of the three great administrative divisions of his kingdom (*Maha* — big or great, *rostra* = administrative division). It is well known that the word *rastra* occurs in the sense of administrative division in innumerable inscriptions. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that in the *Ramayana*¹ of Valmiki, King Dasaratha is described as *Maharastra-vivardhana* i.e., one who increased the prosperity of his extensive country. Evidently the word *Maharastra* here refers to Dasaratha's own large kingdom in general and not to any specific geographical unit of India. That the word *Maharastra* is used in the sense of an "area bigger than a *rastra*" becomes clear from cognate expressions like *nadu*, *Mahanadu*; (*nadu* = assembly; *mahanadu* = a big assembly) *grama mahagrama*; *agrahara*, *Mahagra-hara*. Thus it would be most appropriate to take the word *Maharastraka-traya* to mean the three great administrative divisions of Pulakesin's dominions, of which the present Maharashtra no doubt formed a part.

The victory over Harsa was the most noteworthy of all his victories since it was a victory over a great monarch who was the supreme lord of the whole of Northern India. This outstanding achievement of Pulakesin's was prized so highly by his successors, that it finds a prominent mention in their records. They proclaim that Pulakesin acquired the title of *Paramesvara* after defeating. 'Harsavardhana, the lord of the whole of *Uttarapatha* (Northern India).' In contrast to this Pulakesin calls himself 'the lord of *Daksinapatha*'² (Southern India). There are differences of opinion among scholars as to the date of the conflict between the two great monarchs of the time — Harsa and Pulakesin. The Hyderabad copper-plate inscription of A.D. 613, says that Pulakesin acquired the title of *Paramesvara* by defeating a hostile king who had devoted himself to the contest of a hundred battles³. It has been noted above that records of Pulakesin's successors state that he acquired this title by defeating

¹ *Balakanda*, Sarga 5, v. 9.

² Yekkeri rock inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 7-8.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73 ; *samara-Sata-sanghatta-samsakta-para-nripati-parajay-opalabdha-paramesvar-para-namadheyah*. The relevant passage in inscriptions of Pulakesin's successors is : *samara-samsakta-sakala-uttara-patha-esvara-sri-Har'savardhana-purajaya-upalabdha pa-Paramesvara-apara-namdheyasya*.

The similarity between these is eloquent.

Harsa. So some scholars think that the conflict mentioned in all these records refer to Pulakesin's war with Harsa. Hence these scholars consider that this conflict took place before A.D. 613 *i.e.*, in the first three or four years of his reign. Others think that because the defeat of Harsa is not mentioned in his Lohaner plates¹ of 630 A.D., Pulakesin was too busy with his domestic troubles to pit his strength against Harsa till A.D. 630 and hence the great conflict could have taken place only after A.D. 630. But we cannot so easily brush aside the definite statements found in his own son's records that 'Pulakesin acquired the title of Paramesvara after defeating Harsa', and as stated above, the first mention of the acquisition of the title *Paramesvara* is in Pulakesin's inscription of A.D. 613. And it is not quite safe to assume that as Pulakesin's Lohaner Plates of A.D. 630, are silent about this conflict, it could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 630. There are quite a few instances where a particular event, which is not mentioned in a record of a particular date had actually-taken place earlier than the date cited in the record. For example, the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the Calukya king Vinayaditya's (grandson of Pulakesin II) subjugation of the Pallavas, Kalabhras and others is mentioned in his Jejuri plates² of the ninth year of his reign, though it is not mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the eleventh year of his reign. Till the discovery of the Jejuri plates it was thought that this subjugation took place only after the eleventh year. And there is nothing inherently impossible in a powerful monarch of the calibre of Pulakesin punishing the defection of his feudatories and stemming the tide of Harsa's invasion of the Calukyan territories within the first few years of his reign.

After describing the victories mentioned above, the Aihole inscription proceeds to narrate Pulakesin's campaigns against the countries of Kosala and Kalinga, whose rulers were the first to bow down to the might of his arms. Kalinga was probably ruled by the early Eastern Gangas at that time and Kosala by the Somavamsi kings. He then stormed the inaccessible fortress of Pistapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh), the ruler of which was possibly Prthivimaharaja of the Rana-Durjaya family. He then marched towards the banks of the Kunala lake (Kolleru lake in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) where a fierce battle took place in which he won a resounding victory. His opponents in this battle were apparently the Visnukundins.

Proceeding further south he inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of the Pallavas, who was forced to 'vanish behind the walls of Kancipuri'. The Pallava monarch at this time was Mahendra-varman I, who in the Pallava inscriptions is described as having inflicted an utter defeat on his principal foes at Pullalura about fifteen miles north of the Pallava capital Kanci. This evidently refers to the conflict with Pulakesin. Pulakesin then crossed the river Kaveri with a view to conquering the Colas but apparently made them as well as the Keralas and Pandyas his joyous allies.

¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVII p. 37.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 63.

After thus conquering all the four quarters i.e., the land between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea on the one hand and the Indian ocean and the Narmada on the other, he returned to his capital Vatapi (Badami) in triumph. And to administer this vast empire he appointed some of his trusted kinsmen to act as governors at some strategic points. He appointed his younger brother Kubja-Visnuvardhana as *Yuvaraja* and placed him in charge of the territory on the East Coast i.e., the Vengi country. Later on Pulakesin seems to have allowed him to rule independently over this tract and so Kubja-Visnuvardhana became the founder of the dynasty known to historians as the Eastern Calukyas of Vengi. Before his appointment as governor of the Vengi country (which probably took place in A.D. 624) he was in charge of the Satara region; for according to the Satara plates¹ of Visnuvardhana dated in the eighth year of the reign of Pulakesin II (i.e., A.D. 617-18), Visnuvardhana made a grant of the village of Alandatirtha on the south bank of the Bhimarathi. This village has been indentified with Alanda, thirty-five miles north of Satara. Probably he was also ruling over the region of Acalapura (modern Acalpur, Amravati District) according to the Sanskrit work '*Avantisundarikatha*'².

Another relative of his named Satyasraya Dhruvaraja Indravarman of the Bappura family to which his grandmother (Kirtivarman's mother) belonged was placed in charge of the Revati-dvipa and the surrounding country, for according to the Goa plates of this Indravarman dated Saka 532 (A. D. 610-11) he (Indravarman) made a grant of the village of Karellika in Khetahara (Khetahara has been identified with the Khed Taluka in Ratnagiri District). This inscription is dated in the twentieth year of the reign which has been rightly taken by Fleet to be that of Dhruvaraja Indravarman. So the first year of his rule was A.D. 590-91; but we do not know whether he began to rule on this date, from which he counts regnal years³.

A third kinsman, Srivallabha Senanandaraja of the Sendraka family—Pulakesin's maternal uncle—was placed in charge of the region round about Ciplun in South Konkan. We know from the Ciplun copper-plates of Pulakesin that Srivallabha Senanandaraja of the Sendraka family made a grant of the village Amravataka in Avaretika-visaya, which is possibly modern Arhbolli near Ciplun.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 309.

² *Avantisundarikathasara*, ed. by G. Harihara Shastri, Summary of Contents, p. 1. (*Supplement to Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XXV).

³ Since A. D. 590-91 fell in the reign of Kirtivarman, Fleet thought that Kirtivarman appointed him (Dhruvaraja Indravarman) as the governor of his possessions in Konkan as we find him stationed in A. D. 610-11 in Revati-dvipa (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii p. 345). But according to the Aihole inscription it was Mangalesa who conquered Revati-dvipa. Dr. Mirashi, however, conjectures that Mangalesa appointed Indravarman as governor of Revati-dvipa about A.D. 601-02 (*C. I. I.* Vol. IV, p. XLVIII n.); but Dhruvaraja Indravarman counted his regnal years from A. D. 590-91.

The Kaira Plates¹ of Vijayaraja son of Buddhavarman, who was the son of Jayasimharaja of the Calukya family, would show that he was in charge of the Kaira region, where he made a grant in A.D. 643 of the village of Pariyaya (modern Pariya in the Olpad Taluka, Surat District). It has been considered that he had been in charge of this region under Pulakesin II after his conquest of Lata². But this appears to be a spurious grant and hence no credence can be given to the historical information contained in it.

The fame of Pulakesin spread far and wide and the contemporary ruler of Persia, Khusru II, sent an ambassador with valuable presents to his court and friendly letters and presents were exchanged between the two monarchs. These facts we learn from the Persian historian Tabari. Many historians were thinking till a few years ago (and some do even now) that one of the paintings in Cave No. 1 at Ajintha, frequently reproduced in history books, represented this Persian embassy to the court of Pulakesin. But Ananda Kumara-swamy has opined that the subject of this picture is Buddhist³, and this view is quite tenable, for the entire group of paintings at Ajintha is about the Buddha and Buddhism, though traces of Persian influence are visible in the dresses depicted in some of the paintings.

The famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in India between A. D. 629 and 645 visited parts of Pulakesin's kingdom— apparently Maharastra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-ch'a*. This pilgrim gives the following interesting account of Maharastra :-

"This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 li round. The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (spears). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man down (a person who submits). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with women's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him.

¹ C.I.I. Vol.IV.p. 165.

² Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 360.

³ Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 99.

Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Ksatriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are wide-spread and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Siladitya Maharaja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops. So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning and study both heretical and orthodox (books).On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *sangharama* constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (or open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley (water-course).....Going from this 1000 li or so to the west and crossing the Nai-mo-to (Narmada) river we arrive at the kingdom of *Po-lu-kie-che-po* (Bharukaccheva, Barygaza or Broach).”¹

The capital city mentioned here is very likely to have been Nasik and the mountain containing the *sangharama* is Ajintha as shown by Fleet.

On the basis of the Nirpan copper-plate charter² it was supposed that Pulakesin had a brother named Dharasraya Jayasimhavarmaraja, who was a governor of the Nasik region during Pulakesin’s reign ; and the Sanjan plates³ of Buddhavarasa, describe him as the younger brother of Pulakesin, and state that he was ruling at this time over the present Thana region. But since both these grants are spurious, it is doubtful whether Pulakesin had these two brothers. We know that Pulakesin had a son named Dharasraya Jayasimhavarman and it is not likely that both his brother and son should have had the same name. Pulakesin had four sons named Adityavarman, Candraditya, Vikramaditya and Dharasraya Jayasirhha. According to a spurious copper-plate grant⁴, he had also a daughter named Ambera.

Hiuen Tsang’s graphic description of Pulakesin’s kingdom would show that when he visited Maharastra, Pulakesin was at the zenith of his power. But shortly afterwards he seems to have suffered some

¹ *Born. Gaz.*, Vol. J, part II, p. 353 ft.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 123.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 144.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII, p. 96 ; Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 64.

serious setbacks for according to the Kuram plates¹ of the Pallava king Paramesvaravarman I, Pulakesin was thoroughly routed by his grandfather Narasimhavarman in the battles of Pariyala, Mani-mangala and Suramara etc., and these plates describe these defeats in these colourful words :—" Narasimhavarmanwho wrote the three syllables of the word *vijaya* as on a plate on Pulakesin's back, which was caused to be visible in the battles of Pariyala, Manimangala and Suramara." As one of these battle fields, Manimangala, has been identified with Manimangalam about twenty miles from the Pallava capital Kanci², Pulakesin must have attacked the Pallava dominions a second time in order evidently to annex the whole of the Pallava kingdom, the northern part of which he had already conquered. Since he was defeated by Narasimhavarman, evidently by the time of this defeat it was Narasimhavarman, son of Mahendravarman who was on the Pallava throne. The Kiiram plates also say that Narasimhavarman destroyed the city of Vatapi (*i.e.*, Badami), the Calukyan capital. This fact is not only supported by Narasimhavarman's title *Vatapikonda* but also by an inscription³ of the thirteenth year of this very Narasimhavarman's reign found at Badami itself. After this we do not hear of Pulakesin and we may therefore presume that he was killed in battle at Badami, probably in A.D. 642, by Narasimhavarman, who must have taken full possession of the Calukyan capital. Since Pulakesin's son Vikramaditya is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 654-55, the Calukya dominions were under the sway of the Pallavas for a period of nearly thirteen years. In this fight against the Calukyas, Narasimhavarman seems to have been aided by the Ceylon prince Manavarman according to *Mahavamsa*, a Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon.

Pulakesin, in addition to the usual paramount titles, bore the following titles as well: *Ranavikrama*⁴, *Satyasraya* (which he seems to have cherished most), *Ereyya*⁵ and *Ereyitiadigal*⁶.

VIKRAMADITYA I.

The inscriptions of Vikramaditya and his successors declare that Vikramaditya who is called the dear son of his father Pulakesin, acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father. And after defeating the hostile kings in battle in country after country he acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. His Tala-manci plates are dated in the sixth year of his reign on the day of the solar eclipse in the month of Sravana, which has been equated with 13th July, A.D. 660. On the basis of this record and the Nerur plates of Vijayabhattarika Kielhorn fixed the commencement of the reign of Vikramaditya sometime between September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655⁷. His Gadval plates⁸ are dated on Tuesday, the full -moon day of the month of Vaisakha in the Saka year 596, which is stated to be the twentieth year of his reign. The equivalent of this

¹ S. I. I., Vol. I, p.144.

² G. Jouvean Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 40

³ S. I. I., Vol ; XI, pt. i, p 1.

⁴ Lohaner plates.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 106.

⁶ S. I. I., Vol. IX pt. i.. No. 48.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 102.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 100.

date in the Christian Calendar is 25th April, A.D. 674, or in other words his reign must have commenced some-time between September 654 and April, A.D. 655. Apparently, in the interval between the death of Pulakesin in A.D. 642 or so and the accession of Vikramaditya I, the Calukya country was in the hands of the enemies, though, as we shall presently see, another son of Pulakesin named Adityavarman and his son Abhinavaditya were ruling in parts of Karnool (Andhra Pradesh), Bellary and Citaldrug (Mysore State) districts. But these princes do not find mention in the genealogies given in the inscriptions of Vikramaditya and his successors. Yet Adityavarman in his Karnool District plates¹ which record the grant of a village in the Karnool region calls himself the dear son of Pulakesin and bears the paramount titles like *Maharajadhiraja*. So it has been surmised by scholars that Adityavarman was a rival claimant to the Calukyan throne and was probably the elder brother of Vikramaditya. It may be noted that a recently found copper-plate grant² of Abhinavaditya, son of Adityavarman also gives both father and son all the paramount titles and states that Abhinavaditya granted the village Nelkunda situated in Uchhasringa-visaya. As Uchhasringa-visaya comprised parts of the present Bellary and Citaldrug Districts of Mysore State we may conclude that these princes were ruling over parts of the present Citaldrug, Bellary and Karnool Districts. There is nothing definite to show that Vikramaditya and Adityavarman were rival claimants and Vikramaditya ousted his elder brother ; but we can definitely infer that Adityavarman or his son were unable to drive out the enemy from the Calukyan kingdom whereas Vikramaditya could and did. Consequently, Vikramaditya succeeded to the Calukyan throne after acquiring the regal fortune of his father which had been interrupted by the confederacy of three kings (*avanipati-tritaya*) and so brought the whole kingdom under the sway of himself as the sole ruler and re-established the grants to gods and Brahmanas which had lapsed during the rule of the three kings (*rajya-traya*). There is a difference of opinion as to who these three kings were. In inscriptions of the successors of Vikramaditya the cognate expression *trairajya*³ is used with reference to the same event. Tradition explains this word as the kingdoms of the Cola, Kerala and Pandya monarchs. Moreover in inscriptions of the Gujarat Calukyas⁴ the expression *rajya-traya* with reference to the same event is elaborated as the three kingdoms of Cera, Cola and Pandya. Some scholars held the opinion that the expression *trairajya-Pallava* referred to the three branches of the Pallavas ruling over different parts of their dominions. But the Surat Plates⁵ of Satyasraya Siladitya of the Gujarat branch of the Calukyas and a recently discovered inscription of Vinayaditya⁶

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol, XI, p. 67.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII. 213.

³ See, for instance, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol, XIX, p. 64, text-line 16.

⁴ See Manor Plates of Vinayaditya Mangalrasa, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 21, textline 11.

⁵ *C.I.I.*; Vol. IV. p. 132.

⁶ *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p 8.

of A.D. 693 make a clear distinction between the kings of *trairajya* and the Pallava king. We have noticed, however, that it was the Pallavas who inflicted a crushing defeat on Pulakesin and occupied Badami, the Calukya capital. Therefore the occupation of the Calukya kingdom by the confederacy of three kings can be explained by the fact that the Pallavas were supreme in the south and that the three kings viz., Cola, Kerala and Pandya were under the Pallava hegemony. Vikramaditya had to fight very hard to drive out the Pallavas and to regain his authority. He was mostly occupied in fighting numerous battles with the Pallavas and his inscriptions give us some elaborate details about his battles. They¹ state that he destroyed the glory of Narasimhavarman, broke the prowess of Mahendravarman and by diplomacy conquered Paramesvaravarman. As these victories are mentioned in the inscriptions of the twentieth year of his reign i.e. A.D. 674, the defeat of these three Pallava kings must have taken place before this date. It is quite well known that there were severe conflicts between the Calukyas and Pallavas during Vikramaditya's reign. We have already seen that Narasimhavarman had occupied Badami during Pulakesin's reign; and so Vikramaditya had to drive him out in order to recapture the lost Calukyan capital. The conflict evidently continued during the reign of Narasimhavarman's successor, Mahendravarman II, who appears to have sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Vikramaditya. But Paramesvaravarman I, the son of Mahendravarman II, tried to wreak his vengeance on Vikramaditya and possibly tried to attack him. Being enraged at this, Vikramaditya led a campaign right into the heart of the Pallava territory, took the unassailable city of Kanci and vanquished Paramesvaravarman. In the course of this campaign he marched right upto the southern bank of the Kaveri and was camping at Uragapura (modern Uraiyur near Trichinopoly) in the Coikavisaya. But one of the Pallava inscriptions states² that Vikramaditya was put to flight covered only by a rag. Another Pallava inscription³ says that Paramesvaravarman defeated the army of Villabha (i.e., Vikramaditya) at Peruvalanallur, which has been identified with a place of the same name at a distance of ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly i.e., not far from Uraiyur⁴. A third Pallava inscription⁵ states that Ugradanda (i.e., Paramesvaravarman) was the destroyer of Ranarasika's (i.e., Vikramaditya) city. These varying accounts would make it clear that there were bitter conflicts between the Calukyas and Pallavas in the heart of the Pallava dominions; and probably after the battle of Peruvalanallur, Vikramaditya had to withdraw to his own kingdom without annexing any part of the Pallava country. The inscriptions of Vijayaditya⁶, grandson of Vikramaditya, state that Vikramaditya humbled the pride of the

¹ Gadval Plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 100 and Saranur plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 115.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 343.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pt. iii, p. 371.

⁴ Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 43.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 15, text-line 11.

Kalabhras besides that of the Colas, Keralas and Pandyas. The Kalabhras are yet to be definitely identified, though they seem to have given a good deal of trouble to the southern kings for quite a long time. The onslaught of the Kalabhras seems to have been checked to some extent by the Pandyas and the Pallavas also, in addition to the efforts of the Calukyas in quelling them.

Vikramaditya seems to have been ably assisted by his son Vinaya-ditya in his campaigns against the Pallavas and the other southern powers and by his grandson Vijayaditya in maintaining peace and order in the home provinces. At the command of his father, Vinayaditya is stated, in the Calukya inscriptions,¹ 'to have arrested the excessively exalted power of the three kings of Coja, Pandya and Kerala, and of the Pallavas and thus gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of quiet'. And of Vijayaditya it is said that 'while his grandfather was successfully dealing with his enemies in the south, he himself completely rooted out all the troubles that had beset the kingdom'². Vikramaditya's younger brother Dharasraya Jayasimha appears also to have been of assistance to his elder brother in putting down the local rebellions in the north and north-western parts of the Calukyan kingdom and in preserving law and order. He is described in his Nasik plates³ as having defeated and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and Narmada rivers. Inscriptions say that his prosperity had been increased by his elder brother, the illustrious Vikramaditya. Evidently this refers to Jayasimha's appointment as Viceroy over Lata (south Gujarat) and Maharashtra and in this capacity we see him issuing the Nausari,⁴ and Nasik plates. The former records the grant of the village Asattigrama by Yuvaraja Sryasraya Siladitya, son of Dharasraya Jayasirhha, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Magha in the Kalacuri year 421 (A.D. 671). The grant was made when the Yuvaraja was camping at Navasarika (modern Nausari).

As in the case of the Eastern Calukyas of Vengi the descendants of Dharasraya Jayasirhha continued to rule over Lata for nearly seven decades and are known to historians as the Calukyas of Gujarat. The Manor Plates⁵ of Jayasraya Mangalarasa establish clearly that the date of the founding of this branch of the Calukya dynasty was A.D. 671 by specifying that the grant recorded therein was made in the twentyfirst regnal year, which was Saka year 613 (A.D. 691-92).

In two copper-plate inscriptions found at Nerur and Kochrem in the Ratnagiri District, Candraditya, an elder brother of Vikramaditya speaks in glowing terms of the prowess and victories of his younger

¹ e.g., Jejuri plates of Vinayaditya, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

² Rayagad plates of Vijayaditya, *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 14.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 127.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 229.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

brother, in conquering the enemies and acquiring the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. Apparently Candraditya himself could not regain the lost Calukyan fortunes and so he did not oppose his younger brother's elevation to the throne of his ancestors. In appreciation of this attitude of Candraditya's, he seems to have been placed by Vikramaditya in charge of the administration of the Konkan region. The Nerur inscription¹ records a grant of land by Vijayabhattacharika, wife of Candraditya in the fifth year, evidently of Vikramaditya's reign. The Kocrem grant² states that Candraditya's wife Vijayamahadevi, the same as Vijayabhattacharika mentioned above, made a gift of land at Koccuraka, the modern Kocrem about seven miles to the north of Vengurla. This Vijayabhattacharika has been identified on good grounds with the famous Sanskrit poetess Vijayanka or Vijjaka praised by Rajasekhara and others.

We have already seen that the Sendraka Prince Senanandaraja, the maternal uncle of Pulakesin II, was ruling in the Konkan region near Ciplun as a subordinate of Pulakesin II. Another chief of this family named Allasakti is stated in his Kasare plates³ to have made a grant of land in the village of Pippalakheta, modern Pimpalner in Dhulia District. The inscription is dated in the Kalacuri year 404 (A.D. 653). And the Nagad Plates⁴ of the same chief dated in Saka 577 (A.D. 656) record a grant of the village Suscirakholi in the district of Nandipuradvari, the present Nandurbar in Dhulia District. Another inscription⁵ of this same family issued by Jayasakti, son of Allasakti, records the grant of the village Senana (probably modern Saundane in Dhulia District) in the Saka year 602 (A.D. 681). None of these records mention any overlord, though this part of the country was under the sway of Vikramaditya I from A.D. 655 to 681. But it may be surmised that the Sendrakas continued to remain loyal to the Calukya family; for another Sendraka prince named Devasakti was a subordinate of Vikramaditya in the Karnool region. At his request Vikramaditya made a gift of some lands to a Brahmana in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 664)⁶.

Another loyal feudatory of Vikramaditya was Svamicandra of the Hariscandra family who is known from two grants of his grandson Prthvicandra Bhogasakti⁷. In these inscriptions he is described as living upon the favour of the feet of Vikramaditya who looked upon him as his own son. He is stated to have been governing the entire Puri-Konkan, a region consisting of 14000 villages.

The latest regnal year of Vikramaditya (found in an inscription at Dimmagudi in Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh) is the twenty-seventh year which would take his reign upto April, A.D. 681. And

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 163.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 45.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 201.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 116.

⁶ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 238.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol., XXV, pp. 225 ff.

as the reign of his son began sometime in April, A.D. 681, we may conclude that Vikramaditya ceased to reign in April, A.D. 681.

Besides the usual titles assumed by the Calukyan monarchs he had the additional epithets of *Kokkuli*, *Ranarasika*, *Anivarita* and *Rajamalla*.

It has been noticed already that king Vikramaditya had two brothers, Adityavarman and Candraditya. Another brother of Vikramaditya—his elder one—by name Ranaragavarman is mentioned in the Honnur copper-plates,¹ which state that Vikramaditya made a gift of land at the request of his niece (daughter of Ranaragavarman), when Vikramaditya was camping at Malliyur to the west of Kancipuram. Vikramaditya's queen Gangamahadevi is mentioned in the Gadval plates of this king. He had a son named Vinayaditya who succeeded him on the Calukyan throne.

VINAYADITYA.

A recently discovered inscription² of Vinayaditya gives the earliest date known so far for this king, *i.e.*, the full-moon day of Vaisakha in the Saka year 604 (approximately 27th April, A.D. 682). The inscription cites this year as the second year of his prosperous reign. This would show that he must have ascended the throne some time before 27th April, A.D. 681. But there are two inscriptions,³ which would place the starting point of his reign between 18th October, A.D. 678 and 2nd July, A.D. 679. Probably in some cases he counted his regnal years from the date from which he was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom and it has already been pointed out that he was actively assisting his father in various ways. His inscriptions state that he ably assisted his father in crushing the might of the Pandya, Cola, Kerala and Pallava kings and in reducing the Kalabhras, the Haihayas (*i.e.*, the Kalacuris), Vila and Malava kings to a state of servitude similar to that of the hereditary subordinates, namely the Alupas, the Gangas and others. And the subsequent records of the dynasty state that he levied tributes from the rulers of Kavera (or Kamera), Parasika and Simhala and that he acquired the *palidhvaja* banner and other insignia of sovereignty by inflicting a crushing defeat on the overlord of the whole of North India. We cannot specifically say who the Parasika or Simhala kings referred to in these inscriptions were. As regards the paramount ruler of North India, Fleet conjectured that 'he may perhaps be the Vajrata, whom some of the Rastrakuta records mention in connection with the victories of the Western Calukyas'. The Nasik plates of Dharasraya Jayasimha which are of the time of Vinayaditya do mention Jayasimha's victory over Vajjada (Sanskrit Vajrata). They clearly state that he exterminated the army of Vajjada. But Dr. Mirashi thinks that this lord paramount of North India is not identical with the Vajrata defeated by Jayasimha. He identifies Vajrata with the Valabhi king

¹ 'Mysore Archaeological Report, 1939, p. 129.

² Copper-plate No. 13, *Ar. Sep. on Indian Epigraphy* for 1955-56.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 26.

Siladitya III, who was a very powerful king and who bore the paramount titles of *Paramabhattacharaka Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara* and *Cakravartin*¹. During the reign of Vinayaditya the feudatories like the Gujarat Calukyas, Alupas and Sendrakas remained loyal and continued to rule over their respective territories as subordinates. For example in Maharashtra we see the Gujarat Calukya prince Dharasraya Jayasimhavarman issuing his Nasik plates² which are dated on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the Kalacuri year 436 (A.D. 685). They state that Dharasraya Jayasimhavarman granted the village of Dhondhaka in the Nasikya-visaya to the Brahmana Trivikrama. Nasikya is undoubtedly Nasik and Dhondhaka is the modern Dhondleganv, twelve miles to the northwest of Nasik.

And Dharasraya Jayasimha's son Jayasraya Mangalarasa made the grant³ of some villages for the benefit of the temple of the sun-god at Manapura situated in Kurata-visaya. Manapura has been identified with Manor in the Palghar Taluka of Thana District. The name *Kurata-visaya* has perhaps survived in the name of the village Kirat, twelve miles to the north-east of Palghar. The date of this grant is the 15th day of the bright half of Vaisakha in the Saka year 613 (A.D. 691-92) and Mangalarasa here bears the titles of *Vinayaditya* and *Yuddhamalla* in addition to the title of *Jayasraya*, already mentioned.

A stone inscription⁴ at Belaganv in Simoga. Taluka (Mysore State) states that when Vinayaditya Rajasraya was ruling, his feudatory *Maharaja* Pogilli of the Sendraka family was governing the Nayarakhanda district. We have no means of ascertaining how this Pogilli was related to the Sendraka chiefs, who were governing parts of Maharashtra during Vikramaditya's reign.

In addition to these grants we have a grant of Vinayaditya⁵ himself in the Maharashtra region, made when he was encamped at the village of Bhadali near Palayatthana (modern Phaltan, the chief town of the lower Nira valley; and Bhadali is the present Budlee Budruk, five miles to the south-east of Phaltan). It records the grant of a village called Vira on the north bank of the river Nira in the [Sa]timala *bhoga* in the Palayatthana-visaya. Vira is the modern Vir, a mile and a half north of the river Nira. The record is dated in the ninth year of Vinayaditya's reign and Saka 609 (A.D. 687).

Vinayaditya had the titles of *Rajasraya* and *Yuddhamalla*. The existence of the latter title was in doubt till recently, as it was found only in inscriptions of the 11th century (e.g., Kauthem plates). But a recently discovered stone inscription⁶ at Itagi in the Yalbargi Taluka, Raichur District (Mysore State) would show that

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, pp. LXI ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142 ; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg, from Inscriptions*, p. 64.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

⁶ *Ar. Rep. Ind., Ep.*, 1955-56, No. 210, Appendix B.

Yuddhamalla was in fact a title of Vinayaditya. This inscription which is written in characters of the seventh century, refers itself to the reign of Yuddhamalla Satyasraya who can be no other than Vinayaditya, as this title was not known to have been adopted by any earlier or later monarch of the Badami Calukya family.

He had a son named Vijayaditya, who succeeded him, and a daughter named Kumkumamahadevi¹ or Kumkumadevi², who is said to have built a Jain temple called Anesejjeya-basadi at Purigre. The inscriptions of his son and successor Vijayaditya show that Vijayaditya was crowned sometime in July, 696. So we will have to presume that Vinayaditya ceased to rule before this date.

Though Vijayaditya ascended the throne in A.D. 696, he must have been nominated as *Yuvaraja* before 10th January, A.D. 692, as he is actually called *Yuvaraja* in the Karnool District copper-plate grant³ issued by his father on this date. His inscriptions describe him as having acquired even in his childhood the skill in the use of arms and as having mastered all the *sastas*. As mentioned already he was maintaining peace and order in the home provinces, when his grandfather was engaged in his southern campaign. While assisting his father in his northern campaigns he advanced farther than his father and won for him the insignia of Ganga, Yamuna and *palidhvaja*, and also the riches of the enemy consisting of elephants and jewels. On a certain occasion he was somehow captured by the enemy, who had actually been defeated and had taken to flight. But cleverly he escaped without any assistance like Vatsaraja of legendary fame and averted the danger of anarchy in his country. The Ulchala inscription⁴ dated in the thirtyfifth year of his reign (A.D. 730-31) states that *Yuvaraja* Vikramaditya (*i.e.*, son of Vijayaditya) after he returned from Kanci having raided that city and having levied tribute from Paramesvara-Pallava made a gift of the villages, Ulchalu and Pariyalu to Durvinita Ereyappor of the Konguni family. This would show clearly that the conflict between the Pal'avas and the Calukyas, which had been going on for many decades continued even in the time of Vijayaditya. This inscription is not only important in showing the continuance of the Pallava-Calukya conflict but also in fixing the initial year of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Pallava dynasty, who could not have come to the throne earlier than A.D. 730-31, as his predecessor Paramesvara II figures in this record as the adversary of Vijayaditya.

The Gujarat Calukya prince Jayasraya Mangalarasa continued to rule as a subordinate of Vijayaditya as attested by Jayasraya Mangalarasa's Balsar (Gujarat) copper-plate grant⁵. This is dated

¹ Gudigeri Inscription.. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 38.

² *I.p. Ind.*. Vol. XXIX, p. 207.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol VI p. 89.

⁴ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, part iii, p. 288.

⁵ *J. B. Br. R. A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

in the Saka year 653 (A.D. 731-32) and not in the Kalacuri era as is usual with the records of these princes.

There are some grants relating to Maharastra made by the king himself. Two Nerur copper-plate inscriptions¹ of Vijayaditya dated Saka 622 (A.D. 700) and Saka 627 (A.D. 705-06) respectively, record grants made in the Iridige-visaya, identified with one of the divisions of Konkan. The Raygad plates² of Saka 625 record the grant of two villages made by the king when he was staying at the victorious camp of Karahatanagara (modern Karnad). The Elapur copper-plates³ of this monarch dated in Saka 626 (A.D. 704) record a grant made by the king when he was camping at Elapura (modern Ellora. in Aurangabad District). Another copperplate⁴ grant dated Saka 632 (A.D. 710) records the grant of the village Karuegrama (probably modern Koreganv) near Karahatanagara and situated on the bank of the Krsna Venna.

Vijayaditya's reign is the longest in Calukya history and it lasted over thirtyseven years ; for his son Vikramaditya II ascended the throne in the year A.D. 733-34. This long reign is noteworthy for its manifold cultural activities, especially the construction of temples of great magnificence and grandeur. An inscription at Badami dated Saka 621 (A.D. 699) mentions that he installed the images of Brahma, Visnu and Mahesvara at the victorious capital of Vatapi. He also built the beautiful temple of Vijayesvara, now known as Sangamesvara, at Pattadakal⁵.

Besides the usual titles of the Calukya rulers he had the title of *Niravadya* and *Sahasarasika*. He had a son called Vikramaditya who succeeded him in A.D. 733-34. Inscriptions of the Calukyas of Kalyani trace their descent from Bhimaparakrama who, according to these inscriptions, was the younger brother of Vikramaditya.

VIKRAMADITYA II.

During the reign of Vikramaditya the wars with the Pallavas were intensified. In one of the inscriptions at Pattadakal⁶ Vikramaditya is stated to have conquered Kanci thrice. We have already noticed that even when he was *Yuvaraja* he raided Kanci during his father's reign and levied tributes from the Pallavas. The other two invasions of Kanci are mentioned in the inscriptions of his reign⁷ and those⁸ of his successors. These inscriptions give a detailed account of these two campaigns against Kanci. According to them he made a strong resolve to destroy the natural enemies of the Calukyas (namely the Pallavas) and made a sudden and expeditious incursion into Tundaka country and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipotavarman. He captured the Pallava king's musical instru-

¹ *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 126 and *ibid.* p. 130.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 14.

³ *Ind. Hist., Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 425.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 322.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 1.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 164.

⁷ Narvan plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 125 ff.

⁸ See e.g., Vakkaleri plates, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 202 ; and Kendur plates, *ibid.*, Vol. IX. p. 200.

ments, *katumukha* and *samudraghosa* and his flag *khatvangadhvaja* in addition to heaps of gold, rubies and herds of elephants. He then entered the city of Kanci in triumph, but did not raze it to the ground. On the other hand he acquired great merit by making munificent gifts to the temples of Rajasimhesvara and others, which Narasinghapotavarman had built. He then crippled the Pandya, Cola, Kerala and Kalabhra kings and set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His son Kirtivarman, even when he was *Yuvaraja* obtained his father's permission to lead another attack against the king of Kanci, who unable to meet this onslaught took refuge in his fortress. Kirtivarman then seized a number of elephants and heaps of gold and rubies, all of which he presented to his father. The Ainuli copperplates¹ give the name of Kirtivarman's adversary as Nandipotavarman. So both these invasions of Kanci took place in the reign of Nandipotavarman *i.e.*, Nandivarman Pallava-malla who had a long reign of 65 years. The three campaigns recorded in the Pattadakal inscription are thus accounted for and they took place in the following order. The first, as shown above, took place during the time of Pallava Paramesvara II. In this Vikrama-ditya seems to have been assisted by the Western Ganga prince Durvinita-Ereyappor. The second campaign is mentioned in the Narvan plates of A.D. 741-42 and so it must have taken place before that date, and the third between A.D. 741-42 and the end of Vikramaditya's reign (*i.e.*, A.D. 744-45). That his conquest of Kanci is not a mere boast is borne out by an inscription of his at Kanci in the Rajasimhesvara temple², which says that after the conquest of Kanci the king made grants to the temple.

His reign is also noteworthy for the repulsion of the formidable Arab invasion of Gujarat, which was a part of the Calukya dominions. The Tajikas (*i.e.*, the Arabs), who, according to the Navasari plates³ of A.D. 739, had already destroyed the Saindhavas, the Kacchellas, the Cavotakas, the Saurastras, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras tried to attack the Calukya dominions with a view to overrunning the whole of South India but were routed by Avanijanasrava Pulakesin of the Gujarat Calukya branch and evidently a feudatory of Vikramaditya II who was so pleased with Pulakesin that he conferred on him (Pulakesin) the titles of *Daksinapatha-sadhara* (pillar of the southern country) and *Anivartaka-nivartayitr* (the repeller, of the unrepellable).

Thus while the Gujarat Calukyas continued to rule the Lata (Gujarat) province, two Rastrakuta princes were in charge of parts of Maharashtra. The Narvan plates of Vikramaditya II⁴ state that the king, while staying in his victorious camp at Adityavada, granted Naravana and other villages in the Ciprarulana-visaya at the request of Rastrakuta Govindaraja to some Brahmins in the Saka year 664

¹ *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1900.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 360.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 137.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVII, p. 125.

(A.D. 741-42; Ciprarulana is modern Ciplun in the Ratnagiri District and Naravana is the modern Narvan in the same district, Adityavada has been tentatively identified with one of the two Aitavades in the Valva Taluka of the Sangli District..

Dantidurga, the founder of the Manyakheta branch of the Rastra-kuta family, who later on overthrew the Calukyas, made a grant to certain Brahmans the village of Pippalala, in the district of Candana-puri-84, in the year Saka 663 (A.D. 742) after bathing in the Guhesvaratirtha at Elapura is the famous Ellova, where Dantidurga excavated the Dasavatara cave temple. Candanapuri is even to-day called by the same old name and is situated on the Girna river about forty-five miles from Ellora. Pippalala is the modern Pimpral, twelve miles south-east of Candanapuri. Though Dantidurga does not mention his overlord in this grant, the fact that he calls himself *Mahasamantadhipati* shows that he still owed allegiance to the Calukyas who were the lords of this part of the country.

The reign of Vikramaditya II also continued the great cultural and building activities for which this dynasty is noted. In an inscription of his son's time at Pattadakal² his queen Lokamahadevi of the Haihaya family is stated to have constructed the temple of the god Lokesvarabhattacharaka at Pattadakal; and his other queen Trai-lokyamahadevi, the younger sister of Lokamahadevi and the mother of Kirtivarman II (son of Vikramaditya) constructed the temple of Trailokye'svarabhattacharaka at the same place. The family gave great encouragement to temple architecture, as for example, by conferring the title of *Tribhuvanacarya* (preceptor of three worlds) on Gunda or Anivaritacarya, the chief architect of the temple of Lokesvara, mentioned above. This architect was also honoured by the conferment of a fillet of honour called *perjerepu-patta*³.

Music too was encouraged, as is witnessed by the fact that Lokamahadevi confirmed the covenants which had been given to the musicians and dancers (*gandharvas*) by Vijayaditya earlier. One of these dancers, named Acala seems to have founded a new school of dancing⁴.

Vikramaditya II had a son named Kirtivarman, who succeeded him and perhaps a daughter named Vinayavati⁵, queen of the Rastrakuta prince Govindaraja mentioned above. He had the title of *Anivarita* besides the usual Calukyan titles.

KIRTIVARMAN II.

Kirtivarman II succeeded his father probably in A.D. 744-45, for the only verifiable date in his inscriptions is found in the Kendur

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 29.

² *Ibid*, Vol. 111, p. 1.

³ *Ind Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 162-164.

⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 166-67.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 181. Vinayavati is described as the daughter of Vikramaditya, the lord of the four quarters.

copper-plates¹ issued in the sixth year of his reign on the full-moon day, in the month of *Vaisakha* when there was a lunar eclipse in Saka 672. The corresponding English equivalent is 7th April, A.D. 749. But the Vakkaleri copper-plates² and Ainuli copperplates³ dated respectively in the eleventh and fourth years of his reign give slightly different starting points for his reign ; the details of the dates given in these, however, do not admit of verification. His inscriptions state that he became so proficient in the use of arms even in his childhood that his father became overjoyed at his son's skill and nominated him as the *Yuvaraja*. It has already been noted that in this capacity as *Yuvaraja*, he obtained the permission of his father to attack the lord of Kanci, the hereditary enemy. Though he achieved a resounding victory against the Pallavas, he seems to have been defeated by the Pandyas. The Velvikudi grant⁴ of about A.D. 769-70 states that an officer of the Pandya king had defeated the Vallabha (i.e., Calukya Kirtivarman II) at Venbai and secured the hand of the Gahga princess in marriage for his master. In this conflict evidently the (Western) Gahgas assisted Kirtivarman II.

END OF THE CHALUKYAS.

It was in Kirtivarman's reign that the Calukyan sovereignty was overthrown by the Rastrakuta prince Dantidurga sometime before 5th January, A.D. 754 (the date of his Samangad plates) and the Rastrakutas gained possession of the Calukya dominions. But Kirtivarman continued to rule in parts of his dominions for sometime more ; for one of his inscriptions⁵ on a pillar at —Pattnadakrl (which gives him the epithet *Nrpasimha*) is of A.D. 754 and the Vakkaleri plates are dated in Saka 679 corresponding to A.D. 757. These plates record a grant made by the king when he was staying in the victorious camp at Bhandaragavittage on the north bank of the river Bhimarathi. This place has been identified with Bhandarakaute in the Solapur District. The decline of the Calukya power was evidently due to their constant conflicts with the Pallavas and other southern rulers (of whom the Pandya king who defeated Kirtivarman was one), which had considerably weakened the Calukyas. Taking advantage of this weakness, Dantidurga openly defied the Calukyan might and utterly routed Kirtivarman's forces— the famous Karnataka army, which had been expert in defeating the lords of Kanci, the king of Kerala, the Colas, the Pandyas, Harsa and Vajrata. Dantidurga was apparently aided in his fight against Kirtivarman by the Pallavas, as the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been related to Dantidurga by marriage. Nandivarman had a wife by name Reva, whose son was called Dantivarman⁶. As Danti reminds one of Dantidurga it has been surmised that Reva was Dantidurga's

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 200.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V p. 202.

³ *Mys. Arch. Re .*, 1909.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*., Vol. XVII, p. 291.

⁵ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 48.

⁶ Velurpalaiyam plates, *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 511.

daughter and Dantivarman, the Pallava prince, was named after his maternal grandfather, the Rastrakuta king Dantidurga, who was also called Dantivarman¹.

Dantidurga's successor Krsna I is stated to have metamorphosed the great boar (the Calukyan crest) into a fawn². So by the time of Krsna I even the vestiges of Calukyan supremacy completely passed into the hands of the Rastrakutas. We see many of the Calukyan princes being mentioned in the Rastrakuta records as their subordinates.

Of these subordinates two branches of the Calukyan family are well known—the Calukyas of Vemulavada and the Calukyas of Kalyani. Taila of the latter branch who claimed descent from a younger brother of Vikramaditya II and who was a subordinate of the Rastrakuta king Krsna III (A.D. 939-67) revived the lost Calukyan power in A.D. 973 by overthrowing the Rastrakutas. The other branch, namely that of Vemulavada continued to be loyal to the Rastrakutas.

[A prince called Pugavarman who has been considered to be a Calukya and a son of Pulakesin I may be mentioned here. He is known by a solitary record³ found at Mudhol (Bijapur District, Mysore State). It has been assigned to the 6th century A.D. and it refers to Pugavarman as the son of *Sri-prithvi-vallabha-Maharaja* who had performed *Agnistoma*, *Agnichayana*, *Vajapeya* and *Asvamedha* sacrifices and the *Hiranyagarbha* gift. But it may be noted that neither the name *Calukya* nor the title *Satyasraya*, distinctive of the kings of this family is associated with either Pugavarman or his father.]

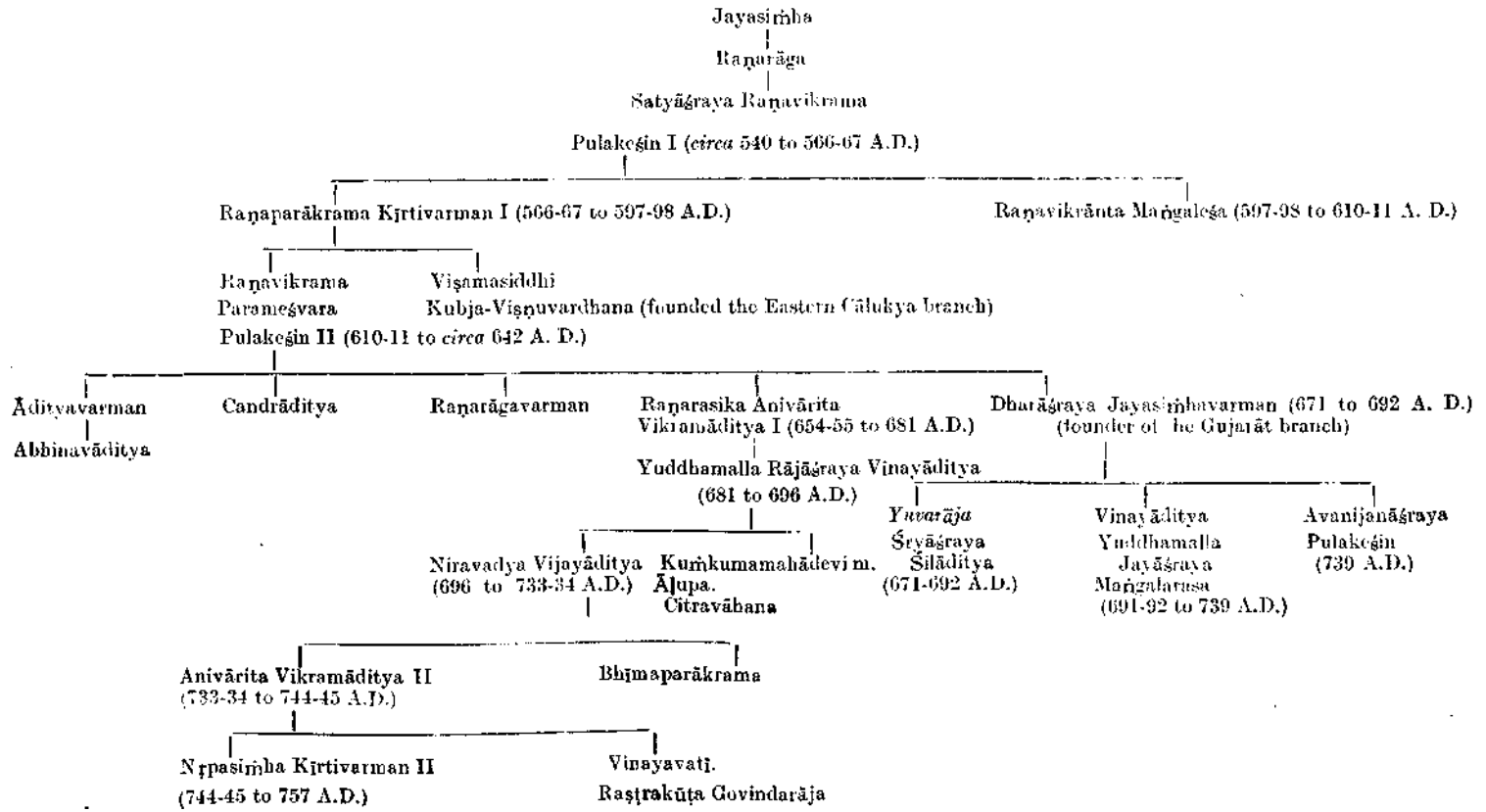
The genealogical table of the family of the Calukyas of Badami is given below : —

¹ Dubreuil, The Pallavas, p. 75.

² *Maha-avaraham harini-chakara*, *Int. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 162.

³ *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province From 1941 to 1946*, p. 69

THE CALUKYAS OF BADAMI



CHAPTER 7

RASTRAKUTA EMPIRE AND ITS FEUDATORIES*

WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN HOW KIRTIVARMAN II OF THE CALUKYA DYNASTY was defeated by king Dantidurga of the Rastrakuta lineage. We shall now describe the career of the new house which was destined to far outshine the glory of its predecessor. Later records of the dynasty¹ claim that Dantidurga belonged to the Satyaki branch of the Yadu race. In this line there was a prince named Ratta, who had a son named Rastrakuta, who was the progenitor of the new dynasty and gave it its well-known name. Earlier records however are unaware of this Yadava origin of the new house ; it was obviously introduced in the official genealogies in later days when it became the custom for every dynasty to claim descent from some Pauranic or legendary hero.

Sober history tells us that Rastrakuta was the name of an office and not of an individual. Rastra was the name of a territorial unit, corresponding roughly to the modern district and its administrative officer was called *rastrakuta*, a *rastrapati*, or *rastrika* or *rathika* or *ratht* in different periods and provinces. In the Deccan the term *rastrakuta* had come into general use to denote the officer of the district, as *gramakuta* had become general for the village headman. The status and powers of the *Rastrakutas* corresponded to those of the Desmukhs and Desais of the Maratha period; but very often they were given, or they used to acquire the status of a feudatory.

We get references to a few feudatory Rastrakuta chiefs in the Deccan and Karnatak during the ascendancy of the Calukyas of Badami. A Rastrakuta chieftain named Abhimanyu was ruling in Hosangabad district in the first half of the 6th century²; a hundred years later, we find another Rastrakuta feudatory house ruling in southern Maratha country³. A third Rastrakuta family is disclosed

* This Chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt. Some notes based on subsequent research have been supplied by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.

¹ Wardha plates, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVIII, p. 239; Sangli plates, *Ibid*, IV, p. 11 etc.

² *E.I.*, VIII, p. 163.

³ [Both these houses were identical. The family was ruling at Manapura (Man in the Satara District). See *Studies in Indology*, II, 178 f. for the history of these Rastrakutas of Manapura.] (V.V.M.)

by the Multai, Tivarkhed and Nagardhan plates and it was ruling in Berar, probably at Ellicpur¹. There may have been some more. Rastrakuta records claim that Lattalura was the original city of the family; this Lattalura is obviously the town of Latur in the former state of Hyderabad. No evidence is so far forthcoming to show that Dantidurga was holding a fief at this place ; his career and exploits suggest that his patrimony was somewhere in northern Maharashtra or Berar. The present writer had suggested that Dantidurga probably belonged to the Rastrakuta family disclosed by the Tivarkhed and Multai plates²; the question however cannot be regarded as finally settled as the genuineness and dates of the records of this house are not certain³. It is however very probable that the family of Dantidurga originally hailed from Lattalura, but had migrated to northern Maharashtra or Berar in search of pastures new. Its Canarese origin suggested by the mention of Lattalura or Latur as its home is further corroborated by several significant facts. Canarese literature flourished in the Rastrakuta court; emperor Amoghavarsha I is the reputed author of the earliest Canarese work on poetics ; the sign manuals of several charters of the Rastrakuta branch of Gujarat are in south-Indian proto-Canarese characters, as contrasted with the proto-Nagari characters of the charters themselves,

Our records take the genealogy of Dantidurga five generations back, but naturally the earlier figures are all shadowy. The earliest definitely known ancestor of Dantidurga is Dantivarman, who was his grandfather's grandfather. His probable time may be c. 650 to 665 A.D. He and his son Indra Prchakaraja (c. 665 — 680) and grandson Govinda I (680—700 A.D.) are however mere names to us; we know of no specific political exploits of any one of them. Since Govinda I ruled from c. 680—700 A.D., we cannot obviously identify him with Govinda, the opponent of Pulakesin II, who had invaded the Calukya empire in c. 610 A.D. Govinda I was a staunch Saivite. Govinda's son Karka I is also a shadowy figure. He ruled from c. 700 to 720. He had at least three sons, Indra I, Krsna I, and Karka⁴ who may be presumed to have been born between 695 and 705 A. D. Of these Indra was probably the eldest and succeeded his father in c. 720 A.D.

¹ I.A., XVIII, p. 230', *E.I.*, XI, p. 276.

² See Rastrakutas, pp. 7-11. The recently discovered Nagardhan plates, of this house supply the date 322 for Nannaraja Yudhasura. If we take this date as referring to the Gupta era, my theory gets additional support; if we refer it to the Kalacuri era then it has to be abandoned ; for there would result a gap of seventy-five years between Dantivarman and Yudhasura. The plates are not yet published and so no definite conclusion can yet be arrived at, See *I.H.Q.*, XXV, p. 81 and p. 138 for Mirashi's view that the date is given in the Kalacuri era. (The plates have since been published see *Sp. Ind.*, XXVIII, 1 f., C.I.I. IV, pp. 611f,-V.V.M.)

³ (The Tivarkhed plates are proved to be spurious. See Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, 25 f. Nannaraja of the Nagardhan plates was different from his namesake who issued the Multai plates. Nagardhan plates have since been published. Otherwise the Calukya forces defeated by Dantidurga would not have been published in *E.I.*, XXVIII, 1f. The Rastrakutas were not of Canarese origin, described as Karnataka in Rastrakuta grants. See *E.I.*, VI, 209, V.V.M.)

⁴ This Karka is probably identical with Karka I, the great-grandfather of Karka II, who was holding a small principality in southern Gujarat in 757 A.D. For a contrary view, see *Rastrakutas*, pp. 11-12.

We begin to get information about definite political events from the time of Indra. His bride Bhavanaga was a Calukya princess and he is stated to have carried her away by force by *raksasa*¹ *vivaha* from the marriage pandal at Kaira (in northern Gujarat). This event may be placed in c. 710 or 715 A.D. The name of Bhavanaga's father is not known, but very probably he may have been king Mangalarasa of the Gujarat Calukya house or a cousin of his². This successful *coupe* of Indra, of course, presupposes; that his father Karka I had become fairly powerful; otherwise he could not have challenged the Gujarat Calukyas in this manner.

As Hindu marriage is indissoluble, and as the *raksasa* form of marriage was recommended to and not uncommon among the Ksatriyas, we may presume that the relations between Indra and his wife's Calukya parents may have soon become normal. Danti-durga, the son of this union, may be presumed to have been born in c. 716 A.D. Indra may be presumed to have ruled down to c. 735 A.D.

In order to understand the careers of Indra and Dantidurga, it is necessary to take a bird's eye view of the contemporary political situation, with special reference to Berar and northern Maharashtra. In which block of territory the Rastrakuta principality lay. The Calukya empire lay to the south of the growing principality of Indra, and he was its feudatory. To the north in Gujarat lay the small kingdom of the Gujarat Calukyas with its capital at Nandipuri or Nandod near Broach. Both these kingdoms were suffering grievously from repeated Arab invasions. By about 737 A.D. the Arabs had penetrated up to Navsari, but in the following year they were driven back by king Pulakesin of the Gujarat Calukya branch, obviously with the help of his suzerain Vikramaditya II. It is quite likely that Indra and his son may have co-operated with the Calukyas in repulsing these raids.

The precise date of accession of Dantidurga is not yet known; but the Ellora plate, published in 1940, now makes it clear that his career had begun before 742 AD.³ Like Sivaji and Babar, Dantidurga began his career early and it is not unlikely that he took a leading part in the defeat of the Arabs in 738, though no mention of his share in this feat is made in the Navsari plates, which being issued by Pulakesin, give the entire credit of the victory to that prince. Some weight is lent to this conjecture by the new titles *Prthivivallabha* and *Khadgavaloka*, which Dantidurga is assuming in the Ellora plates.

¹ (The name of the princess was Bhavagana not Bhavanaga. See *E.I.*, XIV, 124. She was probably a Kalacuri princess. See the name Sankaragana of a Kalacuri king, V.V.M.)

² (See, however, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 22. V.V.M.)

³ Prof. Mirashi has advanced the view that the year of the issue of the Ellora plates is 463 of the Kalacuri era and not 603 of the Saka era as suggested in *E.I.*, XXV, p. 25; see *I.H.Q.* XXV, 81-85. This would place the accession of Dantidurga some years before 712 A.D. If Dantidurga had begun his career say in 705 A.D., it is difficult to understand how he could be succeeded by his uncle in c. 755, who could rule for about 17 years. The first symbol of the numerical figure is taken as 400 by Mirashi. The adjunct to the symbol for 100 looks more like six than four; and so it appears more probable that year should be 663 of the Saka era rather than 463 of the Kalacuri era (See *Studies in Indology*, II, 1 f.—V.V.M.)

Dantidurga's records claim that during the course of his career, he had defeated the kings of Kanci, Kalinga, Srisaila, Kosala, Malava, Lata and Sindh before he overthrew the power of the imperial Calukyas in c. 752 A.D. Dantidurga died soon after he defeated the Calukya emperor, and so his conflicts with the kings of the above countries must have taken place earlier when he was a Calukya feudatory.

It appears that Dantidurga continued to be a loyal feudatory of the Calukyas till the death of Vikramaditya 11 in 747 A.D. The Calukya crown-prince Kirtivarman had led an expedition against Kanci in c. 743 A.D. and Dantidurga may have accompanied his feudal lord in this venture along with his battalions. His victories over the kings of Kanci and Srisaila must be really those which he had shared with his feudal lord.

The varied military experience which Dantidurga had acquired in repulsing the Arab raids and in participating in the offensive expedition against the Pallavas must have fired his ambition. His descent through a Calukya princess may have aroused imperial ambitions in his young heart. Soon after the death of Kirtivarman, he may have decided to make a bold bid for the imperial position in the Deccan.

Dantidurga was a clever diplomat; he chalked out a plan of expansion which would not much affect the Calukya interests in the beginning. He therefore decided to extend his kingdom in the territories to the north and east, which were outside the Calukya influence. The petty kingdoms in Gujarat were already exhausted by the Arab invasions ; Dantidurga attacked them and annexed their territories and put his nephew Govinda, son of Dhruva, in charge of southern Gujarat. Dantidurga then invaded Malwa, marched upon Ujjayini and captured it. He performed the Hiranyagarbha ritual to celebrate this event, when it is claimed that the Gurjara Pratihara king acted as his door-keeper. From Malwa Dantidurga returned to Berar and marched into Mahakosala or Chhattisgarh. Who was then ruling there, we do not know. Dantidurga's charter claims that his war elephants had sported both in the Mahi river of Gujarat and the Mahanadi of Kalinga ; hence the above reconstruction of history appears to be very probable.

The above victories conclusively demonstrated that Dantidurga was growing into a powerful force and could no longer be neglected. The new Calukya emperor Kirtivarman decided to put him down by c. 750. The immediate cause of the war must have been the annexation by Dantidurga of the territories ruled over in south Gujarat by the Gujarat branch of the Calukyas, so closely related to the imperial house. It was a direct challenge to the imperial power and could not be ignored.

Where the armies of the two combatants came into clash is not known, but most probably the scene of the battle was somewhere in central Maharashtra. Dantidurga came out successful in the encounter. His victory however seems to have been due to a stratagem ; for his court poet tells us that he overthrew the Karnatak army of Kirtivarman by the mere frown of his eye, without any serious effort being made or without any weapons being raised or used.

This victory did not break the power of the Calukyas, but made Dantidurga the master practically of whole Maharashtra. We find him granting a village in Satara district in 754 A.D. Kirtivarman continued to hold the whole of Karnatak and both the sides were making further preparations for crushing each other, when Dantidurga died rather suddenly in c. 755 at the premature age of about 40.

We have not yet sufficient material to reconstruct the career of Dantidurga, but such information as we possess shows that like most other founders of dynasties, Dantidurga was an able general, a clever diplomat and an efficient organiser. He was quick to realise the growing weakness of the Calukya power due to the incessant wars with the Pallavas and the Arabs. He co-operated with his feudal lord in his campaigns to gain valuable military experience ; he then started making his own conquests, but without coming into conflict with the imperial power. And finally he decided to challenge that power only when his strength and resources had grown adequate for the purpose. Unfortunately he did not live long enough to complete the overthrow of the Calukyas, but there is no doubt that he had accomplished the greater part of the work in this connection.

Dantidurga was a pious Hindu and gave several villages in charity at the request of his mother. The Hiranyagarbha ritual, which he performed at sacred Ujjayini shows his deep faith in the tenets of medieval Hinduism.

KRSNA I (c. 756 TO 768 A.D.)

Dantidurga, the founder of the Imperial Rastrakuta family, left no son¹ and was succeeded by his uncle Krsna, who on his accession, assumed the titles of *Subhatunga* (prominent in good luck) and *Akalavarsha* (raining unexpectedly). Krsna was about 45 at his accession and had probably participated in several campaigns of his ambitious nephew and the latter had probably approved of his succession. The view of Fleet that Krsna dethroned his nephew because he had grown oppressive is altogether untenable ; a record of Krsna himself has now come to light in which he pays a glowing tribute to his valorous nephew². Krsna no doubt had to oust a refractory

¹ As stated in the Kadamba plates. R. G. Bhandarkar disbelieved the statement of these plates as they were issued about 200 years later ; he thought that Krsna may have dethroned Dantidurga's son. *B.G. (1st Ed.)* I, ii, p. 195.

² The earlier view was based upon the following verse in the Begumra plates of Krsna II

The reading of this verse in other grants shows that there was an *auagraha* after *Vallabharaja*, see *Rastrakutas*, p. 41-42. For Krsna's own eulogy of his uncle see *E.I.* XII 123.

relative, but he was most probably Karka II (of the Gujarat Rastrakuta family), who had begun to entertain imperial ambition at about 757 A.D.¹ At any rate the house of Karka disappears from our view after 760 A.D. and we find southern Gujarat being directly governed by the officers of the imperial Rastrakuta family. Majority of Krsna's relatives, however, accepted his accession and were loyal to him, and were appointed to different posts of trust and responsibility. His younger brother, Nanna Gunavaloka was in charge of Aurangabad district, where he was later succeeded by his son Sankaragana. Manavaloka Ratnavarsa, a nephew of his, participated in his campaign against Vengi in c. 770 A.D.

Dantidurga's victory over Kirtivarman II was no doubt decisive, but it had not shattered the latter's power. Taking advantage of the domestic troubles of Krsna, Kirtivarman reorganised his forces and advanced into Solapur district. The two rivals came into clash soon after the autumn of 757 A.D. This time the Rastrakuta forces scored a smashing victory ; for the records of the Later Calukyas admit that the glory of the family set with Kirtivarman II. The Calukya emperor was probably slain in battle and no relation of his could later dare to challenge the power of the new house. King Rahappa, after overthrowing whom Krsna is stated to have obtained the imperial status was probably none other than Kirtivarman II who may well have borne that additional name.

Several Calukya families, however, were ruling as petty feudatories of the Rastrakutas during their ascendancy at different places in Karnatak like Didgur, Kotur, Lemulvad, etc.²

Krsna next brought Konkan under his sway and appointed a local Silahara chief as his governor. The latter became the founder of the Silahara house of northern Konkan, which continued to rule in the feudatory capacity for more than 400 years.

As a result of the overthrow of Kirtivarman II, northern Karnatak came under the Rastrakuta sway; but Krsna wanted to conquer southern Karnatak as well. King Sripurusa of the Ganga family was ruling over this territory, which was then known as Gangavadi. He offered stubborn resistance and also scored a few initial victories with the help of his son Prince Siyagalla.³ But Krsna soon crushed down all opposition and occupied the Ganga capital Manyapur (Manne in Bangalore district) where he made a thanksgiving grant. Krsna returned home by 768 A.D. after imposing his overlordship over the Ganga ruler, who also ceded some of his northern districts to the conqueror.

¹ Cf. *I.A.*, XII, p. 159.

The Antroli Chharoli plates show that in 757, Karka II had begun to claim imperial titles like *Maharajadhiraja* and *Paramesvara*. His three predecessors had only feudatory titles.

² *I.A.V.*, p. 145, XII, p. 181 etc. see Rastrakutas, p. 43.

³ *M.A.S.B.*, 1939, p. 121.

Krsna was now getting old and we find him appointing his eldest son Govinda as his heir-apparent in c. 770 A.D. The latter signalled his selection by leading an attack upon the Vengi Calukya ruler Visnuvardhana IV. It is not improbable that the Calukyas of Vengi might have given some cause of offence; they were the cousins of the Calukyas of Badami and could not have liked their overthrow by the Rastrakutas. Krsna also must have felt that his empire could not be regarded as firmly established till the power of the Calukyas of Vengi was crushed. He therefore ordered an expedition against them and put it under the charge of the Crown-prince, who was a great cavalry leader. Govinda scored a smashing victory; 'the Great Boar (the emblem on the Calukya banner) ran like a deer', says a Rastrakuta court poet. In June 769, the Rastrakuta victorious army was encamped at the confluence of the Krsna and the Musi, only a hundred miles from the Calukya capital. Visnuvardhana opened peace negotiations, agreeing to pay some tribute and cede some frontier districts. He also gave his daughter Silabhattarika in marriage to Dhruva, a younger brother of Govinda. As a result of this victory and treaty, practically the whole of the former State of Hyderabad passed under the Rastrakuta sway.

Krsna was not only a conqueror, but also a builder. The rock-cut Siva temple at Elora, now known as Kailasa, but originally named after the builder as Krsnesvara, was excavated at his order¹. When the construction was complete, Krsna personally attended the consecration ceremony and made suitable presents and endowments. Kailasa temple at Elora is one of India's most precious archaeological monuments and posterity will not forget Krsna as long as this monument lasts. Any visitor, who has seen the beauty and grandeur of the structure, can well concede that the Rastrakuta court poet cannot be charged with exaggeration when he observed that gods moving in celestial cars were loath to believe that the temple was a human construction, and that its gifted architect could not think of repeating the feat.

Krsna died in c. 773 A.D. after a reign of 15 years². By crushing the possible rivals and annexing the major part of the former states of Mysore and Hyderabad, he made the position of his house unchallengeable in the Deccan and secured for it a definite imperial status.

GOVINDA II (c.773 to 780 A.D.)

Govinda, who had been duly selected as the crownprince, ascended the throne in c. 773 without any opposition³, assuming the titles of Prabhutavarsa (copious rainer) and Vikramavaloka (one whose sight inspires courage). He had already won laurels as heir-apparent in the war against Vengi. In his own reign he is stated to have relieved Govardhana in Nasik district and defeated a king

¹ For the history of this temple and its glory, see Baroda plates, *I.A.*, Vol. XII, p. 159 and Kadab plates, *E.I.*, IV, p. 341.

² 23rd June 772 A. D. is his latest known date supplied by Bhandak plates *E.I.* XIII, 275

³ Fleet's view that Govinda did not rule at all but was Superseded by his younger brother (*B.G.*, I, ii p. 393) is no longer tenable. See Rastrakuta, p. 49.

named Parijata¹. But why Govardhana had to be relieved and where king Parijata was ruling is not yet known.

Soon after his accession Govinda abandoned himself to a life of pleasure and vice², entrusting the administration to his younger brother Dhruva. The latter, who was able and ambitious, soon entertained the idea of becoming the *de jure* ruler as well. He started giving charters in his own name³ and organising a party of his own. This soon aroused the suspicion of Govinda, who removed his brother from the administration and took the reins of government in his own hand. For a time Dhruva submitted to his authority⁴, but was secretly continuing his intrigues to oust his brother. Govinda tried to strengthen his position by entering into alliances with the kings of Gangavadi, Kanci, Vengi and Malwa, offering them monetary and territorial reward for their promised assistance against Dhruva⁵. This was a bad move; his alliance with the hereditary enemies of his house alienated the sympathies of his ministers and senior officers and supplied a good pretext to Dhruva to rise in open rebellion. Pleading that there was the danger of the Rastrakuta dynasty itself being wiped out by its traditional enemies⁶ he proceeded to attack his brother when negotiations to induce him to abdicate failed. Dhruva dealt a swift blow and defeated the armies of Govinda before the promised help from his confederates could reach him from Vehgl, Talkad or Kanci. We find him seated firmly on the throne by January 781⁷.

DHRUVA (c. 780 to 793 A. D.)

After overthrowing his brother, Dhruva ascended the throne assuming the titles of *Nirupama* (matchless), *Dharavarsa* (profuse rainer) and *Kalivallabha* (lover of strife). He had first to put down some refractory feudatories, who had rebelled against him during his war of succession. Then he proceeded to punish Ganga and Pallava rulers, who had espoused his brother's cause. The Gangas were crushed as admitted even by their own records, and their king Sivamara, who was more a scholar than a warrior, was taken prisoner⁸. For a time the entire kingdom was annexed to the Rastrakuta empire, and Stambha, the eldest son of Dhruva, was appointed its viceroy. Dhruva then attacked the Pallavas, whose king purchased peace by offering submission and presenting a number of war elephants. These victories made Dhruva the unchallenged overlord of the Deccan.

This achievement, however, did not satisfy Dhruva. He was anxious to intervene in the politics of northern India with a view to bring it under his sphere of influence. At this time there was a conflict

¹ *E. I.*, IX. 195.

² Karhad plates, *E.I.*, IV, 298.

³ Pimpri plates, *E.I.*, X, p. 81.

⁴ As shown by Dhulia plates of 770 A. D. D. R. Bhandarkar regarded these as spurious, *E. J.*, XXII, 102. For the opposite view of the present writer, see *ibid* pp. 178-81. If we regard Dhulia plates as spurious, the reign of Govinda will have to be regarded as closed in 775 A.D.

⁵ See *Daulatabad* plates, *E.I.*, IX, p. 193

⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷ As shown by the Bhor plates, *E.I.*, XXII, 176.

⁸ Gattiyadhpur plates (E.C. XII, Naujangad No. 129) inform us how Vijayaditya, the younger brother of Sivamara, though the *de facto* under refrained from enjoying the earth, knowing her to be his (absent) elder brother's wife.

going on between the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler Vatsaraja and the Pala king Dharmapala for the hegemony in the Gangetic plain. The former was championing the cause of Indrayudha, the titular ruler of imperial Kanauj, and the latter of a rival of his named Vajrayudha. When Dhruva decided to intervene, Vatsaraja had defeated Dharmapala and had driven him out, capturing his two white umbrellas on the battle field. Dharmapala was reorganising his forces with a view to retrieve the position.

Dhruva collected his imperial army on the Narmada, put his sons Govinda and Indra in charge of different divisions and first attacked and occupied Malwa and then proceeded towards Kanauj to overthrow Vatsaraja. The armies of the two rivals probably met near Jhansi and in the battle that ensued the Deccan army inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Rajput forces of Vatsaraja, who fled in great hurry to take shelter in the deserts of Rajputana, leaving behind on the battle field the two white state umbrellas, which he had captured from the king of Bengal. Flushed with this victory Dhruva proceeded to attack Dharmapala also, who had by this time entered the Doab in the course of his fresh campaign against Kanauj. It was necessary for Govind to defeat Dharmapala also, because he was the only important king remaining undefeated at his hands. Dharmapala was also overthrown¹ and the victorious Rastrakuta army encamped on the banks of the Ganga and the Yamuna for some weeks probably in 786 A.D. As proud mementos of this achievement these two holy rivers henceforward began to figure on the Rastrakuta banner.

Dhruva was now getting old and he did not think it prudent to press his victories further by marching against Kanauj. He was far away from his base and therefore retired to the south.

The bold campaign in northern India enhanced the Rastrakuta prestige; Dhruva became the most dreaded emperor. Ganga king was in his prison, the Pallava ruler had meekly surrendered; Vatsaraja had fled into the deserts of Rajputana and Dharmapala had been driven away into Bengal. The Vengi king was his subordinate ally, being his father-in-law. None in India could thus challenge the Rastrakuta supremacy at the death of Dhruva.

As he grew old, Dhruva wanted to settle the question of succession. His choice fell not on his eldest son Stambha but on the latter's younger brother Govinda, who had taken a leading part in his military campaigns. The father proposed to abdicate to ensure Govinda's succession, but the latter dissuaded him from this step. Govinda was however formally installed as heir apparent before the death of Dhruva in the first half of 793 A.D.

¹ The view that Dhruva intervened in the northern Indian politics to help Dharmapala, whose queen Rannadevi was a Rastrakuta princess is rendered untenable by the Sanjan plates which make it quite clear that both Vatsaraja and Dharmapala were attacked and overthrown by Dhruva. Fleet was half inclined to identify Parabala the father of Rannadevi with Govinda III, Dhruva's son and successor (*B.G.I.*, ii, p. 394). This is of course impossible. (*I.A.*, XXI, p. 254)

GOVINDA III (793 A.D. TO 814 A.D.)

The accession of Govinda took place peacefully, but clouds soon arose on the political horizon. Stambha, his elder brother, whose claims had been superseded, began to conspire to win the throne and some officers and feudatories championed his cause. He soon succeeded in having a confederation of twelve kings¹ to support his claim and rebelled against the *de jure* emperor. Govinda was an experienced general and administrator ; he had scented the rebellion earlier and had made his own preparations. He could count upon the steadfast loyalty of his younger brother Indra. He decided to release Sivamara, the Ganga king, from the Rastrakuta prison and sent him back to Gangavadi where his rebel brother was ruling as viceroy. This was a diplomatic move, for Sivamara was expected to fight for Govinda to win back his patrimony from Stambha. The move however failed. Stambha, who expected to get the imperial throne, could afford to be magnanimous. Being the *de facto* governor of Gangavadi, he was in a better position than Govinda to put Sivamara on its throne. He offered it to Sivamara and thus won him over to his own side.

Stambha however was no match for Govinda. The latter marshalled his forces, moved swiftly to south and inflicted a signal defeat on Stambha before his allies could join their forces with him. Stambha was taken prisoner but a rapprochement soon took place between the two brothers. With an unusual magnanimity Govinda reappointed Stambha as the viceroy over Gangavadi, and the latter reciprocated this generous treatment by remaining steadfastly loyal to him.

The rapprochement between Govinda and Stambha rendered the position of Sivamara, the released Ganga prince, very precarious. He was now attacked by both the brothers, taken captive and put back into the Rastrakuta prison. His younger brother Vijayaditya tried to continue the resistance, but not with any success. Stambha continued to rule practically over the whole Gangavadi for more than a decade.

After occupying Gangavadi, Govinda marched against Dantiga, the Pallava ruler of Kanci, and defeated him. This was probably by way of reprisal for having espoused the cause of his elder brother.

When his power was firmly established in the Deccan, Govinda turned his attention to northern India. Vatsaraja, his father's opponent, had died in the interval and was succeeded by his youthful and energetic son Nagabhata II. The latter had succeeded in defeating Dharmapala and ousting his nominee Vajrayudha from Kanauj. The sun of the Pratihara glory, to quote a contemporary record, had begun to shine brilliantly when the clouds in the form of the Pala army had been dispersed.

¹ Their names are not known, but most probably Dantiga of Kanci, Charnponnair of Nalmabavadi and Kattiur of Banavasi were among them.

Nagabhata II was thus at the height of his glory when Govinda launched his campaign in northern India. The causes of the war can only be inferred. Nagabhata was probably casting covetous eyes on Gujarat and Malwa ; Govinda probably felt that his opponent should be crushed before he became too powerful. It is also not unlikely, that Dharmapala may have invited him to attack Nagabhata, their common enemy¹.

The northern expedition of Govinda was skilfully planned and boldly executed. Indra, the loyal younger brother of Govinda, who had been appointed viceroy of Gujarat, was commissioned to guard the Vindhyan passes against a possible invasion of the Deccan by Nagabhata. A number of detachments were kept in Central India and Chhattisgarh to keep the local rulers in check² and guard the lines of communication. After taking these precautions, Govinda started his march, probably in the spring of 798 A.D. *via* Bhopal and Jhansi. His objective was Kanauj, the imperial capital of northern India³.

Where the contending armies of the two rivals met is not known, but the decisive battle was probably fought near Jhansi. The power of Nagabhata was completely broken, and realising the futility of further opposition, his nominee Vajrayudha, the puppet emperor of Kanauj, accepted Govinda's suzerainty. Dharmapala is also described as having voluntarily submitted to Govinda. This was probably a diplomatic move. He knew that Govinda could not long remain in northern India and he was thankful to him for having broken the power of his formidable opponent.

The Rastrakuta records do not claim conquest of Kanauj at this time. The reference in the Rastrakuta records to the caves of the Himalayas reverberating with the noise of the Deccan drums must be dismissed as a poetic exaggeration. It is, however, likely that Govinda might have undertaken a victorious march in the Gangetic plain to visit Prayag, Kasi and Gaya, before his army returned to the south. He probably returned *via* Allahabad, Citrakuta and Saugar.

Govinda's northern expedition was merely of the nature of a *digvijaya*, undertaken for glory and not for annexation. He wanted to establish the imperial position of his house by overthrowing the armies of Nagabhata and securing the submission of Cakrayudha and Dharmapala and he succeeded in this goal. Content with this achievement, he returned to Malva, the outpost of his empire. In the summer of 799 or 800 A.D., the victorious army was lying encamped at Sribhavana, modern Sarbhan in Broach district, where

¹ A verse in the Sanjan plates states that Dharmapala and Chakrayudha voluntarily surrendered to him, hence the above inference.

² One ruler defeated in this direction was Candragupta of the Pandava dynasty (This is unlikely. See *Studies in Indology*, I, 227 f. V.V.M.)

³ The details of this expedition are gathered from the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I, *E.I.*, XVTII, 235. Its date is suggested by the Manne plates of 802, which refer to this expedition as a recent event.

it was hospitably looked after by Sarva, a local Vindhya chief. It was during the sojourn at this place that Sarva, the son and successor of the emperor, was born.

Pallava, Pandya, Kerala and Ganga rulers had formed a confederation against the Rastrakuta hegemony during Govinda's absence in the north. When Govinda heard of this development, he marched down to the Tungabhadra with a lightning speed and defeated the coalition forces in 802 or 803 A.D. He then marched right up to Kanci and occupied it. By May 804, the subjugation of the Dravidian powers was complete.

The peaceful relations brought about by the marriage of Govinda's father with Silabhattarika, the daughter of the Calukya king Visnu-varhdhana IV, came to an end with the death of the latter monarch. His successor Vijayaditya rebelled against Govinda. The latter however got a golden opportunity to intervene; Bhima Salukki, the younger brother of Vijayaditya, rose against him and solicited Rastrakuta help. The Rastrakuta force easily overthrew Vijayaditya and put Bhima upon the throne. The latter naturally became an humble and submissive feudatory.

Govinda thus defeated almost every power in India that counted at that time. His victorious armies had marched from Kanauj to Cape Camorin, from Broach to Banaras. The Rastrakuta house commanded an all-India prestige and we find the king of Ceylon seeking to establish cordial relations with it by presenting to Govinda a statue of himself and another of his premier. Govinda installed these statues in one of the Siva temples at Kanci where they served the purpose of columns of victory to proclaim to his enemy's subjects the great power of their mighty conqueror.

During the last five or six years of his reign Govinda undertook no military expeditions. His crown-prince Sarva was very young and Govinda was making anxious preparations to secure his peaceful succession. He released Sivamara, the Ganga king, and reinstated him in Gangavadi. His loyal brother Indra, who had been appointed viceroy of Gujarat and Malwa was now dead and had been succeeded by his eldest son Karka. When however the old emperor felt his end approaching, he appointed Govinda, a younger brother of Karka, to the Gujarat viceroyalty and re-called Karka to the capital Malkhed to become the guardian of the boy emperor and to be at the head of the imperial administration during the critical days of the opening years of the new reign¹. The emperor's death took place in 814 A. D.

Govinda may well be called the greatest among the Rastrakuta emperors. The statement in his charters that the Rastrakuta armies became invincible under his leadership as the Yadava armies were under that of Krsna is borne out by a hundred victories he won from Kanauj to Cape Camorin. No power in India could challenge the Rastrakuta supremacy during the latter half of Govinda's reign.

¹ (Amoghavarsha was about sixteen years old at his accession. There is no sufficient evidence of the regency of Karka. See *Studies in Indology*, II, 209 f. V.V.M.)

Never again was the Rastrakuta prestige to rise so high. Indra III was no doubt to occupy Kanauj in c. 916 A.D., but his hold over the south was not so firm as that of Govinda. Krsna III was to occupy effectively the entire peninsula in c. 950 A.D., but he was not able to enter the Doab and defeat any rulers of northern India. Govinda's title Kirtinarayana was undoubtedly well deserved by him.

The Rastrakuta capital during the first fifty years of the rule of the dynasty (c. 750 to 800 A.D.) is not yet known. It is possible that it might have been somewhere in Berar or northern Maharashtra. It was Govinda who built the new capital at Manyakheta (modern Malkhed), 90 miles south-east of Solapur, and shifted the administration there¹. The new capital was more centrally situated with reference to the growing Rastrakuta empire ; it was also in Karnatak, from where the imperial Rastrakutas had first emigrated.

SHARVA AMOGHAVARSHA I (814 TO 880 A.D.).

Sarva succeeded his father in 814 A.D. and assumed the title of Amoghavarsha (Fruitful rainer) ; he was known to historians by that title only, as his personal name remained unknown for a long time. Nrpatunga and Viranarayana are other epithets given to him in his records. We shall refer to the emperor by his title Amoghavarsha.

Arrangements carefully planned by Govinda III worked satisfactorily for a time and everything went on well under the regency of Karka Patalamalla, though the new emperor was a boy of 14 only. The tradition of war at succession had, however, become so well established in the Rastrakuta dynasty by this time that it could not be eventually avoided in spite of Govinda's precautions. In c. 817 a serious rebellion broke out which practically liquidated the Rastrakuta empire for three or four years and compelled the boy emperor to flee from the capital². The rebels are expressly described as Rastrakutas ; it appears that they were led by some cousins of Amoghavarsha, like Sankaragana, the son of Stambha, who could not succeed his father in the Ganga viceroyalty. Sankaragana, being the son of Amoghavarsha's elder uncle, was probably regarded as a more legitimate ruler than the boy emperor by a section of ministers, who joined the rebellion. The recall of Karka from Gujarat to be at the head of the regency administration may have caused heart-burning among local high officials, who also joined the rebellion. Bhima, the nominee of the late Rastrakuta emperor on the Vengi throne, had been ousted by this time by his brother Vijayaditya, who naturally retaliated against the Rastrakutas by invading their empire, when it was torn by the internal rebellion. Calukya records refer to 108 battles fought against the Rastrakutas by Vijayaditya; Rastrakuta records admit that Amoghavarsha had to raise afresh the glory of his house, which had sunken deep into the Calukya ocean³. The course and events of this serious rebellion are not known, but there is clear evidence to show that Amoghavarsha

¹ (The Karda plates state distinctly that it was Amoghavarsha I who founded Manva-kheta, V.V.M.)

² Sanjan plates describe the details of this revolt, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 225.

³ Begumra Plates, *E.I.*, IX, p. 24.

and his cousin Karka were able to re-establish their authority before May 821 A.D.¹. The eclipse of the power of Amoghavarsa thus lasted for about four or five years. A few more years may have been required to re-establish the imperial authority in the distant districts of the empire.

Amoghavarsa then assumed offensive against the Calukyas of Vengi and smashed their power on the battle field of Vingavalli and occupied their capital Vengi². His opponent was most probably Vijayaditya III, for his grandson describes how Vengi had to be recovered from the Rastrakutas soon after his accession in 844 A.D. Amoghavarsa thus could hold Vengi for about 15 years, when the city was recaptured by the able Calukya general Panduranga for his master. Amoghavarsa was at this time busy in fighting his cousins in Gujarat and could not send sufficient force to defend Vengi.

Let us now review the Rastrakuta relations with the Gangas. Their king Sivamara had been released from captivity by Govinda before his death. Sivamara was succeeded by his son Rajamalla who rescued from Rastrakutas his country which they had held too long, 'as Visnu did the earth in the Boar incarnation'. Rajamalla could, however, recover only the southern portion of Gangavadi; its northern part continued to be under the Rastrakutas and was being governed by Bankeya, one of the able and trusted generals of Amoghavarsa. In c. 855 Amoghavarsa married his daughter Candra-bhabba to the Ganga king Butuga, a grandson of Rajamalla. This put an end to the long standing enmity between the two houses.

Amoghavarsa became entangled in a long war with his Gujarat cousins³ from about 835 A.D. We have seen already how Govinda had appointed his younger brother Indra as Viceroy of Gujarat in recognition of his steadfast loyalty. His son Karka was recalled to Malkhed to conduct the regency administration, but he retired to Gujarat in 824 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Dhruva in c. 830 A.D. Soon after his accession the friendly relations existing between the Gujarat branch and the main house came to an end. Either Dhruva became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father Karka who had restored Amoghavarsa to the throne, or Amoghavarsa became ungrateful and wanted to impose his authority harshly on the Gujarat viceroys. Whatever the reason, the two branches of the Rastrakuta family were entangled in a serious struggle which lasted for more than twenty years. Dhruva was killed in this long-drawn war in c. 845 A.D. and his son Akalavarsa had to regain his throne. His victory however was not decisive for his son Dhruva II had to continue the fight; at one time he had to meet the forces of Amoghavarsa on the southern front and those of Mihira Bhoja on the northern one. Peace however

¹ Surat Plates, *E.I.*, XXI, 133 f.

² Sangli Plates, *I. A.*, XII, p. 249

³ Gujarat Rastrakuta records mention Vallabha as the name of the enemy. He can be no other than Amoghavarsa who had *Prthivivallabha* as one of his epithets. See *Rasprakutas* 82-84.

was eventually restored between the two Rastrakuta families. Amoghavarsa probably realised the danger from the growing power of the Pratiharas, whose empire was now stretching beyond the Narmada, embracing the greater part of northern India. He therefore had to patch up his quarrel with his cousins in order to present a united front to the northern enemy. No serious conflict, however, occurred between the Rastrakutas and the Pratiharas; there were only occasional frontier skirmishes.

Let us now review Amoghavarsa's relations with other powers. The claim of the Rastrakuta records that the kings of Anga, Vanga and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarsa is more rhetorical than historical; there is nothing to indicate that Amoghavarsa had ever penetrated into Bihar and Bengal.

The military achievements of Amoghavarsa can hardly be compared with those of his father Govinda or grandfather Dhruva. He can be only credited with having kept the empire intact in spite of serious rebellions that occurred every now and then. The fact was that war and diplomacy did not attract him half as much as religion and literature. He was himself the author of *Kavirajamarga*, the earliest Canarese work on poetics and Canarese poets like Naga-varman II, Kesiraja and Bhattakalanka flourished in his court, as also Jain authors like Jinasena and Mahaviracarya. In his later life, Amoghavarsa developed pronounced leanings to Jainism owing to the influence of Jinasena. He however continued his devotion to Hindu deities as well.

In spite of his indifferent military achievements, Amoghavarsa will rank high in history. He had no spectacular conquests to his credit, but he protected his subjects from foreign invasions. He loved and encouraged science and literature and treated all creeds with equal impartiality. In his own life he made a synthesis of Hinduism and Jainism and acted up to his religious conviction by voluntarily retiring from public administration several times to pursue his spiritual exercises. He had a high regard for public weal and on one occasion sacrificed one finger of his own in order to avert a public epidemic¹. Few kings are known to have made such a sacrifice. His court poets naturally compared him with Sibi and Dadhici of Puranic fame. Amoghavarsa's position is thus naturally high among the rulers of India.

There is some uncertainty about the date of the death of Amoghavarsa and the accession of his son and successor Krsna II. One record proves that Amoghavarsa was ruling down to 878 A.D.² but another shows that his son was on the throne three years earlier. This discrepancy is due not to any revolt on the part of the son, but to the father's habit of periodical abdications for following the pursuits of spiritual life, which is referred to as early as

¹ Sanjan Plates, *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 235.

² Kanheri Ins., *I.A.*, XIII, p. 135.

861 A.D. in the Sanjan grant. Records issued during the temporary abdication may have often referred to the Crown prince, the *de facto* head of the government, as the ruling monarch. We may presume that the death of Amoghavarsha took place in c. 880 A.D., after a long reign of about 66 years.

KRSNA II

On his accession in c. 880 A.D., Krsna assumed the titles of *Subhatunga* and *Akalavarsha*, which had been earlier assumed by Krsna I and which were to be later adopted by Krsna III.

The Rastrakutas of Malkhed and the Calukyas of Vengi had by this time become 'natural' enemies and the wars between them continued unabated during the reign of Krsna. The charters of each dynasty claim victories for it over its opponents but hardly refer to any specific battles and their dates. It is therefore not easy for the historian to reconstruct the course of this long-drawn war with any positive certainty.

Vijayaditya III (844-888 A.D.) and Bhima I (888-918 A.D.) were the two Calukya contemporaries of Krsna. The former had succeeded in wresting Vengi from Amoghavarsha I. Soon after the accession of Krsna, Vijayaditya started an indirect war with the Rastrakutas by launching an attack on the Nolambas and the Gangas, who were feudatories or relatives of Krsna II. Vijayaditya was successful in the beginning. The Nolamba army was defeated and its general Mangi was killed in battle. The victors then advanced into Gangavadi, defeated its king Rajamalla II (whose younger brother was a brother-in-law of the Rastrakuta emperor) and occupied a part of his kingdom¹.

Emboldened by these successes, the Calukyas invaded the northeastern part of the Rastrakuta empire, occupied Bastar state, burnt the fort of Cakrakuta, modern Cakrakotya, and then advanced to Kiranapura, about 150 miles north of that fort. Krsna and his brother-in-law Sankaragana (called Sankila in Calukya records) were encamped in this city. The Calukya force captured and burnt this city. The Vengi records are not therefore exaggerating when they describe how the Gangas were locked up in their forts and how Krsna and Sankila were shorn of their glory. Such was the situation in c. 888 A.D. at the death of Vijayaditya.

¹ The above reconstruction of history is not free from difficulty ; in fact the present writer had himself suggested that the attack of Vijayaditya upon the Nolambas and the Gangas was at the instigation of the Rastrakuta emperor ; Rastrakutas, p. 63. The expression used in the Idar plates is *Rattasanoditah* and considering the political context of the history of the dynasties I am now inclined to think that Fleet was right in translating the expression as 'Challenged by the lord of the Rattas.' The same verse immediately refers to the defeat of Krsna and the burning of Kiranapura and it is likely that all these incidents refer to one and the same war. It is however possible to argue that political exigencies convert enemies of yesterday into allies of today and that Vijayaditya attacked the Nalamodita and the Gangas as the feudatory allies of Amoghavarsha and Krsna (*somcodita* meaning instigated by). Further discoveries alone can clarify the point.

Krsna took a lesson from these reverses, reorganised his forces, strengthened them by summoning the battalions of his cousin Krsna of Gujarat branch and Baddega, a Calukya feudatory of Vemulvada, and assumed the offensive at the north-eastern front. The Vehgi forces were this time completely crushed, and Bhima, the new Calukya ruler, fell a prisoner in the hands of the victors. Vengi records themselves admit that after the death of Vijayaditya (the sun of victory) the Vehgi kingdom was enveloped in darkness in the form of Rastrakuta forces¹. We may therefore well presume that Krsna occupied several districts of the enemy kingdom and proceeded to administer them through his own officers for some time. Bhima then made an effort to reconquer his partimony and was ably assisted by his general Mahakala, the son of his foster mother Nagipoli. A rather indecisive battle was fought at Niravadyapura, (modern Nidadavobi in Godavari district) ; the Calukyas claim victory in it, but admit the death of their crown-prince, a youth of 16, who was killed while attacking the Rastrakuta general from the back of his own elephant. Probably the battle was a drawn one, but the stubborn Calukya opposition probably convinced Krsna that he could no longer hold Vehgi under his control. The Rastrakuta forces may have been gradually withdrawn from the Vengi kingdom.

Let us now survey the relations of Krsna with his other neighbours. In the Gujarat Rastrakuta family, Dhruva II continued to rule down to c. 885 and was succeeded by his son Krsna, who co-operated with his namesake and feudal lord in his Vengi wars. In the nineties of the 9th century, hostilities arose between the Rastrakutas and the Gujarat Pratiharas, and Gujarat Rastrakuta records describe how Krsna pushed back the Pratihara forces and captured Ujjayini for his feudal lord Krsna II². The latter, however, did not pursue his victory further by launching a campaign in northern India, as was done earlier by Govinda III and Dhruva.

Nothing is heard of the Gujarat Rastrakutas after the year 888 A.D. In 910 A.D. Gujarat was in charge of a new Brahmana feudatory named Pracanda³. The career of the Gujarat Rastrakuta branch thus came to an end at about the close of the 9th century. The causes of this development are however not yet known.

Later Rastrakuta records sometimes refer to homage being paid to Krsna by kings of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga and Magadha; Uttara Purana, finished in 898 A.D., describes in its historical appendix how the fair water of the Ganga became soiled by the rut flowing from the temples of Krsna's war elephants. But these statements are more rhetorical than historical and need not be taken seriously. Krsna had not the military dash of his grandfather and his solid achievement was that he was able to keep his empire intact inspite of serious challenges from his neighbours. Like his father, he had leanings towards Jainism and this was natural; for the Jain sage and author Gunacandra was his preceptor.

¹ S. I.I., Vol. I, p. 40 (3).

² I. A., XII, p. 154.

³ E. I., I, p. 52.

During the reign of Krsna, the Rastrakutas of Malkhed and the Cedis of Tripuri were brought close together by a number of matrimonial alliances. Krsna's own crowned queen was a Cedi princess, sister of king Sankaragana, who was his ally in the Vengi war-Krsna's eldest son Jagattunga was married to Laksmi, a daughter of Sankaragana; later on he married her younger sister Govindamba also. In c 900 A.D. Jagattunga's son Indra was married to Vijamba a grand-daughter of a brother of Sankaragana, and Indra's younger brother Amoghavarsa to Kundakadevi, a grand-daughter of Mugdha-tunga, another brother of Sankaragana.

Krsna II died towards the end of 914 A.D. after a fairly long reign of 34 years. He must have been about eighty at the time of his death and had the misfortune to see his crown prince Jagattunga predeceasing him. He was succeeded by the latter's son Indra.

INDRA III.

Indra's accession in 914 A.D. like that of his father was a peaceful one. His formal coronation took place at a sacred *tirtha* named Kurundaka¹ in February 915 A.D. when he weighed himself in gold and granted or regranted 400 villages to Brahmanas and temples and distributed 20 lakhs of silver *drammas* in charity. He assumed the coronation title of *Nityavarsa* (continuous rainer of blessings).

Indra had fully inherited the martial spirit of his great-grandfather Govinda III and was determined to emulate his glorious example. Just after his accession, the Paramara chief Krsnaraja *alias* Upendra attacked Nasik, possibly at the instigation of his feudal lord, the Pratihara emperor Mahipala.² Indra drove him back and occupied Ujjayini, the key town in Malwa. With his base at this place, he planned a bold invasion of the Pratihara empire. The Pratihara emperor Mahipala had ousted his elder brother Bhoja II from the throne; and the latter's cause was being espoused by the Cedi ruler Kokkala. The close matrimonial relations existing between the Rastrakutas and the Cedis naturally induced Indra to intervene in Pratihara politics, ostensibly to support the claims of Bhoja, but really to satisfy his desire of *digvijaya*.

Indra assembled a large army in Malwa which included some battalions of his Calukya feudatory Narasimha of Vemulvad. The army started its march in the autumn of 916 A.D., with Kanauj as its definite objective. Its route was most probably via Bhopal, Jhansi and Kalpi. Crossing the Yamuna at the latter place³, the Rastrakuta forces besieged and captured Kanauj, which was the imperial capital of northern India for more than three hundred years. This was a sensational achievement and has been naturally described with great gusto in Rastrakuta records. Both Dhruva and Govinda III had defeated their contemporary Pratihara emperors but they could not succeed in unfurling the Rastrakuta flag on Kanauj.

¹ This is probably identical with Kurundvad near Kolhapur; R. G. Bhandarkar-identified the place with Kadoda on the Tapi, *B. G.*, I, ii, p. 203.

² The victory over Upendra is mentioned in the Navsari plates issued in 916 A.D. (There is no mention of any victory over a king named Upendra in the verse of the Navasari plates. For a correct interpretation of the verse which has misled many scholars see my article on the Jamgaon plates of Govinda III, *E.I.*, XXXVI, 2 77 f. V.V.M.)

³ Cambay plates, *E. I.*, VII, 26 f.

At the capture of Kanauj, or possibly even before that event, Mahipala fled to Mahoba, the capital of his Candella feudatory who was espousing his cause. Indra sent his Calukya general Narasimha to pursue him. To quote the words of poet Pampa, a protege of Narasimha's son Arikesarin, 'Narasimha plucked from Gurjara king's arms, the goddess of victory, whom, though desirous of keeping, he held too loosely. Mahipala fled as if struck by thunderbolt, staying neither to eat nor to rest'. The Rastrakuta army pursued him right up to Allahabad. Indra's expedition of northern India was merely of the nature of a *digvijaya*; he did not long remain in the north, but returned home by the spring of 917 A.D.

The Calukya king Ammaraja of Vengi died in 925 A.D. and a civil war soon broke out after the accession of his son Vijayaditya V. Indra first championed the cause of Tadapa and then of the latter's son Yuddhamalla and eventually succeeded in putting the latter upon the throne; he continued to rule down to 934 A.D. as a Rastrakuta protege.

Recent epigraphical discoveries show that Indra was definitely ruling down to December 927 A.D.¹. So the earlier view that he had a short reign of three years² has to be abandoned. Indra's death probably took place in 929 A.D., and he was succeeded by his eldest son Amoghavarsha, whose personal name is not known so far.

AMOGHAVARSHA II

Amoghavarsha II was in the prime of his youth at the time of his accession. But he died within a year and was succeeded by his younger brother Govinda IV. The latter's charters omit his elder brother's name, though it is included by the grants of the later kings and specifically aver that he did not ill-treat his elder brother or commit incest with his wife. Obviously the death of young Amoghavarsha within a year of his accession had given rise to ugly rumours, which the new king seeks to refute in his charters. His subsequent vicious life and career however make one suspect that the rumours referred to above could not have been altogether unfounded³. Whatever its real cause may have been, the death of Amoghavarsha took place in 930, in which year we find Govinda celebrating his coronation.

GOVINDA IV.

Govinda, who was about 30 at the time of his accession, assumed the coronation titles of Prabhutavarsha (Profuse Rainer) and Suvarna-varsha (Rainer of gold).

Govinda found himself entangled in a war with Vengi in c. 935 A. D. His father's nominee Yuddhamalla was ousted by Bhima in 934 and Govinda sent an army to crush him. It did not however meet with any success and had to retire⁴.

Govinda ruled for only about seven years, as his career was cut short by his vicious life. Records of his rival's successor describe how the intellect of Govinda became ensnared in the eyes of young

¹ *E.I.*, XXVI, p. 162. The record supplying 919 as the earliest date for Govinda IV (*I.A.* XII) p. 222, is probably a forgery.

² Rastrakutas., etc., p. 205.

³ (There is no basis for these scandals. The verse in these charters has been misunderstood. See *Studies in Indology*, I, 158 f, V.V.M.)

⁴ *E.I.*, VIII, p. 196.

women and how his body was undermined by a number of maladies, how his vicious life alienated the sympathies of a number of ministers and high officials and how he met with a natural ruin¹. This is perhaps a little biased account but appears to be substantially true. The defeat of the Rastrakuta armies in the Vengi war induced a feeling that the continuance of Govinda on the throne was not in the interest of the empire; his vicious life must have created a number of scandals, making the average citizen intensely pine for his deposition. Govinda had an uncle named Baddiga who was a half brother of Indra. He was leading a retired life in the Cedi country at Tripuri, his wife being a Cedi princess. He had a high reputation for character and saintly life. The dissatisfied courtiers and alienated subjects pressed him to accept the Rastrakuta crown. He was disinclined to do so, but his ambitious son Krsna managed to overcome his reluctance. Baddiga eventually started his march on Malkhed, probably with the assistance of his Cedi father-in-law, Yuvaraja I. The attack from the north was a signal for dissatisfied feudatories to rebel against Govinda. Prominent among these was Calukya king Arikesarin II, son of Narasimha, who had played a brilliant part in Indra's expedition in the north. He had offered asylum to Vijayaditya of Vengi and refused to surrender him to Govinda, when commanded to do so. Pampa, a protege of Arikesarin, no doubt states that it was Arikesarin, who shattered Govinda's power and offered the crown to Baddiga²; but this is probably an exaggeration. He appears to have attacked Govinda from the south when Baddiga was marching from the north. The decisive battle was fought in Berar on the bank of the Payosni a tributary of the Tapi³.

Govinda was firm on throne in 934 A.D.; we find Baddiga ruling in 937. The former's deposition probably took place early in that year. Whether Govinda died in the war or was put in prison, we do not know.

BADDIGA-AMO-GHAVARSHA III

Baddiga ascended the throne in 937 A.D. assuming the title of Amoghavarsha. He was an old man of 50, and more interested in the affairs of the future world than in those of the present one. He left the administration entirely in the hands of his ambitious crown-prince Krsna who was ably and loyally assisted by his brothers Jagattunga, Nirupama and Khottiga. Such a cordial *entente* among brother princes was a rather rare phenomenon in the annals of the Rastrakuta dynasty.

The Crown-prince Krsna was both ambitious and unscrupulous, and he proceeded to take active steps to restore the prestige of his house. His sister Revakanimadi had been married to Butuga, a younger brother of Rajamalla II, the ruling Ganga king. Krsna

¹ Deoli and Karhad plates, *E. I.*, III, p. 271 ; IV, pp. 278 f.

² *Vikramarjunavijaya*, after v, 52,

³ Rastrakutas p. 109-110.

decided to oust him and put his brother-in-law upon the throne. He therefore led an expedition to Gangavadi, killed Nolamba¹ princes Dantiga and Vappuga, who had championed Rajamalla's cause, and eventually overthrew and killed Rajamalla himself. Butuga was put upon the throne and he proved to be not only a loyal but also an able feudatory of Krsna.

BADDIGA-AMO-GHAVARSHA III

Krsna then led an expedition in the north and captured the forts of Kalinjar and Citrakuta in Bundelkhand. Probably he wanted to repeat his grandfather's feats in the Gangetic plain, but was recalled to south owing to his father's impending death. During this northern expedition, the relations of the Rastrakutas with the Cedis became strained, leading to a military conflict between the two². The cause probably may have been the disinclination of the Cedis to allow the Rastrakuta forces to retain the possession of the strategically important forts of Citrakuta and Kalinjar. This was an unfortunate estrangement between the two families which were closely connected by several matrimonial alliances.

Krsna had thus fully established his reputation as a general and administrator while still a Crown-prince³. He had brought both Gangavadi and Bundelkhand under his sphere of influence in a short period of about three years. His father therefore had no misgivings about his son's capacity, when he died probably in the summer of 939.

Krsna III

On his accession in 939 A.D., Krsna like his two namesake pre-decessors assumed the title of Akalavarsha. After his conquest of Kanci and Tanjore in c. 943 A.D., he took the Canarese title of *Kanciyun Tangaiyun Konda*, the conqueror of Kanci and Tanjore.

Within two or three years of his accession Krsna planned a grand campaign in the south. His ally and brother-in-law was in effective possession of Gangavadi, and using that province as his advanced base, Krsna launched a lightning attack on the Cola king Parantaka and captured the two important cities of Kanci and Tanjore before the fifth year of his reign⁴. Rastrakuta forces continued to be in the effective occupation of Tondaimandala, Arcot, Cingleput and Vellore districts, down to the end of the reign of Krsna.

Parantaka soon organised a counter attack to regain his lost districts. The two rival armies met in a sanguinary battle at Takkolam in the North Arcott district, in which eventually the Cola army was signally defeated, its general Crown-prince Rajaditya being killed right in his own elephant's *howdah* by Krsna's brother-in-law, the Ganga king Butuga II⁵. Krsna rewarded his brother-in-law's feat by bestowing upon him the governorship of Banavasi 12,000, Bevlol 300 and Purigere 300.

(¹) See Rastrakutas, pp. 112-13; *E. I.*, X, p. 54.

(²) This is expressly referred to in the Deoli plates, which state that Krsna conquered the elders of his wife and mother *E. I.*, IV, 281f ; V, 192 f. (This view is based on a wrong interpretation of a verse in Karhad and Deoli plates. See *C. I. I.*, IV, lxxxii, n. V. V. M.)

(³) See Deoli plates, *J.B.B.R.A.8.*, XVIII 239.

(⁴) See Rastrakutas p. 113-4.

(⁵) *E. I.*, XXI pp. 261-2.

Krsna fully exploited this signal victory and led his victorious army down to Ramesvaram, where he built two temples of Krsnesvara and Gandamartandaditya, which shone there as resplendent hills of fame¹. Kings of Kerala, Pandya and Ceylon were terrified into submission. Krsna did not occupy the entire peninsula for a long time ; eventually he retired to north but kept an effective control over Tondai-Mandalam, where numerous Rastrakuta records have been found dated down to the end of Krsna's reign.

Krsna did not for a long time interest himself in the affairs of Vengi. Eventually he decided to champion the cause of Badapa, a son of the former Rastrakuta nominee Yuddhamalla II. A Rastrakuta expeditionary force entered the Vengi kingdom, ousted the ruling king Amman II and put Badapa upon the throne in 950 A.D. He continued to rule as a Rastrakuta feudatory down to 970 A.D.²

Krsna's commitments in the south could not but affect his position in the north. Candellas wrested away the fort of Kalinjar and Citrakuta in c. 950³, the Cedis now naturally remaining passive spectators. Later on troubles arose in Gujarat and Malwa and Krsna had to send an army under the leadership of the Ganga king Marasimha, the successor of Butuga II., The expedition was successful ; we find Marasirhha taking the title of the King of Gurjaras and his two captains Sudrakayya and Goggiyamma, that of Ujjeni-bhujangas or conquerors of Ujjayini⁴. The conquest of this city would show that the Paramara king Siyaka had grown recalcitrant and that punitive action had to be taken against him. There is some evidence to show that Krsna's forces may have marched once more in Bundelkhand to regain the forts of Citrakuta and Kalinjar, but it is not conclusive⁵.

Krsna III was undoubtedly one of the ablest Rastrakuta emperors. No doubt he had no sensational victories in the north to his credit, as was the case with Dhruva, Govinda III or Indra III, but he was more truly lord paramount of the entire Deccan (Sakala-daksina-dig-adhipati) than was the case with any of his predecessors. His temples at Ramesvaram proclaimed the might of the Rastrakuta arms to every pilgrim at the fag end of south India. The power of the Colas, Pandyas and Keralas was broken and Vengi was being governed by a nominee of Krsna, who remained loyal to him.

Apparently Krsna's sons had all predeceased him. One of them had no doubt left a son behind named Indra, but he was apparently too young to succeed. When Krsna died in 967 A.D., we find him succeeded by his brother Khottiga.

(¹) Kolhapur plates, *vide B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 28.

(²) *E.I.*, XIX, p. 137.

(³) Khajuraho inser., *E.I.*, I. p. 124.

(⁴) *E.I.*, V, 179; *E.C.*, XI, Keri Nos. 23, 33.

(⁵) Krsna's first expedition in the north was undertaken when he was a Crown-prince. Jura inscription in the Canarese language discovered near Maihar Railway Station refers to Krsna as an emperor and describes his conquest of Kanci and Tanjore ; *Prima facie* this record would suggest a second invasion after 945 A.D. But it is not improbable that the record may have been inscribed later in c. 945 by a captain in the garrison left behind by Krsna in 940 A.D.

At his accession, Khottiga assumed the title of *Nityavarsa* (Incessant Ramer of blessings).

KHOTTIGA

Khottiga succeeded a brother who had ruled long; he must therefore be on the wrong side of 50 when he ascended the throne. It appears that he lacked the martial spirit of his elder brother; for the events show that he was unable to protect even his capital.

For a few years everything went on well with the Rastrakuta empire under the stewardship of Khottiga. The Paramara chief Siyaka was however smarting under the defeat he had suffered at the hands of Krsna and invaded the Rastrakuta empire to avenge it. His forces tried to cross the Narmada at the fort of Khalinghatta¹, but were repulsed with the loss of a general. Siyaka however sent fresh reinforcements and succeeded in forcing the passage of his army. Khottiga, being alarmed at this development, sent for his trusted ally king Marasimha of Gangavadi, but before his help could reach the Rastrakiitas, Siyaka reached Malkhed and plundered it. It was not his aim to permanently occupy the capital; it is therefore difficult to state whether Marasirhha drove out Siyaka and pursued him to the Vindhya or whether he just succeeded in harrying the victorious army marching with its rich booty² during its retreat homewards according to its previous plan³.

The plunder of Malkhed took place in the spring of 972 A.D. Khottiga was already an old man and did not long survive this shock. He died in the autumn of 973 A.D.⁴ and was succeeded by his nephew Karka, the son of his younger brother Nirupama. Either Khottiga left no sons behind him or their claims were superseded by Karka.

KARKA II

Karka ascended the throne in September 972 and assumed the title of Amoghavarsa. The only charter issued by him refers to his victories over the Pandyas and the Colas, the Hunas and the Gujars⁵. But these were conventional claims devoid of any historical value. Karka was ousted from his empire in about a year's time by one of his Calukya feudatories Taila II.

Karka was a weak and vicious ruler and his two principal advisors were tyrannical, if we are to accept the version of the opposing party⁶. He had superseded the claims of Indra, the grandson of Krsna III, and had thus naturally alienated the sympathies of the Ganga ruler Marasirhha, who was the maternal uncle of that prince. The Cedis had been alienated from the Rastrakiitas by the wanton attack of Krsna III upon them⁷. Their sympathies were rather with Taila who was out to challenge the supremacy of the Rastrakiitas ;

(¹) *E.I.*, XXI, p. 47.

(²) Among the booty were included office copies of Rastrakuta copper plates, some of which were reused by Munja for a fresh grant in 982 A.D. See *E.I.*, XXIII, p. 101.

(³) For the Paramara version, See *E.I.*, XIV, 299; I. p. 235. XIII, p. 180 ; for the opposite version, see *Sravana Belgola* inscriptions.

(⁴) *S.I.I.*, IX p. 43.

(⁵) Kharda plates, E. XII, p. 263.

(⁶) *E.I.*, XII, p. 150.

(⁷) (As shown above, this supposition is baseless.—V.V.M.).

for he was the son of a daughter of the Cedi King Laksmana. Taila believed himself to be a descendant of the earlier Calukyas, who had been supplanted by the Rastrakutas in 752 A.D. He was ambitious and wanted to regain for his house the overlordship of the Deccan, which it had lost two hundred and twenty-five years ago. He was married to a Rastrakuta princess named Jakavva and believed that both by virtue of his own descent and that of his wife, he was entitled to be the emperor of the Deccan.

Down to 965 A.D., Taila was a mere feudatory, ruling at Bagevadi in Bijapur district and having the humble feudatory title of *Mahamandaladhipati*¹. The sack of Malkhed however convinced him that the Rastrakuta empire was rotten to its core and he decided to rebel and make a bold bid for the hegemony of the Deccan. He was able to win over some of the Rastrakuta feudatories like the Yadava chief Bhillama to his side and he counted upon the help of the Cedis as well. Above all, he himself was a brave soldier and an astute general and eventually succeeded in realising his objective.

We do not know where the two forces met in the fateful combat, which was to decide the fate of the Rastrakuta empire. The scene of battle was probably somewhere in northern Karnatak. The struggle was intense and severe, for Taila's own records admit that it was after an exceedingly great effort that he obtained the sovereignty of the world². Karka's two wicked advisors were killed, but he escaped to south and carved a small principality in the Sorab Taluka of the Mysore State³. After the flight of Karka, Taila marched upon and occupied the Rastrakuta capital Malkhed, which continued to be the headquarters of his administration till the end of the 10th century.

Though Karka retired from the contest, a few other claimants came in the field and Taila had to defeat them. The most important among them was Indra IV, a grandson of Krsna III, whose cause was championed by his powerful Ganga maternal uncle Marasimha. Taila however signally defeated both of them, who eventually became Jain monks and died by the *sallekhana* vow, the maternal uncle in August 975 and the nephew in 982 A.D.⁴ When Marasirhha died, his successor Pancaladeva made a bid for the overlordship of the Deccan, but he also was completely overthrown and killed in battle⁵ and Taila remained the undisputed master of the Rastrakuta dominions. What part of these extensive territories came under his direct sway and how the different Rastrakuta feudatories transferred their allegiance to the new emperor will be narrated in the next chapter.

(¹) *Inscriptions of Bombay-Karnatak*, Vol. X, p. 40.

(²) *E.I.* V p. 20.

(³) *E.C.*, X, Sorab, W. 479. The date of this record given as 991 A. D. is not above doubt.

(⁴) *Inscriptions from gravana Belgola*, No. 59.

(⁵) Toragala inscription, *I.A.*, XII, p. 98.

The fall of the Rastrakuta empire was dramatic in its suddenness. In the winter of 967 A.D. Krsna III was the undisputed master of the whole of the Deccan; in the winter of 973 A.D., his empire crumbled like a pack of cards. Like other earlier empires, the Rastrakuta empire was a feudal_ federal organisation, lacking the strength of a unitary state. There were a number of feudatories under the emperor, whose stability and position depended as much upon his own strength and resources as upon the goodwill and cooperation of his subordinate feudatories. If the emperor was weak and the feudatories refractory, empires used to vanish in the twinkling of an eye. The forward policy of Krsna III had probably drained the resources of his treasury; the cessation of a large slice of northern Karnatak to the Gangas must have further affected the finances of the empire. Krsna's war with the Cedis was a great blunder,¹ it transferred their sympathies to Taila II. Irreparable damage had been caused to the Rastrakuta prestige by the Paramara sack of Malkhed in 972 A.D. Karka, the last emperor, not only lacked military skill and initiative, but was also in the hands of vicious and incapable advisors whose administration was very unpopular. Taila therefore did not find it difficult to overthrow the Rastrakuta empire and become the successful claimant to the paramount overlordship of the Deccan.

(¹See above, p. 21, n. 2.V.V.M.).

CHAPTER 8

THE SILAHARAS OF WESTERN INDIA*

INTRODUCTORY.

THE SILAHARAS WERE ONE OF THE MOST LOYAL FEUDATORIES of the Rastrakutas. There were three families of the Silaharas, one of which was ruling over North Konkan comprising the modern Kolaba and Thana Districts. This country was traditionally supposed to have comprised 14,000 villages¹. Its capital was Puri, from which this country came to be known as Puri-Konkana. Puri has been variously identified. Some take it to be the same as Gharapuri or the island of Elephanta near Bombay, but the identification appears improbable as the island is too small to be the capital of a fairly large kingdom. The most plausible view appears to be that Puri is identical with Rajapuri in the former Janjira State², which is situated at the mouth of a large creek on the western coast. The second family of the Silaharas was ruling over the Kolhapur and Satara districts. Its capital was situated at Valivada or at Kolhapur with the strong fort of Panhala in its vicinity. The third family was governing South Konkan, which was traditionally supposed to have comprised 900 villages. It was also known as Sapta-Konkana³ and comprised the modern territory of Goa and the Iridige country including the former Savantvadi State and the Ratnagiri district. Its capital was Bali-pattana⁴, which has not yet been definitely identified, but was probably the same as modern Kharepatan, where one of the grants of this family was discovered.

* This Chapter is contributed by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University.

¹ C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 157. In some later inscriptions the number of villages in North Konkan are said to have numbered 1,400 only. See the Bhadana grant of Aparajita, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 274, and the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

² P. I. H. C. (Fourth Session), pp. 86 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁴ The name of the capital occurs as *Valipattana* in both the grants of Rattaraja, but *Valipattana* gives no satisfactory sense. The name is read as *Balipattana* in the Cikodi plates. The same form may have been intended in the former grants also; for *v* is used for *b* therein. *Balipattana* may have been named after Bali, the king of demons or may signify the town of the mighty.

All the three families traced their descent from the mythical Vidya-dhara prince Jimutavahana, the son of Jimutaketu who offered to sacrifice himself to rescue a Naga from the clutches of Garuda. The family name Silahara, 'food on a slab', was supposed to have been derived from this incident. It seems, however, to have been an attempt to Sanskritise the family name which is spelt variously as Silara¹, Silara², Silara³ and Siyalara⁴ in the records of the Silaharas. This was in pursuance of the tendency in mediaeval times to trace the descent of royal families to eponymous heroes.

The Silaharas hailed from the Kanarese territory. The first two families mentioned above, which were ruling over North Konkan and Satara-Kolhapur region, state with pride in their grants that they hailed from the city of Tagara. This place is variously identified, but the most plausible identification is with the village Ter in the Osmanabad district of the Marathvada Division of Maharashtra. Tagara was, like Pratisthana, modern Paithan, an important market town in the Deccan which lay on the highway to Bharukaccha, modern Broach, from where merchandise such as common cloth, muslin and mallow cloth was exported to western countries. Both Ptolemy and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mention it, but while the former places it in a north-easterly direction from Barygaza, the latter says that it was a ten days journey to the east from Paithan⁵. Ter is about 95 miles from Paithan. So its distance fairly answers to the description in the *Periplus*, but it is to the south-east, not north or north-east, of Paithan. The Greek writers appear to have committed a mistake in stating the direction of Tagara from Paithan or Broach. The identification of Tagara with Ter is now generally accepted and is also corroborated by recent excavations at the place.

Ter, though now situated in the Marathi speaking country, was probably included in the Kanarese territory in ancient times. That the Silaharas, who hailed from Tagara, were Kanarese-speaking is shown clearly by their Kanarese *birudas* which are mentioned in their records viz. Malagalaganda, Gandaraganda, Gandavangara, Nanni-samudra, Villavedanga, etc⁶. This is again corroborated by their use of such Kanarese technical terms as *Hanjamana* and *Nagara* in the formal parts of their grants, which baffled scholars for a long time⁷. All this evidence leaves no doubt that the Silaharas of North Konkan and Kolhapur-Satara region hailed from the Kanarese country.

The third family ruling over South Konkan states that it originally belonged to Simhala. Kielhorn identified Simhala with Ceylon, but

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 278.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 33.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

⁴ *A. S. W. I.*, No. X, p. 102.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, p. 329 and Vol. VIII, p. 144, and XIII, p. 366.

⁶ Important inscriptions from Baroda State, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 292.

doubted whether the family could have originally come from the southern island. Simhala, however, appears to have been the name of the Goa region; for the Degamve inscription, describing the conquest of Goa states that the lord of Lanka was subdued by the Kadamba king Jayakesin¹. This family does not appear to have been connected with the other two families as it does not claim any connection with Tagara.

The Silaharas of both North and South Konkan rose to power as feudatories of the Rastrakutas. Before their rise, Konkan was ruled by the feudatories of the Calukyas of Badami. From the Aihole inscription we learn that Pulakesin II conquered North Konkan from the Mauryas who were probably feudatories of the early Kalacuris². Thereafter Vikramaditya I, the son and successor of Pulakesin II, placed his younger brother Jayasimha Dharasraya in charge of North Konkan, Gujarat and the Nasik District. Jayasimha's own copperplate grant is found in the Nasik district³, while the copper-plate grants of his eldest son Sryasraya Siladitya have been found at Navasari and Surat in Gujarat⁴. The grants of his second son Mangalarasa-Jayasraya were found at Balsad in Gujarat⁵ and in Kacch⁶. His capital was Mangalapuri evidently founded by himself, which has not yet been identified, but that he was ruling over parts of North Konkan is shown by his Kacch plates which were issued from Sripura, probably identical with Sirganv on the sea-shore, about 14 miles west of Manor in the Palghar taluka of the Thana District. These plates are dated in Saka 653 (A. D. 731). Some portion of North Konkan was under the rule of the Hariscandriya king Svami-candra, who is said to have been treated by Vikramaditya I as his own son and placed in charge of Puri-Konkana. The Anjaneri plates of his grandson Bhogasakti, recording assignment of some taxes levied on the people of a district in North Konkan, are dated in the Kalacuri year 461 (A. D. 710)⁷. Soon thereafter North Konkan was conquered by Dantidurga, the founder of Rastrakuta imperial power. His Manor plates, recording the grant of the village Tambasahika (modern Tamsahi near Manor) in favour of a temple at Sripura, are dated in the Saka year 671 (A. D. 749), only 18 years after the Kacch plates of Mangalarasa⁸. Thereafter North Konkan was under the direct rule of the Rastrakutas until Govinda III placed it in charge of Kapardin I, the founder of the North Konkan branch of the Silaharas.

South Konkan was conquered by the Calukyas of Badami in the reign of Mangalesa. The Nerur plates⁹ tell us that Mangalesa slew

¹ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 266.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 127 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 132 f.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 5 f.

⁶ *J. O. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 146 f.

⁸ *J. O. I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 141 f.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 161 f.

a chief named Svamiraja of the Calukya family, who had been victorious in eighteen battles. He was ruling from Revatidvipa, modern Redi, 8 miles south of Vengurla in the Ratnagiri district. Mangalesa then placed South Konkan in charge of Satyasraya Dhruva-raja Indravarman of the Batputra family. The Goa plates tell us that he was stationed in Revatidvipa in A. D. 610 and was governing four provinces¹. We have no further information about the rulers of this territory. It was evidently governed by some feudatory of the early Calukyas, perhaps by a Sendraka chief; for the home province of the Sendrakas, the Sendrakas-visaya, lays not far to the south. SILAHARAS OF SOUTH KONKAN.

We have seen above that the Rastrakuta king Dantidurga conquered North Konkan. South Konkan was added to the Rastrakuta Empire in the reign of Dantidurga's uncle and successor Krsna I. He placed Sanaphulla, the founder of the Southern Silaharas, in charge of the territory. The grants of his descendant Rattaraja record with gratitude that Sanaphulla, his ancestor, had the favour of Krsnaraja². This Krsnaraja is none other than the Rastrakuta Emperor Krsna I, who ruled from A. D. 758 to A. D. 773. That Sanaphulla, the founder of this family, also flourished in the period can be inferred from the fact that he was the ninth ancestor of Rattaraja, whose two known grants are dated in *Saka* 930 and 932.

Only three records of this family are known. The Cikodi plates issued by Avasara III are dated in *Saka* 910³. The other two grants dated in *Saka* 930 and 932 were issued by his son Rattaraja⁴. These latter grants give the following genealogy of these southern Silaharas. The Cikodi plates show some discrepancies which will be noticed below :—

Sanaphulla (c. A. D. 765-795).
 |
 Dhammiyara (c. A. D. 795-820).
 |
 Aiyaparaja (c. A. D. 820-845).
 |
 Avasara I (c. A. D. 845-870).
 |
 Adityavarman (c. A. D. 870-895).
 |
 Avasara II (c. A. D. 895-920).
 |
 Indraraja (c. A. D. 920-945).
 |
 Bhima (c. A. D. 945-970).
 |
 Avasara III (c. A. D. 970-995) (known year A. D. 988).
 |
 Rattaraja (c. A. D. 995-1020) (known years A. D. 1008 and 1010).

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X, pp. 365-6.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

³ A. R. B. I. S. M. for *Saka* 1835, pp. 430 f.

⁴ I. H. O., Vol. IV, pp. 203 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 292 f.

As stated before, Sanaphulla, the founder of this family, had the favour of the Rastrakuta Emperor Krsna I, whereby he acquired the territory between the Sahyadri mountain and the sea-shore¹. His name is, however, omitted in the Cikodi plates. He was ruling over the Goa region which is called Simhala in both the grants of Rattaraja. Sanaphulla's capital is not named in them, but it was probably at Candrapura, modern Candor on the left bank of the Paroda river, south of Goa.

Sanaphulla Dhammiyara

His son and successor Dhammiyara is said to have founded Balipattana² on the sea coast. This place may be identical with Kharepatan in the Ratnagiri district. Dhammiyara probably conquered some territory north of Goa and so felt the need of shifting the seat of government to a more central place like Kharepatan. As stated before, a grant of Rattaraja was found at Kharepatan. Perhaps Candrapura was invaded and occupied by some enemy, which may have necessitated the shifting of the capital. We know that it was in hostile hands in the reign of his successor Aiyapa.

Aiyapa.

The grants of Rattaraja mention Aiyapa as the son and successor of Dhammiyara. The Cikodi plates, however, mention another prince named Amalla between them. The cause of this discrepancy is, not known. Aiyapa followed an aggressive policy and invaded Candrapura, the erstwhile capital of the family, which was then in the occupation of some enemy. He is said to have bathed there with the water of cocoanuts,³ signifying his conquest of the territory.

Avasara I

According to the grant of Rattaraja, Aiyapa was followed by his son Avasara I, but the Cikodi plates, for some reason, omit his name altogether. Avasara is said to have been conversant with the principles of political science. Otherwise his description is conventional.

Adityavarman Avasara II.

His son was Adityavarman. He was succeeded by Avasara II, who is said to have rendered help to the rulers of Chemulya and Candrapura⁴. Chemulya, identical with Semulla mentioned as a port by Ptolemy, is modern Caul, about 30 miles south of Bombay. The ruler of this place was probably a feudatory of the Silaharas of Puri, but he seems to have revolted at the accession of his suzerain Laghu-Kapardin who was then in his teens. Avasara seems to have taken advantage of this opportunity to extend his sphere of influence in North Konkan. The other prince to whom he gave military aid was ruling at Candrapura in the Goa region. He is not named, but he may have been Kantakacarya, the founder of the Kadamba family of Goa, which rose to power about this time. Avasara seems to have aided him in occupying Candrapura which he later made his capital.

Indraraja.

Avasara II was followed by his son Indraraja, about whom we have only conventional praise in the records of

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 299.

² As stated before, the name of this capital occurs as *Valipattana* in the grants of Rattaraja, but as *Balipattana* in the Cikodi plates of Avasara III.

³ See e.g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

the family. He was succeeded by Bhima, who is said to have annexed Candramandala (comprising the territory round Candra-pura) even as Rahu devours the Moon at an eclipse. Bhima reversed the policy of his grandfather and came into conflict with the contemporary Kadamba king, who was either Sasthadeva or his son Caturbhuja.

Bhima Avasara III

Avasara III succeeded Bhima. He was a man of noble nature and peaceful disposition. He is said to have had no enemy. He issued the Cikodi plates in the *Saka* year 910 (A. D. 988)¹. They record the *pad-puja* of some saint with the gift of 100 *dinaras*. This reference to the *dinara* coins occurring in such a late work is interesting. The date of this record, Monday, *Karttika su. di. 5* in the cyclic year Sarvadhara is irregular. The cyclic year corresponding to *Saka* 910 was, no doubt, Sarvadhara, but the week-day does not agree.

The Southern Silaharas were loyal feudatories of the Rastrakutas. When Avasara III issued his Cikodi plates in *Saka* 910 (A. D. 988), the last Rastrakuta king Karka II had already been overthrown by Tailapa in A. D. 974. Thereafter, the Ganga king Marasimha tried to revive Rastrakuta power by placing on the throne his son-in-law Indra IV, the grandson of Krsna III, but the attempt did not succeed and Indra IV put an end to his life by religious starvation in A. D. 982². There was thus no Rastrakuta king ruling at the time when Avasara III issued his grant. But true to the erstwhile suzerains of his family, Avasara has given the genealogy of the Rastrakutas in the beginning of his Cikodi plates. At the end of the genealogy he states with regret that the noble sprout of the wish-fulfilling tree (*Kalpavrksha*) in the form of Baddiga could not grow as it was crushed under the weight of the huge mountain in the form of Tailapa. It is not clear who is meant by Baddiga here. Perhaps it refers to Indra IV, who had ended his life just six years before³. Avasara III lived in those stirring times. His Rastrakuta suzerain had been overthrown, but he had not yet submitted to Tailapa. So he has cited the genealogy of his former Rastrakuta suzerain in the Cikodi plates.

Rattaraja.

Avasara III was followed by his son Rattaraja, who is known from two grants dated in *Saka* 930 and 932. In the interval of twenty years that had elapsed since the issue of the Cikodi plates, the Later Calukyas had consolidated their power in the Kuntala country and had proceeded to subdue the erstwhile feudatories of the Rastrakutas. Rattaraja had to bend before this new power. He has eulogized

¹ A. R. B. I. S. M. for *Saka* 1835, p. 433.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 35; *E. C.*, Vol. II, No. 133.

³ It is difficult to say who is referred to as Baddiga. The tenor of the description suggests that it might be Indra IV, who ended his reign before he could consolidate his power. But the Kharepatan plates name the Rastrakuta king overthrown by Tailapa as Kakkala. Perhaps Kakkala had another name Baddiga.

both Tailapa and his son Satyagraha in his Kharepatan plates, but he retained his love and regard for the late Rastrakutas, whose genealogy he has given in the grant dated *Saka* 930. He however mentions that Satyasraya, his suzerain at the time, was governing the Rattapadi *i.e.* the Rastrakuta kingdom¹.

Rattaraja made the grant recorded in the Kharepatan plates to the teacher Atreya, the disciple of the Acarya Ambhojasambhu who belonged to the Karkaroni branch of the Mattamayura clan of the Saiva sect, for the worship of the god Avvesvara and the repairs of his temple. The temple had probably been constructed by king's father Avasara III as suggested by the name of the god installed therein. Mattamayura, the original seat of the clan, is probably identical with Kadvaha in Central India, where magnificent temples, as grand as those at Khajuraho, were erected by the Acaryas of this clan with the patronage of the local rulers². Karkaroni, after which the branch was named, has not been identified, but it must have been situated somewhere in Central India. The second grant of Rattaraja dated *Saka* 932 records the gift of some land to a Senavai (Senavi) Brahmana named Sankamaiya³.

Rattaraja is the last known king of this branch. After the death of Satyasraya, the power of the Later Calukyas seems to have suffered a decline owing to their conflict with the Colas. Taking advantage of this debacle, Rattaraja may have declared independence. As Satyasraya's successor Vikramaditya V was a weak king, he would not punish this recalcitrant feudatory, but his younger brother and successor Jayasimha invaded South Konkan, overthrew the ruler and appropriated all his possessions. This is recorded in his Miraj plates (A. D. 1024), which were issued from his camp at Kolhapur in the course of a campaign for conquering the northern country⁴.

This branch of the Silaharas ruled over South Konkan comprising Goa and the Ratnagiri district for about 250 years from c. A. D. 765 to c. A. D. 1020. For some times its sphere of influence extended to Caul in North Konkan. As stated before, its capital was Bali-pattana, which may be identical with modern Kharepatan.

SILAHARAS OF NORTH KONKAN.

We have seen above that North Konkan was conquered by the Rastrakuta king Dantidurga some time in the second quarter of the eighth century A. D. The Manor plates⁵ dated in the *Saka* year 671 (A. D. 749) show that North Konkan was then governed by

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 299.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. cli. f.

³ Chakladar, who has edited the grant, takes *Senavai* to mean *Senapati*, but this appears unlikely in the context.

⁴ *Ind Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

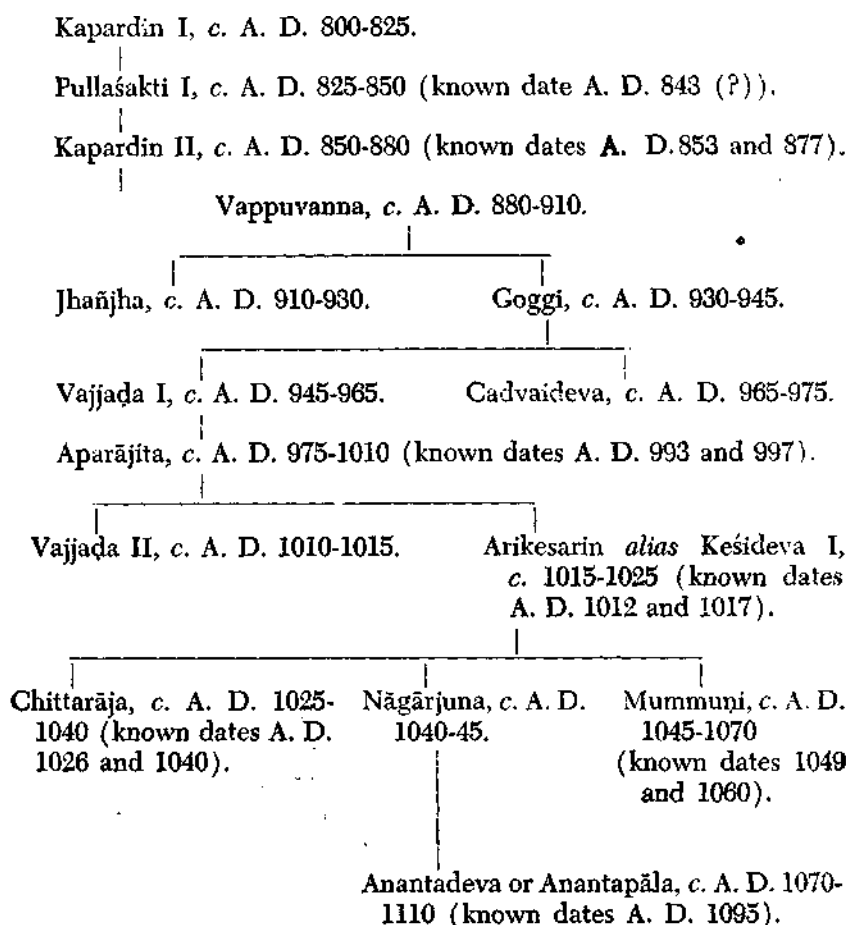
⁵ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 10 f.

Aniruddha who appears to have been a governor appointed by Dantidurga and not a feudatory of his, since he bears no feudatory title like *Samanta* or *Mandalesvara*. The next known ruler of this territory is Kapardin I, the founder of the northern branch of the Silaharas. He was a contemporary of the Rastrakuta Emperor Govinda III (A. D. 793-813) ; for the Kanheri inscription of his successor Pullasakti is dated in S. 765 (A. D. 843)¹.

Kapardin I

Kapardin I seems to have rendered help to Govinda III in extending his rule in Konkan and was apparently rewarded with the rulership of North Konkan. No record of his reign has yet been discovered, but that he was the founder of this branch of the Silaharas is shown by the name *Kapardika-dvipa* or *Kavadi-dvipa* given to North Konkan in his honour.

The genealogy of this branch² of the Silaharas with approximate dates may be stated as follows :—



¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 136 f.

² The genealogy is taken from Dr. A. S. Altekar's article in *Ind. Cul.*, Vol. II, p. 402, with some additions and corrections necessitated by subsequent research.

|
 Aparārka or Aparāditya I, c. 1110-1140
 (known dates 1127, 1129 and 1138).
 |
 Haripāladeva, c. A. D. 1140-1155 (known
 dates 1148, 1149, 1150, 1153 and 1154).
 |
 Mallikārjuna, c. A. D. 1155-1170 (known
 dates 1156 and 1162).
 |
 Aparāditya II, c. A. D. 1170-1195 (known
 dates 1184, 1185 and 1187).
 |
 Keśirāja II, c. A. D. 1195-1240 (known
 dated A. D. 1203, 1239).
 |
 Someśvara, c. A. D. 1240-1265 (known
 dates 1259 and 1260).

Pullasakti.

Kapardin I was succeeded by his son Pullasakti, who has left a much abraded inscription in one of the Kanheri caves¹. It bore a date at the end, which has now been almost completely effaced. Kielhorn doubtfully read it as (*Saka*) 765. The date appears quite plausible ; for Pullasakti's son and successor Kapardin II is known from two dates *Saka* 795 and 799.

In the Kanheri cave inscription Pullasakti is called *Mahasamanta* and is described as the lord of Puri-Konkana, which he had obtained by the favour of *Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Prthivivallabha* Amoghavarsha (I). The inscription records the endowment of 124 *drammas* made by one Visnugupta for the repairs of the cave as well as the raiment and books of the monks dwelling in Krsnagiri (Kanheri)².

Kapardin II.

Pullasakti was succeeded by his son Kapardin II, who is called Laghu-Kapardin in the records of his successors to distinguish him from his grandfather who bore the same name. He seems to have come to the throne when quite young; for the Thana plates of Arikesarin tell us that though he was an infant, his enemies paid homage to him. Two inscriptions of his reign, dated the *Saka* years 775 (A. D. 854) and 799 (A. D. 877-878) in the Kanheri caves, record permanent endowments of some *drammas* for the raiment etc. of the monks dwelling in the caves³.

Vappuvanna

Kapardin II was followed by his son Vappuvanna, about whom his successors' records give only conventional praise. In his time

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

² Kielhorn doubtfully read *kancana-dramma* in line 5 of this record and on the strength of this reading it was believed that *drammas* were issued in gold also. But the reading is incorrect. See *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 238 f.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 f.

a part of North Konkan comprising Sarhyana *mandala* (the territory round Sanjan in the Thana District*) was given in charge of an Arab feudatory named Madhumati by the Rastrakuta Emperor Krsna II¹. His family ruled in this region for at least three generations. A set of plates found at Cincani in the Dahanu taluka of the Thana District mentions Madhumati's son Sahiyarahara and grandson Sugatipa, who was then ruling². Madhumati, Sahiyarahara and Sugatipa are evidently Sanskritised names of Muhammad, Shahariar and Subakta. This Arab feudatory family, though owning allegiance to the same Rastrakuta Emperor, often came into conflict with the Silaharas. Madhumati is said to have conquered all ports on the western sea-coast and established his outposts in them. His grandson Sugatipa had Hindu ministers and administrators. He made some charitable works. He established ferries for the crossing of rivers and also a charitable feeding house at Samyana for the use of travellers. He also made some grants of villages and land in favour of a temple of Bhagavati at Samyana after obtaining the consent of his suzerain, the Rastrakuta Emperor Indra III. These Arab feudatories seem to have continued to rule over the Samyana *mandala* till the downfall of the Rastrakutas in A. D. 974. Thereafter the Silahara king Aparajita overthrew them and annexed their territory to his own kingdom³.

Jhanjha

Vappuvanna was followed by Jhanjha. That he was ruling in this period is also known from the statement of Al-Masudi that Samur (i.e. Caul in the Kolaba district) was governed by Jhanjha in c. A. D 916. He was a very devout Saiva. He is said to have built twelve temples of Siva and named them after himself⁴. None of them is now extant.

Goggiraja.

Jhanjha seems to have left no issue. He was succeeded by his younger brother Goggiraja, about whom the grants give only conventional praise. He was followed by Vajjada I, who is highly eulogised for his valorous deeds.

Vajjada I.

Vajjada I had probably a short reign. He was succeeded by his brother Chadvaideva. His name is, however, omitted in all later Silahara records, not because he was a collateral; for the name of collaterals are also mentioned in the records of the dynasty. Perhaps he was a usurper. That he came to the throne is shown by his Prince of Wales Museum plates⁵.

Chadvaideva

These plates are not dated, but since they bring the genealogy of the Rastrakutas, the suzerains of the Silaharas, down to Krsna III, Chadvaideva must be referred to the second half of the tenth century A. D. His successor Aparajita's grants are dated in A. D. 993 and 997. He may therefore have reigned in c. A. D. 965-975.

* Now in Surat district.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 45 f.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ See v. 31 of the Janjira plates of Aparajita, *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State (I. I. B. S.)*, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

⁴ See v. 8 of the Kharepajan plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 f.

The plates record the grant of some land in the village Salanaka in the *visaya* of Panada. These places may be identified with Salinde and Poinad, the latter being situated about 8 miles north by east of Alibag in the Kolaba District. The grant had been promised by Vajjada I, but remained unexecuted during his life time. Chadvaideva, on coming to know of it, issued these plates recording the gift.

Aparajita.

Chadvaideva was followed by his nephew Aparajita, the son of Vajjada. He has left us three copper-plate grants. Two of them,¹ found at Janjira, both dated in the same *Saka* year 915 (A. D. 993), were issued by him after the overthrow of the Rastrakutas by the Later Calukya king Tailapa. But Aparajita, true to the erstwhile suzerains of his house, gives the genealogy of the Rastrakutas from Govinda I to Kakkala and regretfully records that the light of the last Rastrakuta king was extinguished by the hurricane in the form of Tailapa². He did not himself submit to the Calukyas, but began to assume high-sounding titles like *Pasctma-samudr-adhipati* (the Lord of the Western Ocean) and *Mandalika-Trinetra* (The three-eyed god Siva to his feudatories). He made several conquests. First, he seems to have proceeded against the Arab feudatory family ruling at Sarhyana and overthrowing it, annexed its territory to his own kingdom³. Thereafter we do not hear of this Arab kingdom on the western coast. He next conquered Punaka (Poona), Sangamesvara and Ciplun and thus extended his rule to Southern Konkan and the *Desa*.⁴ A verse in his Janjira plates states the boundaries of his kingdom as follows—'from Lata (Central and Southern Gujarat) in the north to Candrapura (Candor in the Goa region) in the south and from the ocean in the west to the territory of Bhillama in the east⁵. Another verse which occurs in the Kharepatan plates states that he gave shelter to Goma, who had sought his protection, he firmly established Aiyapa on his throne and gave security from fear to Bhillama and Ammana. He thereby became famous as *Birudanka-Rama*⁶. None of these princes except Bhillama, the Yadava king, have been identified.

Aparajita was an ambitious king. He sought to extend his sphere of influence by allying himself with mighty rulers of other countries. He is probably meant by the Vidyadhara king Sikhandaketu, mentioned in the *Navasahasankacarita* of Padmagupta, who sent his son sasikhanda to render help to the Paramara king Sindhuraja (A. D.

¹ *I. I. B. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 35 f.

² See ***** V. 13 of the Bhadana grant.

³ See v. 31 of the Janjira plates, *Saka* 915 (Set A) and v. 28 of Set, B.

⁴ *Loc, cit.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Verse 27 of Set B.

⁶ See Verse 14 of the Kharepatan plates, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

993-1010) in his invasion of South Kosala at the request of the Naga king of the Bastar District (M. P.)¹.

Aparajita's extensive conquests, his alliance with the Paramaras, his assumption of grandiloquent titles and his refusal to recognise the suzerainty of the Later Calukyas exasperated Satyasraya, the son of Tailapa. He invaded the kingdom of Aparajita and pressed as far as the capital Puri. Ranna, the Kanarese poet, says that hemmed in by the ocean on one side and the sea of Satyasraya's army on the other, Aparajita trembled like an insect on a stick, both the ends of which are on fire². Satyasraya burnt Amsunagara in Konkan and levied a tribute of 11 elephants on Aparajita. This invasion seems to have occurred in *circa* A. D. 1005. Aparajita did not live long after this humiliation. He probably closed his reign in A. D. 1010.

Vajjada II.

Aparajita was succeeded by his son Vajjada II, about whom only conventional praise is given in the records of his successors. An inscription from Hangal, however, tells us that Kundaladevi, the queen of the Kadamba king Chattadeva (Sasthadeva II) (c. A. D. 1005-1055) was the daughter of the king Vachavya of Thani i.e. Thana³. As Altekar conjectured, this king of Thana was probably the Silahara king Vajjada II⁴.

Arikesarin.

Vajjada was succeeded by his younger brother Arikesarin *alias* Kesideva I. While yet a prince, he had taken part in the Paramara Sindhuraja's campaign in Chattisgad and had also marched with an army to Saurashtra where he worshipped Somesvara (Somanatha) and offered his conquests to the god.

It was during the reign of Arikesarin that Konkan was invaded by the Paramara king Bhoja. Two of his grants made in celebration of the victory are dated in A. D. 1020, one in January and the other in September of the year⁵. The causes of this invasion are not known. D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the invasion was undertaken by Bhoja to avenge the murder of his uncle Munja. This reason does not appear convincing; for there was an interval of 44 years between the murder of Munja (A. D. 975) and Bhoja's invasion of Konkan (A. D. 1019). Perhaps as Altekar has suggested⁶, Arikesarin acknowledged the suzerainty of the Later Calukyas, which Bhoja did not like. Bhoja seems to have occupied North Konkan for some time as shown by his Betma plates. However, the Calukya king Jayasimha, after overthrowing Southern Silaharas and annexing their kingdom, planned to invade North Konkan. The Miraj plates' dated in A. D. 1024 tell us that he was encamped at Kolhapur in the

¹ *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 58 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 41.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 333.

⁴ *Ind. Cul*, Vol. II, p. 408.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 182 f.; Vol. XVIII, pp. 322 f.

⁶ *Ind. Cul*, Vol. II p. 408.

course of his campaign against North Konkan¹. It is not known if he conquered the country, but it is noteworthy that Chittaraja, in his grant² issued soon after this date in A. D. 1026, does not mention the suzerainty of the Calukyas.

Chittaraja succeeded his uncle Arikesarin some time before A. D. 1026, when he issued his Bhandup plates. Two other records of his reign viz. his own Berlin Museum plates³ and the Cincani plates of his feudatory Camundaraja⁴ are dated in *Saka* 956 (A. D. 1034). So he may have reigned from A. D. 1025 to A. D. 1040.

The Silaharas seem to have suffered a defeat about this time at the hands of the Kadamba king Sasthadeva II. As we have seen before, Aparajita, the grandfather of Chittaraja, had raided Candrapura, modern Candor, and defeated the ruler thereof, who was probably Guhalladeva II, the father of Sasthadeva II. Sasthadeva took revenge in the beginning of the reign of Chittaraja, who was a mere boy at the time of his accession. From his capital Candrapura Sasthadeva marched to the north. He first annexed South Konkan (called Konkana Nine Hundred) and advancing further, he overran Kavadi-dvipa (North Konkan). The Narendra inscription describes this expedition in the following words—” As he took Kavadi-dvipa, and many other regions, built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Lanka (i.e. the Goa territory) and claimed tribute among grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kadamba sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment of the worship of Rama⁵.

Sasthadeva did not, however, annex North Konkan. He restored it to Chittaraja on condition that he recognised his suzerainty. There was another attack on the Silahara dominion during the reign of Chittaraja. Gonka of the Kolhapur branch of the Silaharas (c. A. D. 1020) calls himself the lord of Konkan⁶. He had evidently scored a victory over the Silahara ruler of North Konkan; for South Konkan had already been annexed either by him or by the Kadambas as feudatories of the Later Calukyas.

As stated before, Aparajita had conquered Samyana-*mandala*. His son Arikesarin gave it in charge of a feudatory named Vijjaranaka, who probably belonged to the Modha family. His son Camundaraja was governing that *mandala* as a feudatory of Chittaraja whom he names as Chinturaja in his Cincani plates, dated *Saka* 956 (A. D. 1034)⁷.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 277 f.

³ *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XC, pp. 265 f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 63 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 369.

⁶ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 281.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 63 f.

Chittaraja was a patron of art and literature. He built the magnificent temple of Siva at Ambarnath near Kalyan. He also patronised Soddhala, the author of the *Udayasundarikatha*¹. Appreciating one of his verses containing the word *pradipaka*, the king gave him the sobriquet *Kavipradipa*². He also patronised some other learned men and poets who were contemporaries of Soddhala³.

Nagarjuna

Chittaraja was succeeded by his younger brother Nagarjuna, who had probably a short reign⁴. He is only conventionally praised in Silahara grants. He may be referred to the period A. D. 1040-1045.

Mummuni

Nagarjuna was succeeded by his younger brother Mummuni or Mamvani in c. A. D. 1045. Three records of his reign have been discovered so far. The earliest of them, a copper-plate grant dated *Saka* 970 (A. D. 1049)⁵, registers the donation of some villages in three *visayas* or districts viz., Varetika, Abhyantaratsasti and Surparaka-satsasti. Varetika, the chief town of the first, was probably the same as the modern village Vadavali, about 6 miles north of Thana. Abhyantara-satsasti included the territory round about Thana, while Surparaka-satsasti comprised that round Sopara. Another grant of Mummuni is dated in *Saka* 971 (A. D. 1049)⁶. It registers the gift of the village Kucchita in the Mandaraja *visaya*. These places have not been identified. Mummuni also repaired the temple at Ambarnath which had been built by his eldest brother. He has left an inscription there, which is dated *Saka* 982 (A. D. 1060)⁷.

The power of the Silaharas weakened in the reign of Nagarjuna and Mummuni. The latter had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Kadambas of Goa. When Sasthadeva II visited his court he received him with great honour. The Narendra inscription describes this incident in the following words—"When the exalted valour of Cattayadeva in his sport upon the ocean reached him, Mummuni of the famous Thaneya, hearing of it, came into his presence, saw him and led him to his palace, and displayed intense affection; and he bestowed on him his daughter with much pomp, and gave to his son-in-law five lakhs of gold⁸.

As the power of the Silaharas declined, the Modha feudatories of Samyana began to assert their independence and assumed the *birudas*

¹ *Udayasundarikatha* (G. O. S., 1920), p. 152.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴ Altekar supposed that *Nagarjuna* died before Chittaraja and so did not reign; but the description in the *Udayasundarikatha* does not leave doubt that he had come to throne.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 53 f.

⁷ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 219 f.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 310.

of the Silaharas themselves. The Modha prince Vijjala in his Cincani plates dated *Saka* 975 (A. D. 1053) calls himself the lord of Tagarapura and bears the proud title *Saran-agatavajra-panjara*, which is usually met with in Silahara records¹. Mummuni seems to have overthrown these recalcitrant feudatories some time after *Saka* 975 (A. D. 1053), the last known date of prince Vijjala of this family.

Mummuni, like his two brothers, was a patron of poets and learned men. Soddhala composed his work, the *Udayasundarikatha*, in his reign and recited it in his court. Mummuni greatly appreciated it and rewarded the author liberally. Soddhala thereafter repaired to the court of Vatsaraja, the king of Lata, but he mentions with gratitude the honour he received at the Silahara court during the reigns of the three brothers Chittaraja, Nagarjuna and Mummuni².

Anantapala.

There was a civil war (*dayada-vyasano*) towards the close of Mummuni's reign, but the contending parties are not known³. Taking advantage of it some foreign king, perhaps Guhalla II, the Kadamba contemporary of Mummuni, invaded the territory. He devastated the country and harassed gods and Brahmanas. Anantapala, the son of Nagarjuna, rescued the country from this calamity. Guhalla had perhaps secured the aid of some Muslim chief in this invasion. The Kharepatan plates record that Anantapala routed the desperate and vile Yavana (i.e. Muslim) soldiers and inscribed his fame on the disc of the moon⁴.

Only one inscription of Anantapala has been found, viz., the Kharepatan plates dated in *Saka* 1016 (A.D. 1094)⁵. From it we know that he assumed the title of *Pascima-samudradhipati* and claimed to be the ruler of the entire Konkan country including Puri-Konkan. The inscription exempts the ships of certain ministers of his from the customs duty levied at the ports of Sthanaka (Thana), Surparaka (Sopara), Cemulya (Caul) and others.

Hostilities with the Kadambas seem to have broken out again at the close of the reign of Anantapala. Jayakesin II, the valiant king of Goa, invaded North Konkan and in the encounter that followed, killed the Silahara king. The Degamve inscription describes him as Death to the king of Kavadi-dvipa⁶. After this, Jayakesin annexed North Konkan. The Narendra inscriptions dated in A. D. 1125 and 1126 describe him as governing Kavadi-dvipa, a Lakh and a quarter, in the time of the Calukya Emperor Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 63.

² *Udayasundarikatha*, p. 12.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 34.

⁴ The correct reading of the verse appears to be***** in line 54 as suggested by Dr. Dikshit.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 f.

⁶ *J. B.B.R A. S.*, Vol IX, p. 266.

VI) ¹. The Silahara prince Aparaditya I was reduced to great straits. His Vadavali inscription describes this calamity very graphically. “ A demon named Chittuka invaded the kingdom and the feudatories sided with him. Dharma was lost, the elders were oppressed, the subjects became exhausted and the country’s prosperity was at an end. Still undaunted, Aparaditya single handed rushed to the battle on horseback, relying on his power of arms and his sword. Then the enemy knew not whether to fight or to flee. He took shelter with the Mlechchhas².”

The demon Chittuka mentioned in this passage is probably none other than the Kadamba king Jayakesin II. As Altekar has pointed out, Jayakesin had two sons Sivacitta and Visnucitta and he himself may well have borne a name like Chittuka³. Aparaditya thus completely routed the enemy and regained his ancestral kingdom. The date of this event can be settled precisely. As stated before, the Narendra inscriptions dated in A. D. 1125 and 1126 describe Jayakesin as the ruler of Kavadi-dvipa⁴. Aparaditya I seems to have defeated him and recovered the whole Konkan country in the following year A. D. 1127, when he issued his Vadavali plates⁵

Aparaditya I.

Aparaditya I appointed ambassadors at the court of important contemporary kings. This is shown by the mention of his ambassador Tejahkantha in the *Srikanthacarita* of Mankha⁶. Tejahkantha, who was present in the assembly where the work was presented is described as the ambassador of king Aparaditya of Konkan at the court of king Jayasimha of Kashmir (1128-1150). He had defeated an opponent in a Sastrarha at Surparaka where he was halting on his way to Kashmir. As Altekar has shown, this Aparaditya must be identified with the first king of that name.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323. Altekar, relying on Fleet’s statement in *B. G.*, (Old Ed.) Vol. I. Pt. ii, p. 568, states that a later inscription at Narendra incised only five months later than the earlier one of A. D. 1125 omits Kavadiadvipa from the dominion of Jayakesin II, but this is incorrect. Both the inscriptions have, since the time of Fleet, been edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 298 f. and 316 f. Both describe Jayakesin II as the ruler of Kavadiadvipa, a lakh and a quarter, i.e. of North Konkan. The date of the so-called Somanath inscription viz. 1176, which Altekar referred to the Vikrama *Samvat* and took as belonging to the reign of Aparaditya I is really of the Saka era and belongs to the reign of Aparaditya II. See below.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 505 f.

³ *Ind, Cult*, Vol. II, pp. 412 f.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 505 f.

⁶ See * *****

(Canto. XXV, pp. 10940).

Aparaditya I was a versatile man. He took keen interest in music and was also proficient in Dharmasastra. His commentary Apararka on the Yajnavalkya Smṛti is still regarded as the standard work on Dharmasastra in Kasmir. It seems to have been introduced there by the aforementioned ambassador Tejahkantha.

Haripaladeva.

Aparaditya I was followed by Haripaladeva, whose inscriptions dated *Saka* 1070,¹ 1071,² 1072,³ 1075⁴ and 1076⁵ have been discovered in the Thana District. He may therefore have reigned from c. *Saka* 1062 to *Saka* 1077 (or c. A. D. 1140 to A. D. 1155). From his reign onward we get only stone inscriptions and they are mostly written in a mixed language of Sanskrit and Marathi. As they do not give any genealogy, it is not possible to say how Haripaladeva was related to his predecessor Aparaditya I. These inscriptions record the gifts made by ministers, private individuals or village communities. The mention of a Sahavasi Brahmana in one of them is interesting. These Brahmanas later became known as Savage Brahmanas in Maharashtra.

Mallikarjuna.

Mallikarjuna, who succeeded Haripaladeva, is known from two inscriptions—one found at Ciplun in the Ratnagiri District⁶ and the other in Vasai in the Thana District⁷. The former is dated in the *Saka* year 1078 (A. D. 1156) and records the appointment of one Supaya as *Dandadhipati* (Military Officer) in charge of the country of Pranalaka. The record was incised on a sasana-stambha. Some scholars have proposed to identify Pranalaka with Panhala near Kolhapur⁸ and others with Panvel in the Kolaba District⁹; but since the stone inscription was found at Ciplun, the country of Pranalaka must have been in the vicinity of that place. The Vasai inscription is dated in *Saka* 1083 (A. D. 1162). It records the *jirnoddhara* (repairs) of a temple (of Siva) and the gift of a garden in Lona (modern Lonad in the Bhivandi taluka) to an upadhyaya.

In his *Kumarapalacarita* Hemacandra gives a graphic description of Mallikarjuna's battle with the forces sent by the Calukya king Kumarapala¹⁰. Merutunga's account of the causes that led to this fight and the progress of it may well be true¹¹. Kumarapala is said to

¹ Ranjali Stone Inscription, *Pracina Marathi Koriva Lekha* (P. M. K. L.) pp. 43 f.

² *B. G.* Vol. II, pt. ii (Old Ed.), p. 19, n. 3.

³ Agasi Stone Inscription (*P. M. K. L.*), pp. 48 f.

⁴ Borivali Station Stone Inscription, *B. G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.) p. 19 n. 3.

⁵ British Museum Inscription, *Kielhorn's List*, No. 310.

⁶ *P. M. K. L.*, pp. 53 f.

⁷ *B. G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.) p. 19.

⁸ *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. XIII (New Series), pt. i. pp. 60 f.

⁹ *P. M. K. L.*, p. 55.

¹⁰ *Kumarapalacarita*, Canto VI, vv. 40-70.

¹¹ Merutunga, *Prabandhactotameyl* (ed. by D. K. Sastri 1932) pp. 130 f.

have felt offended by the title *Rajapitamaha*¹ assumed by Mallikarjuna and sent an army under his general Ambada to invade his territory. Ambada was defeated by Mallikarjuna and feeling disconsolate, he repaired to Krsnagiri (Kanheri) where he passed some days in black clothing. Coming to know of it, Kumarapala sent heavy reinforcements, which enabled Ambada to inflict a disastrous defeat on Mallikarjuna. He cut off his head, mounting daringly the elephant he was riding. He then presented the cut off head of the Silahara king to Kumarapala in the assembly attended by his seventy-two feudatories². There is much exaggeration in this account, but Hema-candra also records that Mallikarjuna was killed in the fight³. Kumarapala thereafter became the suzerain of the Silaharas.

Aparaditya II.

Mallikarjuna was followed by Aparaditya II, but his relation to his predecessor is not known. Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Saka 1106,⁴ 1107⁵ and 1108⁶ have been discovered at Lonad, Thana and Parel, respectively. In one of them Aparaditya has mentioned his imperial titles *Maharajadhiraja* and *Konkana-cakravarti*,⁷ which show that he had thrown off the yoke of the Gujarat Caulukyās. He may be referred to the period A. D. 1170-1195.

Kesideva II.

Aparaditya II's successor Kesideva II is known from two stone inscriptions. The earlier of them is dated in Saka 1125 and was found at Mandavi in the Vasai taluka⁸. It records the grant of something at the holy place of Mandavali in the presence of god Laksminarayana. The second⁹ is historically more important. It was found at Lonad and is dated Saka 1162 (A. D. 1240). It states that Kesideva was the son of Apararka and records the grant of a field or hamlet named Bapagrama (modern Babganv near Lonad) to four worshippers of a Saiva temple.

As the two dates of Kesideva are separated by 36 years, he may have had a long reign of 40 or 45 years. He may therefore be referred to the period A. D. 1195-1240.

Somesvara.

The successor of Kesideva was Somesvara, who like Aparaditya assumed the imperial titles *Maharajadhiraja* and *Konkana-Cakravarti*¹⁰. Only two inscriptions of his reign are known. The earlier of them, dated in saka 1181 (A. D. 1259), was found at the village of Ranavad

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² The title was assumed by earlier Silahara kings, see e.g. lines 61-62 of the Vadavali plates of Apantadeva, dated Saka 1016.

³ *Kumarapalacarita*, Canto VI, v. 69.

⁴ *P. M. K. L.*, pp. 72 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 77 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 80 f.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 98 f.

⁹ *B. G.*, Vol. I, pt. ii (Old Ed.), p. 20, n. 2. A.B.O.R. I., XXIII pp. 98-102.

¹⁰ See Ranavad Stone Inscription, P.M.K.L. p. 159.

near Uran (in Kolaba district¹) and the later, dated *Saka* 1082 (A. D. 1160), at Canje in Panvel *taluka*². Both of them record royal grants the former to some Brahmanas and the latter to the temple of Uttaresvara in the capital Sthanaka (Thana).

Somesvara is the last known Silahara king of North Konkan. In his time the power of the Yadavas of Devagiri was increasing. The Yadava king Krsna (A. D. 1247-1261) sent an army under his general Malla to invade North Konkan³. Though Malla claims to have defeated the Silahara king, the campaign did not result in any territorial gain for the Yadavas. Mahadeva, the brother and successor of Krsna, continued the hostilities and invaded Konkan with a large troop of war elephants. Somesvara was defeated on land and betook himself to the sea. He was pursued by Mahadeva. In the naval engagement that followed Somesvara was drowned. Referring to this incident, Hemadri says that Somesvara preferred to drown himself and face the submarine fire rather than the fire of Mahadeva's anger⁴. The scene of this fight is sculptured on some Virgal stones found near the Borivali station in Greater Bombay. 'Some of the stones show the land battle in which the elephants took part, while others depict the lines of vessels propelled by oars, both in advance upon the enemy and the melee itself. Since Mahadeva's force was strong in elephants, and since the stone from the sculptures upon it appears to belong to the 12th or the 13th century A. D., it is quite possible, as Cousens has suggested, that these stones may be commemorating the heroes who fell in the battle between Somesvara and Mahadeva⁵.'

The battle may have taken place in c. A. D. 1265. Thereafter the Yadavas appointed a governor named Achyuta Nayak to rule North Konkan. His Thana inscription is dated A. D. 1272⁶. Thereafter we get several inscriptions of the Yadavas from North Konkan.

The Northern Silaharas ruled over Konkan for more than 400 years. The country under their rule comprised mainly the Thana and Kolaba Districts. After the downfall of the Southern branch they added the Ratnagiri District to their dominion, while the Goa region was occupied by the Kadambas. Their traditional capital was Puri, from which the country under their rule was called Puri-Konkana or Puri-prabhrti-Konkana. This country is described in some early records as comprising fourteen thousand villages⁷ and in some later

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 161 f.

³ *H. C. I. P.*, Vol. V. p. 192.

⁴ See *****

⁵ Cousens, *Mediaeval Architecture of the Deccan*, p. 21, Pl IV.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 198 f.

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 149 and 157.

ones as containing only fourteen hundred¹. In some records of the Kadambas it is mentioned as Kavadidvipa, a lakh and a quarter². Though Puri (modern Rajapuri near Janjira) was their traditional capital, the Silaharas, for the most part, ruled from Sthanaka (modern Thana). Many of their grants record gifts of villages or land in the Thana district.

These Silaharas gave liberal patronage to art and literature. The temples at Ambarnath, Pelar and Valkesvar which are still extant, testify to the architectural and sculptural skill of that age. In the *Udayasundarikatha* Soddhala mentions several Jaina and other poets such as Candanacarya, Vijayasimhacarya, Mahakirti, Indra and some others who like himself, flourished at the Silahara court. Apararka's commentary on the *Yajnavalkya Smṛti* is a monumental work of that age on Dharmasastra.

SILAHARAS OF KOLHAPUR.

The third family of the Silaharas was ruling over the Southern Maratha Country, comprising the modern districts of Satara, Kolhapur and Belganv. Like the other two families this family also traced its descent from Jimutavahana, and had the standard of the golden Eagle. Like the Silaharas of Northern Konkan, these Silaharas bore the hereditary title of *Tagara-pura-var-adhisvara* 'the lords of Tagara, the best of towns,' but their genealogies do not disclose any points of mutual contact. Their family deity was the goddess Mahalaksmi of Kolhapur, whose boon they claim in their grants to have secured. Inscriptions mention three capitals of this branch, viz. Valavada, Kollapura and the hill fort of Kiligila or Pranalaka. Valavada has not yet been definitely identified. Fleet thought that was identical with Walave in the Satara District, (now in Sangli district)³, about 25 miles north-east of Kolhapur. Perhaps a better identification of the place would be with the village Valavade, now called Radhanagari, about 27 miles southwest of Kolhapur⁴. Kollapura, also called Kshullakapura in some grants⁵, is plainly modern Kolhapur, until recently the capital of a princely State. It looks strange, however, that it is less frequently mentioned in the records of the period than the other two places. It was more known as a *maha-tirtha* or a very holy place⁶. Kiligila or Pannala (or Pranalaka) *durga* is the strong hill fort of Panhala, 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhapur. The *Vikramankadevacarita* of Bilhana, while describing the *svayamvara* of the Vidyadhara (i.e. Silahara) princess Candralekha, describes her father as Karahata-pati, 'the ruler of Karahata'⁷. This may be taken to indicate that Karahata,

¹ See line 64 of the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 316 and 323.

³ *B.G.* (old ed.), Vol. I, part ii, p. 548.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 30.

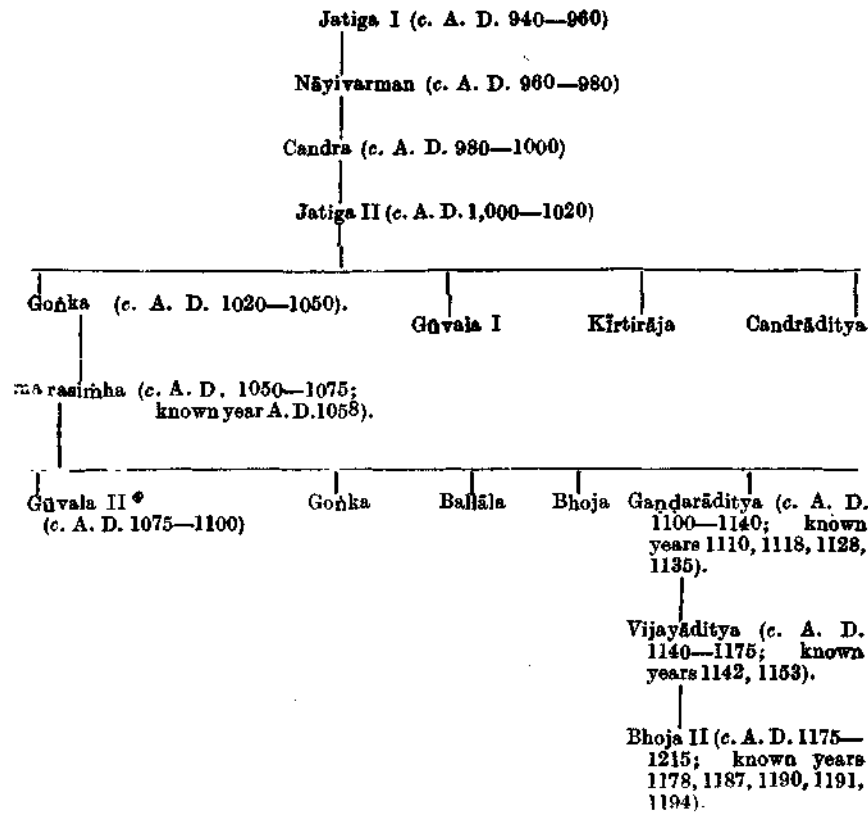
⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol III, p. 209; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 18.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 31.

⁷ *Vikramankadevacarita*, canto VIII, v. 2.

modern Karhad in the Satara District, was also one of the capitals of this branch, but the father of Candrālekha, whom Bilhana has not named, was then probably a provincial governor, not the ruling king. Karahata may, in that case, have been only a provincial capital.

The genealogy of this family may be stated as below ¹ :—



Unlike the other two branches of North and South Konkan, this one does not mention its allegiance to the Imperial Rastrakutas in any of its records. This is because it rose to power late in the Rastrakuta period and no records of the first three generations have yet been found. The first three princes in the above genealogy are known only from two later records² of Gandaraditya and these also give them mere conventional praise. Altekar therefore thought that they had not, in their days, achieved even a feudatory status and they were called kings by their descendants when they themselves rose to power³. This is, however, only a negative argument and has not much force.

¹ This table is taken from Altekar's article in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 419, with some changes necessitated by subsequent research.

² See the Talale plates of Gandaraditya, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f. and the Kolhapur plates of the same king, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.

³ *Ind Cult.*, Vol II, p. 419.

Jatiga I

The first known date of this family viz., *Saka* 980 (A. D. 1058) is furnished by the Miraj plates of Marasimha¹. This king was fifth in descent from Jatiga I, the founder of this dynasty. The latter may therefore have flourished about a hundred years earlier from c. A. D. 940 to A. D. 960. In the beginning he may have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Rastrakuta Emperor Krsna III (A. D. 939-967), but after his death when the power, of the Rastrakuts declined, his successors seem to have thrown off their yoke. We have, however, no information about the political events in the reign of Jatiga I and his son and grandson Nayivarman and Candraraja.

Jatiga II

Jatiga II is described in the grant of his son Marasimha as a lion in the hill fort of Pannala, modern Panhala, about 12 miles north-west of Kolhapur. It is not known if he was the first to occupy this fort, but it must have undoubtedly increased his power and prestige. He may have tried to extend his dominion by conquering the surrounding territory; for the Later Calukyas who succeeded the Rastrakutas in the Deccan. were then preoccupied in their struggles with the Paramaras and the Colas.

Gonka

Gonka, the son and successor of Jatiga II, is described in the grant of his son Marasimha as the ruler of the Karahata-Kundi region, the Miririja-desa and the whole of the large country of Konkana². Karahata is modern Karhad in the Satara District. Kundi was some part of the Belganv District. Mirinja is of course Miraj. Konkana was probably South Konkana. Gonka was contemporary of the Later Calukya king Jayasimha. From the Miraj plates³ of the latter dated in A. D. 1024 we learn that he had by then conquered South Konkana and was encamped at Kolhapur in the course of his campaign in the north. Gonka seems to have submitted to the Calukya king and acknowledged his supremacy. He may have been asked by Jayasirhha to govern some part of South Konkana which he had just conquered. As no inscription of his reign has been discovered, we cannot say how long he continued to own the supremacy of the Later Calukyas.

The Talale plates⁴ of Gandaraditya mention Guvala (I) and Kirtiraja as brothers of Gonka and since they describe both of them as kings, they are supposed to have succeeded Gonka one after the other. The Kolhapur plates⁵ of Vijayaditya mention a third brother of Gonka named Candraditya. It appears very doubtful if these brothers of Gonka succeeded him ; for no grant of theirs has yet been discovered. If they ruled actually one after another, we shall have to suppose that they all died childless and their nephew Marasimha had to wait until the close of the reign of his youngest uncle. This

¹ Cave Temples of Western India (C. T. W. I.), pp. 101 f.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

⁴ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

does not appear plausible. The three brothers of Gonka appear to have been called kings in later records because they belonged to the royal family and were ruling over some provinces of the Silahara kingdom.

Marasimha.

Gonka was thus probably succeeded by his son Marasimha, who issued his Miraj plates in Saka 980 (A. D. 1058)¹. He mentions therein his title *Mahamandalesvara*, but does not name his suzerain. This shows that though he had not actually proclaimed his independence, he wielded considerable power at the time. In this grant he states that he had obtained the special grace of a boon from the goddess Mahalaksmi. He also mentions the fort of Kiligila as his capital². This was another and perhaps a more ancient name of the well-known fort of Panhala. The Miraj plates record the grant of the village Kuntavada, probably identical with Kootwad³, on the south bank of the Krsna, five miles south of Miraj. The grant was made to a *Saiva Acarya* by one Cikkadeva, who is described as a *Rajaputra*, but whose relation to Marasimha has not been specified.

Guvala II

Marasimha had five sons viz., Guvala (II), Gonka, Ballala, Bhoja and Gandaraditya⁴. Like the aforementioned sons of Jatiga II, they seem to have been placed in charge of the different provinces of the kingdom⁵. The youngest of them Gandaraditya, who seems to have come to the throne after Guvala II, was associated with his brothers Ballala⁶ and Bhoja⁷ in the administration of the kingdom as seen from some inscriptions in their joint names.

In the *Vikramankadevacarita*⁸, Bilhana draws a graphic picture of the charms of the Vidyadhara (*i.e.* Silahara) princess Candralekha and describes her *svayamvara* held at Karahata (*i.e.* Karhad). It is said to have been attended by well-known rulers of all parts of India viz., those of Cedi, Kanyakubja, Kalinjara, Malava, Gurjara, Pandya, Cola and others. Bilhana's description is after the model in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*, Canto VI, and deserves little credence. But that Vikramaditya had married a Silahara princess of unrivalled beauty was known in distant Kashmir. In the *Rajatarangini*⁹ Kalhana describes how when Harsa, the king of Kashmir, saw a portrait of Candala. (*i.e.* Candralekha), the beautiful wife of the Karnata king

¹ C. T. W. I., pp. 101 f.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ B. G. (Old. ed.), Vol. I, part ii, p. 547.

⁴ See Kolhapur inscription of Vijayaditya, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

⁵ Altekar, however, supposes that all of them came to the throne. He is therefore obliged to assign them very short reigns. See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, p. 419.

⁶ See Honnur Canarese Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 102.

⁷ See Herley Inscription, Graham's *Kolhapoor* No. 2, p. 349.

⁸ Cantos VIII and IX.

⁹ Taranga VII, vv. 1119 f.

Parmandi (*i.e.* Vikramaditya VI), he became smitten with love. He vowed in the open court that he would obtain Candala after overthrowing Parmandi. He even took the vow not to use unboiled camphor till then. Kalhana holds the king to ridicule for his foolishness.

The princess must have been the daughter of one of the uncles of Marasimha, who was governing Karahata. Bilhana has not named her father. He only states that he was ruling at Karahata and was therefore probably a provincial governor.

Gandaraditya.

Gandaraditya, who succeeded Guvala II, is known from several grants ranging in dates from A. D. 1110 to A. D. 1135¹. He claims to be the sole ruler of the Mirinja-desa together with the seven *khollas* and also the country of Konkan². The latter appears to be South Konkan, which as we have seen, was at least partially under the rule of this family since its conquest by the Later Calukya king Jayasimha. Gandaraditya fed a lakh of Brahmanas at the holy place of Prayaga as stated in his Talale plates. This place must be identified not with modern Allahabad but with the one, still known by the name Prayaga, near the confluence of the Kasari and the Kumbhi, a few miles from Kolhapur. Gandaraditya constructed a tank which he named *Gandasamudra* near the village of Irukudi. He built the temples of all the three religions Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina on its bank³. This reference to a Buddhist temple is interesting as Buddhism had by this time all but disappeared from the Deccan. In another grant⁴, the king, in response to the request of his minister Mailapayya, donated lands for the temple of the god Khedaditya of Brahmapuri near Kolhapur and for the maintenance and residence of eight Brahmanas. This grant is dated Saka 1048 (A. D. 1126) on the occasion of the Karkata sankranti.

As we have seen, Gandaraditya was ruling over South Konkan⁵. A record of the time of his son Vijayaditya⁶ states that he had reinstated the deposed ruler of Sthanaka or Thana. This must have been at the beginning of the reign of Apararka or Aparaditya I, when the Kadamba king Jayakesin II invaded North Konkan, killed the Silahara king Anantapala and annexed North Konkan to his dominion. As stated before, the Silahara king Aparaditya I was reduced to great straits at this time. Gandaraditya seems to have sent his son to his help. He, inflicting a defeat on Jayakesin II, helped Aparaditya to regain his ancestral kingdom.

Gandaraditya seems to have sent a force under his feudatory Nimbadevarasa to help his Calukya suzerain in his war with the

¹ Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, Nos. 317-320.

² See the Talale plates, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 1 f.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 28 f.

⁵ *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 1 f.

⁶ See *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 4, 5.

Colas. Nimbadevarasa is described in an inscription¹ at Kolhapur as ‘ an awful rutting elephant to the beds of lotuses, the barons of Tondai.’

Vijayaditya.

Gandaraditya was succeeded by his son Vijayaditya in A. D. 1140. He bears the same titles as his predecessor and claims to have obtained the right to the five great sounds (*pancamahasabda*). He appears to have taken an active part in the conspiracy to depose the Later Calukya king Tailapa III. It is said that it was with his help that Bijjala got the sovereignty². He is also said to have reinstated the deposed rulers of Sthanaka and Goa. The former reference may be to the help which his father is said to have rendered to the Silahara king Aparaditya I of Thana. As for his help to the Kadamba king of Goa, it may have been in the reign of Jayakesin II's son Parmadi in his conflict with the Kalacuri king Bijjala.

Vijayaditya, like his predecessors, mentions with pride in his grants that he had the favour of a boon from the goddess Mahalaksmi. He was thus a follower of the Hindu religion; but true to the noble traditions of Indian kings, he showed equal reverence to other religions like Jainism. His Kolhapur inscription³ dated Saka 1065 (A. D. 1143) records his gifts of land for the maintenance and residence of some Jaina Acaryas and the repairs of the *Basadi* of Sri-Parsvanatha. The land was in the *kholla* (*taluka*) of Ajirage (modern Ajre).

Bhoja II.

Vijayaditya II was succeeded by his son Bhoja II, the last and greatest ruler of this line. On account of his great valour he obtained the name of Vira-Bhoja⁴. Though in some of his grants he mentions his feudatory title *Mahamandalesvara*, in others he is known to have assumed imperial titles. In the *Sabdarnavacandrika*, a work of the Jainendra Vyakarana, Somadeva its author, describes the reigning Silahara king Bhoja as *Rajadhiraja*, *Paramesvara*, *Parama-bhattaraka* and *Pascima-Cakravati*.⁵ Bhoja therefore seems to have declared his independence. This could not be tolerated by the Yadavas, who were then establishing their sovereignty. Singhana, the mighty Yadava king of Devagiri, invaded the Silahara kingdom and laid siege to the fort of Pranala (Panhala). He soon reduced it and taking Bhoja captive, he threw him into prison on the same fort. Some inscriptions⁶ describe Singhana as a very lord of birds (i.e. Garuda) in routing the serpent Viz. king Bhoja, who resided on Pranala. The Purusottampuri plates⁷ state that Singhana threw

¹ *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 31.

² *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol, III, p. 415.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 207 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 215.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*. Vol. X, p. 76, n. 2.

⁶ Cf. ***** cited by Altekar, *Ind. Cult.* Vol. n, p. 425, n. 1.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXV, p. 203.

Bhoja into prison on the top of the fort (of Panhala). Singhana then annexed the Silahara kingdom. Bhoja had a son named Gandara-ditya, who is mentioned in one of his grants¹ but nothing is heard of him after this defeat and imprisonment of his father. Thereafter we begin to get inscriptions of the Governors of the Yadavas placed in charge of the conquered territory. The earliest² of these is dated in A. D. 1218, which shows that Bhoja II must have been defeated in c. A. D. 1215. Thus disappeared this line of the Silaharas after a glorious rule of nearly three hundred years.

Like his ancestors, Bhoja II also was a devout worshipper of the goddess Mahalaksmi at Kolhapur. He made some grants for the worship and *naivedya* of the goddess and also for the worship of the god Uma-Mahesvara installed in a *Matha* at Kolhapur³. The same record registers some grants made to some Brahmanas who had hailed from Karahata and bore the family name of Ghaisasa. They correspond to the Karhade Brahmanas of the present day. The inscription also mentions some Sahavasi Brahmanas for whose maintenance some grants of land were made by Bhoja.

Like their brethren of North Konkan, the Silaharas of Kolhapur also extended their patronage to learned men. One of these was Somadeva, the author of the *Sabdarnavacandrika*, a work of the Jainendra Vyakarana⁴.

¹ *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p, 393.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 213 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X. p. 76, n. 1.

CHAPTER 9.

THE CALUKYAS AND THE KALACURYAS OF KALYANI.

Origin and Descent.

THE CHALUKYAS OF KALYANI, LIKE THEIR PREDECESSORS of Badami trace their origin from myths and legends of the hoary past and claim to have descended from Brahma's *culuka*, from which sprang out a mighty hero who became the progenitor of the Calukya race. According to Banana's *Vikramakadevacarita*,² Brahma created this hero at the request of Indra to bring to an end the growing sinfulness in the world. The Yevur tablet of Vikramaditya VI and the Miraj plates of Jayasimha II add that 'the birth place of jewels of kings, who were of the lineage of *Manavya*, which is praised over the whole world, who were the descendants of *Hariti*, who acquired the white umbrella and other signs of sovereignty, through the excellent favour of Kart-tikeya, who had the territories of hostile kings made subject to them in an instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Narayana.'³

The records of the family then trace their rise through a long list of personages, who ruled from Ayodhya, down to the founders of the Calukyas of Badami in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Two early ancestors, Vijayaditya and Visnuvardhana, of the family are mentioned in the records of the Calukyas of Kalyani as much as in those of the Calukyas of Badami as the builders of their power and dominion in the Deccan and a third, Jayasimhavallabha, is praised for restoring the fortunes of the family which had been eclipsed before him⁴.

The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates describe the origin of the family in the traditions of the records of other branches Of the family,

* This chapter is contributed by Dr. S. L. Katare, M.A., D.Litt.

¹ The name appears in different forms in the records of the different branches of the family. The earliest in the Badami Inscription dates Saka 465 is *Chalikya*. *EI*. Vol. XXVII^f p. 8. The later forms are *Chalkya* (*IA*. Vol. VI, p. 363), *Chalukya* (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16), *Chalukya* (*EI*. Vol. VI, p. 4), *Chalukya* (*IA*. Vol. IV, p. 73)', *Chalukya* (*Ibid.* Vol. VIII, p. 26), *Chalukya* (*Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 92), *Chaulukika* (*Ibid.* Vol. VI, p. 191), *Chaulukya* (*Ibid.* Vol. XII, p. 201), *Chalikya* (*EI*. Vol. XXVI, p. 324) and *Chalukya* (*Ind.* Vol. VI, 243.)

² *Vikramakadevacharita* Edited by Buhler, Intr. p. 26, text 1, vs. 31-36.

³ *IA*. Vol. VIII, p. 11.

⁴ *IA*. Vol. XIX, pp. 483-34.

e.g., the Vadanagara prasasti of the Caulukya Kumarapala of Gujarat,¹ the Badami Cave inscription of the Calukya Kirtivarman I of Badami² and the Hyderabad plates of the Calukya Pulakesin II,³ etc⁴.

The stories of the mythological origin of the family have no historical truth. The *Agnikula* origin,⁵ which describes the rise of the family from the *callu*, palm of the hand, along with three others, Prthivivara (Pratihara), Pramara (Paramara) and Cahamana from the *Agnikunda* in which the Brahmanas had kindled sacrificial fire to pray to Mahadeva for help against the demons, also has no historical foundations. The *Agnikula* origin was just a piece of poetry composed by the bards in praise of their patron prince to glorify the otherwise common origin of the latter and was entirely based on imagination.

The Gurjara origin,⁶ inspite of all its scientific analysis, does not any longer find favour with scholars on account of its historical improbabilities. If the Gurjaras migrated into India along with the Hunas, who were in G. E. 191,⁷ the date of the Eran inscription of Goparaja, mere expeditionaries in search of dominion for founding a permanent power, they could not have established their kingdoms right upto the Deccan within a century or so, since the Calukyas of Badami were rulers of the Deccan in the middle of the sixth century A.D. If *Sarasvatamandala* changed its name into Gujarat because of the Calukya occupation (if at all they were Gurjaras), how is it that the Deccan or Lata, Andhra or Kalinga over which also the Calukyas ruled, did not adopt the same name ? And how did then the Calukyas claim victory over the Gurjaras?

The Calukyas of Kalyani were of Ksatriya race and were the descendants of the Calukyas of Badami. Dr. Fleet⁸ and Dr. Bhandar-kar,⁹ [the first contributors of this Gazetteer] were of a different view. The long gap between Kirtivarman II, the last Calukya prince of Badami, and Taila II, the first of Kalyani, from Saka 679 and Saka 895, the last and the first known dates of the two respectively, give an average of about 32 years for each generation of the princes of the family who are mentioned in the records of the period. This need not be regarded unusual, since among the Paramaras and the Calukyas of Gujarat also there was an average of 33 and 38 years respectively, for each generation of kings. The more frequent use of the name Calukya by the Calukyas of Badami, is immaterial for supporting the views of the above scholars as this name has been

¹ IA Vol. XVI, p. 21.

² Ibid. Vol. VI, p. 363.

³ EI. Vol. VI, p. 72.

⁴ For other accounts reference may be made to IA. Vol. VIII, p. 11 ; XIX, pp. 14 and 114; VI, p. 76; XVI, p. 17; EI. Vol. XV, p. 106; My. ASR. 1935, pp. 119-20.

⁵ Col. Tod: *Annals a Antiquities of Rajasthan* Edited by Crooke Vol. I, pp. 112-13.

⁶ Smith: *EHI.*, p. 415; *Bom. Gas.* Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 449 ff; IA. XL, pp. 7 ff; *JBBRAS* Vol. XXI, pp. 426 ff; Ganguly: *IHQ.* Vol. VIII, pp. 21 ff; Vol. X, pp. 337 ff; Munshi: *The Glory That Was Gurjaradefa* Vol. I, pp. 4 ff.

⁷ *CII.* Vol. III, pp. 91.

⁸ *Bom. Gas.* Vol. I, pt. II. p. 429.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

variously used as Calukya, Calkya, Caulukya, Caulikika, Calikya, etc., in the records of the different branches of the family. The rise of a large number of collateral branches after Kirtivarman II of Badami, is not enough to dispute the claim, which they have repeated in a number of their inscriptions, of the Calukyas of Kalyani to have directly descended from the former. If the Calukyas of Badami trace their descent from Satyasraya, the Calukyas of Kalyani also, if not invariably, at least quite often, do the same and any difference in the frequency of making this claim is mainly due to the flexibility of the tradition and its later rigidity. Further, if the Calukyas of Kalyani claim their descent from Satyasraya Pulakesin II, this is not enough to challenge their claim of direct descent from the Calukyas of Badami as suggested by Fleet. Among the Pallavas the successors of Dantivarman called themselves as his descendants and not those of the earlier Pallavas and this did not mean that the Pallavas, after Dantivarman, were not the direct descendants of earlier Pallavas.

Inscriptions of the Calukyas of Kalyani and the poet Ranna in his *Gadayuddha*,¹ which he wrote in 982 A.D., trace the descent of this family from the brother of Kirtivarman II of Badami. The two tell the same tale and differ in minor details. This brother is called Bhimaparakrama. It sounds more like a *biruda* than a proper name. This may be due to an attempt to distinguish him from a later Bhima (Kundiga Bhima of Ranna). Any difference in the genealogical details in the inscriptions and the *Gaddyuddha* may be due to the mistakes of the copyist of the *Gadayuddha*. Ranna records that Kirtivarman was the son of *Vikramarnava Konkani* Vikramaditya's son, who was the son of the friend of *Niravadya* Vijayaditya, who was the son of Dugdhamalla, but the inscriptions in his place give the name of Satyasraya *samastabhuvanasraya* Vijayaditya. (of Table I).

Between Kirtivarman II, the last king of Badami, and Taila II, the first of Kalyani, besides the princes of the main dynasty, a number of others of collateral branches are mentioned as the feudatories of the Rastrakutas, who ruled over the Deccan between the Calukyas of Badami and the Calukyas of Kalyani: Vimaladitya, son of Yasovarman, and grandson of Balavarman, was governing the Kumingila-desa in A.D. 812, May 24.² He was the son of Cakiraja's sister and was the *adhi-raja* of the Gangamandala division under the Rastra-kuta Prabhutavarsa Govinda III. Vimaladitya was freed from the affliction of *Sani* (Saturn) by *muni* Arkakirtti of *Vapaniya-Nandi-Samgha* of the *Punnagavrksamula-gana* for which Cakiraja granted a village for the *Jinendra* temple at Silagrama, a suburb of the Rastrakuta capital Manyakheta.³ Balavarman, father of Dasavarman, was governing certain districts as a feudatory of the Rastrakuta *Nityavarsa* Indra III in 812 A.D.⁴ In 944 A.D. *Mahasamanta*

¹ *Gadayuddha*, Aivasa II, prose passage.

² *EI*. Vol. IV, p. 349.

³ *Ibid*.

⁴ *IMP*. Vol. I, By. No. 94; *HISI*. p. 46.

Katyera was governing the Kogali 500 and the Masiyavadi 140 divisions, which formed part of Bellary, Hadagalli (Huvinahadagalli) and Harapanahalli talukas of the Bellary district of the present Mysore State.¹ Mahasamanta Goggi and Narasimha are mentioned in some records.² Goggi may be the same who is mentioned with another Calukya chieftain, Dugga or Durga, in some other records.³

The *Pampabharata*, also known as *Vikramarjunavijaya*, of the Kanarese poet Pampa,⁴ *Yasasatilaka Campu* of Somadevasuri,⁵ the Vemulavada inscription⁶ and the Kollipara⁷ and the Parabhani plates⁸ dated in *Saka* 888, *Ksaya samvatsara*, *Vaisakha purnima*, *Budha-vara*=April 8, 966 A.D., of the time the Calukya Arikesarin III reveal the existence of a Calukya family, feudatory to the Rastra-kutas and governing from Vemulavada, Vemavada, in the Karim-nagar district of the former Hyderabad State. Vemulavada is the same as Lembulapataka of the Parabhani plates. Pampa wrote his work under the patronage of Arikesarin II and completed it in *§aka* 863, *Plava*, *Karttika su.* 5, Sunday. There are minor differences in the genealogies of the family, given in the above two sources. According to Pampa, Narasirha I and Dugdhamalla II had more than one son, while Dugdhamalla I and II are named Yuddhamalla in the Parabhani plates.⁹ (of Table II).

Yuddhamalla, the founder of the family, ruled over the *Sapa-dalaksa* country¹⁰ and claims to have bathed his elephants at Podana¹¹ (Bodana according to Pampa). *Sapadalaksa* is not Sakambhari, modern Sambhar in Rajputana, as supposed by some scholars.¹² It is the area comprising the modern Nizamabad and part of Karimnagar districts of the former Hyderabad State and Podana or Bodana is the present Bodhan in the Nizamabad district¹³. *Sapadalaksa* is called *savalakkhe* in a later inscription and is mentioned with Chabbi 1,000 division, both of which were governed by one *Mahamandalesvara* Rajaditya with his capital at Lembulapataka. Yuddhamalla is said to have defended Vengi along with Trikalanga and stormed the hill fortress of Citrakuta, modern Cakrakottya in the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh. His son Arikesarin¹⁴ conquered Vengi and attacked king Nirupama, the Rastrakuta prince. Arikesarin was followed by Narasimha and he by Yuddhamalla II, who had a son named Baddega,

¹ *IMP*. Vol. I, By. No. 267.

² *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 380.

³ *MARS* 1936, Nos.40-41; *EC* Vol III, My Nog 36-37.

⁴ *Karnataka Sahitya Parishad* Edn.

⁵ Shrikanta Sastri: *Sources of Kanarese History*, Vol. I, pp. 94-95.

⁶ *JAHRS*. Vol. VI, pp. 185 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 189.

⁸ Khare; *SMHD*, Vol. II, pp. 33 ff.

⁹ *Journal of Madras University*, Vol. V, pp. 101 ff.

¹⁰ *Vikramarjunavijaya* (*Karnataka Sahitya Parishad* Edn.), canto I, v. 16 ; *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, pp. 169 ff; Khare : *opt. cit.* p. 49.

¹¹ *JOR*. Vol. XVIII, p. 59.

¹² Khare : *Op. cit.* p. 49.

¹³ *JOR*. Vol. XVIII, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁴ *EC*. Vol. IV, My, No. 127. The date proposed by the Editor for the inscription cannot be consistent with this identification.

who won many battles and gained the title of *Soladaganda*. Baddega was succeeded by his son Yuddhamalla III and the latter by his son Narasimha II, who plundered the Malava king and defeated the Prati-hara Mahipala of Kanauj, drove away the Gurjara king and bathed his horses in the waters of the Ganga. He may be the same as *Mahasamanta* Narasingaiyya, who granted a village to a temple constructed by him. Arikesarin II was the son of Narasimha II and Jakabbe. He patronised Pampa, who wrote *Pampabharata* at his instance at Laksmanesvara in the Huligere sub-division and got the village Dharmauru in the Bachhe 1000 division in reward. Arikesarin married Lokambika, a Rastrakuta princess. He is said to have defeated the feudatories of, and overthrown, the Rastrakuta Govinda IV, while sheltering the eastern Calukya Vijayaditya, probably Bijjana of the Vemulavada inscription, when pursued by Govinda's feudatories. He claims credit for placing Baddegadeva, the Rastrakuta Amoghavarsa III (933-937 A.D.), on the throne and defeated Bappuva, younger brother of Kakkala, probably the Rastrakuta Karka II¹ when attacked by him.

Arikesarin was followed by his son Vaddiga or Bhadradeva, or Vagaraja.² He was a *Mahasamantadhipati* under the Rastrakuta Krsnaraja' III and patronised Somadevasuri, who wrote his *Yasasti-lakacampu* at Gangadhara and completed it in 960 A.D., when Krsnaraja and Vaddiga were camping at Melapati, Melapadi, in Citlur taluka of the North Arcot district of the Madras State³ after a victorious campaign against Pandya, Simhala, Cera, etc. Somadevasuri calls Gangadhara as Vaddiga's capital. Hence, it was included in the *Savalakkhe* country. Vaddiga was followed by his son Arikesarin III, who issued the Parabhani plates, dated in *Saka* 888, *Ksaya Samvatsara*, *Vaisakha Purnima Budhavara* — April 8, 966 A.D. He was also a *Mahasamantadhipati* of Krsnaraja and had his capital at Vemulavada. He granted a village in Repaka 12 in Sabbi 1,000 to Somadevasuri. Sabbi is modern Chabbi.⁴

Another Calukya chieftain was governing the Banavasi 12,000 in 972 and 973 A.D.⁵ Rajaditya, defeated by the Ganga Marasimha, may be the Rajaditya⁶ whose family is described in a copper-plate grant of November 16, 951 A.D.⁷ The family was founded by Avani-

¹ *EI* Vol. XIII, p.329; *JAHRS*. Vol. pp. 185 ff. [Kakkala, called Karkara in a Silahara grant was the ruler of Acalapura in Vidarbha Sec. C.I.I.IV, p. lxxxii-V.V.M.]

² *Vikramarjunavijaya*, Khare: op cit, p. 36, f.n.I.

³ *EI*. Vol. IV, p. 281.

⁴ Khare, *op. cit.* pp. 33 ff,

⁵ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sh. Nos. 465, 455, 454.

⁶ *MYASR*. 1935, No. 40.

⁷ *Ibid* 21,p. 21.

mayya and Candraditya whose grandson claims to have defeated the *Asvapati* king whom it is difficult to indentify. Rajaditya I, grandson of Candraditya, married the daughter of the Rastrakuta *Akala-varsa* (Krsna II-877-913 A.D.). His grandson Kaccega married a Ganga princess, sister of the Ganga Bhutarya, probably a collateral of the main Ganga family. Kaccega's son Rajaditya had two wives. One is called Cakravarti-suta and the other Ganga Gangeya-tanaya, the former, being the daughter of the Emperor, was obviously a Rastrakiita princess and the latter a Ganga. He was a *Mahasamanta*, who had acquired the five drums and the title of a *Maharaja*. He was governing Kadambalige 1,000 division given to him by the Rastrakuta king, Krsnaraja III, for his expenses.¹ An inscription dated in 968 A.D. records the details of another Calukya family of which *Mahasamanta* Pandiga was governing Kadambalige 1000, as a feudatory of the Rastrakiita Krsna III.²

The Calukya princes, after the eclipse of their power when Kirt-tivarman II was defeated by the Rastrakuta Dantidurga in the middle of the eighth century, are rarely mentioned in the inscriptions of this period. Bhima I (or Bhimaparakrama as he is called), uncle of Kirtivarman II, was followed in succession by Kirtivarman III, his son Taila I, who may be the same who is mentioned as *Maharaja* in a Pattadakala inscription of the ninth century,³ his son Vikrama-ditya III, his son Bhima II, his son Ayyana I, who married the daughter of a certain king Krsna,⁴ identified with the Rastrakuta Krsna II, by Fleet.⁵ Dr. Fleet's identification of Ayyana I, with Ayyapadeva of the Begur inscription⁶ is not acceptable as pointed out by Rice.⁷ Ayyana's son Vikramaditya IV married Bonthadevi 'glory of the lords of Cedi', a daughter of the Kalacuri Laksmanaraja of Tripuri.⁸ A Sondekola inscription⁹ dated in *Saka* 892 (expired), Pusya su 13=January 13,970 A.D. records grant of a tank, 12 gadyanas, etc., to a Calukya chieftain Pandarasa or Pandayya by *Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Paramabhattacharaka* Vikramaditya Deva, who may be identified with the Calukya Vikramaditya IV, father of Taila II, of Kalyani. Panda-rasa or Pandayya, an officer in the Kadambalige 1000, is the same who is mentioned in another inscription dated in 968 A.D. and who was governing in the same division under the Rastrakuta Nityavarsa.¹⁰

¹ *Ibid.* 1935, p. 121.

² *EC.* Vol. XI, Cd. No. 74.

³ *ARSIE.* 1928-29, No. 117.

⁴ *BISMQ.* Vol. X, p. 83.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 379.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *EC* Vol. III, Sr. No. 134, Intr. p. 4, f.n.S,

⁸ *I A.* Vol. XI., p. 43.

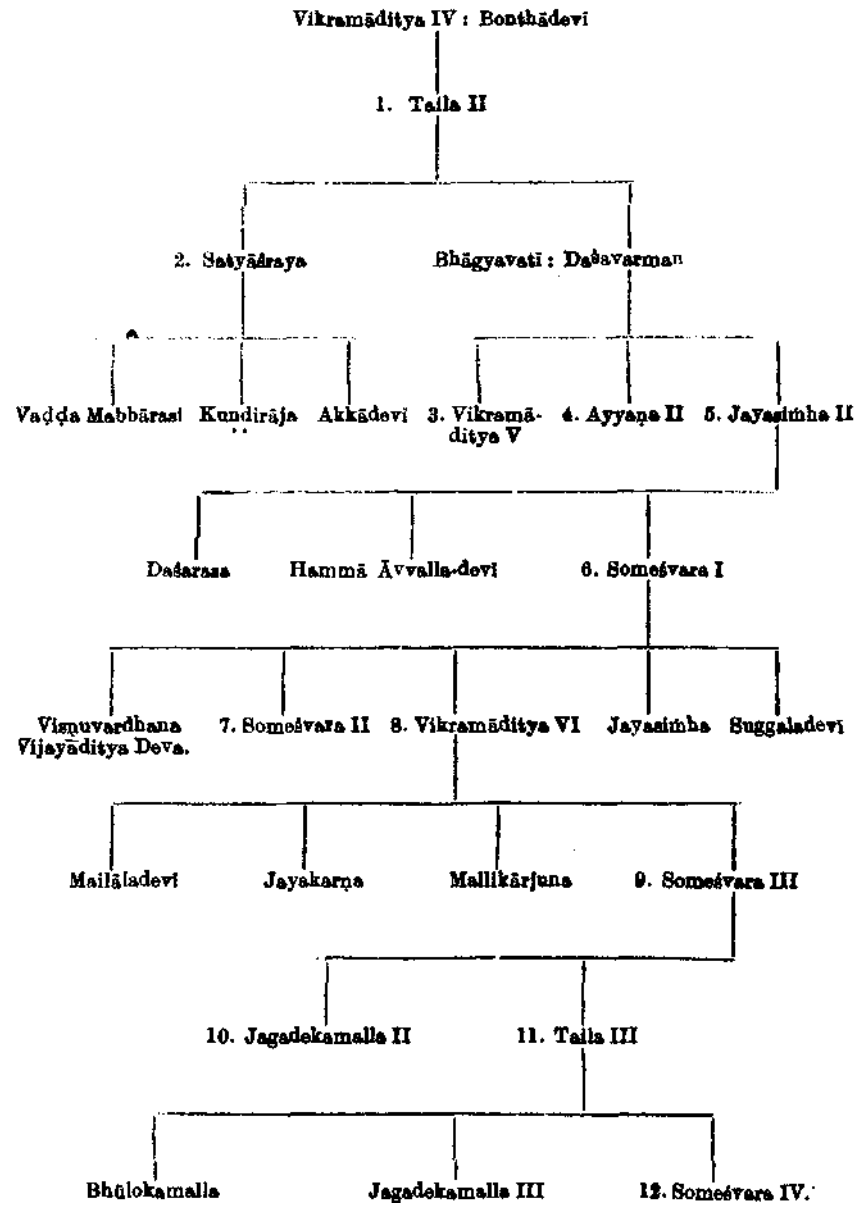
⁹ *EC.* Vol. XI. Cc. No. 25.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Cd. No. 50.

This shows that Pandarasa transferred his allegiance from the Rastra-kutas to the Calukya Vikramaditya IV, between 968 and 970 A.D. and the Kadambalige 1000 was wrested by Vikramaditya IV, from the Rastrakutas.

TABLE I.

THE CALUKYAS OF KALYANI.

Genealogy.

Taila II.

Taila II, also called Tailappa, Tallapayya, Tailapa and Nurmadi Taila, was the son of Vikramaditya IV and his wife Bonthadevi daughter of Kalacuri Laksmanaraja of Tripuri. He started his career as a feudatory of the Rastrakutas as revealed by a Karjol inscription (Bijapur district), dated in *Saka* 879, *Pingala Sathvatsara*, *Asvayuja su.* 5, Thursday = September 11, 956 A.D., when the Rastrakuta Kannaradeva (Krsna III) was ruling at Melapati and Tailapayya was governing the *nadu*.¹ The Narasalgi inscription (Bagevadi taluka, Bijapur district), dated in *Saka* 886, *Raktaksin Sathvatsara*, *Phalguna*, solar eclipse (Monday, 6th March, 965 A.D.), refers to the *Calukya-rama*, *Mahasamantadhipati*, *Ahavamalla* Tailaparasa of the Satyasraya, family governing Tarddavadi 1000 as *anugajivita* when the Rastrakuta *Akalavarsa* Krsna III was ruling. The name of a subordinate of his, belonging to the *Khacara kula* is lost.² Narasalge was included in Murttage 30. Tarddavadi is modern Taddevadi on the southern bank of the river Bhima in the Indi taluka of the Bijapur district. If Vikramaditya of the inscription dated in 970 A.D. referred to above is Taila's father, this would show that the father and the son were governing Tarddavadi 1000 and the Kadambalige 1000 divisions as feudatories of the Rastrakutas.

The marriage of Vikramaditya IV with the Kalacuri princess Bonthadevi shows that he had gained some prestige and in view of the growing hostility between the once friendly Kalacuris and Rastrakutas, it may be that Taila II was helped by the former in his struggle against the latter.

In 973 A.D., Taila II suddenly emerged out from the insignificance of a *Mahasamanta* to establish an independent sovereign dominion with its capital as Manyakheta itself. Manyakheta, the Rastrakuta capital, was wrested from them by Taila II by defeating the Rastrakuta king Karkka II, who was also killed in the battle. Taila II was ruling from Manyakheta in 993 A.D.³ The records of the Calukyas and their feudatories describe the victory of Taila over the Rastrakuta Karkka II in glowing terms. The Sogal inscription, dated *Saka* 902, *Vikrama Sathvatsara*, *Asadha Amavasya*=June 8, 978, A.D.⁴ says that Taila II cut off the head of Ranakambha Kakkala⁵. Ranakambha may be taken to mean pillar of victory (*ranastambha*) rather than a king.⁶ The Bhadana grant of the Silahara Aparajita dated in June 997 A.D. describes the defeat and death of Kakkloti 'as a light extinguished by a fierce wind and that of the once flourish-ing Ratta rule, there remained the memory.'⁷ The Kharepatan plates,

¹ *ARSIE*. 1933-34, B. K. No. 178 of 1933-34.

² *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. 1, No. 40, *ARSIE*. 1929-30, B.K. No. 130.

³ *ARASI*. 1930-34, pt. ii, p 241.

⁴ *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 2. The date is irregular. I prefer June 8, 978 A.D. to July 14, 980 A.D.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 4, v. 20

⁶ *EI*. Vol. XVI, p.4. Barnett thinks that Kakkala and Ranakambha were two different persons. The Nilagunda Plates record *lunan yena sukhena Karkara-ranastambhau rana-prangane* (*EI*, Vol. XII, p. 152, v. 27). Fleet interprets *karkara-ranastambhau* as the pillars of Kakkara in war, which were annihilated by Taila, but later on he thought that the two were different kings. This view does not appear to be correct. It may be suggested that Taila cut off the two pillars of victory of Karkkara. It is not unusual since pillars of victory were established by various kings in those times.

⁷ *EI*. Vol. III, pp. 270-73.

dated in *Saka* 930 = 1008 A.D. while describing Kakkala at its end speak that “Having defeated this (Kakkala) king in the battle the lion-like and glorious king Tailapa of the Calukya race became king.¹” The Nilagunda plates say that Taila II was easily successful in the straggle with Kakkala² and the Kalige plates record that “Having first uprooted (and) slain some of the Rattas king Taila the mighty one, (who inspired) fear by the pride of his arm assumed the asylum sovereignty of the Calukyas and became free from all troubles, (ruling) alone over the circuit of the earth for twenty-four years beginning with the year *Srimukha* “³. The date of Taila’s victory over the Rastrakutas and his assumption of an independent status may be fixed with the help of the Sravana Belgola epitaph of the Ganga prince Marasimha and the Melagani inscription which says that the latter was dead in *Saka* 896, *Bhava Samvatsara, Asadha* — June-July, 974 A.D.⁴, having renounced sovereignty one year after the anointment of Indra IV, his own son-in-law and the grandson and successor of Kakkala. This fixes the date of the anointment of Indra IV as June-July 974 A.D. The Gundur inscription of Kakkala dated in June 973⁵ A.D. shows that he was alive and ruling on that date. The Malur inscription which speaks of Taila’s fight with the Ganga Pancaladeva is dated in April 973 A.D.,⁶ when he had not assumed full sovereign titles and was merely fighting against his enemies. This fixes the date of Taila’s accession to power in June-July 973 A.D. The *Srimukha Samvatsara* itself commenced from March 23, 973, AD.

The long story of the gradual decline of ‘the once flourishing Ratta rule’, which disappeared ‘as a light extinguished by a fierce wind’ and of which ‘there remained only the memory’, is the subject of the former chapter. In short it was the aggressive policy of Krsna III (940-65 A.D.) against the Candellas, the Paramaras and the Kalacuris in the north and the Colas and the Ceras in the south which sapped their internal strength and incurred fierce hostility of powerful kings outside. The glories of his victory, both in the north and the south were short-lived. His invasion of the Kalacuri dominions⁷ transformed the close matrimonial alliance between these two powers into one of bitter hostility towards each other. In the marriage of Bonthadevi, daughter of the Kalacuri Laksmanaraja, with Vikramaditya, father of Taila II, lay the seed of the rise of Taila II and the cause of the final eclipse of the Rastrakutas. The Paramaras were already their enemies and the Gandellas, who had risen to power with their help, having once consolidated their power at the cost of the Pratiharas, could not be friendly inclined towards them and were also not strategically situated to be of any help. The Colas in the south were merely watching for an opportunity to pounce upon them and regain the lost ground. The Rastrakuta solidarity

¹ *EI.* Vol. III p. 298; *JBBRAS* Vol. I, p. 221.

² *EI.* Vol. IV, pp. 204 ff.

³ *IA.* Vol. XXI, p. 167 ; Vol. XII, p. 270.

⁴ *EI.* Vol. X, Mb. No. 84.

⁵ *IA.* Vol. XII, p. 271.

⁶ *MASR.* 1942, No. 2, pp. 11-12.

⁷ (This is not supported by evidence See *C.I.I.* Vol. IV. pp. LXXXII f.-V.V.M.)

was further broken by internal dissensions, palace revolutions and violent feuds for succession to the throne in which the Calukyas took an active part.

Khottiga Nityavarsa Amoghavarsa, on his accession to the throne after Krsna's death in 695 A. D., had to atone for the sins of Krsna's wars with the Paramara Sryaka II, Harsa, who had revolted against his Rastrakuta sovereign sometime before 949 A. D. and, inspite of the claim of the two chieftains of Krsna for the title of Ujjeni-*bhujanga*, continued to rule in Malava as an independent king from 949 A.D. Khottiga also invaded Malava. but suffered a disastrous defeat at the battle of Kalighatta on the banks of the river Narmada on which Cacea, son of Dhanika, of the Vagod branch of the Para-maras and Kahkadeva a prince of another collateral Paramara family, lost their lives. According to the Arthuna inscription they claim to have defeated near Narmada, the forces of the ruler of Karnnata and thus destroyed the enemy of the Malava king Sri Harsa. This battle took place before 969 A.D., the date of the Ahmadabad plates¹. Siyaka II very soon retaliated by invading the Rastrakuta kingdom and plundered their capital Manyakheta. Dhanapala of Dhara and the author of *Paiyalacchi*, who wrote this work for his sister Sundari completed it at Dhara in V. S. 1029 = 972-73 A.D. "when Manyakheta had been sacked and plundered in an assault by the king of Malaya². This is corroborated by the Udaipur prasasti³. The Ganga prince Marasimha came to the rescue of the Rastrakuta Karkka II and the Sravana Belgola records that he " by the strength of his arm-protected the encampment of the Emperor when it was located, at the city of Manyakheta."⁴ Khottiga seems to have died in the battle at Manyakheta and was succeeded by Karkka II in about, 972 ;A.D.⁵;

The sack of Manyakheta by the Paramara forces broke the backbone of the Rastrakutas. Karkka II was inefficient and vicious. Revolutions and chaos followed in the wake of the Paramara invasion and the Rastrakuta misfortunes were exploited as an opportunity, as usual in those times by their feudatories to assert their own power, and soon after the Calukya Taila II, launched an attack on Karkka II and his capital Manyakheta. Before he dealt the final blow to Karkka II, Taila had to fight against Pancaladeva—an officer under Marasimha. Taila's forces were commanded by Brahma and those of Pancaladeva by Salli, according to a Malur inscription, dated April 10, 973, A.D.⁶ Taila was helped by the *Mahamantrakapataladhipati*

¹ *El.* Vol. XIX, p. 179.

² Buhler : *Paiyalacchi* Ints. p. 6, v. 276; *El.* Vol. XIII, p. 180; Vol XVI, p. 178; *IA.* Vol. XXXVI, p. 169.

³ *EL* Vol. I, p. 235, v. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. IV, p. 179; *E.C.* Vol. II, No. 59.

⁵ Altekat : *Rastrakutas*, p. 125.

⁶ MASR., 1942, No'. 12, th 11-12.

Dhalla and a *bhujadanda*, as he is called, of *Ahavamalla* and in whom Taila had implicit confidence. Later on Dhalla became the chief minister (*Sacivottama*) of Taila and was given the title of *Viveka-brhaspati*. This title is given to Dhalla's son Nagadeva in the *Ajitapurana*. The Ganga Marasimha claims to have broken the pride of the mighty Dhalla, who stood up against Vanagajamalla, who has been identified with Krsna III. He also claims to have put to light, and conquered Dhalla 'who was possessed of strength that was too great to be realised'. Dhalla's son Nagadeva married Attiyabbe, daughter of Mallappaya, at whose instance Ranna wrote his *Ajitapurana*.

After the death of Karkka II, the Ganga Marasimha tried to revive the Rastrakuta power by placing on the throne Indra IV, grandson of Krsna III and his own son-in-law, who had escaped to the western regions of his dominions. Marasimha was himself governing Gungavadi 96,000, Nolambavadi 32,000 and Banavasi 12,000, Santalige 1,000, Belvola 300, Puligere 300, Kisukad 70 and Bagevadi 70 divisions. He failed in his bid for a Rastrakuta restoration and as the Sravana Belgola epitaph records 'having carried out the acts of religion in a most worthy fashion one year later, he laid aside the sovereignty at the town of Bankapur, in the performance of worship in the proximity of the holy feet of the venerable Ajitasena, he observed the vow of fasting for three days and attained rest.'¹ His death took place in about *Saka* 896, *Bhava Samvatsara*, *Asadha*=: June-July, 974 A.D., when three Nolamba princes, Pallavaditya, Nolambadhiraja and his father Corayya, who were halting at Suryya-miniyur, did something on hearing of the death of Marasimha Permadi.² This fixes the date of Marasimha's death and his anointment of the Rastrakuta Indra IV.

Marasimha's successor Racamalla and Cavundaraya supported the cause of Indra IV, but realising that all chances of restoring his authority at Manyakheta were lost, Indra also ended his life by performing the *Sallekhana*, self starvation, and died on March 20, 982 A.D.³

Ahavamalla Taila II assumed the paramount titles of *Maharaja-dhiraja Parmesvara Paramabhattaraka*, *Samastabhuvanasraya* and had the *birudas* of *bhujabalavirandrayana*, *Bhuvanaikamalla*⁴ and *Ahavamalla*.⁵ He married Jakabbe, daughter of a Rastrakuta chieftain Bhammaha, who is not known from any other source. Practically all the feudatories of the Rastrakutas transferred their allegiance to Taila II on his assumption of supreme power. Some of the most important of them were the Maturas, the Rattas, the Sindas, the Yadavas, the Kadambas, Sobhanaras and some of the minor Rastrakuta chieftains who probably belonged to some collateral branches. One such Rastrakuta chieftain, called Bhima or Bhima-

¹ *EI*. Vol. V, pp. 106 ff; *EC*. Vol. II, No. 59.

² *EC*. Vol. X, Mb. No. 84.

³ *IA*. Vol. XX, p. 35; *EC*. Vol. II, No. 133.

⁴ *IMP*. Vol. I, Cd. No. 580.

⁵ *A RASI* 1930-34, pl. i, p. 241.

rasa, who may be the same as Bhammaha, father-in-law of Taila, was ruling over Banavasi 12000, Santalige 1000 and Kisukadu 70.¹ The Silaharas and the Nolambas, who tried to resist Taila, were subjugated by force.

Nagadeva, son of Dhalla, and his son-in-law, Mallapa, defeated the Kumaras at the battle of Lodhra. The Kumaras appear to have been gentlemen troopers of kings as were the *Lenkas* 1000, who with their chief *Dandanayaka* Tikanna, are mentioned as pillars of the Pallava kingdom, when Trailokyamalla-Nanni-Nolamba-Pallava-Permanadi was governing certain divisions under the Calukya Some-svara I in A.D. 1046.² The Nolambas, who appear to have pretended to be independent, after the death of Marasimha, were defeated by Nagadeva. In recognition of his gallantry Taila raised Nagadeva to the rank of a *Senapati*. The Nolambas finally accepted Taila's suzerainty³.

Taila II had to face bitter opposition from the Ganga Pancala-deva, who had started his career as a minor chieftain governing a small division, Sabbi 30, in 971 A.D.⁴ and had risen to the position of the Governor of the Gangavadi 96,000 in 973 A.D.⁵ and declared independence, on the death of Marasimha, in 975 A.D., when Mara-simha's two sons, Rajamalla and Rakkasa Ganga, were in the Bid-donegere region. Pancala claims to have been ruling 'without any disorder from the limits of the eastern and the western and the southern oceans with the great river⁶ as the boundary on (on the north) ' and calls himself as the *Calukya-pancanana*, "lion to the Calukyas". His dominions would thus include Gangavadi 96,000 Nolambavadi 32,000, Puligere 300, Belvola. 300 divisions, over which the Ganga Marasimha had also ruled. Taila had defeated Pancala-deva, earlier in a battle at Malur. This time the battle was hotly contested and the Calukya forces were commanded by Nagadeva, son of Dhalla, and *Mahamandalesvara* Bhuteyadeva or Bhutiga. At the initial stage of the battle the Calukyas seem to have suffered some reverses and their rear had taken to flight, but the day was saved by Bhutiga who ultimately defeated and killed the enemy.⁷ Nagadeva is said to have fought bravely and scattered the cavalry and the elephants of Pancala and drove them away from the battlefield like cattle⁸. As a result of their victory the Calukyas reached the very gates of the Ganga capital Talakad. On the request of Attiyabbe, Nagadeva's wife, Taila constructed a Jain *basadi* at Lokkigundi, modern Lakkundi in the Dharwad district of the present Mysore State, in recognition of Nagadeva's services in the battle.⁹ The Gadag inscription of Vikramaditya VI, records that 'Taila took the head of Pancala by the terror of the pride of his arm in battle.'¹⁰

¹ EC. Vol. II, Intr. p. 45 ; DKD., pp. 430-433.

² SII. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 104.

³ Ibid., Nos. 102-104.

⁴ IA. Vol. XII, p. 255.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XVII.

⁶ Meaning the Krsna.

⁷ IA. Vol. XII, 216'.

⁸ *Ajitapurana*, I, V. 44.

⁹ SII. Vol. XI, pt. i. No. 52, pp. 39 ff.

¹⁰ EI. Vol. XV, p. 356.

The battle was fought between August, 975 A.D., the date in Pan-cala's Mulgunda inscription, and 977 A.D., when Racamalla was placed on the Ganga throne by Cavundaraja, who had been the minister of Marasimha.

Taila claims to have defeated another Ganga prince, Govindara, who was, helped by Cavundaraya, to get into the fort of Bageyur after he had defeated a certain Tribhuvanavira. Tribhuvanavira may have been a *Mahasamanta* whom Taila may have sent against Govindara.¹ Paunamayya lost his life in the battle against Govindara, when he rushed into the battle crying at the pitch of his voice "Long live Taila"² The battle was fought on the banks of Kaveri, where Taila was confronted by a confederacy of feudatories organised by Govindara.

The defeat of Pancala and Govindara broke the power of Taila's bitter rivals and enemies. Taila then turned his arms against those feudatories of the Rastrakutas who had still held back their allegiance from him. The Bhadana plates of the Silahara Aparajita does admit the fall of the Rastrakutas, but does not recognise the Calukyas as the suzerain. Taila sent an army under the command of his son Satyasraya to bring Aparajita to book. Aparajita seized with fear fled away from the battlefield, but was pursued and sandwiched between the sea and the Calukya force and made to surrender. He was taken prisoner and released on tendering his allegiance and twenty-one elephants to Taila. The Calukyas claim to have burnt Amsunagara during this campaign. Five members of the Vaji family to which Dhalla also belonged also took part in the battle. A Vaji chieftain is called *Konkan-bhujanga* in an inscription, dated in Saka 928=1006 A.D.³ He may be Padvala Taila, son of the general Nagadeva.⁴ Madhuva and his son Kesavaraja also took part in this Konkan campaign and won Taila's admiration.

Several records of Taila speak of his victory over the Colas. But the details of the struggle between the two are not known. The Colas could not have looked on silently to the destruction of the Rastra-kuta Empire and the rise of an insignificant feudatory to the position of imperial power in the Deccan. If they also made a bid to annex as much part of the Rastrakuta Empire as they could, that was but natural. But they did not very much succeed in their venture and appear to have been forced to withdraw to their own dominions by Taila II. The Sogal inscription of Taila describes him as 'an axe to the greait mountain, the potent Cola'. Another says that the frightened Cola king was bewildered because of the fear of Taila's power and could not decide 'what to do and where to go'. Several other records in the Bellary⁵ and the Cuddapah districts of the Madras State confirm this claim. A record at Gollapalle mentions a gift of land by Nurmadi Taila.⁶ The earliest record in the Bellary district is dated Saka 897, *Yuva samvatsara, (punna) me,*

¹ EC. Vol. II No.281.

² SII Vol. VI, No. 102.

³ Ibid Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 76.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 76, p. 67.

⁵ SII Vol. IX, pt. i, Nos. 73-78.

⁶ ARSJE 1937-38, No. 307.

Sukravara = A.D. 976, February 18, Friday, records a grant of land by Taila.¹ Another dated April 22, 981 A.D., refers to his chieftain Vira-Nolamba-Pallava Parmanadiveva, 'Lord of Kanci', as he is called, and records confirmation of an earlier *sthanya-manya* to three temples.² The Kadamba chieftain Adityavarmarasa is mentioned in a Kogali record of December 23, 992 A.D.³ when Taila was ruling from Rodda according to this and two other records of July 23, 996⁴ and of January 12, 991 A.D.⁵ The last epigraph is very interesting in as much as it records that the Kadamha Adityavaman, Governor of Kogali 500, was terrorising over the people by increasing the rate of tolls and contributions fixed by the Rastrakuta Kannaradeva and that the fifty *mahajanas* of Balguli (Bagali) and the three leaders of *tambudige*, the betel sellers, carried a complaint to Taila II against this enhancement and that Taila, after hearing the same, rescinded the order of Adityavarmarasa and decreed that the old rate fixed by Kannaradeva should not be violated and enhanced. The king while camping at Rodda also obtained one hundred and fifty elephants which had been pleasing to the Colas. Whether these elephants were received by Taila as ransom from the Colas for his victory over them or were captured by one of his generals in any war with them and then presented to Taila is not known. The Kadambas and the Nolambas also recognised Taila as their overlord.

The Colas appear to have attacked the Nolambas and a battle between the Colas and the Nolambadhiraja took place at Bijayita-mangala in about 980 A.D., (this date is uncertain) in which Nalamabaras died.⁶ Another inscription of this time records a fight between Nalamabaras Mallappa and Mannara.⁷ Having defeated the Nolambas, the Colas marched northward, but could make no headway against the Calukyas. This was during the reign of Uttama Cola (969-985 A.D.). His successor Rajaraja later succeeded in defeating the Nolambas and driving them out from these regions. He was recognised as the king in those regions and Gannarasa was governing over there as his feudatory in 997 A.D.⁸

Taila II also claims to have defeated the Pandya king as the Sogal inscription mentions that the Pandya king was also frightened because of Taila and could not decide 'where to go and what to do.'. The Pandya king may be Amarabhujangadeva, who was ultimately defeated and driven away from his principality by Rajaraja the Great in 995 A.D.⁹

Dhalla and Nagadeva claim victory over Vengi.¹⁰ Ranna makes no mention of this. Nagadeva was dead before 993 A.D., when Ranna completed his *Ajitapurana*. Nagadeva had married two

¹ *SII*. Vol. IX, pt. i.No. 73.

² *Ibid* No. 74.

³ *Ibid* No. 77.

⁴ *Ibid*. No. 78.

⁵ *Ibid*. No. 76.

⁶ *EC*. Vol. IX, Ht. Do. 47

⁷ *Ibid*. Ht. 48.

⁸ *Ibid*. Ht. 111.

⁹ *The Colas* I, pp. 200. 202.

¹⁰ *SII*. Vol.XI.pt. I. No. 52.

daughters of Mallapa, whose father belonged to Kamme-desa in Vengi *mandala*. Ponnamayya, brother of Mallapa, seems to have taken service with Taila as he claims to have fought Govindara and died on the banks of the river Kaveri¹. It may be that his death took place at the time of the Calukya invasion of Vengi, which itself was soon after conquered by the Cola Rajaraja the Great. Gundamayya, son of Mallapa and brother of Attiyabbe, also claims to have defeated a certain Gonara,² who may be the same as Gannarasa, son of Ayyana-deva, a Cola feudatory governing a portion of territory found about modern HOSTEL taluka of Bangalore district in 997 A.D.³

The Paranaras also, like the Colas, could not stand indifferently at the defeat of the Rastrakutas and the rise of Taila. They were naturally encouraged to pursue aggression against the new power. Siyaka II Harsa had been succeeded by Vakpati Munja in V. S. 1031⁴—=A.D. 974 or a little earlier and soon after his accession the hostilities between the Paramaras and the Calukyas began. The Nilgund inscription says that because of Taila, king Utpala was bewildered and deliberated as to what to do, where to go and where to dwell.⁵ Utpala was another name of Munja⁶. Merutunga speaks of Munja defeating Taila six times before his own capture by the latter. The Udaipur *prasasti* claims victory over the Karnatas by Munja. Dhalla, Taila's general, also claims victory over Malava. Merutunga too records that 'the king of Tilinga country named Tailapa Deva harassed Munja by sending raiders into his country.' To punish Taila of this aggression, in a fit of anger and against the advice of his ailing Prime Minister Rudraditya, who advised him not to cross the Godavari, which should be, as he suggested, the utmost limit of his expedition, 'in overwhelming confidence, Munja', as Merutunga says 'crossed the river (Godavari) and pitched his camp on the other side,' When Rudraditya heard what the king had done, he argued that some misfortune will result from his headstrong conduct and he himself entered the flames of a funeral fire. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Munja's army to pieces and took him prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed. He was put in prison and confined in a cage of wood and was waited upon by Taila's sister. Mrnalavati with whom he formed a marriage union. Munja's ministers, who came after him, dug a secret tunnel leading to the prison room in which Munja was confined and intimated to the king, the right hour for his escape, but Mrnalavati's love had blinded Munja. Before leaving the prison he felt perturbed as he was to be separated from his love. He would not reveal the cause of his sorrow to Mrnalavati. He was so much overpowered by his feelings that he could not distinguish when Mrnalavati gave him food with too much salt or without it. In this state of his mind Mrnalavati asked him the cause of his sorrow and Munja foolishly revealed the secret of his impending escape from prison and also told her : " If you

¹ *Ajitapurana*, Canto I, v. 36.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ *EC*. Vol. IX, Ht. No. 111.

⁴ *IA*. Vol. VI, p. 51.

⁵ *El*. Vol. IV, p. 207.

⁶ *IA*. Vol. XXXVI, p. 168.

will come there (to Ujjain), I will crown you as my consort and show you the fruits of my favour.' Mrnalavati had already lost confidence in her fading youth and beauty due to advancing age and once when she was brooding over the same, Munja had consoled her by saying " Mrnalavati! do not reflect over the vanished youth. Sugar candy even though it may be pounded into a thousand pieces will taste sweet." This had failed to make any impression on her and asking him to wait until she fetched a casket of jewels and reflecting that as she was a middle-aged widow, Munja will cast her away in his home, she went to her brother Taila and revealed the plan of Munja's escape to him. In order to avenge the faithlessness with which, as she imagined, Munja might have treated her at Ujjain, Mrnalavati had him tied up with chords and made him beg from door to door and then Munja would utter a warning against the treachery of a woman. Munja was exposed to all kinds of insults and scorns. When given butter-milk and refused food, Munja, his pride awakened said to the lady who treated him with this insult,

Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with
a little pot in my hand.

Munja has lost fifteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.

Munja was ultimately trampled under an elephant's feet and his head severed from the body, was fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace. By keeping it continually covered with thick sour milk, Taila II gratified his anger.

Different versions of this event are given in different Jain *prabandhas*. In one Taila is said to have been ruling at Urangala-pattana and his minister Kamaladitya went to Munja and pretended that he had been disgraced by his master for advising him to give up his enmity towards Munja. Rudraditya's advice of not trusting Kamaladitya was disregarded by Munja and at Kamaladitya's suggestion he marched with his army to the banks of river Godavari to invade the Calukya kingdom. Kamaladitya revealed his true colours at this stage and taunted Munja for his folly. The Karnatas, who were waiting for this opportunity, fell upon Munja's army, cut it to pieces and took Munja prisoner.

Bhojaprabandha and *Navasahasankacaria* are silent over this event, but the story is told by several Calukyan records. The Gadag inscription reveals that the battle was fought on the bank of the Godavari and a certain Kesava, son of Madhava, fought in the battle and won Taila's admiration. Others speak of Munja being taken prisoner and killed by Taila. The Yadava chieftain Bhillama II fought in the battle from the side of the Calukyas as his Sangamner grant, dated in Saka 922 = 1000 A.D., claims that he crushed the army of Munja and 'thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the house of illustrious Ranaranga-bhima.'. Kielhorn's identification of Ranarangabhima with Taila as it is synonymous with *Ahavamalla* is preferable to that of Dr. Barnett. This battle was fought between 994 A.D., when Amitagati finished his *Subhasitaratnasandoha* in which he leaves Munja's life story incomplete and does not refer to this event, and 997 A.D., the last known date for Taila.

The province of Lata, which had formed part of the Rastrakuta dominions, was also conquered by Taila and placed in charge of his general Barappa of a Calukya family. Hemacandra calls Barappa a king of Latadesa. Several inscriptions show that a Calukya family beginning from Barappa ruled over Lata. Those who followed Barappa in succession were his son Goggiraja, his son Kirttiraja, his son Vatsaraja, his son Tribhuvanapala, and his son Trivikrama-paladeva. Barappa's family had matrimonial connections with the Rastrakutas and he 'having obtained the country of Lata, verified to the delight of the people, the maxims of the science of politics and winning over his subjects and destroying his enemies always obtained the fruits of the replenishment of his treasury.' Barappa attacked Mularaja of Gujarat, simultaneously with a king of Sapadalaksa: Mularaja fled to Kanthadurga. He seems to have made a truce with the Cahamana Vighrahapala II and attacked Barappa and defeated and killed him. Mularaja captured 1,000 horses and eighteen elephants from Barappa. The *Dvyasraya* tells a different tale. It says that Barappa sent an ill-omened elephant to Mularaja, who interpreted this as his insult. Mularaja with his son Camundaraja, hence, attacked Barappa and killed him. Ranna in his *Ajitapurana* writes that Taila sent his son Satyasraya to invade the Gurjara country. Satyasraya, who led the campaign on an elephant, defeated the Gurjara army and killed the brother of the Gurjara king. To celebrate this victory Taila built a Jain *basadi* at Lokki-gundi at the request of Attiyabbe. The Sogal inscription, dated 980 A.D., speaks of Taila's victory over Lata.²

Taila also claims to have defeated Mallama of Karahad or Karad in the Satara district.

Taila II ruled for 24 years. His two last known dates from inscriptions are Saka 919, *Hemalamba Samvatsara*, *Asadha* 4=5th or 26th June, 997³ A.D., and Sunday, 12th September 997 A.D.⁴

Taila was a patron of poets and the learned. During his reign the famous Kanarese poet Ranna wrote his two important works, *Gadayuddha* and *Ajitapurana*. He also wrote another work *Parasuramacarita* in Sanskrit. Ranna started his career as a bangle seller. He then served as a soldier in the army of Cavundaraja, minister of the Ganga Marasimha. Ranna was a follower of Jainism and was patronised by Attiyabbe, wife of general Nagadeva. Taila conferred on him the title of *Kavi-cudamani*. Another poet Ponna wrote his *Puranacudamani* on the banks of Kaveri. This work is claimed to have been written for the welfare of Taila in the presence of Jinacandra-muni, *Guru* of the king. Taila also appears to have been a follower of the Jain religion and built a number of Jain *basadis*, two at Lokkigundi. He was a just king as would appear from the Rodda inscription quoted earlier. He was also a good builder and a good general.

¹ In *Kirtikaumudi* Barappa is called the general of the lord of Lata, and by Arisimha as the general of king of Kanyakubja, both of which are not correct.

² *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 7.

³ *EI*. Vol. III, p. 270.

⁴ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 179.

Taila left an extensive empire to his successor. It included Lata in the north, Bellary and Anantpur of Karnataka and the Simoga and a part of Citaldrug district on the south, Dharvad, Belganv and Bijapur districts in the northwest. It also included the whole of the former Hyderabad State in the east and was bounded by the Godavari river.

Taila had two sons, Satyasraya and Dasavarman, both bom of his queen Jakabbe. Dasavarman was governing some divisions of the kingdom in 996 A.D.¹

Satyasraya.

Satyasraya succeeded his father Taila in 997 A.D., his earliest known date being *Saka* 922, *Vikari*, 999 A.D.² He was also known as Sattiga,³ Sattima⁴ and had the titles of *Irivahedanga*⁵ *Ahavamalla* and *Akalankacarita* and 'the slayer of the Tamils'.⁶

The hostilities with the Colas were resumed during his reign. Uttama Cola was succeeded by Rajaraja the Great in 985 A.D. He combined in him aggressive power and statesmanship. Rajaraja had started his campaign against the *Nolambas* during Taila's reign and had gained some success in 997 A.D. The *Nolambas* occupied a strategic position between the *Calukya* and *Cola* dominions. Satyasraya gave his daughter *Vrddhimbbarase* to *Iriva-Nolambadhi-rajā*, who was made the Governor of *Nolambavadi* 32,000, *Kogali* 500, *Ballakunde* 300 and *Kakkanur* 30. *Nolambadhiraja* claims to have ruled as far as *Kanci*.⁷ Rajaraja captured *Talakad* in 1004 A.D. and wiped out the *Ganga* power. He then invaded the *Calukya* dominions. The *Hottur* inscription, dated in 1007 A.D., contains a graphic account of the *Cola* invasion. It says that:—"The cyclic year *Plavanga*, the 929th Year of the *Saka* era, being current, when Rajaraja Nityavinoda Rajendra Vidyadhara, ornament of the *Cola* race, *Nurmmadi Cola* came accompanied by a host of nine hundred thousand (men), halted at *Donvur* and was ravaging the whole country, perpetrating murders of women, children, and the *Brahmanas*, seizing women and overthrowing the order of the castes."

"Hail! the auspicious king of kings, supreme lord, supreme master, *Akalankacarita*, *Irivabedanga*, ornament of the *Calukya* race, 'Slayer of the Tamils,' the auspicious king Satyasraya drove away the *Colas*, captured his trains of baggage wagons, and made a triumphal progress through the south."

And while being at the *ghatta* of *Tavare*, a grant of one *visa* for each ox in perpetuity was made by the thousand betel-sellers in assembly in honour of those who died while defending the kine of the betel-sellers when robbers were carrying them off."⁸

¹ *ARSIE*. 1933-34, Bk. No. 179.

² *EC*. Vol. VII. Sk.No. 179.

³ *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 330.

⁴ *BG*.(Old Edn.), Vol. I,pt. I, p.

⁵ *EI*. Vol. XVI, pp. 187-89.

⁶ *Ibid*. p. 75

⁷ *EC*. VI. IX, Ht. No. 111.

⁸ *EI*. Vol. XVI, p. 75.

The Calukya victory over the Colas is also borne out by an inscription, dated 1008 A.D., at Cebrolu in the Guntur district which speaks of Satyasraya as king. The statement of the Tiruvalanganadu plates that Satyasraya 'became the abode of misery himself even though he escaped the misery of fight with Rajaraja' is an exaggeration. Rajaraja also celebrated his victory, as recorded in an inscription, over the Calukya Satyasraya by offering flowers of gold to the god. In spite of this claim the Cola did fail in the campaign and suffered loss of territory.

Rajaraja was followed by Rajendra. In the third year of his reign again there was a battle between the Calukyas and the Colas when 'Srutiman Nakkam Chandiran *alias* Rajamala Muttaraiyan on the occasion when in a fight with Satyasraya, he was ordered by the king to pierce the (enemy's elephants)¹.

At the command of Sattiga (Satyasraya) in 1006 A.D., a Lenka Keta fell fighting at the battle of Unukallu, probably against the Colas². A Gadag inscription, dated in *Saka* 930 (1008 A.D.) of the reign of Satyasraya refers to the siege of the *agrahara* Kaldugu in the Belvola 300 by Desinga and the destruction of the forces because of the treachery of king Pergade³.

Padevala Taila, son of Nagadeva, continued to serve under Satyasraya and his mother Attiyabbe made a grant in 1005 A.D. *Sobhana-rasa*, another important feudatory, was governing Halasige 12,000. Huligere 300 and Beluvala 300⁴.

Satyasraya had one son Kundin or Kunderaja and two daughters. Vradhamabbarasi and Akkadevi. Akkadevi was a good administrator and was governing some one or other division during the time of Satyasraya and his successors. Kunderaja was placed in charge of Banavasi 12,000 and Santalige 1,000 divisions.

The last known date of Satyasraya is Monday, November 15, 1008 A.D.

Vikramaditya.

Vikramaditya, son of Dasavarman and Bhagyavati, succeeded his uncle Satyasraya on the throne sometime after November 15, 1008 A.D. and before April 12, 1009 A.D. (*Saka* 930, *Saumya*, *Samvatsara*, lunar eclipse). Dasavarman, probably, died during Satyasraya's reign. Why Kunderaja, the other son of Satyasraya, who continued to govern certain provinces during the reign of Vikramaditya, Ayyana II and Jayasimha II, did not succeed his father is not known.

Vikramaditya adopted the titles of *Tribhuvanamalla* and *Vallabha-narendra*. A later inscription of the time of Jayasimha II, records that a certain Kesava Jiya, probably the Kesavaraja of the inscriptions and a subordinate of Vikramaditya, conquered the Kosala country which was ruled by the Somavamsi Mahabhava-gupta, who also claims to have worsted king of Karnata. Akkadevi and Kundin,

¹ *ARASIE*. 1912-13, App. B. No. 515.

² *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. i, No. 51.

³ *ARSIE*. 1932-33, Bk. No. 179.

⁴ *SII Vol.* XI.pt. i, No. 51.

daughter and son, respectively, of Satyasraya, continued to govern some provinces of the Calukya Empire during the reign of Vikramaditya.

The last known date for Vikramaditya is October 8, 1013 A.D.¹

Ayyana II.

Vikramaditya was followed on the throne by his brother Ayyana II. Many Calukya records and Bilhana omit his name and state that Vikramaditya was succeeded by Jayasimha II, while others² record that he did rule. No records of his time have been found. The earliest known date of Jayasimha falls in 1015 A.D.³, which leaves a gap of two years for the rule of Ayyana. Ayyana is called "self-willed and haughty."⁴

Jayasimha II.

Jayasimha, brother of Ayyana, came to the throne probably after violently overthrowing the latter. He is called 'impetuous' in one of the inscriptions⁵. His earliest known date is February 20, 1015 A.D.⁶ He adopted the title *Trailokyamalla*, *Vikramasimha*, *Mallihamoda* and *Jagadekamalla*. His three queens known are Suggaladevi⁷ or Suggala⁸ whose daughter was Hamma, also called Sati Avvaladevi, who was married to the Yadava chief Bhillama III;⁹ Devaladevi, a Nolamba princess, whose bones on her death were immersed in the Ganga in 1036 A.D.;¹⁰ and Laksmidevi. Kalyani is for the first time referred to as his capital in 1033 A.D.¹¹ Inscriptions, dated 1036 A.D.¹² and 1040 A.D.¹³ also refer to the city as the capital. Jayasimha was residing at Hottalakere¹⁴ or Pottalakere in A.D. 1033, 1040 and 1041; Kollipake in 1033-34, at Etagiri Kampili in 1018 A.D., at Tagarila in 1032 A.D., at Vijayapura in 1036 A.D. and at Ghatta-dakere in 1038 A.D.

Rajendra Cola invaded the Calukya kingdom and claims to have defeated Jayasimha II at Musangi and to have captured Idaiturai-nadu or Ededore 2000, between the Krsna and Tungabhadra rivers and corresponding roughly to the modern Raicur district; Vana-vasi (Banavasi) and Kollippakkai, modern Kulpak, about 45 miles from Hyderabad and Mannaikkadagam, Manyakheta, the Rastra-kuta capital.¹⁵ The Cola success did not last long and in a short time Jayasimha recovered all lost territories after defeating the Cola king.¹⁶ This Cola invasion took place in about 1017-18 A.D. After

¹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 471 (an inscription gives Saka 93(6), Sravana but the year not certain, SII. Vol. IX. pt. i, No. 79).

² IA. Vol. IV, p. 208 ; EC. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 110, 130, 123 and 197 ; Sb. Nos. 233, 228 ; Vol. XI. Dg. Nos. 35 and 41 ; ARSIE, 1924-25, p. 75 ; HAS. No. 8, pp. 8, 9 ; IA. Vol. XLVII, p. 287.

³ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 76.

⁴ IA. Vol. IV, p. 108.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ ARSIE. 1937-38, No. 59 ; EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 16.

⁷ B.S. Old Edn.) Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 435.

⁸ IA. Vol. XII, p. 119.

⁹ SII. Vol IX Pl. i, Nos. 91-92.

¹⁰ ARSIE. 1938 :, No. 122.

¹¹ SII Vol. XI, p. i, No. 69.

¹² ARSIE. 1929-30, App. E, No. 8; 1917, No. 34.

¹³ EC. Vol. XII, Si. No. 37 and 40.

¹⁴ SII. Vol. XI, pt.i, No. 68.

¹⁵ SII. Vol. II, p. 92 ; Vol. III, p. 27 ; AISI. p. 65.

¹⁶ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 125 ; MASR.1929, p. 135 ; EI. Vol. XVIII, p. 24.

a brief period of peace the hostilities were resumed in about 1024 A.D., as an inscription records that Jayasimha was camping at Kolhapur after warring against the mighty Cola. As a result of this campaign the Calukyas gained possession of the Gangavadi 96,000, which the Colas had earlier captured.

The Bansvara plates, dated January 3, 1020 A.D., reveal that the Paramara Bhoja, successor of Munja, granted a village on the anniversary of the conquest of Konkan.¹ Konkan appears to have been annexed to his dominions by Bhoja in September 1019 A.D.² The Kalyan inscription of Yasovarman, a feudatory of Bhoja, confirms occupation of Konkan by Bhoja after defeating the kings of Karnata and Konkan.³ Jayasimha also claims to have ‘searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Malava’⁴ in 1019 A.D. But this claim is not correct. The Miraj plates, dated 1024 A.D., reveal that Jayasimha issued the grant, when he was in his victorious camp near Kolhapur, having returned from the southern campaign after taking the property of the seven Konkans and ready to conquer the north (i.e., north Konkan). Jayasimha appears to have dislodged the Paramaras from the Konkan as no trace of their occupying it is found after this date.

Merutunga records the story that when the Paramara Bhoja thought of invading Gujarat, Damara, minister of the Calukya Bhima, diverted his mind towards the Tilinga country by showing him a drama, depicting the indignities Munja had to suffer at Taila's hands. Incensed by the drama, when Bhoja was marching southward, he heard that the king of Tilinga was also advancing against him. He was frightened at this and he found himself between the devil and the deep sea when Damara told him, a mere bluff, that the Calukya Bhima had already reached Bhojapuram for invading his dominions. Bhoja then sent Damara back to persuade the Calukyas to go back. What happened to the Calukya force advancing against him from the south is not known. Bhoja also appears to have returned without pursuing his southern adventure.

If Merutunga is to be relied on, Bhoja appears to have made another attempt to invade the Calukya dominions and avenge the insult they had done to Munja. This time, in order to safeguard his rear and his own dominions during his absence in the south as well as to reinforce his own force by an ally, he made a compact with the Calukya Bhima and the Kalacuri Gangeyadeva of Tripuri. The combined forces of these three then invaded the Calukya kingdom. What success they gained, cannot be measured as both the sides are equally eloquent in claiming victory for themselves. The battle appears to have been fought on the highlands of the southern bank of the river Godavari. The invaders were defeated by the Calukyas and driven

¹ *EI*. Vol. XI, p. 181.

² *Ibid*. Vol. XVIII, p. 320.

³ *ASASI*. 1921-22, pp. 118-119.

⁴ *IA*. Vol VIII, p. 19.

back to the other side of the river¹ and the Kadamba Chattiga, a Calukya feudatory, was awarded the title of the 'Guardian of Highlands' by Jayasimha for the gallant services rendered to his sovereign during the battle. The Kalavan plates² and the Udaipur prasasti³ give Bhopa credit for the conquest of Karnata and the Khairah plates record that Gangeyadeva inflicted a crushing defeat on the king of Kuntala but later on restored him to his throne. On the Calukya side the Kulenur inscription records that 'O Kundaraja, when they name thee in respect of courage, what further praise can others give? Is it not what is said of the troops of elephants of the Colas, the Gangeya and king Bhoja with open mouth as they flee away in terror through which they gallop off without waiting at all to charge with their tusks.'⁴ Kundin's father-in-law Bachi claims to have put the Malavas to shame.⁵ This Paramara invasion and the battle of the Godavari took place in about 1028 A.D., the date of the Kulenur inscription cited above.

The conquest of Gangavadi 96,000 and Nolambavadi 32,000 divisions and the two Konkans, north and south, were the landmarks of the reign of Jayasimha II. The annexation of Gangavadi 96,000 is confirmed by the fact that *Jagadekamalla Nolamba-pallava* Perma-nadi *alias* Udayadityadeva, a feudatory of Jayasimha was ruling over Gangavadi 96,000 along with Kadambalige 1,000, Kogali 500, five villages of Masiyavadi 140, Ballakunde 300 and Kudihara 70 in Edadore 2,000 in 1018 A.D.⁶ He was governing Nolambavadi 32,000, Kadambalige 1,000, Kogali 500, Ballakurde 300, Kandiparavi 70 and Karividi 30 in 1032 A.D. and 1034 A.D.⁷ This does not include Gangavadi which appears to have been taken away from his charge as was Nolambavadi 32,000, which is also not mentioned in the list of the divisions under his charge after 1034 A.D. Gangavadi 96,000 was put under the charge of Mallideva Cola *maharaja*⁸ and Barmma-deva Cola *maharaja*, the latter of whom was ruling from there in 1040 A.D.⁹ Gangavadi has been identified with the regions between the rivers Tungabhadra and Krsna. It had its capital at Kuvalala. Under the Gangas it was of Talakad. The Cola Rajaraja, the Great, had conquered some portion of it in about 998 A.D. His son Rajendra I had reduced the whole of it under his subjection and had captured Talakad by driving out the Gahga king Racamalla. To commemorate this achievement Rajendra assumed the title of Gangai-konda¹⁰ Cola, the Cola who took Gangi, i.e., Gangavadi 96,000. The Calukyas conquered this division from the Colas before 1018 A.D.

Konkan, which Satyasraya had subjugated, had reasserted its independence probably during the reign of Vikramaditya or Ayyana. It was conquered by the Paramaras but was reconquered for the

¹ *El.* Vol. XVI, p. 359 ; Vol. XIX, pp. 71-72.

² *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 235.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. XII, pp. 205 ff.

⁴ *El.* Vol. XV, p. 333.

⁵ *HAS.* No. 8.

⁶ *SII.* Vol. IX, pt, i, No. 80.

⁷ *Ibid.* Nos. 85, 87, 82, 88, 90, etc.

⁸ *EC.* Vol. XII, Si. No. 37.

⁹ *Ibid.* Si. No. 40.

¹⁰ (Gangaikonda has reference to Rajendra's expedition to the Ganga—V.V.M.).

Calukyas by Jayasimha II in 1024 A.D. North and south Konkan, and Satara. Ratnagiri and Kolhapur districts of the modern Maharashtra State, were ruled by two branches of the Silaharas, the northern by *Mahamandalevara* Chittarajadeva and the southern by the Silahara Gandaraditva, whose known dates are 1010 A.D. and 1035 A.D.

Akkadevi, sister of Jayasimha II, was governing Banavasi 12,000 jointly with Kadamba Mayuravarman, her husband, in 1037 A.D. Her son Toyinadeva had the title of ‘ the lion of Harikanta ’, like his father ¹. Cavanarasa, another subordinate of Mayuravarman was administering the two divisions of Belvola 300 and Puligere 300. He was also a minister of peace and war. A Hottur inscription, dated in 1037 A.D.² records that Cavanarasa led an expedition against the forts of Pannala (Panhala) and Dvarasamudra. The fort of Panhala was defended by Jattunga, predecessor of Gonka, whom Fleet assigned the dates 1033 A.D. to 1055 A.D. A fierce battle took place between the Silaharas and the Calukyas. The Calukyas besieged the fort stormed it and conquered it. The famous fort of Panhala where in later times Sivaji had baffled the Moghal forces, is situated on a hill 12 miles from Kolhapur. Dvarasamudra, the other place conquered by Cavanarasa, and called Dora in the inscription³ was governed by the Hoysalas, who were rising to power in the Deccan during this period⁴ to play a prominent role in its history after the Calukyas had disappeared from the scene. Sala Nrupakama who had founded the city of Dvarasamudra ruled from 1006 to c. 1040 A.D.⁵ Cavanarasa also claims to have captured the forts of Bijavadi, which may be identified with Bigevadi in the Bijapur district, and Balevattana, identified with Ballipattan in the Malabar district of the Kerala State. He is called the lord of Vanavasi, best of cities and a “ comet to the Konkan, an uprooter of Panhala, a grindstone to Balevavattana, a shatterer of the pride of the fortress of Bijavadi and *disa—pala* (seatterer) of Dora.”⁶

The Brahmanas seem to have been dissatisfied with Jayasimha II. The cause of this dissatisfaction is not known. Some of them hatched a plot to kill the king, but Kalidasa, styled as *Sangrama Kanthirava*, one of the Brahmanas himself, remained faithful to the king, and was successful in dissuading the conspirators from their plans. Kalidasa is praised as a great politician in the inscription.⁷

Jayasimha II had a daughter Hamma of Avalladevi, who was married to the Yadava chieftain Bhillama II,⁸ and a son called Some-svara, who succeeded him. His last known date is April 25, 1042

¹ *El.* Vol. XVI, p. 76.

² *Ibid.* p. 80.

³ *El.* Vol. XVI, p. 80.

⁴ Derrett : *The Hoysalavansa*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *El.* Vol. XVI, p. 80.

⁷ *HAS.* No. 8, pp. 7, 19, 20.

⁸ *IA.* Vol. XII, p. 119.

A.D.¹ The earliest known date of his son Somesvara is January 23, 1043 A.D.²

Two learned men flourished during his reign, Dayapala and Vadiraja. Vadiraja who was the author of *Parsvanathacarita*, lived in Jayasimha's court and is described as a very learned man. Dayapala was the author of *Rupasiddhi* which he wrote in Saka 947³.

Somesvara I.

Somesvara I, son of Jayasimha II, ascended the throne between April 25, 1042 A.D.⁴ and January 23, 1043 A.D.⁵. He bore the titles of *Trailokyamulla*, *Ahavamalla* and *Rayanarayana*. Six queens of his are known: Ketaladevi,⁶ Hoysaladevi,⁷ Mailadevi; or Mailaladevi, called *priyarasi* or chief queen ;⁸ Bacaladevi;⁹ Candrikadevi,¹⁰ also called *priyarasi* or chief queen ; and Liladevi.¹¹ Ketaladevi was placed in charge of the administration of Ponnavaḍa *agrahara*, modern Honvad in the Kolhapur District. Bacaladevi was the mother of Somesvara's two sons Somesvara II and Vikramaditya.

The Calukya capital had been shifted from Manyakheta to Kalyani in the reign of Jayasimha II. But it was probably Somesvara I who made it a permanent central seat of the Government. A number of places are mentioned in the inscriptions as places of royal camps where he stayed temporarily for short periods.¹²

India at this time was in a state of utter political turmoil, the lust of territory and ambitious dynasticism dominated by the will to win a glory for the family by large scale ravages of others' dominions, as it were, guided the state policy. All this led to continuous wars and battles between the large number of states that had then come into existence. Its consequence was chaos. Somesvara himself pursued aggression with greater vigour than his predecessors.

The defensive policy of Jayasimha II towards the Paramaras was changed into that of offensive by Somesvara I. Malava was invaded and the Calukya forces crossed the rivers Godavari and Narmada and attacked Mandava, modern Mandu, 22 miles from Dhara, in the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. Ujjain and Dhara were also stormed. Bhoja fled away from his capital to Ujjain. Dhara was burnt by the invaders. Ujjain was noted for its ramparts but here also Bhoja did not find safety. The Calukyas captured Ujjain also. The generals, who participated in the campaign, were Nagadeva, Jemarasa, Gundamayya and Madhuva. The Calukya records contain a graphic account of this victory. The Nagai inscription says that Somesvara 'entered and burnt (the city of) Dhara',

¹ EC. Vol. VIII, Ek. Nos. 108 (b) and 109 (b).

² Ibid. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 323 ; Kielhorn List No. 159.

³ IA. 1914, p. 212; EC. Vol. II (rev. edn. No. 67), pp. 29 ff; Vol. VIII, Nr.No. 37.

⁴ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb, Nos. 108 (bis) and 109 (bis).

⁵ Ibid Vol. VII, Sk. No. 323 ; Kielhorn's List No. 159

⁶ IA. Vol. IX.

⁷ EC. Vol. VII, Hl. No. 1 ; ARSIE. 1930, F, No. 179.

⁸ Bom. Gaz. (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 438; ARSIE. 1923, p. 101.

⁹ EI. Vol. XV, 357.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ ARSIE. 1928, E. No. 244.

¹² EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 170 ; ARSIE. 1930 F. No. 79 ; HAS. No. 8.

'had (previously) captured Mandava' and 'having raided on and burnt (the city of) Ujjayini (noted for its) rampart (alurkke), (he) there bore the silver ball with pride, by the strength of his arm.'¹ General Gundamayya is similarly described "as, a royal swan strolling on both the banks of the river Narmada, an evil comet to the Malava people, a capturer of the fort, namely Mandava, and held in honour in the city of Dhara."² Nagadeva is called a *Garuda* to the serpent Bhoja³. Madhuva claims to have 'driven out (from his capital) the lord of Dhara.'⁴ Jemarasa is described as a flame of doom to king Bhoja⁵. Bilhana confirms that Somesvara attacked Dhara and it fell into the invader's hands.⁶

In spite of all the loud claims in their records, the Calukyas gained no permanent advantages from this campaign except probably plunder, loot and prestige. They withdrew as quickly as they had ravaged it, because of the threat of a Cola invasion of their own kingdom. The Paramaras returned to their capital but were soon after overwhelmed by the Caulukyas of Gujarat from the north and the Kalacuris from the east. Bhima the Caulukya king of Gujarat and Karna, the Kalacuri king, defeated Bhoja and stormed his capital Dhara. Bhoja appears to have died fighting in defence of his capital and Malava lay at the mercy of the invaders. But Bhima and Karna quarrelled over the division of Malava between themselves. In fact, Karna wanted to pocket the full loaf. The diplomatic Damara, who had once led Bhoja to disgrace came to his master's help, a second time and made Karna agree to share the spoils⁷. It was not until Karna had been taken prisoner by Bhima when the former was sleeping that he yielded, and ultimately having lost all, retired to his own kingdom leaving Bhima as the final arbitrator of Malava's fate. The Calukyas appear to have hunted out from Malava, the Paramara claimants to the throne. Jayasimha, son of Bhoja, then appealed to the Calukya Somesvara for help. In spite of the fact that there was a traditional hostility between the two' Somesvara agreed to help him, for the political advantages from subservient Malava against the hostile and powerful Kalacuris, the Caulukyas and the Colas were tremendous. The Calukya force sent for the help of Jayasimha, drove out the Caulukya Bhima from Malava. Jayasimha was restored to the throne⁸ before 1055 A.D. the date of his Mandhata plates.⁹

A Belagami inscription¹⁰ speaks of the Lata king making submission to Somesvara and paying him tribute. It appears that Trilocanapala of Lata, when threatened by Vappulaka,¹¹ general of the Kalacuri

¹ HAS. No. 8, p. 18.

² MASR. 1929, pp. 68-69.

³ EI. Vol. XV, p. 87.

⁴ HAS. No. 8, p. 21.

⁵ EI. Vol. XVI, p. 86.

⁶ *Vikramankadevacarita*. 1, vs. 91-96.

⁷ *Dryashraya*, IX, v. 57.

⁸ *Vikramankadevacarita*. III, v. 67.

⁹ EI. Vol. III, p. 46.

¹⁰ EC. Vol. VII.

¹¹ IA., Vol. XII, pp. 196f, *Mem. ASS.* No. 23, p. 123.

Karna, who claims a victory over Trilocanapala in the Rewah inscription preferred to seek the shelter of Somesvara and pay him tribute. Trilocanapala belonged to the house of Barappa, who had been placed in Lata by Taila II.¹ The Cola Rajadhiraja I, successor of Rajendra the great, made a bold bid during the reign of Somesvara to recover the territories lost by his predecessor to Jayasimha II. Having reconciled the rebellious feudatory chieftains he invaded the Calukya kingdom with a view to recover Gangavadi 96,000.² At this time Somesvara was leading a campaign in Malava and the small Calukya force that was left behind at home suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Cola king when it faced him under the command of Somesvara's sons, Vikramaditya and Vijayaditya. The battle was fought at Kollippak-kai, modern Kulpak, 45 miles east of Hyderabad, in Andhra. The Calukya force had to retreat. It was pursued by the invaders who burnt Kollippakkai. A second Cola invasion, which took place about 1046 A.D., is described in the same, *Manimangalam* inscription³, dated in the 29th year of Rajadhiraja's reign, (1046 A.D.). It says that "When even Ahavamallan became afraid : when Gandappayan and Gangadharan (who belonged) to his army, fell along with (their) elephants (whose temples) swarmed with bees, (in a battle) with the irresistible army of Kevudan; (and) when the (two) warriors of great courage—Vikki and Vijayadityan, Sangamayan of great strength, and others retreated like cowards,—(the Cola king) seized (them) along with gold of great splendour and with horses, elephants and steeds, achieved victory in his garments, and caused the centre of Kollippakkai, (a city) of the enemies to be consumed by fire".

During the second expedition the Cola king led his force upto Tungabhadra and burnt the city of Kampili, a place of royal residence.⁴ Both these expeditions were led before 1046 A.D. The Colas then claim to have attacked Pundur on the bank of the river Krsna, called a cantonment city, where another great battle with the Calukyas was fought. The Colas claim to have captured a large number of Calukyan feudatory princes with their women and sacked and burnt the city. They also claim to have burnt Mannandippai and erected a pillar of victory there.⁵ The Calukya reverses are admitted in a Sudi inscription, dated in 1050 A.D., of the reign of Somesvara. It says that 'the seven ministers granted the settis renewal of their corporate constitution, which had partly broken down in the stress of the war with the Colas.'⁶

In spite of all their resounding victories the Colas claim over the Calukyas in their records, they did not make any territorial gains and the Calukya records dated in 1047 A.D. show that they remained in possession of the regions where the battles between them and the Colas had been fought.⁷ The Colas returned to the field against

¹ [Trilocanapala, defeated by Vappulla was a pratihara King *CIDIV*, P.280.-V.V.M.]

² *HISI*, p. 70.

³ *SII*. Vol. III, p. 56.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 57.

⁵ *ARSIE*. 1890, No. 6 ; 1894, Xo. 221 ; 1895, No. 18. *C as*, Vol. 1, p. 304.

⁶ *EI* .Vol. XV, pp. 77 ff.

⁷ *ARSIE*. 1914 No. 484.

the Calukyas once again, probably with stronger forces. The date of the battle that was fought this time between the two is certain since the details of it are recorded in another Manimangalam inscription of the 4th year of the reign of Rajendradeva II corresponding to 1056 A.D.¹ This inscription clearly states that Rajendra II was crowned on the battlefield. This shows that the battle was fought in 1052 A.D.

The inscription contains a detailed description of the Cola invasion. The Colas attacked Rattamandalam and destroyed many towns and districts. It made the Salukki king (Calukya Somesvara I) furious and he is said to have sprung up and said, “It is a disgrace to me” (his) eyes burning (with rage). He met the Cola force at Koppam. The Tiruvallam inscription speaks of the Colas erecting a pillar of victory at Kolhapur before the battle of Koppam, near Khidrapur, at the confluence of the rivers, Panca Ganga and Krsna, where stands the temple of *Koppesvara* in the Belganv district of the Mysore State. The Colas arranged their forces in two rows, the front and the rear; Rajudhiraja commanding the former and Rajendra the rear. Both the armies were commanded by veteran generals of the two sides and their names recorded.

The Calukyas launched the attack first and the front line of the Colas commanded by the Cola king himself, who like his opponent the Calukya king was riding an elephant, was pierced and the Cola Rajadhiraja was killed with many of his warriors. There was great confusion in the Cola army because of the death of the king and the elephants frightened by the fury of the battle and riderless ran about in confusion. Even the elephant of the king without him ran about and was stopped only by the Cola king's brother Rajendradeva who had been so far waiting behind. When he saw the Cola army, without its commander, on the verge of a total collapse, he threw all his forces in the battle shouting “Fear not”. The Calukyas once again attacked the elephants from which Rajendra was fighting and ‘the shower of Ahavamalla's straight arrows pierced the forehead of his elephant, his royal thigh and his shoulders which resembled hillocks.’ But soon after the tide of the battle turned against the Calukyas, as the Cola record claims that Jayasimha, brother of Somesvara, was slain (?) along with a number of his feudatories named Pulekesin, Dasapanaman Asokaiyan, Araiyan, Nanni, Nolamba. The Colas claim complete victory over the Calukyas. The Salukki king Ahavamalla, the armies of Kundamayan and Tuttan and Vanniya-Revan were completely routed. Somesvara ‘fled, trembling vehemently, with dishevelled hair, turning (his) back, looking around, and tiring (his) legs, and was forced to plunge into the Western ocean.’ The Colas claim to have captured many elephants, horses, camels, ‘the victorious banner of boar and the insignia of royalty’, two queens, Sattiyavvai and Sangappai and many women who were left on the field by the Calukya king.² Rajendradeva was crowned king on the field. The Calukya records also claim victory over the Colas. A Belagami inscription, dated

¹ *SII*. Vol.III, p. 58.

² *SII*. Vol. III, p. 63.

1054 A.D.¹ calls Somesvara 'a lion to the tusky elephant, the Cola' and records further that 'in the middle of the battle the Cola king exhausted his valour and died.' The Nagai inscription, dated 1058 A.D. refers to Rayanarayana or Somesvara I as having captured Kanci and killed the Cola king and to have brought his decapitated head by the strength of his arm which had captured Mandava. It further adds "King Trailokyamalla having on that (i.e., the farther, viz., the northern) side entered and burnt (the city of) Dhara with determination, having on the (near, viz., the southern) side penetrated and set on fire (the city of) Kanci, by the strength of his arm which had (previously) captured Mandava and having killed the Cola king in anger, brought his fresh decapitated head". Bilhana says that Somesvara killed the Cola king and burnt the Cola capital Kanci.

There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the final results of the battle. Some relying on the Calukya records are of the opinion that the Calukyas were the victors while others accept the version of the Cola records. In fact the truth lies in between the two. The Cola king was killed at Koppam, but the Calukyas were also pushed back from there by Rajendra. Soon after the Calukyas raided Kanci, the Cola capital, burnt the city and defeated the Colas once again. A Sudi inscription dated Thursday, January 20, 1060 A.D., records that king Trailokyamalla was halting at his camp Puli, a town within Sindavadi division after 'having made a victorious expedition to the southern region and conquered the Cola.'²

All these bloody battles between the two sides led to no final results, but peace between them was preserved for a few years. The Tiruvenganadu inscription of Vira Rajendra, dated in the 2nd year of his reign (1064-65 A.D.) claims three victories for the Colas over the Calukyas. In the first, Vikramaditya (VI), son of Somesvara I, was driven away from Gangapati and had to retire to the other side of the Tungabhadra river along with his *Mahasamantas* whose strong hands (wielded) cruel bows³. The Colas, too, retired without any gains. Vikramaditya then led an expedition into the Verigi country in alliance with the Paramara Jayasimha, who had been placed on the throne by the Calukyas. Jayasimha sent his brother to attack Vengi from the north when the Calukyas came from the west. But the invaders were driven away by Vira Rajendra and the Karuvur inscription⁴, dated in the 5th year of his reign claims that he defeated and destroyed the powerful army which was sent by Vikkalan, i.e., Vikramaditya, to attack Venginadu. One of the Calukyan generals, Camundaraja was killed in the battle and Vira Rajendra severed his head from the dead body and cut off the nose of the only daughter of Camunda, named Nagalai, who was beautiful like a peacock and was married to Irugayan, whose identity is not known. It is claimed

¹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 118.

² EI. Vol. XV, P. 92.

³ SII. Vol. III, p. 69.

⁴ Ibid. p. 37.

further that Vira Rajendra killed the brother of Jayasimha, *Jananatha* of Dhara. Camunda is not mentioned in any record after 1060 A.D. and this appears to be the date of the invasion. Bilhana also says that Vikramaditya invaded the Vengi country and repeatedly defeated the Colas.

The Colas and the Calukyas made preparations for the final battle that was fought at Kudalasahgamam on the banks of the turbid river in 1064 A.D. Kudalasangamam is not far away from Koppam in the Belgganv district. The Cola army was commanded by the 'Allied Kings', as the inscription says, but their identity is not known. The Calukya army was also very large and included a large number of elephants and horses. It was commanded in person by Somesvara himself. He was assisted by Vikkalan (Vikramaditya) and Singan, who is sometimes called brother of the Calukya king and sometimes king of Kosala.

The battle began with the Cola vanguard attacking the Calukya army, and it was pierced and repulsed. Singan, the Kosala king, who opposed the Colas, suffered defeat. The elephants who defended the front line of the Calukyas were also pushed back. The battle was very bloody and if the Cola records are to be believed the Calukyas suffered a disastrous defeat and severe losses and fled away from the battlefield. The Karuvur inscription's description of the battle may be quoted here : It reads :

"The enemy full of hatred, met and fought against (him i.e., the Cola Vira Rajendra) yet a third time, hoping that (his former) defeats would be revenged. (The king) defeated countless *Samantas*, together with these (two) sons of Ahavamalla, who were Vikkalan and Singan, at Kudalasangamam on the turbid river. Having sent the brave vanguard in advance, and having himself remained close behind with the kings allied to him, (he) agitated by means of a single mast elephant that army (of the enemy), which was arrayed (for battle), land which is resembled the northern ocean. In front of the banner troop, (he) cut to pieces Singan, (the king) of warlike Kosal[ai], along with the furious elephant of (his) vanguard. While Kesava Dandanayaka, Kettarasan, Marayan of great strength, the strong Potta[ra]yan (and) (Irechchayan) were fighting, (he) shouted:— "(Follow) Muvendi, (king), (who wears) a garland of gold"! and cut to pieces many *Samantas*, who were deprived of weapons of war. Then Madhuvanan, who was in command, fled; Vikkalan fled with dishevelled hair; Singan fled, (his) pride (and) courage having forsaken (him) ; Annalan and all others descended from the male elephants on which they were fighting in battle, and fled ; Ahavamalla too to whom (they were) allied, fled before them. (The king) stopped his fast furious elephant, put on the garland of victory, seized his (viz., Ahavamalla's) wives, his family treasures, conches, parasols, trumpets, drums, canopies, white *camaras*, the boar banner, the ornamental arch (*makarca-torana*), the female elephant, (called) *Puspaka*, and a herd of war elephants, along with a troop of prancing horses, and, amidst (general) applause, put on the crown of victory, (set with) jewels of red splendour."

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¹ *SII.*, Vol. III, P. 37.]

In spite of the crushing defeat the Calukyas suffered, the permanent gains the Colas made are not known. The Calukya records are silent about this conflict. Only Bilhana states that Somesvara's son Vikrama-ditya led an expedition to the south sometime towards the close of his father's reign and is said to have burnt Kanci, a second time and also conquered a certain place called Gangakunda (Colapuram)¹ Bilhana states further that Vikramaditya heard the news of the death of his father on the banks of the river Krsna when he was camping there after his return from his southern expedition.

Even the battle of Kudalasangamam did not bring an end to the Cola-Calukya war. The Manimangalam inscription of Vira Rajendra dated in the 5th year of his reign, 1067-68 A.D.,² records that after his victory at Kudalasangamam the Cola king started for his conquests in the south, against Kerala and the Pandva king and others. He then turned towards the north and killed a number of feudatories of the Calukyas. This infuriated Somesvara and he challenged the Cola king to meet him again at the battle of Kudal, (i.e., Kudalasangamam). The Cola king came with his force to the battlefield, but the Calukyas were not there. He waited at Kandai for a month for the challenger and carried fire and sword through the Calukyan territory and erected a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. He then went to Vengi which had been attacked by the Jananatha of Dhara in alliance with the Calukyas, a second time.

The Manimangalam inscription records that "Having moved (his camp), he declared :—" (We) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vengai, which (we had formerly), subdued. You (who are strong), come and defend (it) if (you) are able!". That army which was chosen (for this expedition) drove into the jungle that big army, which resisted (its enemies) on the great river close to Visaiyavada (and) which had for its chief Jananatha, the *Dandanayaka* Rajamayan, whose mast elephants trumpeted in herds, and Mupparasan."³ Vengi was conquered by the Cola king and restored to Vijayaditya and thus the Calukya-Paramara invasion of the country proved a failure.

A number of records speak of Somesvara's victory over the king of Kanyakubja, who, though uncontrolled from the beginning, hastily took possession ' of a cave in the Hima mountains ', and give him credit for the conquest of Pancala. The history of Kanauj of this period is a record of foreign invasions and consequent chaos. The Pratihara Rajyapala of Kanauj had been killed by the Candella Vidyadhara in 1019 A.D., for the fault of his ignominious surrender to Mahmud of Ghazni⁴. His successors, Trilocanapala and Yasahpala, are known from two records, dated 1027 A.D. and 1037 A.D.⁵, respectively. Kanauj then fell into the hands of a Rastrakuta family and Gopala was king of Gadhipura (Kanauj), according to the Sahet-Maheth inscrip-

¹ *Vikrmanadetacarits. IV, 21.*

² *SII. Vol. III, pp. 69-70.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *IA. Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff,*

⁵ *J RAS. 1927, pp. 692-95.*

tion, dated in 1118 A.D.¹ The Calukya invasion took place during the reign of Gopala's father Bhuvanapala or grandfather Vighraha-pala. The Calukyas appear to have secured the allegiance of the Kacchapaghata of Gwalior before they invaded Kanauj. This seems probable from the fact that the two Kacchapaghata kings, Muladeva (c. 1035-1055 A.D.) and Mahipala (c. 1080 A.D., 1090 A.D.), had respectively the *birudas* of *Trailokyamalla* and *Bhuvanaikamalla* which were also the *birudas* respectively of the Calukya kings Somesvara I and Somesvara II. The Kacchapaghata were ruling over Gwalior under the Candellas. It appears that when there was a temporary eclipse of the Candella power after the death of Vidyadhara, they transferred their allegiance to the Calukyas of Kalyani, to escape extinction at the hands of the Paramaras or the Kalacuris, their powerful neighbours. The two Calukya *birudas* borne by the two Kacchapaghata kings, who were also probably the contemporaries of the two Calukya kings named above suggest an alliance between the two houses.

Any Calukya penetration of the Doab of the Gariga and the Yamuna inevitably led to a conflict with the Kalacuris, who themselves had been seeking hegemony over those regions and their king Karna had already established his hold over Prayaga and Kasi. He also claims to have defeated the Candella Kirtivarman and his predecessor Devavarman. Silhana speaks of Somesvara defeating and deposing Karna². It is supported by a Belagami inscription which says that because of the attack of Jayasimha, brother of Somesvara, 'Dahala is still smouldering.'³ Karna also claims to have conquered the Maratha country and to have defeated Bikkam, i.e., Vikramaditya⁴. Since Somesvara I died in 1068 A.D.,⁵ Karna's invasion of the Deccan must have preceded the Calukyan invasion of the Kalacuri kingdom. And it could have been possible for the Calukyas to invade the north only between the battle of Koppam and that of Kudalasangamam, as after the latter, their power appears to have been so badly crippled that they could not have thought of such distant and hazardous campaigns. This is clear from the fact that their attempt to raid Vengi did not succeed.

The Calukya inscriptions speak of Somesvara's victory over the kings of Lata, Kalinga, Ganga, Karahata, Turuska, Varala, Cola, Karnata, Saurashtra, Malava, Dasarna, Kerala, Magadha, Andhra, Avanti, Vanga, Dravila, Khasa, Abhira, Pancala, Konkan, Malaya, Ponnata, Saka, Nepala, Pandya, Cera, Gurjara and Ariga. Bilhana also states that he gained victory over Kamarupa, Kerala, Cola, Malava, Gauda, Dravila, Vengi and Kosala.

The above countries cover practically the whole of India. What is interesting is that even Karnata, Konkan and Karahata which were included in the Calukya dominions are also listed. The Calukyas are generally referred to as the Karnnatas in the inscriptions. As such the claim of victory over the Karnnatas is highly intriguing, unless it refers to the people of a particular region and not the Calukya king.

¹ *IA.*, Vol.XVII, pp. 61f.

² *Vikramankadevacarita*, Ed. Buhler, I, vo. 102—63.

³ *MASR.* 1929, p. 137.

⁴ *Prakritapingalam* Ed. by Ghosh, pp. 296 and 448.

⁵ *EC.* Vol. VIII, Sr. No. 169.

This is not unlikely but the evidence available on this is so meagre that no conclusion can be reached. Karahata and Konkan were ruled by the Kadambas and the Silaharas respectively and it is quite possible that they had to be forced into submission as they might have tried to break away from the Calukyas because of the stress of the Cola war. His victories over Lata, Malava, Saurashtra, Gurjara, Cola, Dasarna, Andhra, Avanti, Vengi, Dravila are covered by the accounts given above. The Abhiras may have been defeated in one of the northern campaigns. The Gangas and the Pandyas were in the south, the former remnants of the Imperial Gangas and the latter a feudatory house, after changing allegiance from the Colas to the Calukyas and *vice versa*.

If at all his claims of victory over Kamarupa, Nepal, Anga, Vaidya, Cauda, Magadha, Kosala and Kalinga have any truth, it means that he sent an expedition to northern and north-eastern India and on the authority of Bilhana, it may be suggested that this force was commanded by the king's son Vikramaditya¹.

The Thakuri king Baladeva of Nepal, was contemporary of Somesvara. He ruled for 24 years. His known date is 1059 A.D.² An attempt has been made to connect the foundation of the Karnnata dynasty of Nanyadeva of Mithila with the Calukyan invasion. Nanya-deva is called a *Mahasamantadhipati, Dharmavaloka, Mithlesvara, Karnata-kula-bhusana*. He had the titles of *Rapanarayana* and *Nrpamalla*, which reflect his southern origin. Nanya was a variation of Nanniya and Nanni, a title commonly adopted by the Ganga and the Nolamba princes. *Rajanarayana* was a title adopted by the Calukya Somesvara and *Nrpamalla* is a synonym of *Ahavamalla* and *Buvanaikamalla*, the common Calukya *birudas*. It has been suggested that Nanya came to Mithila with a Calukya force and founded a kingdom there³.

Magadha, Anga, Vanga, Gauda comprise modern south Bihar (Magadha), Munger and Bhagalpur districts (Anga), Rajmahendry and Mursidabad districts (Gauda) and eastern Bengal (Vanga). The Pala contemporary of Somesvara, who ruled over these regions, was Vigrahapala III. A manuscript of *Candakausika* speaks of Karnnata invasion of the Pala empire during the reign of Mahipala I. As Mahipala closed his reign earlier than 1042 A.D., which is the date of Somesvara's accession to the throne, the Calukya invasion could not have taken place during his reign⁴. Mahipala was followed by Naya-pala and he by Vigrahapala III, who came to the throne in c. 1055 A.D. As a Belagami inscription, dated in A.D. 1054 A.D., is the first record that makes mention of the Calukya conquest of these regions, it may be suggested that the Calukyas invaded the Pala kingdom, during the reign of the Pala Nayapala.

¹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 118, 169 ; *HAS* No. 8 ; *Vikramankadevacarita*, III ; *EI* Vol. XV, p. 91.

² *DHNI*. Vol. I, p. 201.

³ *JAHS*. 1926, pp. 55 ff; *IRQ*. 1931, p. 680 ; *HAS*. No. 8 ; *JBBRAS*. Vol. IX, p. 306 ; *EI*. Vol. III, p. 183 ; Levi-ie *Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 201.

⁴ [The reference is rather to the invasion of the Pratihara capital Kanauj by Rastrakuta Indra III. *Studies in Indology* Vol. I, p, 58. V,V,M]

The Karnnata origin of the Senas of Bengal may lend support to the above view. Samantasena is called a *Kula-siromani* among the *Karnnata Ksatritiyas*. Virasena and others are similarly called as southern rulers and belonged to the *Brahmaksatriya* stock. He is said to have slaughtered the wicked robbers of the wealth of the Karnnatas. A connection between the Senas of Dharvad and Bengal is not unlikely. Samantasena probably came with the Calukya Vikramaditya and founded a kingdom in Bengal. The Deopara inscription records that Samantasena carried on near the border of the dam (*Setu-bandha*) his victorious arms exterminating hundreds of opposing forces. Such a claim could be made only if Samantasena was a feudatory of a southern power and it could be no other than the Calukyas, if the Senas were Karnnatas¹.

Kamarupa was ruled by Ratnapala. He claims to have had superiority in conflict with the kings of Gurjara, Gaud, Kerala and the masters of the Deccan country, the last of whom may be identified with the Calukyas. He also claims to have caused 'pulmonary consumption to the masters of the Deccan.'²

Bhaskara Ravi was ruling over Kerala from 982 to 1040 A.D. Nothing is known of Kerala after this until the Karuvayur inscription, dated in 1064-65 A.D., which shows that the Colas were the rulers of these regions. If at all the Calukyas raided this country, it could be between 1040 and 1064 A.D.³

Vikramaditya who led an expedition into northern and north-eastern India, returned through Kalihga and Kosala. A Belagami inscription, dated 1068 A.D., says that the king of Kosala paid tribute to the Calukya king. Kosala (i.e., south Kosala) comprising modern Chattisgad and the adjoining regions, was ruled during this period by Mahasivagupta, who claims to have conquered the lords of Karnnata, Lata, Gurjara and Dravila, and denuded Kanci of its glory.⁴ Singan is called king of Kosala in one of the Cola inscriptions, but he is also called as the son of Somesvara.⁵ His identity remains uncertain. The Kalinga king may be the Ganga Vajrahasta V, who was ruling in 1050 A.D.

The Abhiras are very rarely mentioned in the records of this period. They were holding a precarious sway, if at all, near about Karahata. Madhuva, a general of Somesvara, claims to have defeated the Abhira king and Konkan⁶. The Silaharas were ruling over Kohkan and the Silahara contemporary of Somesvara was Chittaraja. Ponnala fort is no other than the famous Panhala. The Nagai inscription refers to a battle at Kaliiru where Somesvara had to fight; against a confederacy

¹ JASB. 1001, Vol. I, p. 471, v. 4 ; *El.* Vol. XV, p. 282, vs. 3 and 4 ; *EC.* Vol. VIII Sb. No. 477 ; *JL.* Vol. XVI, pp. 6-7 ; *Gandarajamla*, p. 47 ; *DHNI.* Vol. I, pp. 331, 357 ; *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 83.

² JASB. 1898, p. 105 ; Ray : *DHNI.* Vol. I, p. 251 ;

³ *HISI.* p. 360 ; *SII.* Vol. III, p. 68.

⁴ *JBRAS.* Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.

⁵ *SII.* Vol. III, p. 37.

⁶ *HAS.*No. 8, p. 21.

of feudatories formed against him¹. The identity of the confederates is not known. Kaluru is near Nagai on the banks of the Bhima river.

The Calukya claim of victory over Simhala (Ceylon) cannot be verified. The king of Simhala, Vijayabahu, was constantly harassed by the Cola raids. It may be that the Simhala king who appears to have led an expedition against the Colas also fought against the Calukyas. Karahata, modern Karhad, was ruled by the Silahara Mahamandalesvara Marasimha II².

Vikramaditva also attacked Cakrakota,³ Sakkara-kottam of the Cola inscriptions, identified with the modern Cakrakota in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh. The Naga Jagadekabhusana was followed by Dharavarsa sometime before 1060 A.D. Dharavarsa is the same as Taravarsa of the Tirmullai inscription. He paid tribute to the Cola Vira Rajendra. The Jainad inscription of the Paramara Jagad-deva speaks of a Paramara raid on this fort, probably in alliance with the Calukyas. The Colas also claim to have raided this fort. The Manimangalam inscription says that Vira Rajendra having defeated the army headed by Jananatham crossed Kalinga and sent his army as far as the farther end of Sakkara-Kottam. Kulottungacoladeva claims to have wedded, when he was heir apparent, the brilliant goddess of victory at Sakkara-Kottam ". Rajendra Cola claims to have defeated Vikrama Vira of Sakkara-Kottam and received⁴ tribute from Tara (Dharavarsa) at Sakkara-Kottam. Vikramavira may be Calukya Vikramaditya.

Some inscriptions of his time also claim victory for Somesvara over the Turuskas.⁵ If these Turuskas are the Turks the claims can be regarded as substantial in that Somesvara I sent a contingent of his army to fight against the Turks along with other Indian powers, a reference to which has been made by Ferishta. Ferishta says that the Raja of Delhi with others retook Hanoy, Thanesvar and other dependencies from the governors to whom Mahmud had entrusted them. The Hindus from thence marched towards the fort of Nagarakote, which they besieged for four months." "... The success of the Raja of Delhi gave such confidence to the Indian chiefs of the Punjab and other places that though before this time, like foxes, they durst hardly creep from the holes, for fear of the Mussalman arms, yet now they put on the aspect of the lion, and openly set their masters at defiance."⁶ This supports the view that a confederacy of the Hindu kings of the time was organised to oppose the Muslims. Paramara Bhoja⁷ and Cahamana Anahilla⁸ also claim victory over the Turks. This shows that the confederacy was joined by all these kings,⁹ Calukya Somesvara I, Paramara Bhoja, and the Cahamana Anahilla, beside others.

¹ HAS., p. 18.

² EI. Vol. III, p. 231 ; Above (Old Edn), Vol. I, pt, ii, p. 547.

³ Vikramankacarita. canto IV, v. 30.

⁴ SII. Vol. III, pp. 69-71, pp. 234, 225 ; Vol. I, p. 99 ; EI. Vol. XXII, p. 60 ; IHQ.Vol. IX, p. 92 ; EI. Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

⁵ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136 ; EI. Vol. XV, p. 91.

⁶ Brigg's Firishta Vol. I, p. 118.

⁷ EI. Vol.1, p. 235.

⁸ EI. Vol. IX, p. 72.

⁹ IHQ.Vol.IX, p. 955.

Somesvara died by performing the *Kuruvartti*, the rite of the sacrifice of supreme Yoga, and entered the waters of the river Tungabhadra in *Kilaka Samvatsara*, *Saka* 990, 8th day of the dark half of *Caitra*-Sunday, March 28, 1068 A.D. Bilhana says that when Vikramaditya was returning from his southern expedition and was camping on the banks of the river Krsna, his mind was perturbed by some ill-omens. He was then informed by some messengers that the king Somesvara had entered the river Tungabhadra and died when he found no chance of recovery from the malignant fever from which he was afflicted.

The reign of Somesvara I was very eventful. If Taila II was the founder of the Calukya Empire, Somesvara consolidated it and extended its frontiers. Not only that the Colas were curbed and kept back within their own frontiers but brilliant successes were gained in the north as well. He had three sons and a daughter, named Suggaladevi, who was administering Nidugundi in Kisukad 70¹.

Somesvara I was succeeded by his son Somesvara II on April 11, 1068 A.D. (*Saka* 990, *Kilaka Samvatsara*, *Vaisakha sudi* 7, Friday)². He was eldest of the three sons of Somesvara ; the other two being Vikramaditya and Jayasimha. He was appointed heir-apparent when Vikramaditya declined that office in favour of his brother Somesvara according to Bilhana³. Somesvara II was a Governor of Bel-vola 300 and Puligere 300 in 1049 and 1053 A.D., with the title of *Mahamandalesvara*⁴. He was also called 'lord of Vengi'.

Somesvara II ascended the throne after the thirteenth day ceremony of the death of his father Somesvara I. These ceremonies were performed in the presence of the army. Vikramaditya was not in the capital at this time. On his return to Kalyani he learnt of the coronation of his brother Somesvara II. He accepted him as king, paid him allegiance and presented all the spoils of the southern war that he had brought with him. Vikramaditya was certainly more able than Somesvara. He had fought in all the battles during the reign of his father and had commanded the Calukyan force sent to invade north and north-eastern India. While Somesvara is not heard of, Vikki or Vikkalan or Bikkam is mentioned in the Cola, Paramnara and Kalacuri records. He was also put in charge of far bigger and more important administrative divisions like the Ganga-vadi 96,000, Nolambavadi 32,000, Banavasi 12,000 and Santalige 1,000 than his brother⁵. If his presence in the capital aroused suspicions and fear in the mind of his elder brother, the king, as Bilhana says, this need not be considered as unusual. Ere long there were differences between the two brothers and Vikramaditya's life became unsafe. 'Of noble qualities as he was, he left the capital with his men', who could be no other than his armed men. He was pursued by a force sent by his brother, but Vikramaditya reached Tunga-

¹ *ARSIE*. 1926-27, Bk. No. 202.

² *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136, Tr. p. 102.

³ *Vikramankadevacarita*, Buhler's Edn. pp. 30-31.

⁴ *EI*. Vol. XVI, pp. 53 ff ; *ARSIE*. 1926-27, Bk. No. 144.

⁵ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 136 ; *IA*. Vol. VIII, p. 20.

bhadra and rested there with his army for sometime. He had taken away with him his brother Jayasimha also. On the banks of the river he heard that the Cola king was marching to attack the Calukya kingdom. He moved forward to oppose him. He was joined by a number of Calukya feudatories, kings of Malayadesa, Jayakesin, the Kadarhbas and the Alupas who also paid him homage. This shows that a number of Calukyan feudatories transferred their allegiance to their old comrade and Commander in the many battles of the reign of Somesvara I. He is said to have visited Banavasi also. The Cola king, as Bilhana says, got frightened from the big force that Vikramaditya had collected, sued for peace and agreed to give his daughter in marriage to him. Both Vikramaditya and the Cola king met on the banks of the Tungabhadra and the marriage between the Cola princess and Vikramaditya was performed after the peace between the two had been signed. The Cola king then retired to his capital where soon after he died. His death was a signal for anarchy which had been for sometime past brewing in his kingdom. When Vikramaditya heard this, he rushed post haste to the Cola capital to help his brother-in-law and succeeded in quelling the rebellion against the latter by defeating the rebels at the battle of Gangakunda and placed his brother-in-law on the throne and returned to his headquarters. He was waiting there for the opportunity to overthrow his brother and capture the throne.

Somesvara II bore the *biruda* of *Bhuvanaikamalla*.. His two queens Revaladevi and Mailaladevi¹ are known. The Cola king invaded the Calukyan kingdom shortly after the accession of Somesvara II. A Bel-gami inscription dated 1068 A.D. records that the Cola king was advancing with his army declaring “ a new reign ; (a kingdom) fit for a hero ; this is the time to invade : I will surround Gutti and besiege it”². The Colas burnt Kampili on the banks of the Tungabhadra and erected a pillar of victory at Karadikal. At this Somesvara sent his cavalry against the Cola who fled away from the field³. This was probably before Vikramaditya left the capital as a rebel and made peace with the Colas on the banks of the Tungabhadra.

When Vikramaditya made peace with the Colas and accepted the hand of the Cola princess this could be only with a political motive. And when the Cola king tied a glittering necklace, the insignia of royalty, round the neck of Vikramaditya, this signified without any doubt that he had accepted him as the heir to the Calukya throne. This further meant that the breach between the two brothers could not be reconciled. Somesvara too could not have failed to understand the real significance of the compact. But at the same time he could not think of taking any military action against him as Vikramaditya certainly was a much better general and enjoyed the support of not only a number of Calukyan feudatories but also of the Cola king. Vikramaditya also made no secret of his rebellion and assumption of an independent status. The Hulegudi³ inscription, dated December

¹ ARSIE. 1927-28, App. B. No. 9.

² EC.Vol.VII,Sk.No. 136.

³ Ibid. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 82.

23, 1073 A.D., records that *Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Parama-bhattdraka Tribhuvanamalladeva* was ruling as supreme king and that under him Trailokyamalla Nolamba Pallava Permadi Jayasimha-deva was governing some divisions. Another inscription, dated February 25, 1071 A.D.¹, gives the same titles to him and records that he granted a village in the Kogah 500 'pleased with the victory he had attained over *Dandanayaka* Ciddayya, when encamping in Govinda-vadi and when the Kadamba *Mahasamanta* Ghattiyarasa was governing Kogali 500.' Kogali' is a village in the Bellary district of Madras State. This shows that Vikramaditya became independent before February 1071 A.D. and established his power over the southern part of the Calukya dominions. Somesvara did nothing to suppress his rebellion.

Somesvara II seems to have made an alliance with Karna, who may be identified with the Calukya Karna and not with the Kalacuri as proposed by some,² and invaded Malava. The Nagpur *Prasasti*³ records the death of the Paramara king during an invasion by the combined forces of Karna and the Karnatas after which Udayaditya became king and recovered the kingdom. *Dandanayaka* Udayaditya and Hoysala Ereyahga participated in this campaign. A Belagami inscription, dated in 1071 A.D. states that Udayaditya completely defeated the Malava king who had raised his enmity and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the master and seizing their property and women laden with jewels, he handed them over to his emperor."⁴ He is also called a right hand of the king. The Emperor referred to is the Calukya king Somesvara II. The Malava king killed in the battle was Jayasimha. Jayasimha had been an intimate friend and ally of Vikramaditya and the secret conspiracy that he is said to have formed against the throne refers obviously to his alliance with Vikramaditya, now a rebel, formed to overthrow Somesvara II. Vikramaditya had made a compact with the Colas. The Paramara Jayasimha was already his friend. When Somesvara invaded Malava with a view to punish one of the two allies of his rebel brother, it is not possible to explain why Vikramaditya did not make any attempt to help his ally in distress. Probably he was not in a position to do so as from his camp on the banks of the Tungabhadra, he could not have marched through the long stretch of the Calukyan territories to reach Malava, without his own force being annihilated by the enemy. The Hoysala, records claim credit for the success of this expedition for Ereyanga⁵. A record of 1112 A.D., says that Ereyanga, who was a powerful right hand of the Calukya king, trampling down the Malava army, did not spare Dhara, and burnt and scattered it⁶. He is said to have seized the city of Udhapuram (?),⁷ which may be Udayapur in the Sehore district of Madhya Pradesh.

¹ *IMP*. Vol. I, By. No. 182 ; *SII*. Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 135.

² *HPD*. pp. 127-128. [See, however, *C. I. I.* IV XCIV—V. V. M.]

³ *EI*. Vol. II, p. 185.

⁴ *HPD*. p. 128.

⁵ *EC*. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (b) ; Sk. No. 117 ; Hn. No. 53, Vol. II, No. 349 ; *EI*. Vol. XI, p. 94, etc.

⁶ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sh. No. 64.

⁷ *EC*. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (t) ; *HPD*. p. 129.

When Jayasimha, the Paramara king, died in the battle, a scion¹ of his house Udayaditya appealed to the Cahamana Durlabha III and drove the invaders out of Malava with his help. The *Prthiviraja-vijaya* bears testimony to the fact that Udayaditya regained Malava with the help of Durlabha III.²

The restoration of the Cola Adhirajendra by Vikramaditya, after the battle of Gangakunda did not last long. The rebels raised their head shortly after Vikramaditya's withdrawal from the Cola capital. At the instigation of Rajiga (Rajendra), they overthrew and killed Adhirajendra. Rajendra himself captured Kanci, the Cola capital and declared himself a king. Vikramaditya did intervene on behalf of his brother-in-law, Adhirajendra, and when he was facing the army of Rajendra on the battlefield he heard that his brother Somesvara II was also planning to attack him. He was deeply distressed by the news as he found himself sandwiched between two hostile forces. He tried to dissuade his brother, as Bilhana says, from this treachery. Somesvara II pretended to have accepted the proposal. But Vikramaditya came to know that his brother was not sincere in the promise that he had made. In spite of this breach of faith on the part of his brother, Vikramaditya was unwilling to fight, until he was prompted by Siva in a dream to do so. In any case Vikramaditya seems to have taken courage in both his hands and pounced upon both the forces and, as Bilhana says, he gained victory over both. Rajiga fled away from the battlefield and Somesvara was taken prisoner. Vikramaditya then returned to Tunga-bhadra and thought of releasing his brother and restoring him to the throne when he was once again dissuaded in a dream from this action by Siva who also angrily commanded him to assume sovereignty. Vikramaditya then proclaimed himself as the Emperor³. It is not correct that Vikramaditya in assuming sovereignty was a mere victim of Destiny as Bilhana tried to depict him ; in fact it was an unscrupulous fulfilment of a long cherished ambition.

As Rajiga or Kulottunga ascended the throne in 1070 A.D. and Somesvara was deposed in 1076 A.D., the rebellion in the Cola capital during which Adhirajendra was killed, could not have directly inspired the deposition of Somesvara in 1076 A.D. A number of inscriptions⁴ tell the tale of the transfer of power from Somesvara II to Vikramaditya VI. One speaking of the exploits of Teja Raya Pandya says that ' turning back *Bhuvanaikamalla*, so that the earth was terrified, he with great rejoicing seized his kingdom and his own body and gave it to Tribhuvanamalla.'⁵ Another records that ' *Bhuvanaikamalla* occupied the kingdom bestowed upon him by his father (Somesvara I), (holding to) that course which inspired dread in hostile kings and gave delight to his own adherents.'⁶ It adds further that ' when he had enjoyed the kingdom for some time

¹ [He was Bhoja's brother. *El.*, XXVI, pp. 177 b.—V. V. M.]

² *Sarga V*, v. 78 ; *HPD*.p.131.

³ *Vikramankadivacarita*, Intr. p. 36-37.

⁴ *EC*. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102 (a).

⁵ *EC*. Vol. V, Ak. No. 102(a).

⁶ *El*. Vol. XV, p. 357.

and become neglectful of his subjects' burden because of his being infatuated with pride, his younger brother, who was righteous of soul, putting him under restraints making all hostile monarchs entirely bow down, because of his mighty prowess *Tribhuvanamalla*, the Calukya Vikramaditya, became a darling of the earth."

The last known date of Somesvara II is *Saka* 998, *Raksasa Samvat-sara*, *Phalguna suddha* 14 = February 21, 1076 A.D.¹ and the first year of *Calukya Vikrama* Era falling in *Nala Samvatsara*, *Caitra suddha* 5, corresponds to March 2, 1077 A.D.² Supposing that *Caitra* fell towards the close of the first year of the reign of Vikramaditya, the beginning of his reign cannot be placed earlier than March, 1076 A.D.

Somesvara seems to have mostly resided at Bankapur in the Dharwad district of Mysore, about 200 miles south of Kalyani. Bankapur is called the royal city. Somesvara was ruling from there in 1072 A.D., 1073 A.D. and 1075 A.D.³ He appears to have stayed at Bankapur to deal with his brother's rebellion, but ultimately himself lost the crown. What happened to Somesvara after his overthrow by his brother is not known.

Tribhuvanmalla Vikramaditya.

Vikramaditya VI, second son of Somesvara I, ascended the throne in 1076 A.D. He is called Vikki, Vikrama and Vikkalan, Kali Vikrama and Permadi in the inscriptions.

Vikramaditya had several queens. *Priya arasi* or *agramahisi*, Candaladevi or Candralekha,⁴ a Silahara princess of Karahata, is said to have selected Vikramaditya as her spouse, according to Bilhana⁵, in a *svayamvara* from amongst the kings of Ayodhya, Cedi, Kanya-kubja, Kalanjara, Malava, Cola, etc. Candralekha was probably a daughter of the Silahara prince Marasimha of Karhad. Kalhana⁶, in his *Rajatarangini*, also speaks of her exquisite beauty. The Kashmir king; Harsa was enamoured of her beauty on seeing her portrait. This was after her marriage with Vikramaditya as she is called the wife of king Parmandi by Kalhana. To obtain her, Harsa thought of destroying Vikramaditya. In an inscription of 1102-03, she is spoken of as the mother of Jayakarna and in the year following made certain grants to the god Kesavadeva of the *agrahara* Ruddavadi⁷. Ketaladevi or *Priya Ketaladevi* is called *Abhinava-sarasvati* as she knew many languages. She is highly praised in inscriptions and was governing some villages in the Ballakunde 300 division⁸. Savaladevi, daughter of the *Mahamandalesvara* Jogamarasa, was governing the *agrahara* of Nareyahgal given to her by the king as pin money⁹. *Priya arasi* Laksmidevi is said to have been governing at the capital

¹ *EC*. Vol. VII. sk. No. 30.

² *Ibid*. HI. No. 14.

³ *Ibid*. Sk. Nos. 129 and 221 ; Vol. VIII, Sk. No. 299.

⁴ *ARSIE*. 1928-29, No. 150.

⁵ Buhler's Edn of *Vikramankadevacarita* Intr. pp. 38-42.

⁶ *Rajatarangini*, Stein Tr., Vol. I, p. 355.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii p. 449.

⁸ *ARSIE*. 1923, App. B., No. 672 ; 1927-28, No. 9.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz. Loc. Cit. IA.*, Vol. X, p. 169, *El.*, Vol. XV, p. 100.

at various times and also the 18 *agraharas* and the city of Dharma-puri, (Dharmavolal or Dambal)¹. Jakkaladevi, another queen, was the daughter of Kadarhba Tikka². Malleyamadevi, Malayavatidevi or Malika³ was the daughter of a village accountant, Rayana, and his wife Olajikabbe. Her daughter Mailaladevi was given in marriage to the Kadamba Jayakesin II of Goa,⁴ a friend and ally of Vikramaditya VI and who had helped the latter in obtaining the throne.

In his *Vikramankadevacarita* Bilhana has given a very highly embellished account of the life of Vikramaditya, who was his patron. Bilhana lived in his court.

For some time after his victory over Somesvara II, Vikramaditya stayed at Etagiri⁵, modern Itagi in the Bellary district or Ittagi in the former Hyderabad State. He moved to Kalyani, the capital, in the 3rd year of his reign⁶.

Vikramaditya founded an era known as the *Calukya Vikrama Era* after his own name and that of his family. This is described by a stone tablet as follows : “ Emperor Vikramaditya, possessed of the beauty of *Cakradhara*, having said ‘ Why should the glories of the kings Vikramaditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer ?’⁷ he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of the *Saka* and made that (era) which has *Calukya* figures.” Another inscription says that “ Having rubbed out the brilliant *Saka-varsa*, he, the impetuous one, the most liberal man in the world, who delighted in religion, published his own name throughout the world, under the form of *Vikrama-varsa*.”⁸ The inscriptions of his reign are invariably dated in the era founded by him, but it fell into disuse after his death and served as an instrument of merely a personal glory, lasting for his life time. Its initial date it is difficult to determine, probably it commenced from 5th March, 1076 A.D., which was also the day of the king’s coronation. March 5, 1076, was the most auspicious day during the gap of twenty days between the last known date of Somesvara II and the first known date of Vikramaditya VI. One inscription shows that the first year of this era was current on *Caitra su. 5, Anala Samvatsara* corresponding to March 10, 1076 A.D.⁹, while the last known date of Somesvara II is *Saka 998, Raksasa S. Phalguna suddha 14=February 21, 1076 A.D.*¹⁰.

‘ Jayasimha, younger brother of Vikramaditya VI, had been governing some districts, during the life time of his father. He had been in charge of the Nolambavadi 32,000 division also. When Vikramaditya revolted against his brother Somesvara II and left Kalyani, Jayasimha also had accompanied him and when he became king, he

¹ *IA*. Vol. X, pp. 185 ff. *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. ii, Nos. 131, 126, 140

² *SII*. Vol. XI, pt. ii, Xo. 136.

³ *Bom. Gaz.* opt. cit. p. 449.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 199.

⁵ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 124, 135. He was also camping at Nadavi, Yuppayana-vidu, near modern Wadgeri in the former Hyderabad State, for a few days. *Bom. Gaz. (old Edition)*, p. 446.

⁶ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sa. No. 109.

⁷ *IA*. Vol. VIII, p. 187.

⁸ *Bom. Gaz.* (old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 447.

⁹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Ht. No. 14.’

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 315.

placed Jayasimha in charge of the Banavasi 12,000 and made him the *Yuvaraja*, heir apparent. Santalige 1000, the two six hundreds Belvola 300 and Puligere 300,¹—Kundvir 1000 and the *agrahara* were also added to his charge of Banavasi 12000². He is said to have gained victory over Dahala, Laha (Lata?) and Konkan³. Konkan was ruled by the Silahara prince Mummuni or Marhvani, who had been defeated several times. Laha or Lata may be Lata, but it is better to search for a division of this name in the Deccan itself. Dahala is *Dahalamandala* ruled over by the Kalacuris. Jayasimha probably took part in the northern campaign of Vikramaditya during the reign of Somesvara I. Jayasimha remained in charge of the divisions named above upto 1081 A.D. He was governing some division covering the modern Bellary district in 1085 A.D.⁴ He is not “heard of again after this date. Bilhana⁵ speaks of Jayasimha revolting against his brother. Jayasimha is said to have increased his power by oppression and strengthened himself by inducing the royal troops to join his ranks and the Dravida king to help him. When informed of the evil intentions of his brother, Vikramaditya first refused to believe the news, but the horror of the civil war and the spectacle of his own usurpation of authority from his brother Somesvara made him send spies to find the truth and they confirmed the news.

When persuasion failed to desist his brother from the course of rebellion and when he marched with his forces against Vikramaditya and pitched his camp on the banks of the river Krsna, Vikramaditya was also compelled to take up arms against him. Before the battle began Vikramaditya made another unsuccessful attempt to persuade his brother. Jayasimha fought brilliantly and at one time it appeared that he might succeed, but ultimately the personal bravery of Vikramaditya, who had the experience of several battles, turned the scales in his own favour. Jayasimha was routed and fled away from the field. He was pursued and captured, but later released.⁶ He is heard of no more.

An inscription dated December 1077 A.D., refers to a conflict between Vikramaditya and the Colas. It states that ‘ the feudatories of both the Emperors’, viz., the Cola and the Calukya, i.e., Somesvara II, ‘ who fell upon him, mounting his elephant, he chased them away, and became the lord of the shining *Laksmi* of the Calukya kingdom, praised by the three worlds, Vikramadityadeva⁷.’ This was obviously before Vikramaditya’s accession to the throne. In spite of the victory, the Cola menace loomed large and Vikramaditya had to fight a second time with them as Bilhana records and it was only then that he could enter his capital Kalyani⁸. It has

¹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 293.

² Ibid. Vol VIII, Sa. 109.

³ Ibid. Sk. No. 297.

⁴ HSI. p. 89.

⁵ *Vikramankadevacarita* : Buhler’s Edn. pp. 42 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Canto XV., V. 87.

⁷ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 124.

⁸ *Vikramankadevacarita*. XVII, 68.

been already stated that Vikramaditya had to stay on at Etagiri for about three years of his reign. This fixes the date of the war with the Colas in about 1078-79 A.D. An inscription dated 1083 A.D. praises *Tribhuvanamalla* Pandyadeva, governor of Nolambavadi 32000, as the defeater of the designs of Rajiga Cola.¹ Another inscription states that the Cola lost his boundaries² and that the Cola held his ears and shook. The Perumer inscription, dated in the 11th year of the reign of Kulottunga Cola and corresponding to 1081 A.D., records that “Not only did the speech (of Vikkalan) :—” “After this day a permanent blemish (will attach to Kulottunga), as (to) the crescent (which is the origin) of (his) family,”—turn out wrong, but the bow (in) the hand of Vikkalan was not (even) bent against (the enemy).”.

Everywhere from Nangili of rocky roads—with Manalur in the middle—to the Tungabhadra, there were lying low the dead (bodies of his) furious elephants, his lost pride and (his) boasted valour.”...

(The Cola king) seized simultaneously the two countries called Gangamandalam and Singanam, troops of furious elephants which had been irretrievably abandoned (by the enemy), crowds of women, (the angles of) whose beautiful eyes were as pointed as daggers, the goddess of Fame, who gladly brought disgrace (on Vikkalan), and the great goddess of Victory, who changed to the opposite (side) and caused (Vikkalan) himself, who was desirous of the rule over the Western region, and (his) army to turn their backs again and again on many days.”³ Another Cola inscription⁴ of a later date records the same thing. The conclusions of some scholars⁵ on the basis of these Cola inscriptions that the Colas gained victory over the Calukyas is not correct; for a number of inscriptions of the Calukya Vikramaditya have been found in the Anantpur district which had been earlier always included in the Cola dominion⁶. The Calukya claim in one of their inscriptions that the Cola lost his boundaries is correct. This means that the Colas suffered a defeat in this battle and they lost a portion of their territories to the victors.

According to the *Mahavamsa*, the king of Karnata, who may be identified with the Calukya Vikramaditya VI, sent an embassy to the king of Ceylon. The Cola king also had done the same. The purpose for which the embassy was sent is not known. The Ceylonese king received the Karnata embassy before that of the Cola. When the Ceylonese king returned the embassy to the Cola king, the latter cut off the nose of the messengers to retrieve the insult done by the Ceylonese when they received the Cola embassy after the Calukya.

¹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Ci. No. 33.

² *Ibid*. Sk. No. 137.

³ *SII*. Vol. III, p. 176.

⁴ *Ibid*. p. 147.

⁵ *Ancient India*, pp. 136-37.

⁶ *EC*. Vol. IV, Hg. No. 80 ; *HISl*. p. 88 ; *IMP*. Vol. I, App. No. S6, 27.130.

The relations between the Caulukyias of Gujarat and Vikramaditya were by no means friendly, but the nature of the conflict is not known. Both sides claim victory over each other. Jinamandana in his *Kumarapala-prabandha* relates the story that Jayasimha in order to display his valour before two *Yoginis* who had come from the Himalayas to test his valour, devoured that blade of sword which was made of sugar and had the hilt of iron. This sword was got from Paramardi of Kalyanakataka¹. According to *Kumarapalacarita*² Jayasimha conquered Karnata and other countries. The Talwada inscription³ records that Jayasimha crushed Paramardi in battle. The identification of Parmardi by some with the Candella Paramardi-deva cannot be accepted on chronological grounds⁴. A number of Calukyan records also claim victory over the Caulukyias. Of these a Huli inscription⁵ while describing the conquests of Bijjala, a feudatory of Vikramaditya, mentions the name of Jayasimha, but the context in which the reference was made is lost in the damaged portion of the record. As Jayasimha is mentioned along with others over whom victory is claimed by Bijjala, it may be reasonably concluded that victory was claimed over him also. This conflict if at all could not have taken place very much before 1115 A.D., almost at the same time as Jayasimha's war with the Paramaras as Jayasimha was only three years of age when he ascended the throne in 1095 A.D., and could have assumed reins of government from his mother Mayanalladevi only about 1110 A.D.

The Hoysalas, who had risen from insignificance into prominence under the Calukya patronage, rose into revolt against the patrons when they had acquired power and prestige as a result of their victories in Malava and in the neighbourhood of their territories and their appointment by the Calukyas as the administrators of the Gangavadi 96,000 division.⁶ Vikramaditya appears to have taken help from the Paramara Jagaddeva who had been at that time campaigning in those regions, against the fort of Cakrakotya and the Kakatiyas. The Paramara Jagaddeva claims to have inflicted a defeat on the Hoysalas in his Jainad inscription,⁷ but the Hoysalas also claim to have defeated Jagaddeva⁸, who was sent by the Emperor i.e, the Calukya Vikramaditya VI, Jagaddeva was an ally of Vikramaditya and he appears to have readily joined his ally against the Hoysalas, who had invaded Dhara with Somesvara II. Since the last known date of Jagaddeva is 1094 A.D., the Hoysala rebellion took place before this date⁹. If the Hoysalas were defeated, they could not be curbed for a long time. Vikramaditya was advancing in age and the Hoysalas were increasing their power and

¹ *Kashi Nagari Pracarini Patrika*, Vol. IX, p. 280.

² *Sarga 1, varga 2, v. 38.*

³ *Rajpatana Museum Report*. 194-15, p. 2.

⁴ *Kashi Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Vol. IX, p. 289.

⁵ *El.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 202-03.

⁶ *EC.* Vol. V, Ak. No. 186 ; Bl. No. 208 ; Vol. XII, Tp. No. 105.

⁷ *El.* Vol. XXII, p 62.

⁸ *EC.* Vol. V, Bl. Nos. 193, 58, 116, Vol. VI, Tk. No. 45. Vol. V. Ak. No. 34 ; Vol. II, No. 349.

⁹ [A Later date viz, Saka 1034 (A.D. 1112) for Jagaddeva is now known from the Dongarganv inscription *El.*, XXVI, pp. 177 f.—V.V.M.]

territories. The Hoysala Vinayaditya, who ruled from c. 1050 to c. 1100 AD. was followed by his son Ballala I, elder to the other two sons Bittideva or Visnuvardhana and Udayaditya. The earliest known date of Ballala I is 1101 A.D. He was succeeded by his brother Visnuvardhana in about 1106 A.D.¹ The Hoysalas had considerably enlarged the extent of their territories and Ballala claims to have been a governor of Gangavadi 96000 division, Nolambavadi 32000, and Hanungal 500 divisions. Visnuvardhana led expeditions far and wide into the Calukya dominions and defeated a large number of smaller chieftains. He claims to have conquered Talakad and assumed the title of *Bhujabala Ganga*. His victories and conquests make a long list and include lord of Gandagiri, Pandya, Tuluva, Jagaddeva, Nagavamsi king Somesvara, Adiyama, Narasimhabrahma, Kalapala, Cengiri, Irungola, Mala-raja, Cengiri-Perumala, Patti-Perumala, Talakad, Nolambavadi, Nila-parvata, Kolalapura, Kovatur, Teriyur, Vallur, Nangalipura, the ghats, Kancipura, Kaveri,² Ucchangi, Dumme, Pombuchha, Andhasura-Canka, Baleya-pattana, Panungal, Tonda, Henjuru, Savimale, Rodda, Rayarayan-pura, Lakki-gundi, Male Kisukal, Madura, Palasige 12000, Anga, Jayakesi, Indra, Masana, Lata, Cola, Kadamba, Kerala, Andhra, Kongu, Singalika, Narasinga, Kongalva, Pallava, Narasimhavarmman, Vanga, Anga, Kalinga, Cera and Simhala³.

These imposing conquests of the Hoysala Governor combine both actual achievements and traditional hyperbolical panegyric. At any rate this shows the power and prestige they had gained. Hence, the defeat they had suffered at the hands of the Paramara, Jagaddeva could not keep them restrained for a long time. When Vikrama-ditya had summoned help from his ally Jagaddeva to suppress the Hoysala rebellion earlier that exposed his weakness. The Hoysalas were waiting for the opportune time and finding one they once again raised the standard of revolt. The army that was sent by Vikrama-ditya against the rebels was defeated by Gangaraja, minister of Visnuvardhana, at Kannegal and a Hoysala inscription claims that “ When the army of the Calukya Emperor *Tribhuvanamalla* Permadi-deva including twelve *samartas* was encamped at Kannegal, this Gangaraja, saying, “ Away with the desire to mount a horse; this will be a right battle for me,” attacked and defeated with ease all the *samantas*, so that people said that the sword in the arm of *Ganga-devadhipa* caused the men of the army who were entering the camp to enter mire, carried off the collection of their stores and vehicles and presented them to his own lord.”⁴ But the glory of victory did not remain long with Visnuvardhana and he suffered a defeat at the hand of the Sinda Achugi II,⁵ a feudatory of Vikramaditya VI. In any case the Hoysalas recognised the Calukya Vikramaditya VI as their overlord in 1122 A.D.⁶

¹ EC. Vol. V Intr. p. XII.

² *Ibid.* Vol. V, Bl. No. 58.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. IX, Ht. No. 18 ; VI. II, No. 132 ; 143 ; Vol. V, Bl. Nos. 124, 17 ; Vol. VI Cm. Nos. 160 and 137.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 73, Tr. p. 39.

⁵ JBBRAS. Vol. XI, No. 174, p. 244.

⁶ EC, Vol. VI, Cm. No. 151.

The rise of the Hoysalas in Gangavadi 96,000 served as a check to Cola penetrations in those regions and as such the theatre of conflict between the two powers shifted to Vengi. The details of the conflict between them there cannot be precisely fixed. The inscriptions of the Calukyas and the Colas found in the regions of Vengi suggest that certain areas changed hands several times. A Draksarama inscription¹ dated in *Calukya* Vikrama era 17=1093 A.D. records a gift of land during the reign of Vikramaditya VI. This shows that the Calukyas had occupied this region. But a Bhimavaram² inscription speaks of a minister of Vikramaditya making a gift of two lamps in the reign of *Visnuvardhana Maharaja* Kulottunga Cola II in his 31st year of the reign, *Saka* 1019=1097 A.D. This shows the Cola suzerainty restored over this area and friendly relationship between the Colas and the Calukyas, for in that case only it could be possible for a Calukya feudatory to make a grant in Cola territory unless it is presumed that religious gifts could be made in the enemy's territories. Two records, one undated³ while the other dated *Saka* 1021 = 1099 A.D.⁴ in the Ramchandrapuram taluka show that Vikramaditya was ruling over the region. But two records of 1101⁵ and 1118⁶ A.D., speak of the Colas as the sovereign. Once again in 1118 A.D. the Calukyas captured a large part of the territory in the Vengi region. The *Calukya* records found in this region are dated in 1021 A.D., *Ch. V. 46*, *Saka* 1043⁷ (1121-22 A.D.), *Ch. V. 47*⁸ (1122-23 A.D.), *Ch. V. 48*⁹ in Ramchandrapuram taluka, Cocanada taluka and Godavari taluka. Inscriptions, dated in 1116 (?) A.D., *Ch. V. 47* (1122 A.D.) and *Ch. V. 51*¹⁰ (1126-27 A.D.) show that Vikramaditya had wrested a portion of the Guntur district also from the Colas. One Govindara, nephew of the famous chieftain Ananta-pala, was placed in charge of the Kondapalli 300. He claims to have burnt Bengipura, defeated a prince at Jananathapura and conquered Gonka,¹¹ later the Velanad chief Gonka II, son of Rajendra Cola I (1115—1130 A.D.). Govindara was subordinate to Anantapaladeva and was in charge of Banavasi 12000, Santalige 1000 and the two six hundreds in 1114 AD.¹² The Calukyas had also taken possession of what is now called the Cuddapah district.

The Calukya conquest of Vengi was made possible because of unsettled conditions in the Cola Empire. Kulottunga Cola I died or retired from the throne in A.D. 1118 and his son Vikrama Cola, who had been staying there probably to protect the Velanadu chief Gonka, who was governing *Vengimandala*, succeeded to the throne. When Vikrama Cola left Vengi none appears to have been appointed as its

¹ *IMP*. Vol. II, Gd. No. 161.

² *Ibid*. Vol. II, Gd. No. 35.

³ *Ibid*. No. 43.

⁴ *Ibid*. No. 100.

⁵ *IMP*. Vol. II. Gd. No. 100, p. 725.

⁶ *Ibid*. No. 99, p. 725.

⁷ *Ibid*. No. 238.

⁸ *Ibid*. Nos. 33 and 334.

⁹ *Ibid*. No. 265.

¹⁰ *Ibid*. No. Kl.No. 351.

¹¹ *Ibid*.

¹² *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. Nos. 137,294,149,131,98.

Governor. The Pithapuram inscription records that when Vikrama Cola, also called *Tyagasamudra*, after Kulottunga was dead, had gone to protect *Cola-mandala* which had been beset with difficulties, Vengi was deprived of its ruler.¹

Another inscription refers to some kind of troubles in the Cola dominions during which Kulottunga appears to have died. This had necessitated the sudden departure of Vikrama Cola, who having defeated the trouble makers acquired the sovereignty of the Cola country and did not return to Vengi.

Vikramaditya VI had three sons : Somesvara III, Jayakarna and Mallikarjuna. He was succeeded by Somesvara. Jayakarna, begotten on his queen Candaladevi,² had the title of *Mahamandalesvara* and was governing Kundi division in 1121 A.D.³ Mallikarjuna, who was also the crown prince in the beginning, was in charge of the Taravadi 1000 division in Ch. V. 20=1096 A.D.⁴ He was probably the eldest, but died before his father. The only known daughter of Vikramaditya was married to the Kadamba Jayakesin of Goa.⁵

The reign of Vikramaditya was comparatively peaceful, except that the Hoysalas frequently raised rebellion in the southern part of his dominions and the war against the Colas had to be fought for conquests in the Vengi country. Except these, Vikramaditya did not launch any aggressive wars nor had he to defend his Empire against any outside aggression. He appears to have remained in the capital throughout his reign and the task of suppressing the Hoysalas and the conquest of Vengi was left to his commanders and feudatories.

The great Kasmirian poet Bilhana lived in his court and wrote *Vikramankadevacarita* in appreciation of his patron. Bilhana was born in the *Kausika* Brahmana family in Khonamukha near Pravara-pura in Kasmir. His father's name was Jyestha Kalasa, who wrote a commentary on the *Mahabhasya*. Bilhana had two brothers, Ista-rama and Ananda. He visited Mathura, Kanyakubja, Prayaga and Varanasi and met the Kalacuri Karna. Having visited Ayodhya he went to the court of the Dahala king. Bilhana then paid a visit to Somanath and the court of the Caulukya king Karna and then reached Kalyani. Vikramaditya conferred on him the title of Chief *Pandita* and extended his patronage to him. Besides *Vikramankadevacarita* which is a poetical biography of Vikramaditya VI, Bilhana is said to have written another work *Karnasundari* in honour of the Caulukya king Karna of Gujarat. His authorship of *Bilhanacarita-kavya* is doubted by scholars.

Another author who flourished in his court was Vijnanesvara, who wrote the celebrated commentary, the *Mitaksara*, on *Yajnavalkya smrti*.

¹ *EI*. Vol. IV, p. 241 ; *SII*. Vol. III, p. 129, pp. 308 ff.

² *Bom. Gaz.* (old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 455.

³ *JBOBRAS*. Vol. X, pp. 294-9.

⁴ *ARSIE*. 1929-30, App. F, No. 35.

⁵ *JBOBRAS*. Vol. IX, pp. 246, 267, 273.

Vikramaditya encouraged works of art. He is said to have built palaces and temples, constructed big tanks and planted gardens. He also founded the city of Vikramapura after his own name.

The Calukya Empire attained widest frontiers during the reign of Vikramaditya VI. On the north it extended up to Nagpur and reached the river Tapi. On the east it covered the regions between the rivers Krsna and Godavari and included the Godavari, Krsna, Kurnool, Guntur, Cudapah, Anantapur and Bellary districts. On the south it stretched upto the Kola and the Mysore districts. On the west it was bounded by the Konkan and the Western Ghats and included Dharwad, Bijapur, Belganv, Ahmadnagar, Poona, Satara and Kolhapur districts.

Somesvara III (1127-37 A.D.).

Vikramaditya VI was succeeded by his son Somesvara III. His date of accession is not certain, because of certain records having overlapping dates for him and his father. The earliest known date for Somesvara is *Ch. V. 52, Prabhava S. Phalguna suddha 14, Somavara=Monday, February 28, 1127 A.D.*¹ But an inscription dated in *Ch. V. 53, Kilaka S. = March 1128 A.D.*² mentions Vikramaditya VI as king. Another inscription³ of Vikramaditya is dated in *Ch. V. 52, Samvatsara Vaisakha sudha 15=April 28, 1127 A.D.* and a third⁴ in *Plavanga Samvatsara, Kartika vadya, Sukravara=Friday, October 28, 1127 A.D.* From these overlapping dates it appears that Vikramaditya abdicated in favour of his son due to advancing age and lived a few months more during which some of the records were dated in his reign and which mentioned him as king.

Somesvara adopted the *biruda* of *Bhulokamalla*, 'wrestler of the terrestrial world' and the usual titles of *Prthivwallabha Maharaja-dhiraja Paramabhattacharaka Calukyakulabhusana*, etc. He was also called *Sarvajnacakravartin*, the 'omniscient Emperor' and was praised for his wisdom by the learned.

The accession of Somesvara III added to the confusion that had marked the last years of the reign of his father and the *mandalikas* and the *samantas*, the hereditary chieftains, were not quite confident that the new king will be in position to give the necessary protection against external aggression and hence began to find security in committing aggression themselves against not only their former foe, but also one another. The common bond of unity among the feudatories of the Calukyas was their allegiance to the Emperor and his weakness as such became the cause of conflict between them.

Somesvara had to go to the southern part of his dominions in the early part of 1129 AD, to restore order in those regions which were agitated because of the Hoysala aggression. 'With the intention of making a victorious expedition to all parts' he went to the south and fixed his camp at *Hulluni-tirtha*.⁵ This was while leading an expedition against the Hoysalas, who appear, to have made another bold

¹ *EC. Vol. III, Sb. No. 141.*

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Dg. No. 90.

³ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 280.

⁵ *Ibid.* No. 100.

bid for expansion of their territories as also to gain independence. The Hoysala Visnuvardhana was a bold, brave and ambitious chieftain who could not be easily held in restraint by his sovereign. His attempts to gain independence during the reign of Vikrama-ditya VI had proved abortive. This time, during the reign of Somesvara, he did gain some success, though not full independence, at least in extending the frontiers of his territories and in subjugating some of the neighbouring Calukya chieftains and feudatory princes. The details of the Hoysala marauding activities against the loyal Calukya feudatories form a complicated and twisted tale and cannot be precisely fixed in a chronological frame in the short space here. In their broad outlines it appears that the Santara chieftain Permadi who was also hostile to the Calukyas had been fighting against the Kadambas and had suffered a defeat in A.D. 1127 at the hands of Masanayya, a Kadamba general, at Isapur according to the Udri inscription.¹ The Kadambas remained in possession of the Santalige 1000.² In spite of the Hoysala support, the Santaras appear to have gained no ground and no success. Somesvara had to go to the south to Hulluni-*tirtha* very probably to curb the rebellious activities of the Hoysalas and the Santaras and to support the Kadambas against the former two.

As soon as Visnuvardhana had withdrawn to his own seat of government, Somesvara also returned to his own capital. Visnuvardhana did not keep peace for a long time. He invaded the Kadamba and the Pandya territories. The Kadambas of Hangal and the Pandyas of Ucchangi were allied together matrimonially as the Kadamba Tailapa had married Bacaladevi, a Pandyan princess.³ Before his adversaries could make any preparations Visnuvardhana fell upon the Pandyas. His general Camadeva stormed the fort of Ucchangi⁴ and captured it and claimed the title of 'The Putter to flight of Pandya' in a Sravana Belgola inscription of 1131 A.D.⁵ and others⁶. Ucchangi became one of the capitals of Visnuvardhana as revealed by another inscription of 1137 A.D.⁷ The Kadambas were his next target. Having 'attacked the lofty elephant Ucchangi' and having also captured it, Visnuvardhana claims to have 'calmly marched by Banavasi, with daring seized Belvola and sprang forward with joy to the Perddore unshaken, planting his foot on Hanungal.'⁸ The Kadambas fought bitterly against the Hoysalas and inflicted heavy losses on the invaders. Two inscriptions record the death of two Hoysala warriors, Deva⁹ and Madhuvarman¹⁰. Masana or Masanayya, a general of the Kadamba Taila, opposed the Hoysalas and was killed¹¹ Tailanaga,

¹ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb No. 141.

² Ibid. Vol. VII, Hl. 47.

³ IA. Vol. X, p. 25 ; EC. Vol. XI, Dg. Nos. 39, 151 and 159 ; *Kadambakula* p. 127.

⁴ EC. Vol. XII, Ci. Nos. 29 and 30.

⁵ Ibid. Vol. II, No. 143.

⁶ Ibid. Vol. II, No. 384 ; Vol. IV, Kp. No. 78.

⁷ Ibid. Vol. XII, Tp. No. 14.

⁸ Ibid. Vol. VI, Kd. Nos. 69 and 96.

⁹ MASR. 1916, p. 53.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 52.

¹¹ EC. Vol. V, Bl. No. 17.

brother-in-law of the Kadarhba king, also tried to stop the Hoysala advance on the banks of the Dharma river, but he too lost the battle.¹ Visnuvardhana claims to have killed Kadamba Taila II in a battle at Viratanagara, modern Hangal. Taila probably died on Monday, October 6, 1130 A.D. and Bopanna, brother of Masana, committed suicide to honour his vow to live as long as his king and Mayuravarman, son and successor of the Kadamba Taila, raised monuments to commemorate them.² The Hoysalas then claimed that they killed Taila in battle. The Kadambas seem to have surrendered Hangal to the Hoysalas.

Kadamba Taila II was succeeded by his brother Hemma Mayuravarman, who was very young at that time and as such is called a boy king. During his time Masana had to defend him from an attack by a certain Malla³ whose identity is not known. Mayuravarman died soon after and was followed by his brother Mallikarjuna in about 1132 A.D.⁴ The only achievement of Mayuravarman was that he regained Hangal from the Hoysalas. The Kadambas suffered another reverse during his reign in that they lost Bankapur to the Hoysalas in 1133 A.D.,⁵ after Masana⁶ and his son Sovana⁷ had been defeated and slain, the latter while defending the fort of Bankapur itself. Visnuvardhana, thus, “destroying root and branch Masana, who was ferment to the country he (Visnuvardhana) wrote down the Banavasi 12000 in his *kadita* (account books) according to an inscription dated 1136 A.D.”⁸ The Hoysalas attacked Hangal also and captured it⁹ in 1138 A.D., but lost it too soon after. A number of inscriptions record the details of this battle. They are dated 1138 A.D.,¹⁰ 1139 A.D.,¹¹ 1140 A.D.¹² The Hoysalas also claim to have captured Palasige 12000 and a number of other minor divisions which formed part of the Calukya dominions and defeated Jayakesin of Goa according to an inscription dated 1136 A.D.¹³ Visnuvardhana further claims to have conquered Talakadu, Kongu, Nangali, Gangavadi, Nolambavadi, Banavasi and Hanungal¹⁴ and Masavadi, Huligere and Halasige. All these divisions were included in the Calukya empire. The claims of these conquests are not correct and should be taken to indicate that the Hoysalas were disturbing the Calukya empire and enlarging their principalities at the cost of other feudatories and in utter disregard of their Sovereign. Somesvara III failed to suppress them.

¹ *Kadambakula*, p. 128, App. III, No. 11, p. 445.

² *EC*. Vol. VII, Hi. No. 47.

³ *Kadambakula*, App. III, No. 12 ; *EC*. Vol. VII, Hi. No. 47.

⁴ *Above* (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 562.

⁵ *EC*. Vol. V, Bl. No. 124.

⁶ *MASR*. 1926, p. 45.

⁷ *EC*. Vol. V, Bl. No. 17.

⁸ *Ibid*.

⁹ *Ibid*. Bl. No. 202.

¹⁰ *Ibid*. Cn. 199.

¹¹ *Ibid*. Vol. XII, Gb. No. 13.

¹² *Ibid*. Vol. V, Bl. 17, Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 414.

¹³ *Ibid*. Vol. V, Cn. No. 199.

¹⁴ *Ibid*. Bl. No. 124.

The claim that Somesvara placed the lotuses in the form of his feet on the heads of the kings of the Andhra, Dravila, Magadha and Nupala¹ are merely hyperbolic with no truth at all. If the *Prakṛta Pingalam* is to be believed the Ghadavala Govindacandra,² who may be identified with the king of Kasi of the *Prakṛta Pingalam* fought with the king of Maharastra and Tilinga countries who himself has been identified with the Calukya Somesvara III.³

Like his father Vikramaditya VI, Somesvara also started an era known after his name and called the *Calukya-Bhulokamalla-varsa*, but it faded into obscurity during his own life time. Somesvara was more of a scholar than a soldier. He won no military glories and led no expeditions outside his own kingdom. He even failed to maintain peace within his own dominions. His own feudatories were the source of his trouble. The Hoysalas under Visnuvardhana launched a policy of systematic extirpation of their neighbouring Calukya feudatories and undermined the authority of their overlord.

Somesvara was more interested in the profession of the pen than that of the sword and the inscriptions of his time speak highly of his knowledge and wisdom. He was called ' *Sarvajha Cakravartin*' and as the one praised by all the learned men⁴. At one time we find him 'making a speech on the subject of Dharma', and after its conclusion donating land to the temple⁵ of *Nagaresvara* in Ballige. In the 4th year of his reign he wrote a big treatise in *Sanskṛt* called *Abhilasitartharintamani*. which was a compendium on State and polity, poetry, music, painting, astronomy, etc.

The last date of Somesvara cannot be determined with certainty. From an inscription, it is *Siddhartha Samvatsara, Pusya, suddha 13*, Adityavara= January 4, 1140 A.D.⁶ Another inscription is dated in *Kalayukta Samvatsara, Phalguna suddha 5*, Adityavdra=Sunday, 5 February, 1139 A.D.⁷ Two other inscriptions are dated December, 1137 A.D.⁸ and that dated *Kalayukta Samvatsara, Magha suddha 10*, Thursday=12, January, 1137 A.D.⁹ speaks of Jagadekamalla II, as king and refers to *Bhulokamalla* Somesvara III as the king, ruling before Jagadekamalla. It records that 'by his glory piercing the hearts of the hostile armies was *Bhulokamalla*.' Yet another inscription, dated four days earlier than this record, i.e., Sunday, January 8, 1139 A.D., makes no mention of a king and gives the year in the 13th year of the reign of *Bhulokamalla* era.¹⁰ This suggests that from 1137 A.D., Jagadekamalla was associated with the administration and discharged some of the duties of the king. Therefore, the last

¹ *JBOBRAS*. Vol. XI, p. 268.

² *IHQ*. Vol. XI, p. 566.

³ Bibliotheca Indica, Sanskrit Series, Ed. C. M. Ghosh, 1900; *IHQ*. Vol. XI, p. 364.

⁴ *JBBRAS*. Vol. XI, p. 268.

⁵ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 100.

⁶ *Ibid*. Sk. No. 112.

⁷ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sk. Nos. 415-16.

⁸ Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions in Southern India*, No. 237.

⁹ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 233.

¹⁰ *Ibid*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 266.

date of Somesvara III may be January 4, 1140 A.D., shortly after which his son Jagadekamalla ascended the throne.

Jagadekamalla II.

The name Jagadekamalla appears more like a *biruda*. Jagadekamalla adopted the usual Calukya titles in addition to *Pratapa-cakra-tartin*,¹ ‘the valorous Emperor.’. He was also called *Perma*.²

The imbecile policy of Somesvara III, threatened to claim its retribution during the reign of his successor. The loyal Calukyan feudatories, particularly the Kadambas, who had been left to their own fate to defend themselves against the rapidly growing might and intransigence of the Hoysala general Visnuvardhana faced almost total extermination at his hands. In spite of a determined bid by the Hoysalas to overwhelm them, they continued to fight tenaciously against the aggressors and held a precarious existence. Visnuvardhana had also pitched his camp at Bankapur, which he had already captured from the Kadambas in a final bid to wipe them out.

The Hoysalas appear to have recaptured Hangal sometime in 1140 A.D., as an inscription of that year records that ‘king Visnu reduced to dust the famous fortress of the Virata king with the help of his peerless army.’³ And he was in residence at that place with his queen Bammaladevi⁴ and had appointed his officers to collect the revenue of Banavasi in defiance of the Calukya authority.⁵

Jagadekamalla was built of better metal than his father and determined not to allow the Hoysala chieftain Visnuvardhana to carry on his war of extirpation against his feudatories in the southern part of his dominions and deputed the Sinda Chieftain Permadi to bring Visnuvardhana to book. Permadi not only defeated and deprived Visnuvardhana of most of his conquests, but also killed him. Vira Pandya, who had lost their territories to the Hoysalas, and the Kadambas, joined hands with the Sinda chieftain to launch a concerted attack against the common foe. They did gain victory over Visnuvardhana as an inscription says: ‘He (i.e., Sinda Permadi) seized upon the royal power of Hoysala, who were the foremost of the fierce rulers of the earth and acquired the reputation of being himself proof against all reverses. Going to the mountain passes of the marauder Bittiga, plundering, besieging Dvarasamudra and pursuing him till he arrived at, and took the city of Balipura, king Perma of great glory driving him before him with the help of his sword, arriving at the mountain pass of Vahadi, and overcoming all obstacles, acquired celebrity in the worlds. Pursuing and seizing in were the friends, (mighty) (as elephants though they were of the king), who joined king Bittiga in the work of slaughter, (Permadi) unequalled in his great impetuosity brought them (back as captives), with derisive cheers.’⁶ All this took place before October

¹ IA. Vol. VI, p. 140.

² EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 41.

³ Ibid, Vol. V, Cn. No. 199.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. XII, Gb. No. 13.

⁵ Ibid. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 298.

⁶ JBBRAS. Vol. XI, pp. 244-45.

24, 1143 A.D., the date of an inscription which claims victory over the Hoysalas by Jagadekamalla¹.

The Hoysala Visnuvardhana had died before his capital was besieged by Permadi. His death actually took place at Bankapur in about 1141-42 A.D. His armies had been shattered by the Sinda chieftain, to such an extent, that his funeral procession was not allowed to pass out from Bankapur peacefully; it was plundered. The Hoysalas naturally withdrew from Bankapur. A pathetic story of the last journey of Visnuvardhana is told by a mute stone record of the time. It says that in the year *Saka* 1063, *Durmati* S. "When the senior king Bitti-deva having died in Bankapur, Boppa-deva dannayaka, taking the body (*kanthavam*), came behind in the battle of Mudugere,—Binna-Gauda of Miriyavallipalli in Talige-nad, having secured the possession of the elephant and treasury, fought and fell. On this the chiefs and fanners of the nine *mandes* of the Talige-nad thousand land, having made petition to Narasimha-deva, obtained one *hana* of land, gave it to Bute-Gauda, the son of that Binna Gauda, and set up this stone."²

A Hoysala attack in about 1143 A.D., against Mahalige, was beaten back when the Kadamba Mallikarjuna 'was ruling the kingdom of Haive 500, Mahalige, Kondarade, Kabhunalige, the four *bada* and *Mogal-nad* in peace and wisdom.'³ The Calukya authority was once again restored in these regions and Mallikarjuna was ruling under the Calukya Jagadekamalla II in 1145 A.D. according to an inscription⁴. Kesimayya was ruling over Belvola 300, Puligere 300, Halasige 12000 and Hanungal 500 in 1147 A.D.⁵ Vira Pandya was ruling over Nalambavadi 32,000 in 1145 A.D. and 1148 AD. and had his residence at Ucchangi⁶. Banavasi was governed by *Dandanayaka* Bammadevarasa⁷.

Once Visnuvardhana was defeated and killed and peace established in the southern provinces of the Calukya dominions, Jagadekamalla II turned his attention in the direction of the north where Malava was in turmoil. The Calukya Siddharaja of Gujarat, having defeated Yasovarman, the Paramara king, annexed Malava to his kingdom in about 1134 A.D. Jayavarman, son and successor of Yasovarman, did regain it in 1138 A.D., but could not rule in peace for a long time for, the Calukya Jagadekamalla invaded Malava. Jayavarman was probably killed during the invasion. The Calukya general Kesiraja⁸ and Vira Pandya took an active part in the expedition and the Calukya records claim that king of Malava was destroyed,⁹ and that Malava was left without possession¹⁰ and that

¹ *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 85.

² *Ibid*. Vol. VI, Cm. No. 96.

³ *Ibid*. Sa. 58.

⁴ *DKD* p. 562.

⁵ *El*. Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

⁶ *EC*. Vol. VII, Ci. No. 38 ; Vol. XI, Dg. No. 41.

⁷ *Ibid*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 267.

⁸ *El*. Vol. XVI, p.

⁹ *EC* Vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 123.

every great and small king of Malava was seized¹. In the light of the events described above the view of Dr. Ganguly that the Hoysala Narasimha accompanied the Calukya army sent against Malava is not tenable.² Narasimha's claim of the conquest of Malava is not true. The invasion of Malava took place before 1143 A.D. (V. S. 1200), which was the earliest known date of the Paramara Laksmivarma, brother and successor of Jayavarman.³ Ballala,⁴ who ruled over Malava between V. S. 1199 (1143 A.D.) and V. S. 1208 (1151 A.D.), and who was ultimately killed by the Caulukya Kumarapala of Gujarat in V. S. 1208, even though he may have been a southerner as it appears from his name, could not have had anything to do with the Calukya invasion of Malava as suggested by some scholars, for the reason that if he was a Hoysala prince he could not have been left behind by the Calukyas to rule over Malava on their behalf.

An inscription dated in 1143 A.D. records that Jagadekamalla 'frightening and driving away in alarm the Cola king proud of his arm and his power in battle, made the Cola *nala* (Cola country) as if an *al nala* (slave or servant country)⁵'. Kesiraja also claims to have shattered the power of the Colas⁶. These claims were a direct consequence of the attempt of Jagadekamalla to restore the Calukyas authority over the Vehgi country which had been for a time captured by Vikramaditya and had been lost during the reign of Somesvara III. But the success that he gained was nothing remarkable; for Kulottunga Cola, who had succeeded Vikrama Cola in 1135 A.D.⁷, remained, according to the Cola records, in undisputed possession of the country.

Several Calukya records claim victory for Jagadekamalla over the Gurjaras and of having captured his 'herd of elephants, wealth and troops of horses.'⁸ Kesiraja is also given credit for having shattered the Gurjaras.⁹ The Caulukya Siddharaja Jayasimha (1094-1143 A.D.)¹⁰ and Kumarapala (1143-1172 A.D.)¹¹ were the Gurjara contemporaries of Jagadekamalla. It may be that when the Calukyas invaded Malava they had to fight against the Caulukyas also who had been in possession of the whole of it for some time¹² and some portion at another¹³ and who must have naturally opposed

¹ EC Vol. XI, Dg. No. 55.

² HPD. p. 172.

³ DHNI. Vol. II, pp. 899 ff; *Journal of M.P. Itikasa Parishad* No. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 989 ff; *EI.* Vol. VIII, p. 207 ; *IA.* Vol. LXI p. 192.

⁵ EC. Vol. VII, Dg. No. 84.

⁶ *EI.* Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

⁷ *HISl.* p. 101.

⁸ *Rice Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* ; *Ec.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 277 ; Vol. VII, Sk. No. 108.

⁹ *EI.* Vol. XVI, pp. 44 ff.

¹⁰ *Prabandkacintamani* pp. 80 and 115 ; *JBBBAS.* Vol. IX, p. 155 ; *DHNI.* Vol. II, p. 968.

¹¹ *Prabandkacintamani* p. 151 ; *JBBBAS.* Vo. JX, p. 155, i57 ; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* Tr. p. 143 ; *DHNI.* Vol. II, p. 985.

¹² *ARASWC.* 1912-13, p. 55.

¹³ *EI.* Vol. I, p. 302; *DHNI.* Vol. II, p. 887.

any attempt by a third power to establish itself in the regions which they considered within their sphere of ambition. The Calukyas appear to have fought with Madhu-Kamarnava *alias* Annatavarmadeva (1147—1165 A.D.) of Kalinga. This was probably over Vengi, which was a bone of contention during this period between the Calukyas, the Colas and the later Ganga kings of Kalinga. Inscriptions dated 1159, 1160, and 1164 A.D. say that Jagadekamalla 'filled up the troubles of Kalinga,¹ that he made "Kalinga marked with tears on account of unmitigated calamities"² and that he changed 'the appearance of the multitude of Kalinga'³ respectively.

If Saka 1174, *Prajapati Samvatsara Pusya Suddha 10, Somavara*⁴ is taken to correspond to December 20, 1151 A.D., this is the last known date of Jagadekamalla II. Another earlier date⁵ is Calukya Vikrama 72, *Pramoda Samvatsara, Paitra Vadya 11, Sukravara* = Friday, April 12, 1151 A.D. This date is more certain because it is regular.

Taila III.

Jagadekamalla was followed by his brother Taila III. His earliest known date from an inscription is Ch. V. (a mistake for Saka) 1074, *Prajapati Samvatsara, Caitra Suddha 13*=March 20, 1152 A.D.⁶ Taila assumed the titles of *Trailokyamalla Pratapa-Cakra-varti*⁷ and *Calukya-Cakravarti*.⁸ He was also called Nurmadi Taila or Tailapa⁹.

The decline of the Calukya Empire had set in after the reign of Vikramaditya VI. During the reign of Somesvara the Hoysalas under Visnuvardhana, made a bold bid to wipe it out, but the southern feudatories, the Kadambas, the Sindas and the Pandyas served as shock absorbers of the Hoysala onslaughts and ultimately the Hoysala attempts were wrecked on the secks of the Kadamba opposition. Jagadekamalla did make a determined effort to revive the glory and greatness of the Calukyas of the time of Somesvara I and Vikramaditya VI and did gain some success in Malava, Vengi and Kalinga. He also succeeded in crushing the rebellions of the Hoysalas with the, help of the Sindas and the Kadambas. But his successes were only a temporary respite to the process of decline of the Empire which had been tottering from its very foundations.

Taila III did not have the capacity to hold the. Empire together. The Caulukya Kumarapala seems to have invaded Konkan. After some initial reverses while attempting to cross the river Kalvani the Calukya general Ambad returned with reinforcements and defeated and killed the Silahara Mallikarjuna, ruler of Konkan, and a feudatory of the Calukyas. Even though the Calukyan campaign did not leave any lasting results over Konkan, it did

¹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 123.

² *Ibid.* Vol. XI, Dg. No. 355.

³ *Ibid.* Dg. No. 43.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 132.

⁵ *Ibid.* Sb. No. 86.

⁶ *Ibid.* Vol VIII Sb. No. 464.

⁷ *El.* Vol. V, p. 235.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ EC. Vol. VIII. Sb. No. 175;

give a rude blow to the Calukyas whose prestige had already fallen very low in the Deccan. The Hoysala opposition had lost its sting after the death of Visnuvardhana. His son and successor Narasimha was not of the same fibre as his father and the Kadambas and the Sindas could keep him within bounds. Another feudatory chieftain, the Kalacurya Bijjala, was forging weapons under the patronage of Taila himself, with the help of which he was to pull down the patron from the throne.

The defeat of the Silaharas of Konkan at the hands of the Gurjaras appears to have been followed by a worst disaster which sapped the strength and undermined whatever prestige had been left of the Calukya authority. This was the defeat and disgrace of Taila III at the hands of the Kakatiyas. The Kakatiya Prolaraja invaded the Calukya Empire and inflicted a crushing defeat on Taila III and took him prisoner. The Anamkonda inscription of Rudradeva, successor of Prolaraja dated in Saka 1084=1162 A.D. gives the following account of the fight between the Prolaraja and Taila III. 'He (i.e., Prolaraja) made captive in war the glorious Tailapadeva, the ornament of the Calukyas who was skilful in the practice of riding upon elephants, whose inmost thoughts were even intent upon war, and who was mounted upon an elephant which was like a cloud ; and then at once he, who was renowned in the practice of severing the throats of his (captive) enemies, let him go from goodwill (produced) by (his) devotion."¹

Though Taila had secured his release from his captor, the last straw on the camel's back had been snapped. The final blow to the Calukya sovereignty came from within the Empire, from one of its own feudatories in whom Taila III appears to have reposed his confidence. This was the Kalacuri Bijjala. Bijjala started his career as a subordinate chieftain of the Calukya Somesvara III and was in charge of the administration of the Karahada 4000 in 1142 A.D.² and his great-grandmother *Abhinava Candaladevi* was administering Valasanga in Kalambade 300 division. She is also called *Abhinava Saradadevi* and was the wife of *Tribhuvanamalla* Vikramaditya VI. Bijjala or Bijjana had the title of *Mahamatudalesvara*. An inscription dated in the 10th year of the reign of Jagadekamalla, *Prabhava Samvatsara, Asvayuja Amavasya, Sunday, solar eclipse* = Sunday, October 26, 214 A.D.³ refers to Bijjala's brother Mailugi. It makes mention of Karahata and its sub-division Kalambade, called a *kampana* and the village of Telasangava. Bijjala's father, Permadi, a subordinate of Somesvara III, had been governing Taravadi⁴ according to an inscription dated April 20, 1129 A.D.⁵ Bijjala himself was governing as a feudatory of Taila III in 1151 A.D

¹ IA. Vol. XI, pp. 12-13.

² ARSIE. BK. No. 128 of 1940-41.

³ *Karnataka Inscriptions* Vol. II, No. 21, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ S. K. Aiyanger : *Ancient India* p. 264.

⁵ ARSIE. 1938-39, B. K. No. 66. The date is not regular as the solar eclipse fell on Saturday and not Monday. When this record speaks of the Emperor it could be no other than the *Calukya* Somesvara. Hence the view that Permadi did not acknowledge the fact is not tenable. (*EI*. Vol. XXVIII, p. 26, fist. 5.)

and had *Mahapradhana Senadhipati Dandanayaka* Mailaraya as his subordinate in charge of Taravadi 1000.¹

Bijjana or Bijjala secured his appointment as the Commander-in-Chief of the Calukyan army and in the Harihara inscription he claims to have been protecting the whole Calukyan army.² His influence began to increase in obverse proportion to the decrease of Taila's and the Calukyan records give him great importance using almost as high-sounding titles as his overlord. Some of the inscriptions in which he is mentioned are even dated in his regnal years, as if he had assumed full royal powers. These records do show that he had become the *de facto* sovereign and that Taila was reduced to a shadow of a king. The titles given to Bijjala and Taila III in a Belgami inscription dated *Calukya Trailokyamalla varsa 6, Yuva Samvatsara, Magha, Amavasya, Somavara*=Monday, January 24, 1156 A.D.³ explains the position very clearly.

Inscriptions, dated in the 2nd year of the reign of the Kalacuri *Bhujabala-cakravarti* Bijjala-deva correspond to Saturday, February 1, 1158 A.D.⁴ and Wednesday, December 26, 1157 A.D.⁵ and in the 4th year to Sunday, December 6, 1159 A.D.⁶ They show that Bijjala had gained enormous powers and that inscriptions were dated in his regnal years though Taila III was yet the sovereign. An inscription, dated September 24, 1158 A.D. (the date is not regular) speaks of Bijjala ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom⁷. Another of Monday, March 2, 1159 A.D., gives the Calukyan pedigree up to Taila III and then speaks of Bijjala as king (*Ksonipala*).⁸ A third of 1159 A.D. does the same⁹. These inscriptions show that in spite of the fact that Bijjala had the title of *Mahamandalesvara*, he was supreme in the affairs of the State and that the authority of Taila was reduced to a mere shadow. The Calukya feudatories, the Gangas¹⁰ and the Pandyas,¹¹ acknowledged his authority. The Kadambas who tried to resist him were ultimately subdued by force of arms. In 1159 A.D., Bijjala launched an attack against them and the fort of Gutti was besieged¹². Another attempt by the Kadambas to oppose Bijjala was crushed in 1163 A.D., when Bijjala Deva's Minister, Sovayamarasa, attacked Gutti¹³ again. The Kadambas too then acknowledged the *fait accompli* of Bijjala.¹⁴ The Santaras too in spite of their attempt to become independent,¹⁵ acknowledged Bijjala as their overlord¹⁶.

¹ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii p. 460.

² *JRAS.* Vol. IV, p. 16.

³ *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 104.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 255.

⁵ *ARSIE.* App, E, No. 201.

⁶ *EC.* vol. VII, sb. 131.

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 18.

⁸ *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 328.

⁹ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 18

¹¹ *Ibid.* Vol. XI, Dg. No. 43.

¹² *Ibid.* Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 416.

¹³ *Ibid.* Sk.No .568.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*Sb.No. 177.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Sb. No. 177,567, Sb. No. 114.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Sb. No. 66.

Taila appears to have left Kalyani sometime after 1157 A.D. and fled to Jayantipura in Banavasi¹ and later took refuge at Anni-gere,² to which place he was followed by Bijjala. Bijjala assumed full royal title- at Annigere in about 1162 A.D.³ In an inscription, dated January 17, 1162 A.D., he had the title of *Mahamandale-svara* only. He was on this date at Balligave while leading an expedition to the southern regions. Taila III is not mentioned in this inscription.

Taila III appears to have died before January 19, 1163 A.D., the date of the Anamkonda inscription which records his death in the following words : ‘ Though king Tailapa went to sky, his delicate body being wasted by violent diarrhoea through fear of this most valorous king, *Sri Rudradeva*.’⁴

The fall of the Calukyas created an utter political chaos in the Deccan. The Calukyan feudatories, the Kadambas, the Sindas, the Pandyas, the Hoysalas and others could not reconcile themselves with the usurpation of Bijjala and if at all they acknowledged his authority, it was only as a measure of expediency. They continued to wage wars against him, whenever they had a favourable opportunity. The story of the Kalacuri rule lasting for about two decades and described in detail below, was one of constant feud between him and the other feudatories of the Calukyas. Some of them made no secret of their allegiance to the Calukyas, whenever they had a favourable occasion to do so. Inscriptions dated 1165 AD.⁵ and 1182 A.D.⁶ show that Vijaya Pandya, recognised a certain Calukya Jagadekamalla, probably a brother of Taila III, as his sovereign. The Nidugal chief Mallideva Coja *Maharaja* did the same in 1169 A.D.⁷

Having captured the fort of Gutti from the Kadambas the Hoysalas began their raids into the Kalacurya possessions. In 1164 A.D. a Hoysala general raided the Kerivakasive *Agrahara*.⁸ In the same year Bijjala ordered his subordinate chieftain Televur Haradi Sova-varma (?) and others to attack Gutti.⁹ The fort of Gurmahagundi where in 1161 A.D., the Hoysalas had been besieged by the Kadambas, was besieged by Bammara and Vira-rasa in 1166 A.D., without any success.¹⁰ The Pandyas were defeated and their big and strong fort of Ucchangi was captured by Ballala II, who had usurped the Hoysala throne from his father Narasimha I. Ballala then turned against the Kadambas to whose rescue Kalacuri Sahka-madeva first sent his general Kavanayya and later took the field

¹ *DKD*. p. 469.

² *JRAS*. Vol. IV, p. 16, in. 2.

³ *IA*. Vol. XI, p. 18.

⁴ *EC*. Vol. XI, Kg. No. 77.

⁵ *Ibid*. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 13.

⁶ *ARS1E*. 1917, No. 733 ; *HISI*. p. 116.

⁷ *MASR*. 1928, No. 81.

⁸ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. 372.

⁹ *Ibid*. Sb. 287.

¹⁰ *MASR*. 1928, No. 81.

himself, when the battle of Bettaur did not end in his favour in 1179 A.D.¹ The battles at Madavalli and Hadadeyakuppa also were lost by the Kalacuris, even though Ballala did not gain any material advantage from them either.² The Kalacuryas appear to have patched up peace with the Hoysalas to save themselves from total disaster. But the Kadambas carried on the fight and besieged the fort of Uddhare which they had lost to the Hoysalas earlier³ and captured it in 1181 A.D. This defeat was avenged in that very year by Ballaja.⁴

Somesvara IV.

The Calukya Somesvara IV, who had been in hiding with the Pandyas or the Kadambas, probably at Annigere in the Dhar-vad district, hearing of the defeat of the Kalacuryas by the Hoysalas, emerged from his exile and recovered the kingdom by driving out the usurpers. The date 1181 A.D. in which Somesvara IV was ruling at Kalyani, according to the Kuragoda inscription⁵, is not reliable as it is irregular.

The Korvar inscription in the Bijapur district, dated *Vikari Sathvatsara, Vaisakha, Amavasya,—Tuesday*, May 8, 1179 A.D., also speaks of Somesvara IV, but it is very much damaged and if at all this date for him is genuine, it belongs to a period when Somesvara was just a refugee. However, it gives a clue to his hideout. The details of dates in the 2nd year of his reign correspond to November 5, 1184 A.D.⁶ and December 24 (?), 1184 A.D.⁷ and those in the 4th year correspond to April 5, 1182 A.D.⁸

With these irregular dates, it may be said that Somesvara's restoration of the Calukya sovereignty took place in the middle of 1183 A.D. 'Somesvara uprooted that race of the Kalacuryas as if it were but a *billa* tree.' The same record adds that 'a very close connection between the earth and himself being formed at that time when the dense darkness that was the Kalacuryas dispersed before his brilliance,—the Calukya king Soma became famous.'⁹ Somesvara was helped by his feudatory Brahma or Bammarasa or Bamayya in securing the throne. Brahma is called 'the establisher of the Calukya sovereignty,'¹⁰ and 'the chief of all the leaders of the army.' Other inscriptions also extol him for this achievement¹¹. Brahma's (Brahmana's) father, Kama or Kavana, who was alive at the time of his son's battle with the Kalacuryas,¹² was a *Dandanayaka* of the Kalacurya Sankama according to a Harihara inscription. He was also their commander-in-chief in 1179 A.D.¹³ and a *Dandamayaka* of Ahavamalla in 1181 A.D.¹⁴

¹ *Kadambakula*, pp. 138, 444-45, Ec. Vol. VII Sk. No. 171

² *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

³ *Ibid*. Vol. VI, Hd. No. 33.

⁴ *Ibid*. Vol. II, No. 327; *Kadambakula*, p. 14.

⁵ *EI*. Vol. XIV, pp. 266 ff.

⁶ *ARSIE*. 1828-29, App. E, No. 207.

⁷ *Ibid*. 1940-41, B.K. No. 48.

⁸ *Ibid*. 1936-37, B.K. No. 37.

⁹ *EI*. Vol. V, p. 269.

¹⁰ *Ibid*. Vol. V, p. 250.

¹¹ *JBAS*. Vol. IV, pp. 16-17 *Bom. Gas.* (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 464.

¹² *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 92 ff.

¹³ *Ibid*. p. 92.

¹⁴ *Ibid* p. 192.

Brahmana himself was a *Mahapradhana Senadhipati* and *Dandanayaka* of the Kalacurya Sovideva in 1175 A.D.¹ He turned a rebel against his master on account of an insult done to his father and took service under the Calukya Somesvara IV to seek vengeance upon him.²

The revival of the Calukya sovereignty at Kalyani was a passing phase of the tangled history of the Deccan, during this period. The Kadambas, the Pandyas, the feudatory Colas and other feudatories were happy at the restoration, for this meant the success of their efforts to drive out their relentless enemy, the Kalacuryas. The Calukyas had always defended them from the Hoysalas.

The Calukya restoration did not last long. The Yadavas from the north and the Hoysalas from the south were desperately fighting their way to Kalyani in a bid to wipe them out and win the sovereignty of Karnata. Somesvara did not have the strength to oppose them.

One attempt of Ballala in 1183 A.D.³ to drive out Somesvara IV had been beaten back by Brahmana.⁴ But Ballada returned to the scene four years later and defeated the Calukyas and drove Somesvara IV out of Kalyani. Somesvara fled away to Jayantipura.⁵ The Gadag inscription of Ballala recounts his victory in the following words : ‘ And by force, he, the strong one, defeated with cavalry only, and deprived of his sovereignty, the general Brahmana whose army was strengthened by an array of elephants and who acquired sixty tusked elephants with a single tuskless elephant, when, on account of an insult, he was tearing the royal fortune from the family of the Kalacuryas.’⁶

Ballala could not feast upon his conquest of Kalyani for a long time. The Yadava Bhillama with equally unbounded ambitions as the Hoysala proved more powerful than the latter. He swooped down upon Kalyani from the north, defeated Ballala and drove him out from there, and as an inscription dated in 1189 A.D. at Annigere records, he had become the beloved of the goddess of the sovereignty of the Karnata country and was rejoicing over the whole kingdom⁷. Hemdari confirms this, but he is not correct when he says that Ballala was killed by Bhillama.⁸ Bhillama in pursuit of Ballala reached as far south as Alur in the Hassan district where a fierce battle between the two was fought. Who was the victor in this battle is not known. Very soon Ballala returned with reinforcements and another fierce battle was fought between the two at Soratur before December 30, 1190 A.D., the date of a record which says that “ Ballala put them (the Yadavas) to flight and slaughtered them from Soratur to the banks of the

¹ *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 92.

² *Ibid* p. 92.

³ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 419.

⁴ *ARSIE*. 1915, App. B, No. 458.

⁵ *EI*. Vol. VI, p. 92.

⁶ *EC*. Vol. XI, Cd. No. 33.

⁷ Bom. Cos., (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 518-19.

⁸ *EHD*. (B), App. C, vB. 38-39.

Krsnaveni.”¹ The Yadavas were driven away and a large part of the region fell into the hands of Ballala.² But Bhillama too after sometime returned to the scene and was at his victorious camp at Heruru, 30 miles north-east of Gadag, on June 23, 1191 A.D.³ This was just on the eve of the final battle between the two which is described in the Gadag inscription dated 21 November, 1192 A.D.⁴ of Ballala II. Ballala won this battle and Bhillama lost his life. The Yadavas with Jaitugi as the leader of the force made Lokkigundi their base of operations, but Jaitugi, also called a minister of Bhil’ama, was defeated and Lokkigundi was captured by Ballala who pitched his victorious camp at Lokkigundi itself according to the Gadag inscription of 1191 A.D. A later inscription records that “The king Ballala moistening his valiant sword with the blood of his enemy the Pandya king, whets it on the grindstone of the head of Bhillama and sheathes it in the lotus mouth of Jaitugi”⁵ And the Gadag inscription says “And cutting off Jaitrasimha who was as it were the right arm of that Bhillama, he, the hero, acquired also the sovereignty over the country of Kuntala.”⁶ In spite of all these victories, Ballala seems to have failed to capture Kalyani.

Somesvara did not live long to see the spoliation of his Empire. His last known date is December 25, 1189 A.D. ⁷ when he was ruling with the support of the Kadambas and was their host.

¹ MASR. 1926, No. 9.

² EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 25 ; IHQ. Vol. IV, pp. 125-23.

³ Ibid. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 25 ; Cn. No. 179.

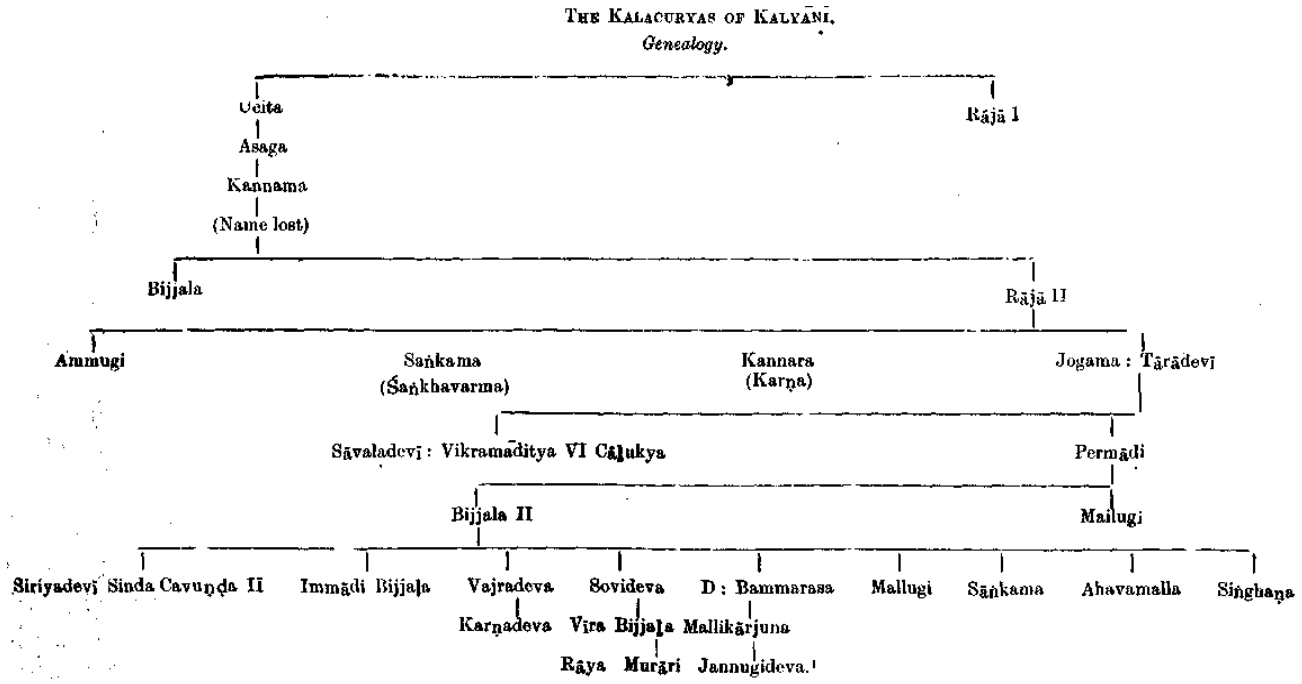
⁴ EI. Vol. III, p. 219.

⁵ EC. Vol. V, Bl. 77.

⁶ EI. Vol. VI, p. 92

⁷ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 129.

TABLE II.
THE KALACURYAS OF KALYANI



*The relationship of Rayamurari Jannugideva and Mallikarjuna with other Kalacuri princes cannot be determined.

THE KALACURYAS OF KALYANI

THE KALACURYAS. Origin.

The Kalacurya usurpation of Calukya sovereignty had a precarious existence for nearly two decades. The Kalacuryas trace their descent from the Haihayas. Haihaya, the progenitor of the Haihayas, was a grandson of Sahasrajit, who himself was a descendent of Yadu. The Haihayas had their seat of power at Mahismati, modern Mandhata, in the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh.¹ From Mahismati they expanded their hold to Kasi.² One of their kings, Arjuna, recovered Mahismati which had been in the meantime lost to the Karkota king.³ The Haihayas, later known as Kalacuris, suffered a set back at the hands of Sagara, but retained Kasi⁴. In more recent times, the Kalacuris established their hold over Malava and the central regions of the present Madhya Pradesh. Sarikaragana's son Buddharaja had his capital in Vidisa.⁵ He was defeated by the Calukya Mangalesa⁶ of Badami.⁷ Other branches of the family established their dominion in the U. P., Saryuparar, Dahala and Ratanpur. Some members of the family who claim to have belonged to Kalanjara in M. P. migrated to the south and took up service under the Calukyas of Kalyani⁸.

The epigraphical version of their origin reads as follows : " A certain Brahmana girl was adoring with devotion *Hara*, the chosen of *Girija*. In order to bestow on her the desire of her heart, he appeared to her in a dream, and from that union she miraculously conceived a portion of *Isvara* in her womb. When she had thus completed nine months, there was born Krsna, beautiful in form, matchless in valour, distinguished by all auspicious marks, acquainted with all learning, a burning heat to hostile kings. Being born he slew in Kalanjara an evil-minded king who was a cannibal and followed the calling of a barber, thus gaining in advance the applause of the world. Did he not ? Forcing him between the teeth of *Yama*, he seized by might of his arm, the wealth of the Kalacurikula. The king Krsna ruled in peace. Among those born in his line, after many kings had passed away, there was renowned in the earth king Kannama Deva, skilled in the art of captivating the coyest women by his beauty, the cause of destruction to the proud, his fame being like a spotless moon. To that celebrated one like two extra arms were two dear sons named, Raja and Bijjala, of good learning, beloved of the goddess of victory⁹. The Kalacuryas claim to be *Ksatriyas*¹⁰. A different version with different genealogical details is given in another record.¹¹ The family had the royal insignia of a *svarna vrsabha*, distinguished by a *Damaru*.

¹ IA. Vol. XIV, p. 68 ; D H N I. Vol. II, p. 738 ; E H D. (R), p. 160 ; A S W I. No. 10 ; Pargiter: *Indian Historical Traditions*, I H T. pp. 148, 41, 102, 143, 153, 263, 87, 88 and 150

² I H T. pp. 153-56.

³ Ibid. pp. 265-66.

⁴ Ibid. p. 263.

⁵ [Vidisa was only the site of his capital. See CII. IV, p. 49.—V. V. M.]

⁶ IA. Vol. XIX ; p. 7.

⁷ Bom. Gaz. Old. Edn. Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 740-41.

⁸ EI. Vol. XX, p. 269 ; Vol. XII, p. 291 ; IA. Vol. I, p. 191.

⁹ EC. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42.

¹⁰ IA. Vol. IV. p. 275.

¹¹ EC. Vol. VII. SB. No. 256.

The genealogical details of the family remain somewhat obscure. The inscriptions do not give a consolidated or a complete list. With the help of several of them¹ the genealogy of the family given in the Table is reconstructed.²

Nothing is known of the early kings Ucita and Raja I³ and Asaga, Kannama, his unknown son, and his sons Bijjala and Raja II⁴. Of the four sons of Raja II only Ammugi and Jogama appear to have ruled and the latter had the title of Talikada.⁵ The title was obviously assumed on the basis of the intimate connection of the family with Tarikadunadu, which is mentioned in a number of inscriptions and was situated in the Kuntala country⁶.

Jogama.

Jogama was a *Mahamandalesvara*⁷ of the Calukyas. He was governing Karahada 4000 division in A.D. 1087-88 and 1093 as a feudatory of the Calukya Vikramaditya VI.⁸ He had a daughter named Savaladevi from his wife Taradevi⁹. Savaladevi was given in marriage to Vikramaditya VI¹⁰.

Permadi

This was significant as this helped the insignificant Kalacuryas to gain some prominence. Jogama's son was Permadi, who is known from two records,¹¹ one of which is dated in 1129 A.D.¹², which was the 12th year of his rule. The Emperor referred to in this record means the Calukya Vikramaditya VI. He also had the title of *Mahamandalesvara* and the *biruda* of *Tarikada*. He was governing Tarddavadi 1000 division in 1128-29 A.D.¹³. An inscription dated in 1142 A.D.¹⁴ reveals that *Abhinava* Candaladevi, also called *Abhinava* Saradadevi, wife of the Calukya Vikramaditya VI, was also a great-grandmother of the Kalacurya Bijjala, son of Permadi. This can be explained only by the fact that *Abhinava* Candaladevi was the grandmother of the mother of Bijjala. This would mean that the daughter of Vikramaditya VI and Candaladevi was given in marriage to Jogama. This gave further impetus to the rise of the Kalacuryas to power.

The Kalacuryas had their headquarters at Mahgalavad or Mangali-veda, modern Mangalvedhe near Pandharpur, which was the chief town of Tarikadu-nadu.¹⁵

¹ *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42 ; Vol. VII, Sk. No. 236 ; *EI*. Vol. XV, p. 324 ; Vol. XIX p. 234. *Bom. Gaz.* (Old. Edn.), Vol. I ; pt. (ii), p. 468; *SIE*. AS. 1940-41, Bk. No. 128 ; *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 197 ; *ARSIE*. 1937-38, Bk. No. 81; 1936-37, Bk. No. 63 and 91; 1938-39, No. 50 ; *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44 ; Vol. VII, HL. No. 50 ; *KI*. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 24 ff.

² *EI*. Vol. XXVIII, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *ABSIE*. 1940 41, Bk. No. 171 ; *EI*. Vol. XV, p. 334.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1940-41, Bk. No. 103, 124 and 130.

⁸ *Ibid.* 124, 131, 103.

⁹ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old. Edn.) Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 448.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *ARSIE*. 1940-41, Bk. No. 102 ; 1936-37, Bk. No. 95

¹² *Ibid.* No. 128.

¹³ *Ibid.* 1936-37, Bk. No: 95.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1940-41, Bk. No. 128.

¹⁵ *EI*. Vol. XV, p. 324; *EC*. Vol. XI, Dg. No. 44.

Bijjala II.

Bijjala II followed his father Permadi. He was a feudatory of the Calukya Jagadekamalla II and Taila III, both his cousins. He is known from an inscription, dated in 1142 A.D., as governing Kara hada 4000 division, when his great-grandmother *Abhinava-Candala-devi*, also called *Abhinava-Saradadevi* and wife of Vikramaditya VI was governing Valasanga in Kalambade 300 division¹. This shows that this queen of Vikramaditya VI, was alive in 1142 A.D., and was associated with Bijjala in the administration of a division. *Mahd-mandalesvara* Bijjala or Bijjana is mentioned with his brother Mailugi in another inscription, dated 1147 A.D., as a subordinate to Jagadekamalla II. The inscription registers a gift of certain incomes in kind and coins by the trade guild for the *sattr* of *Mahagrahara* Telasangava² in Kalambada *kampana* in Karahata *visaya* in Kuntala-*desa*. Nothing is then known about Bijjala for about ten years as no record of this period so far known mentions his name. However, from 1157 A.D., Bijjana suddenly emerges with great prestige and importance, first as a Calukya feudatory and then as a usurper of the Calukya throne and an independent king. More than seventy-five records of his reign have been found, mostly in the Simoga, Citaldurg, Dharwad, Bijapur and Belgaon districts of Mysore State.

Though a number of inscriptions of his time are dated in his regnal years, the chronology of his rise to power cannot be precisely determined as the details of most of these dates are not regular. According to some inscriptions, his first regnal year falls in 1152 A.D.,³ while according to others it would fall in 1155 or 1156 A.D.⁴ But the actual usurpation of the Calukya throne by him took place in 1162 A.D., when he assumed full paramount titles of *samastabhu-vanasraya Sriprthivivallabha Maharajadhiraja Paramesvara Parama-bhattaraka* besides a number of *birudas* which include *Tribhuvana-malladeva Tribhuvanaikawradeva* and *Bhuwnaikamalla*. He is also praised as *Kalanjarapuravaradhisvara Giridurgamalla* and *Sanivara-siddhi*. He was ruling from Kalyan⁵ in May 6, 1162 A.D.⁶ while according to another, from Mangalivada in January 17, 1162, A.D.⁷ This might show that he usurped power between January 17, 1162 A.D. and May 6, 1162 A.D.

The story of his rise to power has been told earlier. Of the two inscriptions, dated January 17, 1162 A.D., one says that he was governing from Mangalivada⁸ and makes no mention of the Calukya sovereign, while the other says that he was at that time encamped at Balligave having gone there to subdue the southern region.⁹

¹ ARSIE. 1940-41, BK. No. 128.

² *Karnataka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 21, pp. 79 ff.

³ ARSIE. 1938-39., BK. No. 20 ; 1936-37, BK. No. 57.

⁴ *Ibid*, 1943-43, BK. No. 20 ; 1940-41, BK; No, 111, 45 ; 1937-38, BK. No. 14; 1936-37, Bk. No. 46, 57, 63.

⁵ EC. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 346

⁶ ASRIB. 1987-88, No.14.

⁷ *Ibid*, 1940-41, Bk. No. 111.

⁸ *Ibid*. No. 111.

⁹ EC. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 102.

Bijjala had a brother Mallugideva who is known from a number of records dated from 1147 A.D.¹ to 1176 A.D. He also had a number of sons; Somesvara, Sovideva, Sankama, Ahavamalla, Sift-ghana and Vajra and a daughter Siriyadevi, who was married to the Sinda Cavunda II.

Some of the inscriptions of his reign give him credit for the conquest of a number of countries, viz., Gurjara, Magadha, Kalinga, Andhra, Saurashtra, Vengl, Lata, Cera, Nepal, Pancala, Paniya, Turuska, Cola, etc.² There could be no truth in all these claims. Bijjala had hardly any time to cross beyond the frontiers of his chaotic few territorial divisions to lead any campaigns of conquests. His southern adversaries, the Hoysalas, engaged his attention all the time.

The Hoysalas had been nursing their ambition of establishing their own dominion and had rebelled against their sovereign several times. Bijjala certainly took them by surprise. Thereby he proved a better general and tactician than his Hoysala adversary. Before actually overthrowing the Calukyas, he defeated the Hoysalas. An inscription states that a battle between the Hoysalas and the Kala-curyas under the command of Bammarasa *dxmdanatha*, brother-in-law of Kasapayya Nayaka, a feudatory of Bijjala, took place on the banks of the Tungabhadra. The name of the Hoysala chief is not given.³ The contemporary Hoysala king was Narasirhha I. The Hoysalas from their stronghold at Gutti⁴ were leading expeditions into the Kalacuri territories. In 1164 A.D., the Hoysala chief raided Kerya-kasive *agrahdra*.⁵ A Katturu epigraph, dated 1164 A.D., records that Bijjala ordered his subordinate Tolevur Haradi Somavar-mma (?) and other chieftains to attack the fort of Gutti, which they besieged.⁶ How the siege ended is not known. An inscription, dated 1166 A.D., records that Mandalika Bammarasa, who had fought the battle of the Tungabhadra with the Hoysalas, was in possession of the fort of Gutti and that he along with Vlrarasa laid siege to the fort of Gunnalagundi and that the Hoysala Mandalika is said to have driven away the besiegers by stratagem. It is further claimed that he did not resort to force of arms yet it records the death of a warrior Katamallasetti.⁷

The disturbed political condition of his dominions is revealed by a number of memorial stone-pillar-inscriptions, recording the death of soldiers in battles or raids. In 1160 A.D., the *agrahdra* Jambur was besieged by one Kalarasa⁸ and the fisherman Bittaya was killed in the raid. An inscription commemorates the death of a soldier during

¹ *EC.*, No. 197 ; Vol. XITDg. No. 44 ; *ARSIE*, 1938-39, BK. No. 50 ; 1936-37 : BK.. No. 63 ; *Kartiataka Inscriptions*, Vol. II, No. 21.

² *El.* Vol. XV, p.'324 ; *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 197 ; *Karriataka Inscriptions*, .ol. II, Nos.

³ *EC.* Vol. XI ; Dg. No. 42.

⁴ *JUASR.* 1928, No. 81.

⁵ *EC.* Vol. VIII, 8b. No. 372.

⁶ *Ibid*, Sb. No. 287.

⁷ *MASR*, 1928, No. 81.

⁸ *EC.* Vol. VII, Sk. No. 78.

the raid of Jayasinga Maiyaka in 1159 A.D.¹ Uddhare Ekkalarasa burnt Satradahalli in 1159 A.D.² Bijjana's force is said to have been marching to destroy Tagarte in 1162 A.D.³ In 1163 A.D., a battle was fought between *Mahamandalesvara* Kirtirasa, *Mahamandale-svara* Ekkalarasa and *Mahamandalesvara* Bammana on one side and Jagadevarasa on the other⁴. Ekkalarasa was again marching against Jagadeva according to another inscription.⁵ The death of a soldier is recorded in another record of 1163 A.D., during the raid of Uddhare Yakkalarasa (Ekkalarasa)⁶. Ekkalarasa thus fought at one time for, and at another against, Bijjana. Bamma, Bammana or Bam-marasa is called a son-in-law of Bijjana in an inscription of 1163 A.D. He was governing Banavasi 12000⁷

Bijjala's reign is marked by a serious religious upheaval. A reformist movement led by Basava rose into prominence in the kingdom at this time. Basava's followers are known as the *Virsaivas* or the *Lingayatas*. Basava held a high office under the Kalacurya Bijjala. Evidently there seems to have been a great conflict between the conservative and the reformist religious forces in the kingdom. One result of this conflict would appear to be the assassination of the king Bijjala. An account of this revolution is given in the *Basava Puranas*, *Canna*, *Basava Purana* and *Bijjala Carita* or *Bijjala Kayya*. The versions given by the Jain sources of this event differ greatly from those given in the *Virsaiva* source.

Bijjala's last known date from the Yali-sirur inscription is Saturday, September 30, 1167 A.D.⁸ Bijjala is said to have had a big army consisting of 196,000 horses, 10,000 elephants and 1,00,000 soldiers. He is also said to have possessed a thousand hill forts and a thousand forts in the plains and a thousand along with the sea shore⁹. All this is obviously improbable.

Rayamurari Somesvara Sovideva whom Bijjala had nominated succeeded him. The inscriptions mention Mallugideva and Karna, brother and grandson respectively of Bijjala, who succeeded him one after the other. There is nothing definite to show that Mailugi or Mallugi ruled after Bijjala. But since Kandara, Kalideva or Karna is mentioned immediately before Sovideva, he appeared to have ruled for a short while. Mallugideva did rule later as an inscription is dated in the 2nd year of his reign which corresponds to December 2, 1176 A.D.¹⁰ Karna was placed on the throne by some of his supporters, but was overthrown and killed by Sovideva. An inscription records that Kasapayya, a Kalacurya

¹ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 191.

² *Ibid*. Sb. No. 99.

³ *Ibid*. Sb. No. 56.

⁴ *Ibid*. No. 177.

⁵ *Ibid*. No. 193.

⁶ *Ibid*. No. 449.

⁷ *Ibid*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 242.

⁸ *ARSIE*. 1926-27, BK. No. 16.

⁹ *JRAS*. Vol. IV, p. 20.

¹⁰ *ARSIE*.

minister, and others plunged the Kalacuri sovereignty into chaos by their evil actions and were ultimately driven with Karna whom they had illegally placed on the throne by Soma and Madhuva. Karna may have been the son of Vajradeva,¹ son of Bijjala, or that of Immadi Bijjala, his other son.

Bijjala II.

The earliest known date for Somesvara Sovideva is *Kalacuri versa* 16, *Sarwdhari S., Vaisakha Purnima, Adityavara, Soma-grahana* = Sunday, March 24, 1168 A.D.² Another date for him is Sunday, July 27. 1169 A.D. He appears to have ascended the throne in 1166 A.D.³ The inscriptions of his reign are dated in his regnal years, which also support this date.⁴

He was ruling from his *nelevidu* Mangaliveda on Wednesday. September 18, 1168 A.D.⁵ and from Kalyani in 1172 A.D.⁶ Besides the paramount titles he adopted the *birudas* of *Bhujabalamalla* and *Rayamurari*, meaning respectively 'the powerful wrestler' and 'a very Visnu',⁷ His two queens, Savaladevi and Bavaladevi are known. A copper-plate inscription dated in *Saka* 1096=9th October, 1174 A.D. records a grant on the Occasion of the queen Bavaladevi singing a beautiful song when some important persons of his and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience hall. Savaladevi was also highly proficient in music and dancing and gave public performances⁸.

No historical event of any importance is mentioned in the records of his time; some of them record raids for cattle and young girls⁹ and violent skirmishes between some of the *dandanayakas*. There cannot be any truth in the claim of conquests of Gurjara, Kimmira, Khasa, Turuska, Kalinga, Cola, Cera, etc., made in some of the records.

The last known date for Sovideva according to an inscription is January 31, 1177 A.D.¹⁰ Another record has the date January 17, 1177 A.D.¹¹

Somesvara Sovideva was succeeded by his brother Sankamadeva in *Saka* 1099, *Hemalamba, Asadha vadya, Krsnarigarika caturdast* = Sunday, June 26, 1177 A.D. On this date Sankama was ruling from Kalyani and the *Mummuridandas* of Kurugodu, with the consent of the Sinda *Mahamandalesvara* Racamalla, built a temple and made a grant of land. The *Mummuridandas* are praised as "the bravest of the brave,

¹ *EI*. Vol. XXVIII, p. 26.

² *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 92.

³ *Karnataka Inscriptions* Vol. II, No. 25.

⁴ *ARASI*. 1936-37, Bk. No. 40 ; 1937-38' BK. No. 52 ; 1938-39, BE. No. 67 ; 53 ; 1940-41, Bk. No. 115 ; 117 ; *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 150.

⁵ *Ibid*. 1936-37, Bk. No. 37.

⁶ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 389 and 643.

⁷ *Bom, Gaz*, (Old Edn.), Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 484.

⁸ *Ibid*, *WC. CIT*

⁹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 236 ; Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 389.

¹⁰ *EC*. Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 498.

¹¹ *MASR*. 1929, No. 80.

protectors of the submissive, cruel to the wicked, good to the good and conquerors of powerful enemies." This inscription is set up in the *Basavesvara* temple, evidently dedicated to the god after the name of *Basava*. This shows the importance of *Basava*.¹ The *Mummuridandas* and the *Nakharas* are mentioned in another inscription dated 1176 A.D. of *Sovideva*.² He is also called *Sankhavarmadeva*. Whether his name was derived from *Sankha* in the *Tarkada-nadu* in former *Jath* state³ cannot be said. He had the *biruda* of *Nihsankamalla* 'the wrestler without apprehensions'. He had his capitals at *Kalyan*⁴ and *Mangaliveda*.⁵ No event of any historical importance of his reign is known. The disturbed political conditions are reflected in the several records of his reign which record death of certain persons in cattle raids or for the abduction of young girls and the fight between the *Dandanayakas* of the king. The claim of conquest of various countries are made in the traditional style with no truth whatsoever.

The last known date of *Sankama* from an inscription is January 5, 1183 A.D.⁶ It is difficult to accept that the *Hoysala* chief *Ballala II* was his feudatory as *Dr. Fleet* thinks⁷. From one record the name of one queen of *Sankama* is known as *Ramadevi*.⁸

During the reign of *Sankama* there was a fratricidal war between himself and his other brothers, who established themselves as independent kings in certain parts of the kingdom. His brother *Ahavamalla*, which sounds more like a *biruda*, claims to have been ruling as an independent king according to some inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated Monday, January 28, 1180 A.D.⁹ and the latest as November 26, 1182 A.D.,¹⁰ both of which fall in the reign of *Somesvara Sovideva*. From the regnal years given in his records it seems that *Ahavamalla* became independent in 1178 A.D.¹¹ *Ahavamalla's* inscriptions are found mostly in the *Sikarpur* taluka of the *Simoga* district and in the *Parasgad* taluka of the *Belganv* district. He had the *biruda* of *Rayanarayana*.

Singhana, another brother of *Sankama*, also appears to have become independent and ruled for a short time. An inscription of his reign dated Monday, August 30, 1182 A.D. gives him the title of *Maharaja-dhiraja*¹². Another *Kalacurya* prince called *Mallikarjuna* is known from an inscription dated Thursday, November 25, 1176. He is given

¹ *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 297.

² *Ibid.* No. 296.

³ *ARSIE*. 1940-41, Bk. No. 86.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 297.

⁵ *ARSIE* 1940-41, Bk. No. 89.

⁶ *ARSIE*. 1926-27, BK. No. 184.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.* (Old Edn.) Vol. I, pt. i, p. 488.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *EC*. Vol. VII, Sk. No. 144.

¹⁰ *E.C. Sk.* No. 245.

¹¹ *Ibid.* No. 158, 119.

¹² *IA*. Vol. IV, pp. 274b.

the title of *Pratapa-cakrawrti*.¹ There is nothing to accept the suggestion that he is the same as Mailugideva, who is mentioned in other inscriptions.²

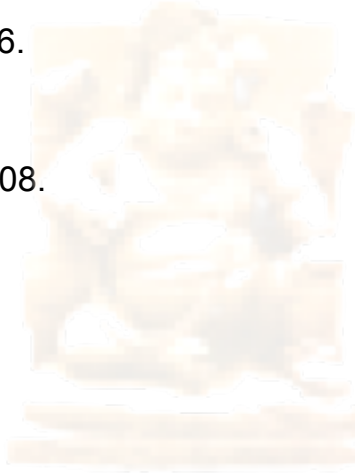
The revival of the Calukya power and the end of the Kalacuryas after Sovideva has been told earlier.

An inscription dated *Paridhavi, Phalguna Purnima*, Monday, a lunar eclipse, corresponding to November 20, 1192 A.D. (the details are not regular) speaks of a certain Vira Bijjaladeva, son of Raya Murari Sovideva.³ If at all he ruled as an independent king, it could have been only for a short while as in that year the Yadavas and the Hoysalas were fighting for supremacy in these regions and neither of them could have allowed this pretender to the Kalacurya sovereignty to persist in his claims for a long time.

¹ *ARSIE*. 1936-37, Bk. No. 96.

² *Ibid* p. 194.

³ *ARSIE*. 1940-41, Bk. No. 108.



CHAPTER 10

THE YADAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTER WE HAVE ALREADY NARRATED HOW THE YADAVA CHIEF BHILLAMA annihilated the power both of the Kalacuris and the later Calukyas and established his supremacy over a considerable part of the Deccan. Before we proceed with his subsequent career, we shall devote a few pages to the earlier history of his house when his ancestors were ruling over a small principality in the Deccan as feudatories, first of the Rastrakutas and then of the Later Calukyas.

The early history of the Yadavas is shrouded in considerable darkness. It has to be reconstructed largely from a *prasasti* of the dynasty composed by Hemadri in c. 1180 A.D. Being written in the last quarter of the 12th century, its information about the rulers of the 9th and the 10th centuries is naturally insufficient, and often inaccurate. This information can be, to some extent, checked by the genealogies and account given in the epigraphical records of the dynasty. We shall refer to or quote from the epigraphical records in our footnotes to this chapter.

The traditional genealogy of the Yadavas, as given by Hemadri, traces their descent from Visnu, the Creator through the Moon and Yadu who were his later descendants. The historian is naturally not much concerned with legendary personalities, who can be assigned neither a place nor a time. In due course the genealogy mentions one Subahu as a universal ruler with Dvaravata as his capital and we are told that Drdhaprahara, his second son, was the first to migrate to the south. The universal overlordship of Subahu is obviously mythical, but we may concede historicity to Drdhaprahara, his son, who seems to have carved out a small principality in Seunadesa¹ in c. 860 A.D.

The Yadava records naturally describe Dvaravati or Dvaraka, the capital of the Yadus from whom they claimed descent, as the original home of the family. No Kathiavad records, however, have so far disclosed any Yadava family near about Dvaraka. ruling in the 9th century A.D., nor do the actions or policies of the Yadavas show any anxiety to recover their patrimony or to establish any political or cultural connections with it in the heyday of their glory. The story

* This Chapter is contributed by late Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

¹ Seunadesa was a name given to the territory extending from the district of Nasik to Devagiri, Its original extent probably was smaller than this area. As the boundaries of the kingdom of the Yadavas, who called themselves as the rulers of Seunadega extended, the geographical limits of Seunadesa also became more extensive.

of the Jain tradition of how the mother of the founder of the family was saved by a Jain sage from the conflagration which consumed Dvaraka and how she later delivered a posthumous son,¹ has hardly any historical foundation. Some inscriptions from Dharwar district have recently disclosed the existence of some Yadava chiefs ruling there in the 9th century, which was the time of the rise of the Yadava family of Drdhaprahara. As, however, the name of none of the rulers mentioned by Hemadri or found in the Yadava genealogies occurs in them, we cannot possibly trace the original home of Drdhaprahara in Dharwar. The early patrimony of the family was in Nasik and Khandesa; their later capital Devagiri is in Maharashtra and Marathi literature flourished in their court in later times. We may, therefore, well presume that the original home of Drdhaprahara lay neither in Dvaraka in Kathiavad, nor in Dharwar in Karnataka, but somewhere in Khandesa or Nasik in Maharashtra to which their small patrimony was confined for a long time. Like the contemporary Hoysalas, they mentioned Dvaraka as their original home because they claimed descent from the Yadu race.

EARLY YADAVAS.

The early Yadavas were feudatories of the Rastrakutas, who were the rulers of the Deccan. It appears that Drdhaprahara and his son Seunacandra gave valuable military assistance to Amoghavarsa I and Krsna II in their wars with the Gurjara-Pratiharas and were awarded a fief in Nasik or Khandesa. Epigraphical evidence shows that Drdhaprahara (c. 860 to 880 A.D.)² founded the city of Candraditya-pura, modern Candor, 40 miles north-east of Nasik. But the *Vrata-khanda* mentions Srinagara or Sinnar as his capital. Seunacandra may be regarded as the real founder of the dynasty; for it is he who for the first time receives the feudatory titles in later inscriptions and records of the dynasty. He ruled from c. 880 to 900 A.D. His principality was a small one and did not extend much beyond Nasik district.

The next three rulers of the family, Dhadiyappa, Bhillama I and Rajiga or Sriraja are shadowy figures and may be presumed to have ruled during 900 to 950 A.D. Rajiga's son Vaddiga or Vandugi was married to princess Vohiyawa, a daughter of Dhorappa or Dhruva, a younger brother of the contemporary Rastrakuta emperor Krsna III. Vaddiga zealously participated in the hurricane campaigns of his uncle-in-law³ and we may well presume that the latter may have increased the Jagir of his martial son-in-law. In politics, however, blood relationships do not always count for much, for we find Bhillama II,⁴ son of Vaddiga, zealously championing the cause of the Calukya emperor Tailapa, who overthrew the Rastrakuta empire. He compelled, says a verse in his own record, 'the Goddess of Royalty to remain as a chaste wife in the house of Ranaraga Tailapa II'. Bhillama also helped Taila in his protracted war against

¹ I.A. XII, pp 119-24.

² The date of Drdhaprahara is approximately determined from the known contemporaneity of one of his descendants to Krsna III (c. 938 A. D.), the famous Bastrakuta emperor.

³ See Bassein grant, I. A. XII 119 of Kalas Budruk records ; I. A. XVII, p. 117, Hemadri also concurs with this view, v. 22.

⁴ Bhillama's wife Laksmi was also a Rastrakuta princess. E. 6. Bhandarkar's view that her father Jhanja was the Silahara prince of that name is untenable, for we know that latter flourished between c. 910 and 930 A.D.

the Paramara ruler Munja. As a reward for his help portions of Ahmadnagar district were added to his fief by Taila. Bhillama II is the earliest Yadava ruler known so far from his own grant. His Sangamner copper plate, issued in 1000 A.D. records a grant in favour of the temple of Vijayabharanesvara erected at Sangamner in Ahmadnagar district. Vijayabharana was a new title adopted by Bhillama and the deity was named after it. Bhillama ruled from c. 980 to 1005 A.D.

The next ruler Vesugi is a shadowy figure; his queen Nayilladevi was a Calukya princess from Gujarat¹. Bhillama III, who succeeded him,² (c. 1025 to 1045 A.D.), is known from the Kalas Budruk grant issued by him in 1026 A.D. He was a brother-in-law of Ahavamalla, his feudal lord, his wife Hamma. being the latter's sister; this must have increased his prestige. He offered help to the Calukyas in their wars with Bhoja. The next two rulers Vadugi and Bhillama IV are mentioned only in Hemadri's genealogy but omitted in the inscriptions. During their short rule of about 20 years, the Yadava house suffered an eclipse; for Seunacandra II the next king, whose relationship with his predecessors is not mentioned, is described as the rescuer of the fortunes of his family, as Hari was of the earth. He is known from his own grant, the Bassein plates issued in 1069 A.D.³. Seunacandra II was a skilful diplomat; in the struggle for the throne that was going on in the imperial Calukya family, he could correctly judge that Vikrama-ditya, though the younger brother, would succeed against his eldest brother Somesvara II. He threw in his lot with the former and helped him to win the throne. His crown prince Erammadeva or Paranma-deva co-operated with him in securing the throne for Vikramaditya VI, as suggested by the evidence of the Asvi inscription. Some idea of the growing importance of Seunacandra can be obtained from the circumstance of his Waghli inscription referring to one of his feudatories, Govindaraja of the Maurya lineage. The reign of Seunacandra II may be placed during c. 1065 to 1085 and that of his son Erammadeva during c. 1085 to 1105. The latter was succeeded by his brother Simharaja, who is credited with having helped his feudal lord Vikramaditya to complete his Karpuravrata by procuring a Karpura elephant for him.

Yadava history becomes obscure during the 50 years, from c. 1125 to 1175 A. D. Simharaja's son and successor Mallugi is credited with the capture of the fort of Parnakheta, probably Palkhed in Akola district. Hemadri's *prasasti* mentions Amaragangeya, Garudaraja (relationship not given), Amaramallugi, another son of Mallugi, and Kaliyaballala (relationship not stated) as the next rulers. We are further informed that the sons of Kaliyaballala could not succeed him as his uncle Bhillama superseded them. In addition to these rulers, epigraphic evidence shows⁴ that a Yadava prince named Seunacandra was ruling in Nasik district in 1142 A.D., but his relationship to any of

¹ Between Vaddiga and Bhillama II, a ruler named Dhadiyasa had intervened, but his precise relationship to Bhillama is uncertain. He may have been his elder brother. His name is omitted in epigraphs.

² Her father Gogi ruled in Lata or Southern Gujarat, I.A. XII p. 200. He cannot be identified with the Silahara prince Goggi as he flourished two generations earlier.

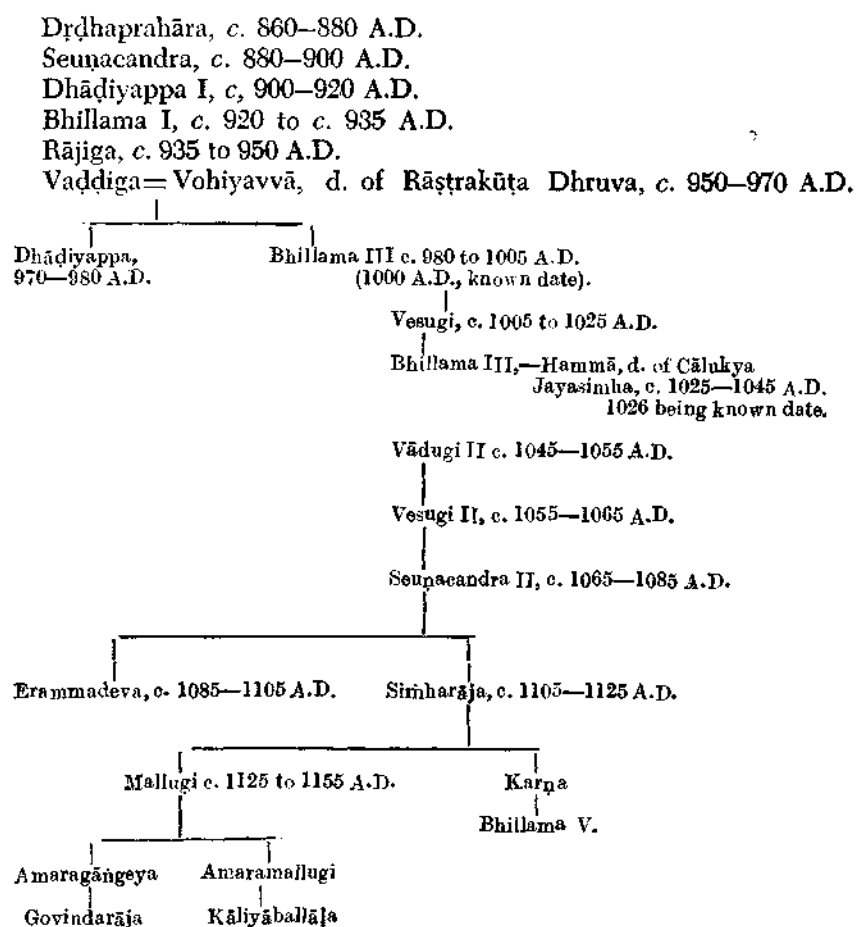
³ Hemadri does not really refer to any ruler between Vesugi and Bhillamma III. Arjuna is introduced merely as an object of comparison in v. 29 of the *Prasasti*.

⁴ Anjaneri Inscription, I.A., XII, p. 126.

the above four rulers is not known. Probably he belonged to a collateral branch, for Mallugi seems to have ruled from c. 1120 to 1155 A.D., as his general Dada and the latter's son Mahidhara are described as terror to the army of the Kalacuri upstart Bijjana. Mallugi seems to have sided with his sovereign Taila III in his war with Bijjana. Govindaraja of unknown pedigree, who ruled between the reign of Amaragangeya and Amaramallugi, the two sons of Mallugi, was probably an upstart. The same may have been the case with Kaliya-ballala, who succeeded Amaramallugi.

While these weak rivals were contending against one another, Bhillama V appeared on the scene and snatched the throne for himself. A contemporary record describes him as the son of Karna¹, but Hemadri, who wrote a hundred years later, states that he was an uncle of Ballala. Probably the term uncle is used rather loosely, and Karna, the father of Bhillama V, may have been the son not of Mallugi, but of a brother of his.

We give below the genealogy and chronology of the early Yadava rulers.



(¹) Anjane ri Inscription, *I. A.*, XII, p. 126.

BHILLAMA.

We have stated above that the accession of Bhillama took place in c. 1175 A.D. Some of his records¹ however indicate that 1183-84 A.D. was the first year of his reign, while others show² that it was 1187-88. It is likely that the former of the above years is the date of his over-throw of Ballala and the latter, of his assumption of the imperial titles by the defeat of the Calukyas and the Kalacuris. C. 1175 would mark the commencement of his career as a ruler in the new principality that he carved at the beginning of his career.

A number of political feats have been ascribed to Bhillama V by Hemadri; others are referred to by the records issued by him or his successors. All these exploits cannot be accommodated in the short space of four or eight years. Bhillama was either a son or a nephew of Mallugi, who died in c. 1170. We may, therefore, assume that Bhillama started his career soon after his death, but first proceeded to carve out a principality outside the ancestral Yadava kingdom, so as to avoid conflict with his cousins. And times were favourable for this step; because the Kalacuri kingdom was torn with internal dissensions, as we have seen already.

Very probably Bhillama began his career by conquering the fort of Srivardhana and storming the fort of Pratyantagada (Pracandagada or Torna). He then proceeded southwards and killed the local ruler at Mangalvedhe in Solapur district.³ These feats made him the ruler of portions of Poona, Solapur, and Ratnagiri districts. Bhillama's self-acquired kingdom had thus become much larger than the ancestral patrimony of his cousins in Khandes. When incessant conflict between the contending brothers and cousins and upstarts began to produce a chaos in the ancestral Yadava kingdom in Nasik Bhillama intervened and setting aside all the weak contendants, he ascended the throne himself. This he probably did in 1184 A.D., which is given as the first year of his reign by some records.

Bhillama is definitely known to have fought against the Gurjaras and the Malavas as also against the Kalacuris and the Hoysalas. It appears likely that he spent the first few years after his usurpation in his wars in the north. His Muttugi record, dated 1189 A.D., describes him as 'a severe pain in the head of the Malavas and the dread roar of a cloud to the swan flocks, the Gurjaras.' His wars against these two powers⁴ may be placed between 1184-88 A.D.

The situation in Gujarat and Malva was at this time favourable for an outside invader. Mularaja, the contemporary Calukya ruler, was a mere child and Vindhya-varman, the Paramara king, had just succeeded in rescuing his province from the domination of the Calukyas. His struggle with the Calukyas, though successful, had weakened him. And both kingdoms were also apprehending Muslim invasion from the north.

¹ A.S. I. A. R., 1930-34, p. 224,

² E.C. Muttugi inscription, *E.I.* XV, p. 37 ; *I. A.*, IV, p. 274.

³ Hemadri's *prasasti*, v. 38.

⁴ These are also referred to in a Patan inscription, *E. I.*, I, p. 341 and in the *Suktimuktavali* v. 12 General Jalhana was the right-hand man of Bhillama in these campaigns.

There is no doubt that Bhillama invaded both Malva and Gujarat, and penetrated right up to Marvad ; for a record of the Cahamana king Kelhana of Naddula in Jodhpur state, claims to have defeated Bhillama¹. Bhillama's invasion was however a mere raid, and he returned home from Marvad as he was far away from his base and was meeting with stubborn opposition.

The claim of the Muttugi record that Bhillama had defeated the kings of Anga (Bhagalpur), Vanga (Bengal), Pancala (Rohilkhand) and Nepala is probably a mere boast; there is so far no evidence to show that his armies had ever gone to the east of Malva or to the north of Marvad.

The daring and successful raid into Marvad across Malva and Gujarat must have inspired Bhillama with a new confidence in his powers and he must have decided to make a bid for the imperial position in the Deccan, for which a struggle was going on between the Kalacuris, the Calukyas and the Hoysalas. The details of this conflict have been already given elsewhere and need not be repeated. Somesvara, the last Calukya king, had to face a Hoysala invasion from the south and a Yadava attack from the north. His Brahmana general had scored a victory over the Hoysala king Viraballala on an earlier occasion and so he probably decided to measure his strength against him first. The elephant phalanx of his army was however outmanoeuvred by the swift cavalry divisions of the Hoysalas and Somesvara was completely routed. He had not the guts to reorganise his forces and offer a fresh resistance. He returned to Jayantipur or Banavasi and lived there a precarious existence with the assistance of his Kadamba feudatory Kamadeva down to 1189 A.D.

Bhillama V intervened in the struggle probably just at this time. He found the whole field open before him. He marched forward and occupied Kalyani, the Calukya capital, before Viraballala's victorious army could occupy that city². He then proceeded southwards and attacked Viraballala. Though the latter's forces were flushed with success, they were routed out by Bhillama and were pursued right up to Hassan district in Mysore State. Hemadri's claim that Bhillama killed the king of the Hoysalas is unfounded, if it refers to Viraballala himself, for he is known to have ruled down to c. 1220.

Probably a collateral scion of the Hoysala royal family fell in this battle. Periya Sahana, the commander-in-chief of the cavalry divisions who had taken a leading part in the campaign, was put in charge of the conquered districts. Some of Bhillama's records show that he started a new reckoning of his regnal years from 1187 A.D. This year may be the year of his occupation of Kalyani and the victory over Viraballala.

Kalyani, the Calukya capital, was too near the Hoysala frontier. We, therefore find Bhillama transferring the capital to the new fort

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E. I., IX, p. 77. 1165 and 1192 A. D. are the earliest and the latest dates of Kelhana.

² Hoysala records do not claim for Ballala the conquest of Kalyani, while Hemadri expressly credits Bhillama with the storming of the Calukya capital (V. 38).

city of Devagiri, which was more centrally situated and was in the heart of Maharashtra. Hemadri expressly mentions Bhillama as the founder of Devagiri and a record of his successor, dated 1196 A.D., described the city as the capital of the new empire¹.

Viraballala was not disheartened by his defeat. He decided to make a fresh bid for the hegemony of the Deccan and managed to reconquer Banavasi and Nalambavadi within a couple of years. Bhillama realised the significance of the new move and marched down to meet the invader in Dharwar district with a strong force, of 200,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry². We find him encamped in Dharwar district in June 1191. Soon after this date the two contending armies met in a fateful battle near Soratur in Dharwar district and Bhillama was completely defeated in it. He had to beat a hasty retreat from the battle field where a large number of his soldiers perished. His general Jaitrapala tried to stem the tide of victory by defending the fort of Lokkigundi (Lokkundi) ; he was defeated and killed in battle. Ballala captured a number of forts like Yelburga, Gutti and Belattage and occupied all the territory to the south of the Krsna. and the Malaprabha.³ Bhillama died towards the end of 1191 A.D. probably due to a broken heart⁴.

The tragic end of Bhillama should not however blind us to his greatness as a warrior and statesman. He was a self-made man. He managed to carve out a small kingdom for himself in portions of Poona, Solapur and Ratnagiri districts, almost unaided. He managed to penetrate right up to Marwad in one of his daring raids. He intervened in the struggle for the supremacy of the Deccan just at the right moment and frustrated the plans of the Hoysalas to conquer Kalyani and became the emperors of the Deccan. His armies succeeded in occupying the Raicur Doab for some time. It is true that he was overthrown at the end. But his armies were defeated and not annihilated; for Viraballala did not dare to cross the Krsna and attack either Kalyani or Devagiri. To conclude, like most other founders of empires, Bhillama was a soldier, a statesman and a man of tact and vision.

Before concluding, we may refer to an interesting story narrated in *Prthviraja-raso* of king Prthviraja carrying away in a *svayamvara*, Sasivrata, daughter of the Yadava king Bhanu of Devagiri, who had fallen in love with him, but whom her father wanted to wed to somebody else. Prthviraja was a contemporary of Bhillama, and Yadava king Bhanu of Devagiri mentioned by Canda Bhardai may well have been Bhillama. But until more substantial evidence becomes available, it will be difficult to state whether Bhillama was really a father-in-law of Prthviraja Cauhana.

¹ A. S. I, A. R., 1929-30, p. 170.

² E. C, XI, Dg. No. 25 ; The *Vyamharaganita* gives an interesting example based upon the fate of the soldiers of the cavalry force of 12,000 ; I. H. Q. IV, p. 127.

³ E. I., XIII, p. 176.

⁴ The claim of a Hoysala record that the head of Bhillama, was made a grind stone for his sword by Ballala (E. C, VI, Belur No. 771) would suggest that the Yadava king was killed on the battle field. But this record is dated in 1198, and the Gadag inscription, dated in 1192 A.D. and so issued immediately after the battle, states that the Hoysaja king had killed Jaitrasimha in action. It is silent about the fate of Bhillama, which would not have been the case, if he had really been killed in action the year before.

JAITUGI.

Bhillama was succeeded by his son Jaitugi towards the end of 1191 A.D. The situation at his accession was very critical, for the Hoysala ruler Ballala was expected to follow up his victories by a march against Kalyani and Devagiri. Jaitugi however so reorganised his forces that Ballala did not venture beyond the Krsna-Mala-prabha line, which was tacitly accepted as the boundary between the Yadava and Hoysala kingdom by the two parties.

The Kakatiyas of Warrangal were the feudatories of the Later Calukyas. But they had not transferred their allegiance to the Yadavas. Nay, the Kakatiya king Rudra exploited the defeat of Bhillama by the Hoysalas by sending an expedition into the Yadava kingdom under his brother Mahadeva.¹ When the affairs on the Krsna front became settled down by c. 1194, Jaitugi retaliated by a hurricane invasion of the Kakatiya kingdom, in which king Rudra was killed² and his nephew Ganapati, son of Mahadeva, was taken captive. Mahadeva continued the resistance with the assistance of his Raserla general Rudra, but he also was killed in battle³. For a time, the Kakatiya kingdom was completely occupied by the Yadavas, but following the usual policy recommended in Hindu works of polity, Jaitugi restored it to Ganapati who was a captive with him, in c. 1198 A.D.⁴ on the condition of behaving as a loyal feudatory. Ganapati kept that promise for a long time. Sankara, who figures as General and Premier of Jaitugi in a Bijapur record⁵ of 1196, probably played an important role in the campaign against the Kakatiyas and was rewarded with the fief of Tardevadi 1000. Jaitugi had other able military officers under him; his northern frontier was vigilantly watched by the able Nikumbha brothers with their headquarters in Khandes. It may be passingly mentioned that Laksmidhara, a son of Bhaskaracarya, the famous astronomer, was a court poet of Jaitugi.

One epigraph credits Jaitugi with victories over the Pandyas, the Colas, the Malavas, the Latas, the Gurjaras, the Turuskas, and the kings of Pancala and even Nepala⁶. Most of these victories seem to be more imaginary than real. It is however possible that some frontier skirmishes may have occurred between the Yadavas and their northern neighbours, in Malva and Gujarat, in which victory may have lain on the side of Jaitugi. But his armies never penetrated deep into Malva or Gujarat and could hardly have seen the frontiers either of Pancala or of Nepala.

Epigraphs give conflicting dates about the end of the reign of Jaitugi. But it appears most probable that his son Singhana succeeded him in 1210 A.D.⁷ The dates 1197 and 1207, suggested by some

¹ Garavapada inscription, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 351.

² Hemadri's *praiasti*, v. 41. *Raudrasya* in the verse is a mistake for *Rudrasya*.

³ Palampet record, *Hy. Arc. Sur.*, Vol. III.

⁴ 1198 works out to be the initial year of the long reign of Ganapati. A contemporary record shows that he was actually ruling in 1203 A.D., *Corpus of Telingana Inscriptions*, p. 40.

⁵ Referred to in *B. G.*, I. p. 521.

⁶ This date is supported by Kadkal record, *I.A.*, XII, p. 100 and Kuptaru and Elevata inscriptions, *E. C.*, VIII, Sorab Nos. 250 and 402.

⁷ Mangoli inscription, *E. I.*, Vol. p. 53.

Records¹ as the initial year of the reign of Singhana may probably refer to his participation in the administration as a *de facto* and *de jure* Yuvaraja.

SINGHANA. (1210-1247).²

Singhana, who was the next ruler of the dynasty, had received long and valuable training in administration under his father. For more than ten years, he had acted as crown prince and had taken active part in shaping and carrying out the policy of the State. His creditable share³ in the successful operations against the Kakatiyas had aroused his military ambition. He was determined to curb the power of the turbulent feudatories and to avenge the defeat inflicted on his house by the Hoysalas. He turned out to be the ablest emperor and the most powerful general of his dynasty; under his stewardship, the Yadava empire reached the zenith of its prestige and became as extensive as the old Calukya Empire. He fully deserved the title *praudhapratapacakravartin*, which is given to him in his records.

Campaign against the Hoysalas.

We have seen above that the Krsna-Malaprabha line had become the boundary between the Yadava and the Hoysala kingdom as a result of the crushing defeat inflicted on the Yadavas at Soratur.

Singhana had already crossed this border in 1206, defeated king Ballala, annexed a part of Bijapur district and put his general Kesavadasa in its charge⁴. After his accession he continued the war with redoubled energy. He himself directed the military operations and wrested away the districts of Dharwar, Anantpur, Bellary, Cital-durga and Simoga from the Hoysalas and annexed them to his kingdom⁵. *Sarvadhikari* Mayideva was appointed the governor of the new territory⁶: We find him succeeded by Venka Ravuta, an officer hailing from Karhad, in 1222 A.D. Inscriptions of Yadava rulers down to the time of the last king Ramacandra refer to a number of Yadava feudatories or imperial officers ruling in this territory; it is clear that it became a part and parcel of the Yadava kingdom and that Hoysalas reconciled themselves to its loss.

Annexation of *Kolhapur* and *Saundatti*.

The campaign against the Hoysalas came to an end by c. 1215 A.D. Then there was a conflict with the Silaharas of Kolhapur. As usual the cause of this war was the imperial ambition of the opposing rulers. Bhoja's father Vijayaditya had played the role of the king-maker when he had helped Bijjala to oust Taila III. This naturally aroused imperial ambition in his son Bhoja (c. 1175-1216 A.D.⁷). Emboldened by the reverses of the Yadavas at the

¹ 1197 is suggested by a record noticed in *A. S. 1. A. R.*, 1928-29 p. 172 and 1207 by another noticed, *ibid*, at p. 175. 1196 is the latest known date of Jaitugi noticed in *B. G. I.* p. 521, n. 3.

² Tasgany plates, v. 5 marks the interesting disclosure that Singhana was so named because he was regarded as a favour of the goddess Narasimhi of Parnakheta; *S. M. H. D.* III, p. 12.

³ A few late records credit him with cutting the head of one Telanga king and putting another on the throne (Munoli Inscr., *I. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, 42, Chikka Sakuna Inscr., *M. A. S. R.*, 1929, p. 143). This is obviously due to his having co-operated with his father in the operations against Mahadeva.

⁴ *S. I. E. R.*, 1927-28 ; appendix E, No. 264.

⁵ See Gadag inscr., *I. A.*, p. 297, *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 221, 224, 227, 309, 376 ; *S. I. I.*, IX, Nos. 363-67.

⁶ *E. O.*, VII, Sk. No. 97 ; *HI.* Nos. 44, 49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, *HI.* No. 20.

hands of the Hoysalas in 1178 A.D., he assumed imperial titles like *Paramabhattaraka*, *Rajadhiraja* and *Pascimacakravarti*¹ and appears to have attacked the Yadavas when their armies were engaged in sanguinary operations against the Kakatiyas and the Hoysalas. Singhana decided not to tolerate the existence of a feudatory who was entertaining imperial ambitions and had proved himself to be a thorn in his side. He attacked Kolhapur, the capital of Bhoja, in 1216 and captured it. Bhoja fled to the fort Parnala (modern Panhala), but the fort was besieged and Bhoja was taken into captivity. Singhana annexed the entire Silahara kingdom in 1217 A.D.² for Gandaraditya, the eldest son of Bhoja is not referred to as a king in any later Silahara records. On the other hand Yadava records make their appearance at Kolhapur, from 1218 ; the earliest of them refers to the erection of a gate in front of the temple of Ambabai by an officer of Singhana.³

Not far from Kolhapur was a small Ratta principality ruling at Saundatti. It was also annexed by Singhana soon after 1228 A.D., which is the last known date of its last ruler Laksmideva II.

Relations with the Kakatiyas.

Ganapati, the Kakatiya ruler who had been reinstated on his paternal throne in the earlier reign, had a long reign of more than sixty years. He continued to be loyal to the Yadava overlords and participated in their Gujarat wars⁴. Later on Ganapati considerably expanded his kingdom in the south and once penetrated right up to Kanci. But this southern expansion of his kingdom did not provoke any jealousy in the mind of his overlord; on the whole the two continued to be on cordial terms, inspite of occasional frontier skirmishes⁵.

Conflict with the Paramaras and the Calukyas.

For more than thirty years after the raid of Bhillama V into Gujarat and Malva in c. 1185, no hostility had broken between these powers. The Yadavas were busy at their southern frontier and the Calukyas and Paramaras were facing the Muslim onslaught. When Calukyas received a serious blow from Qutb-ud-din Aibak in 1194 A.D., the Paramara king Subhatavarman invaded Gujarat, obviously as a revenge for the wanton invasion of Malva by the Calukyas half a century earlier. Bhima was unable to withstand the attack and Subhatavarman was successful in compelling Simha, king of Lata ruling at Broach, to transfer his allegiance to him. Subhatavarman next marched to the Gujarat capital, which fell before his attack. He had however to soon relinquish it at the approach of relieving forces under Lavanaprasada, a minister of Bhima. Subhatavarman however could not be driven from southern Gujarat, whose ruler Simha continued to be the feudatory both of Subhatavarman and his successor Arjunavarman (c. 1210—1217 A.D.)⁶.

¹ I.A., X, p. 256, see also Graham, *Kolhapur*, p. 397 for a record where Bhoja calls himself Vikrama of Kali Age.

² S. M. H. D., III, p. 19.

³ E. C, VIII, Sb. No. 135, dated 1217 A.D. refers to Singhana as Vajra or thunderbolt to the Parnala, fort.

⁴ A record of Ganapati, dated 1228, refers to his defeat of the Latas. This must obviously refer to the Gujarat campaign of his overlord Singhana, in which he might have participated. *Corpus Telingana Inscriptions*, p. 52.

⁵ I. A., XXI, p. 200.

⁶ E. I. VIII, p. 103.

Such was the political situation in Malva and Gujarat, when elated by his signal victories in the south, Singhana decided to start a northern expedition. It is not improbable that some hostile action may have been initiated by Arjunavarman, because his queen Sarvakala was a Hoysala princess, and it is but natural that the son-in-law could not have remained a passive spectator, when Shighana was delivering blows after blows to his father-in-law. Whatever the real cause may have been, we find Singhana invading Malva in 1216. His attack was successful and his opponent Arjunavarman seems to have died on the battle field. His short reign is seen terminating at about 1217 and Hemadri claims that Singhana killed him on the battle field¹. After breaking the power of the Paramaras, Singhana marched against Simha, king of Lata. The latter was no match against the invader and retransferred his allegiance to the Calukya Bhima in order to secure the help of his powerful minister Lavanaprasada against the southern invader. The drama *Hammiramadamardana* which refers to this alliance,² is however silent about the events that followed it. The *Kirtikaumudi*, however states that Lavanaprasada compelled Shighana to retire³. No date however is mentioned, and so we do not know whether the expulsion of the forces of Singhana refers to his invasion of 1216 A.D. It is not impossible that Singhana being satisfied with his achievement in Malva, may have retired after a mere show of force in southern Gujarat. It may have been a mere reconnoitering expedition, or it may be that the tired Yadava army was really compelled to retire by the joint forces of Simha and Lavanaprasada. This expedition of Singhana was over by the spring of 1218 A.D., for a record in Mysore is seen proclaiming his victories in Gujarat and Malva to his Canarese subjects as early as September 1218 A.D.⁴

Singhana launched a fresh attack on Lata in 1220 A.D. Kholesvara, a Brahmana general hailing from Vidarbha, was put in charge of the expedition. On this occasion, Sirhha had to face the invasion single-handed ; the Paramara power had been broken and Jayantasirhha, the usurper at Anahilavad, was not interested in lending support to Sirhha, who was changing his allegiance so frequently. Both Sirhha and his brother Sindhuraja were killed on the battle field and the latter's son Sangramasimha alias Sankha, was taken prisoner. Broach fell in the hands of Singhana, but he did not annex the Lata kingdom. He soon released Sangramasimha from captivity and allowed him to rule as his feudatory. This second Gujarat expedition of Singhana probably came to a successful end in c. 1223⁵.

¹ It may however be pointed out that some doubt arises on this point because the Bahala inscription, dated soon after the event (1222 A.D.), refers only to the defeat of Arjunavarman, and not to his death on the battle field.

² Act I, v. 13.

³ *Daksinah ksonpalopi ghanasainyolpavikramo hyena tadviparitena parityajati vighram*, II, 75.

⁴ E. C, VIII, Sk. No. 91.

⁵ Ambe inscription, dated 1228 A.D., mentions the killing of Simha. We may therefore place the invasion a few years earlier.

Sahgramasimha remained steadfastly loyal to Singhana and sought to extend his fief with the latter's support. He demanded the restoration of Cambay from Lavanaprasada and twice organised expeditions to capture it¹. Vastupala, who was appointed the governor of this port, refused to surrender it. His position was rather critical; the Gurjara dominion was at this time being threatened by the Muslims from the north. Vastupala, however, was able to beat back the invading forces²; we do not know whether they contained any battalions sent by Sangramasimha's overlord Singhana. The precise date of this event is not known, but we may not be wrong in placing it at about 1225 A.D.

The history of these events has to be mainly reconstructed from poetic works like *Vasantavilasa*, *Kirtikaumudi* and *Hammiramada-mardana*; they are more poetic than historical and do not give us any dates. The data given in the last work, however, suggest that a fresh attempt was made by Sangramasimha to gain his objective with the help of the Yadava ruler Singhana and the Parmara ruler Devapala. A coalition between Devapala and Singhana looks *prima facie* improbable, but we should not forget that in politics enemies of yesterday often become friends of today owing to changed circumstances.

The joint invasion of three powers created consternation in Cambay; and the population began to flee. Being perhaps not sure that he would defeat the combined forces of the allies, Lavanaprasada, who was leading the defence, sought to create dissensions in the enemy camp. He had recourse to a clever ruse. One of his spies, who had succeeded in securing service under Devapala, managed to steal one of his horses, which was branded with its master's name. Another spy offered it to Sangramasimha as a present from his ally Devapala. A third spy forged a letter, which was contrived to fall in the hands of Singhana. This letter referred to Devapala's present of the horse to Sangramasimha and assured him that he would attack Singhana in the rear, as soon as he entered Gujarat, so that Sangramasimha may get an opportunity to avenge the death of his brother, who had fallen at the hands of Singhana. How far this story given by contemporary poets is historical, we do not know. It appears that Singhana began to doubt the sincerity of his allies. Lavanaprasada also was threatened with an invasion from the north and made overtures for peace, which were not unwelcome to Singhana, who had now become suspicious of his allies. A treaty of mutual help and non-aggression was formed between Singhana and Lavanaprasada the text of which was probably not very different from the sample treaty between these two rulers preserved in the *Lekhapaddhati* (p. 52). The statement in the *Kirtikaumudi* (IV 13) that Singhana did not dare to penetrate further into Gujarat though Lavanaprasada withdrew his forces to attack the northern enemies, because the deer are afraid to traverse the path once trodded by the lion, need not be taken seriously. Singhana

¹ *Vasantavilasa*, Cant. V.

² *Vasantavilasa*, Cant. V and *Kirtikaumudi*, Cant. V describe the victory of Vastupala no doubt in the poetic manner.

was probably satisfied with his booty and the formal recognition of his protectorate over Lata. He therefore returned to his capital in 1231 A.D.

A few years later, probably in c. 1240 A.D., Singhana launched a fresh attack upon Gujarat, which was entrusted to Rama, the son of Kholesvara. Visaladeva, who had succeeded Lavanaprasada fiercely contested the crossing of the Narmada and the general Rama was killed in the action¹.

Probably this must have necessitated a retreat of the Yadava forces and we may well presume that the victory lay with the Gurjara chief².

Invasion of Northern India.

Hemadri claims that Singhana had captured an elephant corps of king Jajalla and deprived king Kakkula of his sovereignty. A Patana record, dated as early as 1206 A.D., states that kings of Mathura and Banaras felt the sting of the Yadava power³. These claims appear to be rather tall, but they have recently received some slight support by the discovery of a small hoard of five gold coins in Raigarh⁴ State in 1946, three of which were of Singhana and one of Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-1266 A.D.)⁵. It is not unlikely that Pratapamalla, the last known Cedi ruler of Chattisgarh, may have been succeeded by Jajalla III, who may have acknowledged the suzerainty of Singhana.

It is not unlikely that Kakkula, mentioned by Hemadri, may have been a hitherto unknown ruler of that name, ruling at Tripuri⁶. In that case we shall have to assume that the kingdom of both Daksina Kosala and Cedi came within the Yadava sphere of influence for some time. We cannot be certain whether the rulers of Mathura and Kasi were overthrown and a Muslim ruler was defeated by the Yadava forces. It is not unlikely that with his base at Tripuri or Jubblepore, Singhana may have raided into the Muslim dominions. More convincing evidence will be necessary before these claims can be accepted as historically true. It is not impossible that the verse in the Patana record may be referring to some refugee rulers from Banaras and Mathura, who had settled down in Bundelkhand and carved small principalities there⁷. The claim of some Yadava records⁸ that either Singhana or his general Kholesvara, Rama or Bicana had defeated kings of Sindh, Pancala, Bengal, Bihar, Kerala and Pandya may be dismissed as mostly imaginary.

¹ Ambe inscr., A. S. W. I., III, p. 85.

² A Gurjara record describes Visaladeva as the submarine fire to the ocean of the army of Singhana, (I. A., VI, p. 212).

³ *Prthviso Mathuradhipo ranabhuvu Kasipatih patitah, yenasavapi yasya bhrtya-batuna Hammiraviro jitah*, E. I. I, p. 340.

⁴ J. N. S. I., VIII, p. 146.

⁵ The 5th coin was illegible.

⁶ We have to add that at this time in Karnatak also there was a ruler named Kakkula M. A. S. R., 1929, p. 142. Can he be Kakkula of Hemadri ?

(Kakara was a mighty ruler of Varata. This country was situated in the South, probably to the North of Mysore. See E.I., Vol. XXV, p. 203 V. V. M.).

⁷ Just as the Guttas of Dharwar and the Yadavas of Devagiri called themselves as rulers of Ujjayini and Dvaravati respectively, though they did not rule over these places, so also these refugee rulers may have called themselves rulers of Kasi and Mathura, from which they had emigrated.

⁸ E.g. Manoli inscr., 1222 A. D., J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, p. 4, Behatti plates, *ibid.*, p. 44.

Singhana received valuable assistance in his conquests from two generals, Kholesvara and Bicanar. The former, a Brahmana by caste, was his right-hand man in his northern expeditions. Bicana was Vaisya, who has been compared to Yama in destruction and Visnu-gupta in political intelligence. He kept the Rattas and Kadarhbas under control and took prominent part in the later wars against the Hoysalas; he is credited to have planted a column of victory on the Kaveri. He was rewarded with the governorship over Karnatak.

The Yadava power reached its zenith during the reign of Singhana. Neither the Hoysalas nor the Kakatiyas, neither the Paramaras nor the Calukyas could think of challenging its supremacy in the Deccan. Each of these powers was attacked by Singhana and defeated. Narmada became the northern boundary of the Yadava empire from Broach right up to Jubblepore. Chattisgadh was included under its sphere of influence. The whole of Madhya Pradesh and the Western part of the Ex-Hyderabad State were included in it. Maha-rastra, and northern Mysore were its integral parts. It is a pity that with such a big empire under his control, Singhana wasted its resources in endless wars with his northern and southern neighbours. History of the Deccan would have taken a different turn, if Singhana could have risen above the traditions of his age and formed a big Deccan federation to oppose the impending southern advance of the Muslim invaders. Instead of doing this, Singhana proceeded, on more than one occasion, to stab his northern neighbours in the back when they were bleeding as a result of Muslim onslaught.

Like many other warrior kings, Singhana was also a patron of letters. Cangadeva and Anantadeva, two famous astrologers, flourished in his court. The former, who was the grandson of Bhaskaracarya, founded an astrological college and the latter wrote commentaries on *Brahmasphutasiddhanta* of Brahmagupta and *Brhajataka* of Varaha-mihira. *Sangitaratnakara* of Sarngadeva¹ was probably written in his court; king Simha, who has written a commentary on this work, is however not Singhana, but a chief of the Lacherla family ruling in Andhra country. Singhana's long reign came to an end either in November or December of 1246². His son Jaitugi, who was acting as Yuvaraja in 1229 A.D.³ had predeceased him, and so he was succeeded by the former's son Krsna.

KRISHNA (1246 to 1260.).

Soon after his accession, Krsna launched an attack against the Paramaras, whose power had been completely eclipsed by the capture of Bhilsa and Ujjayini by Iltumush in 1235. It is a tragedy that instead of making a common cause with the Paramara ruler Jaitugi-deva against the common northern foe, Krsna should have stabbed him in the back. This attack was the first military venture of

¹ The father of Sarngadeva, Sodhala, was a Kashmiri emigrant in the Deccan and held the post of Chief Secretary under Singhana.

² S. J. I., No. 367.

³ See E. C., VII, Sk. No. 217 and 8. I. E. S., 1926, c. p. 426, which show that 2nd November 1248 fell in the 2nd year of Krsna's reign, but that 25th December fell in his 3rd year.

Krsna, since Yadava records refer to the Malava victory as early as 1250 A.D.

After his victory over the Paramaras, Krsna invaded southern Gujarat and attacked Visaladeva. Each side claims victory in this war¹. Probably only inconclusive frontier skirmishes occurred in which either side may have obtained some temporary advantage over the other.

Soon after 1252 A.D., the kingdom of Ganapati, the Kakatiya feudatory was attacked by Jatavarman Sundara Pandya². Krsna's general Bicana was sent to help Ganapati and he stemmed the invasion. Bicana and his elder brother Mallisetti were the mainstay of the Yadava administration; the latter rose to the position of Sarva-dhikari or Premier and was succeeded by his son Camundaraya. Laksmidhara and his son Jahlana, who hailed from Khandes, were among other trusted ministers. Jahlana was a skilful leader of the elephant phalanx ; he was also a man of literary taste and is the author of an anthology named *Suktimuktavali*. Another important work written at this time is *Vedantakalpataru* of Amalananda, which is a commentary on the *Bhamati*.

Krsna had no grown up son at the time of his accession ; his brother Mahadeva was functioning as Yuvaraja as early as 1250 A.D.³ The relation between the two brothers is described like that between Rama and Lakshmana. Krsna had a son named Ramacandra, but he was probably too young to ascend the throne at the time of his father's death in 1260 A.D.⁴ The crown passed to the younger brother Mahadeva, who may perhaps have assured his dying brother that Ramacandra would ascend the throne in due course.

MAHADEVA. Annexation of Silahara Kingdom.

Soon after his accession, Mahadeva attacked the small kingdom of the Silaharas of northern Konkan. Somesvara, the last Silahara king, was defeated and drowned in a naval engagement, and his kingdom was annexed; we find a Yadava governor ruling over the territory in 1273 A.D.⁵ Maharajadhiraja Konkana-Cakravarti, who is mentioned in a record, dated 1266, was probably a scion of the imperial Yadava family. Or alternatively we shall have to suppose that he was a collateral Silahara ruler, who managed to carve a kingdom after the overthrow of Somesvara.

Relation with Northern Powers.

Mahadeva's victory over Visaladeva, referred to in the Paithan plates, was probably a mere frontier raid. There was no serious conflict with the Paramaras ; Hemadri states that the Malavas put a boy upon their throne, because they knew that Mahadeva would not attack a minor. Mahadeva's victories over the Gaudas and the Utkalas, referred to in a Karnatak record, may refer to some frontier skirmishes, as Chattisgadha was included in the Yadava sphere of influence, since the days of Singhana.

¹ See *E. I.*, XIX, p. 27, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 33, *I. A.*, XIV, p. 314, *E. I.*, I, p. 28.

² *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 42.

³ *E. I.*, XIX, p. 19.

⁴ 12th April 1260 is his last known date ; *E. I.*, XXI, p. II.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, V, p. 178.

⁶ *E. I.*, XIXVI, p. 129.

In the Kakatiya kingdom, Ganapati was at this time succeeded by his daughter Rudramba and Mahadeva could not resist the temptation of attacking her. He captured some elephants of the Kaka-tiya forces, and retired¹.

Relations with the Kakatiyas and the Hoysalas.

Narasimha II, who had ascended the Hoysala throne in 1266 A.D., was a youth of twenty-two. Hoping to defeat him, Mahadeva invaded his kingdom, but was signally defeated and ignominiously driven out². Kadamba feudatories rebelled as a natural consequence of this discomfiture, but their rebellion was suppressed by the Yadava general Balige-deva³.

The premier of Mahadeva was Maharaja Tipparasu⁴. One of his ministers was Hemadri, the famous author of the *Vratakhanda*, who was also a successful general. Kolhapur was being governed by Mayideva and Nolambavadi by two Brahmana brothers, Chat-taraja and Kucharaja⁵. Mahapradhana Devarasa was in charge of southern districts. Several other officers are mentioned in his records.

Mahadeva died by the middle of 1270, and was succeeded by his son Ammana.

AMMANA.

The accession of Ammana was peaceful, but it was a signal for a fratricidal struggle. His father Mahadeva had ascended the throne in supersession of the claims of his predecessor's son Ramacandra. The latter had now come of age and was not prepared to allow the junior branch to permanently oust the senior line. It appears that most of the senior officers and ministers were in secret sympathy with Ramacandra.

Ramacandra seems to have withdrawn from the capital at the accession of his cousin and organised a *coupe*. Ammana, being a youth, was naturally fond of music and dance. Ramacandra selected a few brave and resolute followers and entered the capital fort in the guise of the leader of a troupe of strolling actors. A performance was arranged before Ammana, and while he was engaged in enjoying it, Ramacandra and his followers suddenly threw off their masks and seized Ammana and his principal supporters. This *coupe* could not have been successful, if the sympathies of the leading officers were not with Ramacandra⁶. Ammana was thrown into prison and blinded. He soon died in prison and it was suspected that his end was hastened by his cousin⁷.

¹ Hemadri (v. 14) states that Mahadeva refrained from pressing his victory home, because his opponent was a woman ; why then did he attack her ?

² E. C., IV, Ngm No. 9 ; V, Chn. No. 269. These records give the Hoysala version.

³ E. C, VII, Sk. No. 41 ; XI, Dg. No. 79.

⁴ E. C., XI, Dg. No. 102.

⁵ E. C, VII, Ci. No. 21.

⁶ The account of this *coupe* appears rather improbable, but since it is given in a contemporary record of Ramacandra himself, (E. I., XXV, p. 290) we can accept it as historical. Bhanuvilasa, a Mahanubhava work, however, states that Ramacandra took his brother unawares while on a hunting expedition and effected his capture.

⁷ Our authorities here are mostly Mahanubhava works like *Lilacarita* (Lila, No. 725) *Nagadevacarita* of Parasurama Vyasa.

RAMACHANDRA.

The accession of Ramacandra which took place in the latter half of 1271¹ A.D., was hailed by the officers and general public as the enthronement of the rightful heir. The new ruler felt himself quite secure on the throne and embarked upon conquests in the very first year of his reign.

War with the Paramaras and Calukyas.

Ramacandra signalled his accession² by a wanton attack upon his northern neighbour, the Malava king Arjunavarman, who had been engaged in a conflict with his minister. He scored an easy victory.

War with Hoysalas

To avenge the defeat sustained by the Yadava forces in the reign of Mahadeva, Ramacandra organised a big expedition against the Hoysalas and entrusted it to his able general "Tikkamarasa. The Yadava forces penetrated up to Belavadi almost on the outskirts of the Hoysala capital Dvarasamudra. Beating back the Hoysala forces under Anka and Mayideva, Tikkamarasa pushed right up to the capital and besieged it in January 1276. The situation was however saved by a courageous sally of Ankeya Nayaka, the son of Hoysala commander-in-chief. The Yadava forces were driven back, and if we are to accept the Hoysala version, Saluva Tikkama fled in haste and disgrace leaving behind a lot of equipment³. In a record of his own, Tikkama claims to have reduced Dvarasamudra, he is seen building a temple of Visnu at Harihar in 1277 in commemoration of his victory over the Hoysalas³. This must refer to his successes in the earlier part of the Hoysala war.

Capture of Banaras.

When freed from his southern commitments, Ramacandra planned expansion in the north-east. In the reign of Singhana, the Yadavas had conquered Jubblepore and Chatisgad, but had lost their hold over these territories later. Ramacandra's armies first captured Vajrakara (probably Vairagadh, 80 miles North-east of Canda) ; then Bhandagara or Bhandara (40 miles east of Nagpur) and then penetrated to Tripuri near Jubblepore. The Purusottamapuri plates of Ramacandra⁴ claim that Ramacandra captured Banaras. Since the Yadava ruler is credited with having built a temple to God Sarngadara at Banaras, its capture may be taken as a historical fact. After the death of Balban in 1286 A.D., Delhi had lost its firm hold over the outlying provinces and there is nothing inherently improbable in Ramacandra having held Banaras under his control for a short time. His forces may have withdrawn after the accession of Jalaluddin Khilji. The claim to the conquest of Kanauj and Kailasa is probably not sustainable. This daring expedition of Ramacandra to Banaras may be placed between 1286 and 1290 A.D. While his forces were engaged in it, there were rebellions in Maha-

¹ Some late records (C. G., E. C, VIII, Sb. 209) suggest that Ramacandra began to rule in 1270. This may be due to the desire to ignore the reign of Ammana.

² Victory over the Paramaras is mentioned in the Paithan plates issued in the 2nd year of the king's reign.

³ E. G., V, Belur, pp. 120, 165, 167.

⁴ *My sore Inscription*, p. 44.

⁵ *E.I.*, XXV, p. 199.

rastra at Khed, Sangamner and Mahim, which were however quelled by the king's sons.

The Yadava power began to decline with the commencement of the Muslim attack in 1294 A.D. When the power of the Paramaras and Calukyas, who were the northern neighbours of the Yadavas, was being shattered during the last quarter of the 13th century, the Yadavas should have realised that their turn would come next and tried to organise a Deccan federation to resist the apprehended attack. Instead, they went on picking quarrels with all their neighbours at every step, which created intense hatred against them in the mind of the Paramaras, Calukyas, the Hovsalas and the Kakatiyas. The Muslims thus could attack each of these states separately and establish their supremacy.

The first Muslim raid took place in 1294 under Allauddin, the cousin of the Khilji emperor Jalaluddin. The Muslim chroniclers usually represent that this expedition was dictated by Allauddin's desire to amass wealth in order to win the throne. Allauddin was however the governor of Kara—Manikpur, which must have suffered from Ramacandra's raid on Banaras above described. The desire to punish him for this affront may also have been another motive in the mind of Allauddin.

Allauddin had very carefully planned his expedition. He decided to march only when his spies had assured him that the main Yadava army was far away in the south. He first gave out that he was leading a punitive expedition against Canderi and then professed that he was going to Rajamahendri to seek service, as he could not pull on with his uncle. He pitched his camps usually near forests to attract least attention.

It was only when he reached Lacur, only about eighty miles from Devagiri, that his advance was opposed by the Yadava Governor, who sent report about it to the Central Government. Allauddin however, easily overcame the governor's opposition and reached Devagiri with a lightning speed.

Ramacandra was taken completely by surprise. His army was away at the Hoysala frontier. He could only raise a militia of about 4,000 which was easily defeated by Allauddin, who had a force of about 6,000 to 8,000 horse. Ramacandra then retired into the fort, which he intended to hold out till his crown prince returned from the south. The fort however was not properly provisioned and Ramacandra therefore was compelled to sue for peace. Allauddin agreed to return on receiving an indemnity of 1500 lbs. of gold, a large quantity of pearls and jewels, 40 elephants and several thousand horses. Ramacandra agreed to pay an annual tribute and also gave one of his daughters in marriage to the victor.

Allauddin succeeded in exacting these terms within a fortnight and was about to depart when the Crown prince Sankaradeva, who had been urgently summoned, returned with the main army. Muslim historians are not agreed as to what happened on his arrival. Later historians like Ferista narrate that in spite of his father's advice to

the contrary Sankara reopened hostilities, but was defeated by Allauddin, who then imposed a heavier indemnity, Isami however states that Sahkaradeva accepted his father's advice and desisted from a fresh attack.

The signal success which crowned Allauddin's expedition hardly reflects any credit on the Yadava administration. In spite of the repeated Muslim attacks on the Paramaras and the Calukyas, it had not taken any precaution to garrison the Vindhyan passes; its capital lay without any adequate defence. The administration was completely paralysed; and it could not think of surrounding and destroying the invading force when it was retiring through the little known passes surrounded by jungles.

Ramacandra's discomfiture was a signal for his southern neighbours to stab him in the back; they exploited his defeat just as he had taken the full advantage of the misfortunes of the Paramaras and the Calukyas, when their power had been shattered by the Muslim attack. Prataparudra, the Kakatiya king, attacked Ramacandra and snatched away the districts of Raicur and Anantpur from him. Hoysala king Ballala invaded the Yadava kingdom and annexed Santalege 1000 and Banavasi 12,000 in 1303.

When Prataparudra succeeded in defeating the armies of Allauddin marching against him in 1304, a section of the Yadava court headed by the Crown prince Sankaradeva felt that the Muslim power was declining, and prevailed upon Ramacandra to stop the annual tribute. Sankaradeva incurred further wrath of Allauddin by deciding to accept the hand of the Calukya princess Devaladevi, whom Allauddin wanted to be married to his own Crown-prince.

Allauddin decided to send a punitive expedition against the Yadavas in 1307. One army was sent under Malik Ahmad Jhitam to capture Devaladevi and another under Malik Kafur to reimpose the imperial authority over the Yadavas. Isami's statement that Ramacandra had sent a secret message to the Sultan informing him that he was a mere prisoner in the hands of his crown prince, seems to be correct. For when after defeating the Yadava army, Malik Kafur sent king Ramacandra as a prisoner to Delhi, Allauddin treated him with great courtesy and consideration. He regranted his kingdom to him, gave him the title of Rai-i-Rayan and sanctioned him the revenues of Navasira as a personal Jagir.

Ramacandra was deeply moved by this treatment and remained genuinely loyal to Allauddin throughout his life. He offered full facilities to the armies of his suzerain when they attacked Warrangal in 1309. Two years later he directed his general Purusottama to guide the imperial forces by convenient routes to the border of the Hoysala kingdom besides supplying it with immense provisions. Loyalty alone was perhaps not responsible for this conduct. The Hoysalas were the hereditary enemies of the Yadavas and had recently stabbed them in the back, when humbled by the Muslim defeat. Like Ambbi of

Taxila, Ramacandra desired that the invader should annihilate the power of this neighbour, who was always a thorn in his sides.

Ramacandra died in 1311¹ A.D. after a long reign of 41 years. Like most of his other contemporaries he could not comprehend the natural consequences of the Muslim expansion. Ramacandra's defeat in 1294 A.D. was due to his being taken by surprise; but he could have retrieved the situation by leading a federation of the Deccan powers against the northern invader. Personal jealousies and hereditary dynastic enmities had however so embittered the feelings of the different Deccan kings that a plan for joint action could hardly have come within the realm of practical politics.

A number of authors flourished in the time of Ramacandra. Hemadri continued to serve under him and wrote *Caturvargacintamani*. Jnanesvara completed his famous Marathi commentary on the Gita* during his reign in 1290. A number of Marathi works were written by the authors and saints of the new school of the Mahanubhavas.

Sankaradeva.

Sahkaradeva, the crown-prince, succeeded his father on his death. He had two brothers, Birhba and Ballala ; the former was the viceroy of southern Gujarat and the latter of southern Maharastra.

We have seen already how Sahkaradeva was all along opposed to his father's policy of meek submission to Delhi. When therefore he himself became the king, he immediately repudiated the overlordship of Allauddin and declared independence. We cannot but admire the courage of Sahkaradeva; the sources of tiny Devagiri were nothing as compared to those of the mighty Delhi empire, whose armies had by this time acquired the reputation of invincibility. Allauddin once more sent Malik Kafur to put down the rebellion; he easily defeated Sahkaradeva and put him to death. Yadava kingdom was now annexed and Malik Kafur was appointed its governor. He stayed at Devagiri for three years and reorganised the administration.

END OF THE YADAVAS.

When Allauddin fell seriously ill in 1315, Malik Kafur hastened to Delhi with the Muslim garrison. Harapaladeva, probably, a son-in-law of Ramacandra, and Raghava, a minister under the same king, boldly came forward to reestablish the Yadava power. The resurrected Yadava kingdom could last for about two years only. For, when Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah got a firm hold over the Delhi administration, he marched against Devagiri in 1318, and crushed the rebellion. Harapala was taken prisoner and put to death. Thus ended the Yadava power, which had dominated the Deccan history for more than a century.

¹ His latest known date is September 1310, supplied by the Purusottampuri plates.

* Viz. Jnanes'wari

CHAPTER 11

SOCIETY, RELIGION AND CULTURE*

500 A.D. TO 1200 A.D.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

VARNA-VYAVASTHA OR THE CASTE SYSTEM CONTINUED TO BE THE SALIENT FEATURE of the Hindu society during this period as well. The usual theoretical number of the main castes is, of course, four, namely the Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. It is, however, strange that Greek writers like Megasthenes and Strabo as well as Muslim writers like Ibn Khurdadba and Al Idrisi agree in mentioning the number to be seven ; although the castes enumerated by them are, by no means, identical. The Greek ambassador does not include any of the untouchables in his castes; while the Muslim writers enumerate at least two of them among the depressed classes. Alberuni, however, maintains that the number of castes was sixteen. In addition to the four well-known ones, he has included five semi-untouchables and seven untouchables. The actual number of castes and sub-castes of our age was, however, more than sixteen, as is indicated by the Smrtis of our period. The statements of these writers have to be examined, in view of the valuable evidence afforded by the Dharmasastra literature, before being completely relied on.

Ibn Khurdadba, who died in 912 A.D., mentions the following seven castes : —(1) Sabkufriya (spelt differently in manuscripts as Sabakferya or Sarikufria), (2) Brahma, (3) Katariya, (4) Sudariya, (5) Baisura, (6) Sandalia and (7) Lahud¹. Al Idrisi's seven castes are almost identical with these with the exception of the seventh caste which, according to him, is Zakya and not Lahud. Both of them agree in saying that the members of this (i.e. seventh) caste were dancers, tumblers and players by profession. It has to be borne in mind that the order of enumeration of these castes is not given according to their relative status or importance. Among these, Brahma, Sudariya, Baisura and Sandalia appear to be the same as Brahmanas, Sudras, Vaisyas and Candalas. Katariyas are the same

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¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, pages 16-17.

as Ksatriyas as is clear from the fact that they could drink three cups of wine and their daughters could be married by the Brahmanas. Sabkufriyas, very probably, are the same as Satksatriyas; because the Muslim writers tell us that kings were chosen from them and they were regarded as superior to all castes. The distinction between Katariyas and Sabkufriyas reminds one of the distinction between the Ksatriyas and the Rajanyas of the earlier period.

Alberuni gives a more detailed and interesting account of the caste system. After mentioning the usual four principal castes, he mentions Antyajas divided into eight classes or guilds *viz.* (1) the washerman, (2) the shoemaker, (3) the juggler, (4) the basket and shield-maker, (5) the sailor, (6) the fisherman, (7) the hunter of wild animals and birds and finally (8) the weaver. The four principal castes do not live with these in one and the same place. These guilds, therefore, live near the villages and towns of four castes but outside them. Alberuni also mentions Hadi, Domba, Candala and Badhatu considered as one sole class distinguished by their occupations consisting of service and dirty work.

It must be admitted that Alberuni's eight-fold classes appear to be untouchables and most of these were pronounced to be so by some of the later Smrtis like Angiras, Atri, Apastamba etc. Alberuni's statement about the weaver being regarded as untouchable is not supported by Smrti literature. Granting Alberuni's statement would amount to the fact that the famous weaving industry in ancient India was a monopoly of the untouchables, which is highly improbable. Statements in Brhad-Yama Smrti and Apastamba Smrti, however, lead us to believe that a section among weavers dealing with manufacture of red and blue cloth was held in low estimation. Among the remaining three, namely, Hadi, Domba and Badhatu, what section is meant by Hadi is not quite clear. Dombas were untouchables as is proved by the Rajatarangini. Alberuni's Badhatu is an *apahhramsa* of *vadhaka* or the executioner, who, according to the Dharmasastra literature is undoubtedly included among the untouchables.

Although epigraphical records of our period do not give any idea of the intensity of the notion of untouchability, Kalhana's Raja-tarangini throws a flood of light on the subject during our period. And as Kalhana is supported by the Smrti literature, it can be safely assumed that similar ideas prevailed in the South as well. In the Rajatarangini V 77, a Candala or sweeper is found refraining from touching a child on the road through fear of polluting it; in fact he requests a Sudra woman to pick it up and rear it. The untouchables could not enter the audience hall. This makes the King Candravarman hear the shoemaker's complaint in the outer courtyard (IV-62). Even conversation with untouchables led to pollution according to some sections of society. This is the reason of the agitation of King Candrapida when he began to talk to a shoemaker (IV-67). In short, the notion of untouchability was very deep-rooted.

Coming to the position of the higher castes, all castes including the Brahmanas paid homage to the members of Sabkufriya caste, from whom rulers were chosen. This should not be interpreted as giving support to the contention of the Buddhists and the Jainas, that the Ksatriyas, as a whole, were superior to the Brahmanas. The average Ksatriya did not enjoy a social status to that of an average Brahmana. On the contrary, the Brahmanas were regarded as superior to the rest of the population. Respect for actual rulers and their descendents shown by the Brahmanas irrespective of the caste to which they belonged, is, by no means, unnatural.

The Brahmana community of our period followed a number of professions. Al Idrisi describes Brahmanas dressed in tiger-skins addressing the public about God and his nature. These are called *istins* by Alberuni. Epigraphical records also confirm this. Many of the Brahmanas were engaged in carrying on their Scriptural duty namely teaching and conducting schools and colleges. Abu Zahid informs us that mostly jurists, astrologers, mathematicians, poets and philosophers were members of this class.¹ Administrative civil posts were also largely filled by Brahmanas. Ministers and officers of the Rastrakuta Kings were chosen from this class. There are reasons to assume that Brahmanas were largely seen in Government service. It is true the Smṛti writers do say that Brahmanas should not serve; but their statements should be applied to non-government service only. Manu lays down that Brahmanas alone should be appointed as a rule to the ministerial and judicial posts.²

Sankaracarya's (788-820 A.D.) statement that the castes were no longer following their prescribed duties and functions is corroborated by historical evidence. Some of the Brahmanas were enlisting their names in the army. Bettigiri inscription of Kṛṣṇa II³ offers a handsome tribute to the memory of a Brahmana named Ganaramma who laid down his life with bravery defending his village. The Kalas inscription of Govinda IV⁴ speaks of the glorious career and achievements of two Brahmana generals Reva-dasa Diksita and Visottara Diksita who were really Somayajins. Alberuni informs us that in the 11th century some of the Brahmanas directly dealt in clothes and betel nuts; while some others indirectly entered into trade by employing a Vaisya to carry on the actual dealings in business. The Gautama Dharmasutra allows Brahmanas to live on agriculture, trade etc. on the condition of appointing agents to carry on business. Although Smṛti writers never held the medical profession in esteem, it appears that in society doctors were honoured equally with learned men. Thus a Brahmana physician is found among the donees of an agrahara village given by a Pallava King in the 8th century⁵. The ban placed by Manu and others on the feeding of a doctor

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 6.

² *Manusmṛti*, VII—37, 58 ; VIII—20.

³ *E.I.*, XIII, p. 189

⁴ *Ibid*, XIII. p. 33.

⁵ *I. A.*, VIII, p. 277.

at a Sraddha dinner appears to be partly a result of their puritanic ideas and partly a consequence of their theory that the medical profession belonged to a mixed caste known as Ambastha. This theory also does not appear to be borne out by facts. Thus trade, agriculture, banking etc. became the normal vocations of the Brahmanas of our period. Naturally Smrtis belonging to the age have boldly withdrawn the ban on these professions placed by earlier Dharmasastra writers. Brhaspati holds banking (*kusida*) to be an ideal profession of the Brahmanas ; while Harita and Parasara boldly declare that agriculture can be followed by them. The Apastamba Smrti also mentions that agriculture, cattle-breeding etc. were the necessary and normal vocations of the Brahmanas; there is no reason to consider them as Apaddharmas.

The Smrtis and Puranas uniformly declare that Brahmanas ought to be free from taxation and capital punishment. There is no epigraphical evidence of our period to support a general claim of exemption from taxation for all Brahmanas. It is true that the Srotriyas or learned Brahmanas in the Rastrakuta regime, really donees of Brahmandeya grants, used to receive all taxes payable to the King and that they were required to pay nothing to the King. This is reflected in the Dharmasastra literature which exempts a Srotriya from all taxation; but on this basis, it cannot be assumed that ordinary Brahmanas of our period enjoyed this privilege. The Tuppada Kurahatti inscription of Krsna III and the Honavad inscription of Somesvara make it clear that even Devadeya grants i.e. lands granted to temples by kings were not free from taxation. Somadeva of the Nitivakyamrta lays down that a king can take a portion of the property of the Brahmanas and temples for the sake of tiding over a calamity; only he should take care to keep at their disposal money that is necessary for the performance of sacrifices and worship.

Exemption from capital punishment is, however, a privilege that the Brahmanas of our period seem to have enjoyed. From ancient times, the sin of Brahmahatya was regarded as the most heinous and Hindu States in India have generally refrained from incurring it. The Apastamba Dharmasutra (II, 27, 16) lays down that a Brahmana should be blinded and banished for offences involving capital punishment for other castes. This advice appears to have been followed in our period as is corroborated by Alberuni who states that though a Brahmana was above the death sentence, he could be banished and deprived of his property and in case of being guilty of stealing a precious or costly article he was blinded and his right hand and left foot were cut off¹. It is significant to note that the sentence mentioned for stealing on the part of a Brahmana is not found in the Smrtis. The words of Kautilya in his Arthasastra Book IV, namely Kantaka-sodhana (Chapter 11) support Alberuni's statement. It is, however, clear that Brahmanas who had joined the army could not have claimed the privilege of being exempt from being executed.

¹ Alberuni's *India*, edited by Sachau I, p. 162.

Position of Ksatriyas.

Among the Ksatriyas, those who were actual rulers and their relatives, naturally enjoyed the highest status in the society. Although Alberuni mentions that the Ksatriyas also enjoyed immunity from capital punishment it appears that this was claimed by and conceded to the elite among them. Alberuni also mentions that a Ksatriya guilty of theft was merely maimed in the right hand and left foot and not blinded in addition like a Brahmana. The Dharmasastra literature, does not extend any such concession of being *avadhya* etc. to the Ksatriyas. As Alberuni was a fairly close student of Sanskrit literature, his statement cannot be summarily rejected. Hence it is safe to presume that in the actual practice of our period, the privileges of the Ksatriyas were by no means less than those enjoyed by the Brahmanas.

In our period, the Ksatriyas were not exclusively concerned with fighting; they had already taken to professions which theoretically did not belong to them. The tendency of the Ksatriyas in accepting the business line, though explicitly stated by Tavernier to be present in the 17th century, appears to have made its presence felt during our period. Yuan Chwang has mentioned the castes of *some* of his contemporary Indian Kings. According to his statement, five among them were Ksatriyas, three Brahmanas, two Vaisyas and two Sudras. This makes it clear that Kingship had ceased to be the exclusive monopoly of the Ksatriyas even prior to our age.

In the sphere of religion, Ksatriya kings and queens of our age are not seen celebrating sacrifices as they had already become unpopular due to the philosophical revival under the leadership of the great Kerala philosopher Sankaracarya. Nevertheless the Ksatriyas were allowed to study the Vedas as is stated by Alberuni¹ who takes care to add, "He offers to the fire and acts according to the rules of the Puranas." In fact, all Hindus of our period were following the Puranic rather than the Vedic rules and rituals. Alberuni's statement may, however, suggest that the Ksatriyas were fast losing their rights in the religious sphere and thus rapidly degenerating into Vaisyas and Sudras. The fact that kings of our period do not mention their *gotras* is also indicative of the dissociation of the Ksatriyas in general from the sphere of Orthodox Vedic ritual.

Position of Vaisyas.

The Vaisyas were losing their status much earlier than our age. Sri Krsna mentions them along with Sudras in being backward². The Baudhayana Dharmasutra mentions that the status of the Vaisyas and the Sudras was the same as both were marrying indiscriminately and following similar vocations. In our period also there was no great difference between them. Alberuni conversant with Dharmasastra clearly says so and further adds that on reciting the Veda the tongue of a Vaisya or a Sudra was cut off. This means that the position of the Vaisyas was actually reduced in practice to that of the Sudras ; although theoretically the Smrtis state them to be superior to the Sudras.

¹ Alberuni's *India*, edited by Sachau II, p. 136.

² *Bhagavadpita*, IX-32 cd.

According to the Smrtis the Vaisyas should follow the military profession only in distress. This does not appear to be the state of things during our age. Many guilds in the Deccan who flourished in towns and cities were naturally required to maintain troops of their own in the interest of security. The Mandasor inscription (5th century A.D.), for example, describes some of the members of its guild as experts in archery and bold in uprooting the enemy per force in battle¹. It is interesting to note that even the Jains of our period were among the martial races of the Deccan. Amoghavarsa I, though a Jain, did not desist from offering a dreadful feast to the god of death in the battle of Vingavalli.

Position of Sudras.

Smrti writers are unanimous in depriving the Sudras of the right to read the Vedas. Alberuni's statement confirms that this rule was followed in practice. It is true that later Smrtis like Baijavapa (quoted in Viramitrodaya, Paribhasa, p. 135), Jatukaranya (V. 50), Ausanasa and Laghuvishnu (V. 105), make distinction between Sacchudra (a pious Sudra) and Asacchudra (ordinary Sudra) and allow the former to perform Sraddhas, Samskaras and Pakayajnas. Somadeva, the Jain author of Nitivakyamrta (VII-12), confirms the statement of these Smrtis by observing that a perfectly pure Sudra is qualified to perform spiritual duties connected with Gods and Brahmanas. But there is no epigraphical evidence to show that the Sudras of our period actually enjoyed these privileges. Nevertheless on the basis of the statements made by the Brahmanical writers of the Smrtis it can be assumed that respectable Sudras used to perform Sraddhas etc., of course through the medium of the Brahmanas and with Puranic mantras.

From earlier times, service to the twice-born had ceased to be the only profession of the Sudras. Smrti writers like Usanas and Devala mention crafts, trade and industries to be the normal avocations of the members of this caste. Soldiers were also recruited from the Sudras; which, at times, brought the throne also within their reach. The theory that a Sudra cannot own any property was exploded long before. Medhatithi admits the right in the case of a Candala and says that his stolen property, on recovery, must be returned to him by the king².

It seems that provincial barriers of castes had not arisen during our period. Brahmanas freely migrated to different provinces and permanently settled in them. The donees of the Alas plates of Yuvaraja Govinda³ and the Vani-Dindori plates of Govinda III were persons from Vengi in Andhra country and they were assigned villages in Maharastra. This shows that these immigrants had become domiciles of Maharastra. Although in earlier records, the donees are never described as Gauda, Kanoji, Nagara or Dravida Brahmanas⁴, the composer of the Bahal (Khandes district) inscription

¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, No. 18.

² On *Manu*, VII, 40

³ *I. A.*, XI, p. 157.

⁴ *E.I.*, IX, p. 24.

of the Yadava king Singhana dated 1222 A.D., is seen describing himself as a Nagara Jnatiya Brahmana. This indicates that the way towards the formation of provincial castes was already paved. Smrtis like Atrisamhita were helping this tendency by dubbing Brahmanas from certain provinces as worthless. These books were gradually being followed in the North in the 11th century. It is no wonder that in later times they came to the forefront in the South also.

The fact that intercaste marriages of the *anuloma* type admitted to be legal by Smrti writers used to take place in our period is confirmed by the Nitivakyamrta of Somadeva, a contemporary writer. The celebrated poet and dramatist Rajasekhara of the Yayavara family (875-925 A.D.) married Avantisundari, an accomplished Ksatriya lady. Although these marriages were permissible, it appears that they were becoming unpopular at the end of our period. Alberuni mentions that the Brahmanas in his time did not avail themselves of the liberty of marrying beneath their class. The observation of Abraham Roger, a Dutch clergyman of the 17th century (who lived in Southern Presidency), that the Brahmanas used to marry girls of all the four castes although their marriages with Sudra girls were disapproved,¹ holds good in case of the Nambudri Brahmanas only. Another European observer of the same century, Bernier, contradicts Rogers statement and asserts that intermarriages between the four castes were forbidden.² Any way, Kalhana, the 12th century historian from Kashmir, can be taken to represent the 12th century view in this case. He, in his Rajatarangini (VII 10-12), strongly finds fault with Sangramaraja, the king of Kashmir in 11th century, in allowing his sister to marry a Brahmana.

Family System.

As in the earlier period, so in our age the joint family was the general order; but cases of separation were not very rare. Torkhede inscription of Govinda II³ speaks of separate shares assigned to two brothers indicating that they were not members of a joint family. Bendegiri grant of Krsna (1249 A.D.)⁴ mentions eight brothers and two sons who were given separate shares from their families. The Paithan plates of Ramacandra dated 1271 A.D.⁵ inform us about a father living separately from his six sons as well as four brothers and thus no longer adhering to the joint family system. On the basis of such records it can be stated that partitions in the lifetime of the father, although disapproved by Smrti writers, continued to take place in actual practice.

An inscription from Managoli in Bijapur district (1178 A.D.)⁶ gives an order of succession that is in general agreement with that of the Jurists like Yajnavalkya and his commentator Vijnanesvara. This record states, "If any one in the village should die at Mamgavalli

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1894, p. 1 and 1895, p. 576.

² *Travels in India*, p. 325.

³ *E. I.*, III, 54.

⁴ *I.A.*, XIV, p. 69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

⁶ *E. I.*, V, p. 28.

without sons, his wife, female children (probably a daughter's son is meant), divided parents, brothers and their children and any kinsmen and relatives of the same Gotra who might survive, should take possession of all his property i.e. bipeds, quadrupeds, coins, grains, house and field. If none such should survive, the authorities of the village should take the property as Dharmadeya grant." There is evidence to show that in the Deccan during our period a widow could inherit her husband's property. A good illustration is offered by Gavunda, who was succeeded in his office by his widow¹. The Saundatti record² informs us of Gauri, the only daughter of Madiraja II of Kolara family becoming an heir to Kolara fiefdom even after her marriage with a Banihatti chief. This shows that in the absence of male issues, daughters of a person could become heirs to his property.

Position of Women.

It has been already stated that widows and daughters could be heirs to property. Smrti writers have recognised their proprietary rights over certain varieties of Stridhana. A fragmentary record from Kolhapur in the 12th century refers to the case of a daughter selling landed property³.

Alberuni's observation that marriages among the Hindus used to take place at a very early age and that Brahmanas in his time were not allowed to marry a girl above 12 years, appears to be true in the Deccan of our age. This is confirmed by the author of the Nitivakyamrta, who says that in marriage, the boys were usually 16 and girls not above 12⁴. The fact that almost all Smrtis like Brhad-Yama, Samvarta, Yama, Sankha etc. composed at about our age, heap curses upon the guardians who fail to marry their female wards before they attain puberty, shows that pre-puberty marriages were the order of the day at least among the Brahmanas. Occasional cases of post-puberty marriages, however, did take place especially among the ruling families. The custom of marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle which continues to prevail in Maharastra as well as in other parts of the Deccan even upto this day, appears to have been in vogue in our age. Inscriptions offer many instances of such marriages. Jagattunga, the son of Krsna II, married a daughter of his maternal uncle Sankaragana⁵. The same was the case with Indra III. These marriages are regarded as valid by the Dharma-sastra for the residents of the Deccan.

The Purdah system is not known even today in the Deccan. The custom appears to be unknown in our period as well. Abu Zahid remarks, " Most princes in India allow their women to be seen when they hold their court. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitors⁶. The Kadab plates state that the moon-faced damsels of

¹ *Epigraphia Carnatika*, VII, No. 219.

² *J. B.B. S. A. S.*, X, p. 177.

³ *E. I.*, III, p. 216.

⁴ *Nitimkyamrta*, XI-28 ; XXI-1.

⁵ Sangli plates—*I. A.*, XII, p. 265.

⁶ Elloit, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 11.

the court of Krsna I were skilled in exhibiting sentiments through the movements of their hand and used to give delight to the ladies of the capital. The testimony of Abu Zahid is thus confirmed.

It is possible to infer that the Sati custom, although very common in Kasmir, was not very common in the Deccan of our days. This inference is supported firstly by the words of the merchant Sulaiman¹ and secondly by the fact that the mention of the Satis is hardly found in several inscribed *virgals* of our period that commemorate the deaths of village heroes who had died for their communities. Alberuni's statement that wives of Kings were required to burn themselves whether they wished or not² seems to have been based on contemporary incidents in North India and cannot be applied in the case of the Deccan. The custom, besides, seems to have been confined only to royal families and did not spread to the masses in our period.

No Muslim traveller of our period refers to the custom of tonsuring widows. The Smrtis of our age lay down various rules to regulate the life of a widow, making her lot very hard; but they nowhere speak of tonsuring her. Only one exception of the Vedavyasasmṛti can be cited. This Smṛti (II—53) enjoins that a widow should part with her hair at the death of her husband. Epigraphical literature also does not reveal any acquaintance with this custom. The usual expression occurring in the description of heroes in epigraphs viz. 'ripu-vilasini-simanta-uddharana-hetu' only shows that queens on being widowed, refrained from decorating their hair; in fact the hair was allowed to grow as is indicated by expressions like 'saralita-pracur-alaka-alakah, (*Epigraphica Indica*, I p. 246). It is, therefore, safe to conclude that the tonsure custom was not in vogue during our age. It, however, appears to have been established some time prior to the 17th century as Tavernier (p. 406) explicitly states that Hindu widows of his time used to get their head entirely shaved a few days after the death of their husbands. The Smrtis like Devala etc. composed in our period have allowed women forcibly ravished by the Mlecchas to come back to the fold after some Prayascitta. This speaks well of the liberal outlook of Hinduism of our age. Neither inscriptions, nor accounts of foreign travellers, nor the literature of our period refers to widow remarriages. It is difficult to say anything precisely in case of marriages of virgin widows, because the Smrtis are sharply divided over this issue. Parasara, Narada etc. permit such remarriages while Angiras and Laghu Asvalayana prohibit them. It can only be said that widow remarriages were fast becoming unpopular among higher classes. In lower classes this question did not arise because in them widow remarriages were and are quite common.

It is interesting to note that epigraphic evidence enables us to say that land transfers and similar dealings were committed to writing

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 6.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 155.

and the title deeds were properly attested. Two Kanheri inscriptions¹ record grants given to a local Buddhist Sangha as being attested to by two witnesses each. Kadab plates of Govinda III² speak of a case where the principal officers and the entire population of a district were summoned to be the witnesses of a transaction.

It is true that Government documents of transfer of lands etc. were not always attested; but it is also true that their originals were carefully preserved in the State Archives for ready reference. Bhadan plates of Aparajita dated 997 A.D. clearly state that their originals were preserved in the State Archives of Thana³. At the time of renewal of old grants these must have been consulted in order to settle the disputes about claims.

The custom of describing a person by his surname was generally not in vogue in our period. Inscriptions normally refer to the personal names of the Brahmana donees, the names of their fathers and their *gotras*. Patronymics were more common than matronymics. Towards the end of our period, however, surnames have appeared. Cikka Bagevadi⁴ and Bendegiri⁵ inscriptions of the Yadava King Krsna speak of many surnames like Pathaka, Diksita, Pandita, Upadhyaya etc., which still survive in the Deccan. Some of the surnames occurring in these records namely Praudhasarasvati and the like have not survived simply because they were too cumbrous to be used in common parlance.

Food and Drink.

In this age the society was partly vegetarian and partly non-vegetarian. The Brahmanas in Western India had become thorough vegetarians in our period. The Ksatriyas were, however, non-vegetarian and did not totally abstain from taking wine. In theory they were allowed three cups of wine. This disparity in diet and drink rendered inter-caste dining among them impracticable. The Vaisyas and Brahmanas of our period were not confronted with this difficulty because the influence of Jainism had turned a mass of traders and agriculturists away from non-vegetarianism. But by the end of our period the Vaisyas completely degenerated into the Sudras; hence interdining between them and the Brahmanas also became impracticable. On the whole, inter-caste dinners permitted by earlier Dharmasastra writers like Gautama, Baudhayana, had fallen into disrepute in our period. This is the reason why later Smrtis denounce the system. Angirasa, for example, prohibits dining with a Sudra, allows one with a Ksatriya only on days of religious festivals, and permits that with a Vaisya only in distress⁶. In fact these writers faithfully represent the feeling of our period.

¹ *I. A.*, XIII, p. 133 ff.

² *E. I.*, IV. p. 340.

³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 275.

⁴ *I. A.*, VII, p. 305.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XIV, p. 69.

⁶ Quoted by Haradatta on Gautama III—5 ; 8.

Dress.

The Hindu dress of our age appears to be a simple one. In the 7th century the Hindu male dress consisted of two unstitched cloths, one worn round like the 'dhoti' and other used as an upper garment¹. Narada confirms this statement of I-tsing by stating that a witness may be taken to be a perjurer if he continuously goes on shaking the upper garment with which his arm is covered (I—194). Marco Polo states that in the whole of Malabar not a tailor could cut or stitch a coat². Women, however, used to wear stitched petticoats as is indicated by references in the literary works of the time.

Paintings in Ajanta caves show³ that during the 5th and 6th centuries men in the Deccan wore large turbans. It seems that the practice of growing a beard was common in our age⁴.

Sports and Pastimes.

Dancing was a favourite pastime of the people. The presence of dancing girls at the temples reveals this very fondness. Puranic dramas appear to have been performed on the occasion of annual fairs or those like Dasara, Holi, Ramanavami and Gokulastami.

Animal fights were also quite frequent. One of the Angoa records speaks of a fight between a boar and a favourite hound of Butuga II in which both animals were killed⁵. Hunting was very favourite with kings in general and the Rastrakutas in particular. One of the inscriptions of Govinda III⁶ gives interesting information regarding game preserves in various centres of his empire. It is no wonder that these were meant only for the use of emperors and courtiers.

Superstitions and Beliefs.

Astrology had a wonderful hold over the minds of people of our age. Epigraphy gives ample information about this. It seems that the Jains also had taken to astrology. Thus from Kadab plates of Govinda III⁷ we hear of a grant given to a Jain Matha in view of its head having removed the evil influence of Saturn affecting a Calukya king. Saturn was extremely dreaded in our period. The Silahara prince Aparajitadeva⁸ and Mahamandalesvara Govunarasa⁹ assume with pride the title 'Sanivarasiddhi' i.e. 'one who is successful (even on) Saturdays'.

Many other superstitions were current. It was believed that on observing certain laws and conditions, gods could be compelled to do the needful. Some records of our period refer to devotees who actuated by this belief threatened God with non-co-operation. Catching a serpent alive was considered to be the signal proof of chastity. Sugaladevi, the wife of Mandalesvara Varma performed the feat and was considered as the most chaste lady of the land. A temple

¹ I-tsing, p. 68.

² Marco Polo II, p. 338.

³ Codrington, *Ancient India*, p. 26.

⁴ Sulaiman Saudagar, Hindi Edition, p. 81.

⁵ *E. I.*, VI, p. 56.

⁶ *I. A.*, XI, p. 126.

⁷ *E. J.*, IV, p. 340.

⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 269.

⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 66.

was built in her honour¹. Spells and enchantments against serpent-bite did exist, but their futility was also recognised in many cases. Women were induced to give some herbs and medicines to their husbands considered to be efficacious in keeping them under then-control. At times, the result was disastrous and ended in the death of the husband². Epigraphs from Karnatak show that some loyal subjects used to take dreadful vows like offering their own heads, if their kings were to be blessed with a son and used to abide by them. Ibn Khurdadba writes that persons who had grown very old and weak often used to commit suicide in holy places either by drowning or by burning themselves on auspicious days³. Such practices were, however, confined to certain sections of the society only. They give us an idea of the superstitions of the age in general.

ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Sources of information about economic condition are comparatively scanty and the matter is rendered more difficult on account of the uncertainty in attributing precise meaning to the technical terms used in records.

The wealth of the country had not much changed in respect of the produce of the soil. Cotton was produced in large quantity in Khandesa, Berar (Vidarbha) and Gujarat. The *Periplus* in the 1st century A.D., Marco Polo in the 13th century and later Tavernier in the 16th century mention cotton yarn and cloth among the articles of export. As we know from Marco Polo that indigo was largely exported from Thana and Gujarat in the 13th century A.D., it must have been produced in our age as well. The same can be said of incense and perfumes exported from Saimur and Thana in the 12th and 13th centuries. The chief crops of Maharashtra, however were *jwari*, *bajri* and oilseeds, Konkan as usual, was rich in coconuts, betel nuts and rice. Timber of sandal trees, teak and ebony wood was exported from Western Indian ports from ancient times, as western ghats and parts of Mysore have been yielding this material in large quantity.

It seems that the wealth of the Deccan in the period was considerably increased by the yield of copper mines which were discovered in the districts of Narsingpur, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Dharwar, Canda, Buldhana etc. Of course at that time copper was a much costlier metal. Brhaspati's relative ratio of prices of gold and copper is 1 : 48⁴. Mines of precious stones were more valuable than these copper mines. Marco Polo, Ibn Batuta and Tavernier inform us that the Krsna valley near Golkonda and Karnool, continued to yield precious diamonds till a very late period. At the time of Ibn Batuta, Devagiri was a famous centre for trade in jewellery. Malkhed or Manyakheta, the capital of the Rastrakutas, appears to have been the main market for precious stones.

¹ I.A.,xn, p. 99.

² J. B B, R.A.S., X,p. 279.

³ Elliot, *History of India*, Vo. I, p. 10.

⁴ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 189.

Accounts of foreign merchants enable us to get a fair idea of the industries of our period. The principal centres of cloth industry in the Deccan were Paithan and Tagara. Marco Polo states that Thana was one of those centres from which considerable quantity of cloth was exported in the 13th century. Paithan and Warangal were, and really are, famous for muslins. Marco Polo is full of praise for the quantity of the cloth manufactured at these places. He observes, "These are the most delicate buckrams and of the highest price; in sooth they look like the tissue of spider's web. There can be no king or queen in the world but might be glad to wear them ". Paithani, which still remains one of the favourites of Maharastrian ladies, is the significant name given to the high class silken saris.

Marco Polo informs us that Northern Maharashtra was known for tanning industry in the 13th century. Thana exported leather in large quantities. The information that this industry was in full vigour in the 13th century and was successful in capturing foreign markets enables us to conjecture that this industry must have begun its career one or two centuries earlier.

Ibn Batuta gives compliments to the Marathas near Daulatabad and Nandurbar for their skill in arts. Marco Polo speaks highly of beautiful mats of Northern Maharashtra in 13th century in red and blue leather exquisitely inlaid with figures of birds and beasts and skilfully embroidered with gold and silver. He states that these mats were also exported from these regions.

It is not possible to have a detailed account of the commerce of our period; because contemporary records are mostly silent on the matter. Nevertheless accounts of travellers like Al Idrisi, Ibn Batuta and Marco Polo, help us in giving a fairly good idea. Kalyan was a highly important port trading in cloth, brass and black-wood logs right from the 6th century A.D. Coastal trade was carried on in other ports of minor importance like Thana, Sopara, Dabhol, Jayagad, Devagad and Malvan. Revenues from all these ports appear to have been extensive. From the Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva it appears that the import duties on the coastal trade were less than those on the foreign trade. Thus, cotton yarn and cloth, rough as well as fine, muslins, hides mats, indigo, betel nuts, coconuts were the chief articles of export from Maharashtra.

Thana in the 13th century, says Marco Polo, used to import gold, silver and copper. Import trade in horses was quite intensive. The Periplus' observation that dates, gold, slaves, Italian wine (in small quantity), copper, tin, lead and flint glass were among the articles of import at the port of Broach, appears to be mostly true of ports of our period in Maharashtra.

Bullock carts appear to be the principal means of transport. Horses, being fairly dear, were not easily available for the purpose. The bullock carts, however, must have been quite comfortable as

Tavernier in the 17th century speaks of their being more commodious than anything invented for ease in France and Italy. Besides this vehicle, oxen and horses of an inferior breed must have been used for speedy transport or in the case of transport in hilly tracts. Members of the lower castes as well as Muslims used to take to the caravan's profession. Regarding conditions of roads, it may be assumed that they were not so bad as Periplus and Tavernier in their days speak of. The reason seems to be that the Rastrakutas who ruled the Deccan for a considerably long period in our age, must have been compelled to keep roads in good conditions for their military operations.

Rayatvari continued to be the prevailing tenure in our period as well ; but it seems that a class of Zamindars did exist to some extent. Members of this class were assigned royal revenues. Some of the contemporary records mention *gramapati* along with *gramakuta*. These *Gramapatis* probably refer to officials who were assigned revenues of villages.

Regarding land-transfers, there is sufficient evidence to show that in the transfer of land during the 10th century the seller and the purchaser only were not concerned; the consent of the village community or the Mahajanas of the locality was considered necessary. Nevertheless, such consent appears to have become more or less formal at the end of our period. Epigraphical records of the 13th century do not mention this consent as a necessity. Smṛti literature also confirms this. Vijnanesvara in his lengthy introduction to the *Dayabhaga* section maintains that the consent of the village community was merely intended for the publication of the transaction. He makes it clear that the transaction does not become *ultra vires* if such consent is not obtained. Village artisans like the smith, the potter etc. were maintained by the community by assigning to them certain grain-share from each fanner. The artisans in their turn, were to cater for the needs of the farmers during the year. This system prevails in many villages even now. The barter-system was also in vogue.

Many coins of gold and silver are mentioned in contemporary records. A number of silver coins of Krsnaraja bearing the *Parama-mahesvara-mata-pitr-padanudhyata-Sri-Krsmrajah* has been discovered in the district of Nasik and Vidarbha. These coins, however, imitate closely the latest Gupta coins and cannot therefore be attributed to the Rastrakuta emperor Krsna ¹. They were issued by the Kalacuri King Krsnaraja who flourished in the 6th century A.D. and were known as *Krsnarajarupakas*. Damma and Suvarna are the principal coins of our period. In Karnatak and Tamil Land of our days, Kalanju, Gadyanaka and Kasu are mentioned. Damma appears to be the Sanskritised form of the Greek coin *drachm*. One of the Kanheri inscriptions belonging to the age of Amoghavarsha I mentions *drammas*. Silver *drama*

¹ Rapson—*Indian Coins*, p. 27.

appears to be approximately one-third bigger than our four anna silver coin weighing about 48 grains. Cambay plates of Govinda IV mention a gift of 1,400 villages that yielded a revenue of seven lakhs of Suvarnas². Very probably Suvarna here denotes a coin weighing 65 grains like the *Dramma*.

All coinage was in gold; the *dramma* was the only exception. As silver coins of Southern India of our age are very rare, it is difficult to convert the prices of gold of our age into the corresponding prices in rupees of the present day. According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Nasik cave inscription No. 12 shows the ratio between the prices of gold and silver to be 1 : 14³. The Sukraniti composed towards the end of our period gives the ratio as 1 : 16⁴. Tavernier in the 17th century says that the golden rupee was equal to 14 silver ones. This indicates that the relative prices of these two metals were fairly constant from the 1st to the 17th century A.D.

Guild organisations have been an important feature of Hindu trade and society from early times and in our period these organisations had provided banking facilities. Members of these guilds were spread over different localities. Two inscriptions—one from Kolhapur dated Saka 1058 and the other from Miraj dated Saka 1066⁵—give a very interesting information about a guild of Vira-Banafijas. Membership of this guild was spread over four districts. The Vira-Bananjas guild mentioned in a Miraj inscription had an executive of 15 belonging to different localities in the district. Further, this inscription makes it clear that members of such guilds contributed towards religious objects also and the guild had its own rules and regulations probably binding upon all members. This is also confirmed by Smṛti literature as Manu⁶ and Yajñavalkya⁷ lay down that the rules and regulations of the guilds were to be respected by the king, if they did not come into conflict with public interest. The Kolhapur inscription mentioned above refers to the banner of the Vira-Bananjas bearing the device of a hill. This brings out that the association of particular banners with particular devices mentioned in Harivamsa (Chap. 86, 5) is not imaginary. The fact that the Kolhapur record describes the members of the guild as 'persons whose breast was embraced by the goddess of impetuosity and bravery' indicates that the guilds were required to maintain troops in view of their authority and rule over towns or districts. The village communities had also banks of their own.

Contemporary records give us a fair idea about the money market. The normal rate of interest on permanent deposits was 12 to 15 per cent. per annum and this was generally given by banks of

¹ I.A., XIII, p. 133

² E.I., VII, p. 26.

³ Carmichael lectures, 1921, p. 191.

⁴ Sukraniti, IV, 2 ; 98.

⁵ E. I., XIX, p. 33.

⁶ Manusmṛti, VIII, 41.

⁷ Yajñavalkya Smṛti, II, pp. 187-88.

the guilds and the village communities. Manu¹ and Yajnavalkya² permit the same rate of interest (i.e. 15 per cent.) on cash capital. A Kanheri inscription of the time of Amoghavarsa I³ (814 to 880 A.D.) mentions a certain investment in a local bank which had consented to pay an interest upon it perpetually; the rate of interest, however, was to be determined by experts from time to time. This is only-natural as a definite rate cannot be guaranteed for all time to come. Another Kanheri inscription of about the same date⁴ tells us that the premier of the local Silahara dynasty had to invest 160 drammas for fetching annually 20 drammas for Buddha worship, 3 drammas for the building repairs, 5 drammas for the robes of monks and 1 dramma for the purchase of books. This shows that the rate of interest that prevailed at Kanheri towards the end of 9th century appears to be about 17 per cent. per annum. Ordinary debtors seem to have obtained loans from banks at a much higher rate of interest i.e. 20 per cent. also. If the security were to be of doubtful value, it is natural to expect a still higher rate of interest i.e. about 30 to 35 per cent. per annum. Manu and Yajnavalkya mention that Brahmanas, Ksatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras should be charged interest at 24 per cent., 36 per cent., 48 per cent. and 60 per cent. respectively. This indicates that lower and poorer classes, who were unable to give a good security, must have been charged interest varying between 30 per cent. and 50 per cent. This conclusion is well supported by epigraphic evidence also where depositors of best security appear to have been charged at a rate of 15 per cent. only. This incidentally explains why a usurer i.e. *Vardhusika* was held in low esteem by the Smrtis which declare that he should not be invited for a Sraddha.

It is not easy to reconstruct the price level of our period ; as records from Maharashtra are not able to furnish sufficient evidence in this matter. There are, however, many records available in the Tamil districts of the contemporary period, on the basis of which the prevailing prices of articles can be found out. These prices could not have been very different from those prevailing in Maharashtra. The prices can be arrived at only after determining the modern equivalents of the various measures prevailing in those districts. Thus 32 seers of rice were available for one rupee. Oil was as costly as good ghee as two and half seers of both could be purchased for one rupee. Curds was about 20 per cent. dearer than rice as is indicated by two records at the time of Rajaraja.⁵ Pulses were, in fact, costlier than rice and this appears to be a peculiarity of Southern India. In Northern India of the day they were cheaper than rice. Among miscellaneous articles camphor was very costly; one tola of which could be purchased for 2¼. rupees. Among fruits, plantains were cheaper than at present; for one pice or two Paisas of

¹ *Manusmrti*, VIII—41.

² *Yajnavalkya Smrti*, 11—37.

³ *I.A.*, XIII, p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 136.

⁵ *South Indian Inscriptions*, II, pp. 74, 129.

to-day as many as 10 plantains were available. Among cattle, the cost of a cow was about three times that of an ewe ;an ewe cost about 6 to 7 as.; while a cow about 1 rupee and 2 as. One she-buffalo cost about 2 rupees and 4 as. About land-prices, fertile lands were approximately four times costlier than ordinary lands. An acre of tax-free land cost about 25 rupees. On the whole, it can be stated that the price-level of 1930 A.D. (the time when cheaper prices prevailed) was 700 per cent higher than that in the 10th century. The ratio to-day would be much higher still.

The data to determine the cost of living can also be had from the contemporary records of Karnatak or Tamil provinces. A capital outlay of 16 or 17 Kalanjus was found sufficient to provide a rich meal throughout the year. Paddy in those days was sold at about 10 Kalams per Kalanju (i.e. one rupee purchasing 32 seers). The cost in cash per individual per annum can be approximately said to be $3\frac{3}{4}$ Kalanjus i.e. about Rs. 19 because one golden Kalanju weighed about a quarter of a tola. The cost of a poor meal, it appears, was half of this amount. It is interesting to note that an inscription¹ of the time of Parantaka I belonging to the first half of the 10th century speaks of only Kalanjus invested for feeding one Jain devotee at the local Jain temple. As a Jain devotee is allowed only one simple meal a day, it can be surmised that this was one fourth of that invested for providing a rich meal to Brahmana at Ukkal. The conditions in Maharastra must have been practically the same.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION.

Hinduism.

It is well-known that Hinduism had started setting its house in order since the days of the great emperor Asoka who was converted to Buddhism in the later years of his reign. Our period is important from the point of view of its powerful revival. The fact that Buddhism was never very strong in the Deccan is indicated by the fact that the pious Fa Hien did not think it proper to visit the Deccan on being told that the people, there, subscribed to erroneous views and did not respect the law of the Buddha to an appreciable extent². This information given to Fa Hien was undoubtedly based on hearsay report; but it need not be considered as far from the truth. The Vakatakas who ruled Northern Maharastra were orthodox Hindus; the founder of the house distinguished himself by performing a number of Vedic sacrifices like Agnistoma, Aptroyama and Asvamedha, and his descendents were either followers of Siva or Visnu; but they were never Buddhists³. Earlier rulers of the Calukya house, who later rose to power, were also devout followers of the Vedic religion and were proud of having performed Vedic sacrifices like Agnicayana, Vajapeya, Asvamedha, Bahusuvana etc.⁴ This contributed to the decline of Buddhism in the Deccan. Yuan Chwang speaks of 100 monasteries in Konkan but states that the number of heretics was considerably large. The case could not have been very different in Northern Maharastra also. The number

¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, III, No. 197.

² Legge, Fa Hien—*A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, Chap. XXXV.

³ Fleet—*C, I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 236.

⁴ Mahakuta Inscription of Mangalesa—I, A., XIX, p. 17.

of Buddhist monks in both these provinces was only 6,000. In fact, the total Buddhist population in the Deccan at the middle of the 7th century appears to be not more than 10,000 and this number also considerably dwindled towards the end of the 10th century.

It is, however, interesting to note that the revival of Hinduism did not very much affect the fortunes of Jainism in the Deccan; possibly for two reasons. Firstly, Jainism was fortunate to acquire State patronage under the Kadarhbas, Calukyas, Western Gangas as well as Rastrakutas. In fact, many Rastrakuta kings along with their generals were Jains. Secondly, important Jain saints and writers like Samantabhadra, Akalankdeva, Manikyanandin, Prabhacandra, Jinasena, Gunacandra and Vidyananda were able to wield great influence over the masses due to their works and achievements.

It must be stated, however, that our age was known for wide and sympathetic toleration. Cases of persecution were, really speaking, exceptional. From the fifth century A.D. the Puranas were advocating the very same view that all deities were the manifestatons of the same divine principle and their followers were not justified in quarrelling among themselves. This view was generally accepted. Krsnavarman of the Kadamba dynasty who describes himself as the performer of Asvamedha, had given a liberal grant for maintaining a Jain establishment¹.

Amoghavarsa I undoubtedly was a follower of Jainism ; yet he was an ardent believer in the Hindu goddess Mahalaksmi, going to the extent of cutting off one of his fingers and offering it to her under the belief that an epidemic, from which his kingdom was suffering, might vanish due to such a sacrifice on the part of the king². Mahasamanta Prthivirama, a contemporary of Krsna II, is known to have erected a Jain temple in 875 A.D. The Belur inscription of Jayasirhha dated 1022 A.D. contains a reference to the donor Akkadevi practising religious observances³ prescribed by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (i.e. Visnu) and Rudra. The Belgave inscription of Somesvara I dated 1048 A.D. opens with the praise of Jina, followed immediately by that of Visnu. This inscription informs us that at the behest of the king, one Lord Nagavarman caused to be built a temple of Jina, Visnu, Isvara and the Saints. A certain amount of feeling against this spirit is, at times, exhibited in the philosophical writings of the period; but even here behind the superficial clash, an inner current of synthesis can be easily perceived. Advaita philosophy of Sankara appears to have been influenced by the Sunyavada of Nagarjuna, as many of the verses in the Mulamadhyamakarika of Nagarjuna are found anticipating the position later assumed by Sankara.

¹ I. A., VII, p. 34.

² Safijan Copper Plates, *Epigraphia Indica*, XVIII, p. 248.

³ I. A., XVIII, p. 274.

It need hardly be stated that along with this spirit of tolerance for heterodox schools, harmony prevailed among the followers of the different sects of Hinduism. The opening verse in the Rastrakinta copper plates pays homage to both the Gods, namely Siva and Visnu. Their seal, sometimes, has the eagle, the vehicle of Visnu; at times it is Siva seated as a Yogin. A verse in the Surat plates of Karka speaks of the fact that Indra, the father of the donor, did not bow his head in front of any other God except Sankara¹. This smacks of certain narrowness which might have been exhibited occasionally in our period; but it cannot be taken as the spirit of the age. In the 10th century at Salotgi in Bijapur district, there existed a temple constructed for the joint worship of Brahmadeva, Siva and Visnu². Such temples are illustrative of the tolerant spirit of the age.

This spirit of toleration was extended towards Muhammedans also. Several Muhammedans who had settled in western parts for commerce, were allowed to practise their religion openly. They were allowed to build Jumma masjids for their use³. Muslim officers were appointed to administer their personal law⁴ to the Muslim inhabitants. This toleration is in sharp contrast to the brutal treatment of the Hindus by Muslim conquerors of Sind who demolished Hindu temples, imposed Jizia tax upon them and enslaved thousands of Hindu women and sold them in the streets of Baghdad⁵. Although Hinduism of our period was in a position to inflict similar indignities on the Muslim inhabitants of the Hindu States in the south (as well as in the north) the fact that it did not resort to such actions speaks of the attitude of universal brotherhood adopted and followed in practice which has no parallel in history.

Hindu revival which reached its culmination during our period can be considered from three aspects, theological, philosophical and popular. The greatest exponent of the theological movement was Kumarila who boldly advocated the cause of pure Vedic religion. In fact, this movement had begun much earlier i.e. from the days of Patanjali; the famous grammarian. Nayanika, the widow of the third Satavahana king, is known to have celebrated a number of Vedic sacrifices like Gavamayana, Aptroyama and Asvamedha.⁶ One of the early Calukya kings is also recorded to have participated in many Vedic sacrifices⁷.

But the arguments of this school were unable to convince the popular mind. The doctrines of Ahimsa and Sanyasa had become so popular that a person championing the cause of Vedic sacrifices involving slaughter of animals, could not attract and influence the minds of the people at large. Hence kings of our period are hardly

¹ Cf. *****
***** *Epigraphia Indica* XXI, 143.

² *E. I.* IV, p. 66.

³ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 27 and p. 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 27.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 170, 173 and 182.

⁶ *C. I. I.* III, p. 236.

⁷ *I. A.* XIX, p. 17.

found boasting about their performance of sacrifices. It is true that many of the Rastrakuta kings have givefai grants to the Brahmanas for performing their religious duties ; but these duties were generally of the Smarta rather than of the Srauta type i.e. duties connected with *bali*, *caru* and *vaisvadeva*. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV¹ are an exception because in these it is clearly stated that the grant was given for enabling the Brahmanas to perform Vedic sacrifices like Rajasiya, Vajapeya and Agnistoma. The Atri Smrti, of our period, boldly declares that *brakmanya* cannot result by following the Srauta religion to the exclusion of the Smarta one. Thus it is clear that performance of Vedic Sacrifices was abandoned in theory as well as in practice of our age. Alberuni was informed that the Vedic sacrifices were rarely performed and almost abandoned because long life, presupposed for their performance, was no longer seen in the present age. This appears to be another excuse for not performing sacrifices which had already become unpopular.

The philosophical revival had also commenced much earlier i.e. from the days of the formation of the present Brahmasutras (about 200 B. C.) The Brahmasutra school carried on the work of expound-ing the Hindu philosophical view and refuting the views of heterodox schools of thought i.e. heresies of the Jainas and the Bauddhas. The greatest exponent of this school was Sankaracarya (788-820 A.D.). This great philosopher, although born in Kerala, was really an all-India figure and considerably influenced the thought of the people in the Deccan.

Sankaracarya advocated the superiority of Sanyasa to Karmamarga and maintained that Vedic sacrifices had only a purificatory effect. This helped the age to abandon Vedic sacrifices and rituals. It is true that Sankaracarya's theory went equally against Smarta rituals also; but it must be borne in mind that people generally apply theories to the convenient extent; they do not prefer to apply them to the logical extent. It must also be remembered that Sankara, himself a great admirer of Purarnic deities, composed prayers containing devotional fervour. In this way he proved to be a great asset to the popular religion.

Tradition says that the Acarya toured the whole of India preaching, discussing, controverting different views and founding monastic establishments throughout India. He founded four Mathas in the four corners of India styled as Pithas wielding great influence down to modern times. There is sufficient evidence to show that the philo-sophico-literary activity enunciated by him, continued for over four centuries. But it is indeed strange that epigraphical documents have shown no trace of him so far. Hence it is difficult to precisely estimate the effect of the teachings of Sankara on popular life.

¹ E. I- VII, p. 41.

It must be admitted, however, that Sanyasa did not become more popular than before. From this point of view, the negative evidence of epigraphy appears to be significant. Hindu Sanyasins never figure as grantees in the epigraphical records of the Rastrakutas as well as their feudatories. Sulaiman's words viz. "In India there are persons who in accordance with their profession wander in woods and mountains and rarely communicate with the rest of mankind" undoubtedly refer to Hindu Sanyasins; but the presence of these need not necessarily be attributed to the influence of Sankara as the theory of four Asramas, accepted from the times of yore, can also explain the presence of such Sanyasins. The reason for the failure of Sankara's advocacy of Sanyasa appears to be its association with heterodoxy in the mind of the people, created by the Jain and Buddhist monasteries that were flourishing for centuries.

The Mathas founded by Sankaracarya, till recently, were so influential that a decree i.e. Ajnapatra from them was held in very high esteem by the people. But it appears that these institutions did not wield such influence in the Deccan of our period. Firstly, our contemporary records do not mention any Pitha or its activities. Secondly, there are indications that down to the 12th century A.D., the term Jagadguru which subsequently designated exclusively the occupants of the Pithas founded by Sankara, used to denote ordinary Brahmanas of outstanding eminence and learning. The Managoli inscription of 1161 A.D.¹ mentions one celebrity by name Isvara Ghalisasa as Jagadguru in the Brahmadeya village of Manigavelli, who flourished towards the end of the 10th century; and who was adored and worshipped by Taila II, the overthrower of the Rastrakutas. This Isvara Ghalisasa was a married man and had no relation with any Pitha whatsoever. If the Sringeri Pitha at Sankesvar, fairly near to the village, had any special religious influence, it certainly would not have allowed this Brahmana to assume the title Jagadguru. The right to give a final verdict in socio-religious matters was neither claimed nor conceded to the occupants of the Pithas during our period. The Sukraniti mentions royal officers known as Dharmapradhanas or Panditas who were to review the social and religious practices, to find out which of them, although prescribed by Sastras, were against the spirit of the age, which were completely obsolete having neither the sanction of Sastras nor of custom and to issue order regarding points of dispute that would secure a person's well being this as well as the yonder world². According to the Smrtis, both old and new³ this function belongs to a Parisad or conference consisting of distinguished persons of great learning and sterling character. In view of this, it is better to assume that the occupants

¹ *E.I.* Vol, V, p. 15

Cf. *****

***** *Sukraxiri* II-98-100.

³ Gautama II, 10, 41-48 ; Manusmrti XII, 110 ; Yajnavalkya I—9 ; Satatapa 12 and Sankha, IV.29, 63.

of the Pithas acquired their present powers and prestige after the fall of the Hindu states and the consequent establishment of Muslim rule. As years elapsed, the prestige of the Pithas increased considerably in the whole of the Deccan and the Parisads were completely forgotten.

Popular religion namely the religion of the masses of our period can be said to be Smarta Pauranic religion. This movement had commenced with the later Smrti writers and the remodellers of the older Puranas who were successful in completely capturing the imagination of the masses. Although, it has not become possible to fix precisely the chronology of these works, it is certain that most of them belong to the period between 500 to 1000 A.D.

The Smrtis had advocated the gospel of the Pancamahayajnas in place of the Vedic sacrifices involving slaughter of animals. Smarta Agnihotra was fairly common among the Brahmanas of our period. Atrisamhita (V. 354) says that a Brahmana who does not keep such Agnihotra, is a person whose food should not be accepted. Albsruni also' confirms this fact by mentioning that the Brahmanas who kept one fire were called Istins and those who kept three fires were styled as Agnihotrins¹.

In comparison with Smrti writers, later Nibandha writers have increased the Smarta ritual to such an extent that almost no time is left for secular duties. Nibandha writers definitely lay down three baths for a Brahmana; the composers of the Smrtis of our period hesitate between one and two. Sankha lays down one bath only; while Daksa, Katyayana and Vaiyaghrapada² add one more at midday. The theory of three daily baths began to appear towards the end of the 13th century. Alberuni has rightly observed, " Evidently the rule about the third bath is not as stringent as that relating to the first and second washing"³. The number of Sandhyas was also increasing at about our period. The etymology of the word shows that Sandhya cannot be performed more than two times during the day. Atri, however, lays down that a twice-born should recite Sandhya thrice and Vyasa supplies three different names to the three different Sandhyas viz. Gayatri, Sarasvati and Savitri, respectively. There is no wonder that Nibandha writers prescribe three Sandhyas universally. In short, Smrti writers of our period were evincing a tendency to make the simple Smarta religion as complex and rigid as the Srauta one. Detailed rules for *Sauca*, *dantadhavana*, *snana*, *acamana* etc. were being framed so as to leave very little scope for individual liberty. From the 12th century onwards, rigidity of ritual became a prominent feature of the Smarta religion. This process has already started during our age.

¹ Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau, I, p. 102.

² Quoted in Smrticandrika, Ahnikakinda, pp. 290-201,483.

³ Alberuni's India, edited by Sachau, II, p. 342.

Popularity of the Vratas can be considered to be another characteristic feature of Hinduism during this age. These Vratas were advocated by the Puranas. The Vratakaumudi mentions 128 Vratas ; while the Vrataraja speaks of 205; all of these are based on the authority of Puranas. As Vratas offered opportunities to individuals of both sexes for personally going through a religious life of austerities along with the prospect of fulfilment of desires, they powerfully appealed to the people, and still retain their hold on the minds of the Hindus in rural areas. In our period, they were slowly but certainly, gaining in popularity. Along with Vratas, Prayascittas were also coming to the forefront in the sphere of religion. Later Smrtis like Laghu-Satatapa, Apastamba and Brhad-Yama, which are not far from our period, are almost entirely devoted to the discussion of Prayascittas or penitential rites.

The Puranas, it must be admitted, offered new anthropomorphic nuclei for religious devotion and the deities in their Saguna form glorified by them became immediately popular among the masses. Epigraphical records of our age bear eloquent testimony to the popularity of Puranic deities. Saivism and Vaisnavism were evidently the main sects as is clear from the fact that the Rastrakuta grants generally open with a verse containing a salutation to both, the gods viz., Visnu and Siva. A temple of Sarada existed in Managoli¹. Some records especially Ragholi plates of Jayavardhana² speak of the prevalence of the Sun worship. We cannot precisely determine whether Vithoba of Pandharpur, the most popular deity of Maharashtra today, existed in our age. An inscription of Belgaum district dated 1250 A.D. refers to a grant made in the presence of Visnu at Pundarika-Ksetra described as situated on the banks of Bhima³. The name of the Tirtha and its situation on the Bhima river obviously attest to the existence of the Vitthala temple at Pandharpur in 1250 A.D. It appears to be a famous centre of pilgrimage in those days also as premier Mallasetti made a donation in the presence of Visnu at this Ksetra. The fame of the temple was, however, well established by the middle of 13th century A.D. As it was a famous centre at this time it can be safely assumed that the worship at the place must be a couple of centuries old at the time.

Besides, worship of some aboriginal deities was also current among the masses. The worship of Mhasoba, for example, can be mentioned. Al Idrisi very probably refers to this worship in the words, "Others worship holy stones on which butter and oil is poured."⁴ He also mentions tree and serpent worship. The followers of all these different gods appeared to a foreign traveller as forming different sects. Al Idrisi, for example, speaks of the existence of 42 different sects at his time. But the underlying idea was, on the

¹ *E. I.* VII, p. 143.

² *Ibid* IX, p. 42.

³ *I. A.* XIV, p. 70.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 76.

whole, the worship of the self-same God under different manifestations ; and hence they cannot be called as different sects.

The problem of the origin and development of image worship is not easy to solve. Neither Dharmasutra writers nor Manu refers to the worship of images in temples or public places. Probably the example of Buddhism with its attractive temples and Viharas might have influenced the Hindu mind to emulate their practices. Any way, it is true that temples soon became recognised as holy public places of worship during our age. In fact, they became a characteristic feature of Hinduism. Some of the temples in the Deccan must have been centres of wealth also. It is known that Krsna I gave a number of gold and jewel ornaments to the Siva image in the Ellora temple, which he had excavated from solid rock at a great cost¹. Lands and villages were alienated for different temples. Cambay plates of Govinda IV² dated 930 A.D. speak of the king's gift of 400 villages and 32 lakhs of drammas for various temples in his dominion. Under such circumstances, provisions made for the maintenance of watchmen for bigger temples³ should not cause any surprise.

It appears that part of charity that flowed into temples was utilised in a useful way. Some temples used to contribute towards maintaining educational institutions. Epigraphical evidence proves the existence of many feeding houses run from such charities of temples and maintained in them. One of this type existed at Kharepatan⁴ in Konkan. Some records give an idea of the daily temple life also. We learn that daily worship was done three times a day. Rice and other articles were included in the *naivedya* to the deities. Flowers and garlands were indispensable for worship and records mention grants assigned for flower garlands that were required for the temples. Temple worship was usually entrusted to Brahmanas; but the non-Brahmana Gurava worshipper makes his appearance during our age. In the Ramesvaram temple on the Tungabhadra, worship was being performed by a Gurava in 804 A.D. at the time of the visit of Govinda III. Sivadhri, who received a grant from the emperor, is clearly described as a Gurava in the record⁵. It is interesting and important to note that Gurava worshippers in the Siva temple at Mantravadi in Dharvar district, were required to maintain the vow of celibacy⁶.

Grhya-Sutra ritual enjoins animal sacrifices in connection with popular deities like Vinayaka, Ksetrapala etc.⁷. That such sacrifices prevailed in our period in Northern India, is vouchsafed by Alberuni. But these were considerably rare in the Deccan of our period, as Al Idrisi, who was intimately acquainted with the conditions in the

¹ I. 4., XII, p. 159.

² E.I., VII, p. 26.

³ *Ibid.* V, P. 22 as well as South Indian Inscriptions II, p. 301—3

⁴ *Ibid.* III. P. 30.

⁵ I. A., XI. p. 127.

⁶ E.I., VII, p. 202.

⁷ *Manava*, II, 14 ; *Apastamba* XX, 12-20; *Bharadvaja*, II, 10 etc.

South, does not mention them. This weaning of the masses in general from animal sacrifices may possibly be attributed to the influence of Jainism in our period.

The Puranas as well as the Smrtis of our age extolled the importance of the various Tirthas or holy places in the different parts of India, making pilgrimage very popular among masses. The popularity of Prayaga, Varanasi and Gaya was greater than that of the Sun temple at Multan and the Siva temple at Prabhasa; the latter is mentioned by Muslim writers who point out that some of the devotees used to crawl on their bellies in the final stage of their journey¹. The Laghu Satatapa Smrti (V. 10) declares that many sons should be desired, so that at least one of them may go to Gaya and perform Sraddha. Other Smrti writers bring out the importance of consigning the dead bodies to the river Ganga. There is no wonder, therefore, that this cult of pilgrimage was quite popular in the Deccan also. Dantidurga went to Ujjayini for performing Hiranya-garbha-maha-dana.² Some records say that a person interfering with charity described therein, would incur the sin of slaughtering a thousand cows at Varanasi and Ramesvara.³ Incidentally, this shows how the cow was held in great veneration in our days. The cow is considered to be sacred even in the modern times. In those days, travelling to such distant places involved very great danger; hence there arose the doctrine of getting merit vicariously through somebody by requesting him to dip many times in the sacred waters on one's own account. This is also mentioned in certain Smrtis.

Charity was considered to be the most effective way of acquiring religious merit. Hiranyagarbha-dana made by Dantidurga has been prescribed by Matsyapurana (Chapter 274). Tulapurasadana (giving a quantity of gold equivalent to one's own weight) said to have been made by Dantidurga⁴, Indra III⁵ and Govinda IV⁶, has been prescribed again by Matsyapurana (Chapter 274) and Hemadri's Danakhanda (p. 212). The occasions on which gifts are made are also those that are considered sacred by Smrtis and Puranas. The College of Salotgi in Bijapur district got good gifts on a *sarva-pitr-amawsya* day⁷. The Karhad plates of Krsna II⁸ were issued on the 13th day of the dark half of the month of Phalguna which has been described as a Varum day. One Upapurana⁹ declares that this day is called Varum as being presided over by the lunar mansion Satataraka; Mahavaruni if the day is Saturday and Mahamahavaruni if there is also an auspicious Yoga on that day. The day referred to in the above record (930 A.D.) was Wednesday as it is described as a simple Varuni day.

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 67.

² *E.I.*, XVIII, p. 248.

³ *I. A.*, XII, p. 220, 225.

⁴ Samangad plates, *Ibid.*, XI, p. 111.

⁵ Begumra plates, *E. I.*, IX, p. 24

⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, p. 30.

⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 355.

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 260.

⁹ Quoted in the Tithi Tattva as cited in *Sabdakalpadruma*.

It is evident that during our period Hinduism came into contact with Muhammedanism. Travellers had come and settled down in western India and consequently mosques began to appear. In Sindh hundreds of women were forcibly ravished and thousands of men were converted to Muhammedanism during these times. The attitude of Hinduism towards all these problems is noteworthy. The Smrtis of these days permit reconversion. The Devala Smrti composed in Sindh for this purpose permits reconversion of forcibly converted men within a period of 20 years. Brhad-Yama (V. 5-6) lays down a suitable Prayascitta for admitting such people back to the fold of Hinduism. In the case of women forcibly ravished, the Smrtis like Devala declare that they can be readmitted to their families after an appropriate Prayascitta or penitential ceremony, even if ravishment had resulted in conception. This was in theory and in those days Hinduism was not so short-sighted and conservative as at present so as to deny this in practice. Cases of reconversion must have been there; at least one specific case of reconversion has been mentioned by Al Utbi¹. Muslim writers like Al Biladuri² themselves give further evidence to show that reconversion on a mass scale used to take place during the 8th and 9th centuries.

It is indeed a great pity that the lead given by the Smrtis in this matter was not followed a few centuries later. There is evidence to show that towards the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Hinduism started hesitating about this process of reconversion. The masses were still in favour of reconversion; but the orthodoxy had started frowning upon this healthy practice. It has been already shown that interdining and intermarriages among various members of Hindu castes was disallowed towards the end of the 12th century. This created greater difficulties in the way of reconversion to the Hindu society. Alberuni, for example, rejects all reports about reconversions and accepts the information of his Brahmana informants. He declares "How should that (i.e. reconversion) be possible? If a Brahmana eats in the house of Sudra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it".³ From this it appears that ideas of excessive purity were responsible for frowning upon the practice; it started with the Brahmanas and slowly spread through the masses.

There is not much evidence to indicate the social relations between the Muslims and the Hindus of our age. The fact that the Muslims of our period were using Indian dress and speaking Indian languages⁴ may indicate that great exclusiveness probably did not exist at the time. It is, by no means, unlikely that the mosques in the ports of western India had some Hindu worshippers also.

Buddhism.

Two Buddhist establishments are known to have flourished in Maharastra during our period; one was at Kanheri near Bombay and

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 32-33.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 126.

³ Alberuni's *India* edited by Sachau II, p. 162-63.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 89.

the other at Kampilya in Solapur district. Three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Amoghavarsha I¹ (821—880 A.D.) confirm the existence of a Buddhist Sangha at Kanheri. Several records of the Satavahana period are preserved in these caves. This proves that Kanheri was a centre of Buddhism during that period. During our age also, it certainly was famous as a Buddhist centre. This is confirmed by the fact that an inhabitant of distant Bengal is found constructing meditation halls and making permanent endowments for the benefit of the monks of this Sangha. The endowment made provision for the purchase of books also, which indicates that this Sangha had a library or perhaps a school attached to it. This Sangha was situated within the direct jurisdiction of the Silaharas who, it appears, looked upon it with a sympathetic eye; as one premier of this state is known to have made an endowment for supplying clothes to the monks.

The Buddhist monastery at Kampilya is known to have received a village in donation from Dantivarman's grant. Kampilya or Kampila appears to be a village in Tuljapur taluka of the Osmanabad district. In addition to these two establishments, the existence of two Buddhist monasteries at Dambal in Dharwar district is proved by an inscription of the time of Vikramaditya VI dated 1095-1096 A.D. These are the only known centres of Buddhism during our period. It is, therefore, evident that Buddhism had lost its hold upon the mind of the people. In fact the decline had started from the 8th century; and by the 10th century Buddhism disappeared from India, its real birth-place. There are two or three reasons for this. Firstly, the Brahmanas successfully revived the Srauta and Smarta religion by introducing the necessary changes and by assimilating the rites as well as gods that were not originally their own. This helped the Brahmanas not only regain their place in the hearts of the people at large, but enabled them to impress their necessity upon them. Contrasted with this, the Bauddhas as well as the Jainas remained haughtily aloof from the institution of the family and thereby lost their importance. Secondly Buddhism in its early phases, especially the Hinayana sect, continued to proclaim their atheistic doctrine. The idea of God in his Saguna form irresistibly appealed to the human mind, and its absence in the Buddhist doctrine went a long way in weaning away the minds of the masses. It is true that the Mahayana sect tried to rectify the mistake by raising Buddha to godhood; but it divested Buddhism of its quint essence and was rather too superficial to attract the people. Towards the beginning of the 13th century the Bhagavata Dharma stepped into the field and boldly offered a hand of assistance and relief to the suffering masses in the words "Do not grieve" (*ma sucah*). Unflinching devotion appeals to the common man; not meditation through knowledge. There is no wonder, therefore,

¹ I. A., VII, p. 25.

Buddhism could not hold its own in India. Philosophical revival under the leadership of Sankara, largely contributed to its downfall. Lastly, the scholastic and missionary activities of the Jainas during this age also contributed to undermine its importance to some extent; although Jainism was not very strong in Maharashtra.

Jainism

A majority of the kings, feudatories and officers of our period were followers or patrons of Jainism. Amoghavarsha I of the famous Rastrakuta family was more a Jain than a Hindu. Jinasena in his *Parsvabhyudaya* calls himself as the Paramaguru i.e. chief preceptor of this king who used to regard himself as purified by merely remembering that holy saint (himself)¹. The *Sarasangraha*, a Jain mathematical work, also refers to Amoghavarsha I as a follower of Syadvada². The last of the Rastrakutas namely Indra IV was a staunch Jain as is clear from the fact that on having failed to regain his kingdom from Taila II, he is known to have committed suicide by the *sallekhana* vow.³ Royal patronage considerably helped Jainism to prosper in the Deccan especially in the province of Karnatak of our days. The period produced a galaxy of Jain authors and preachers. Muslim travellers, it appears, mistook Jainism for Buddhism. When Rafiduddin states on the authority of Alberuni⁴ that the people of Konkan and Thana were Samanis or Buddhists at the beginning of the 11th century, it proves the prevalence of Jainism rather than of Buddhism in parts of the Deccan during the 10th and 11th century. The words of late Dr. Altekar⁵ "that at least one-third of the total population of the Deccan of our period (of the Rastrakutas) was following the gospel of Mahavira," contain an amount of truth. In the 10th and 11th century, Jain temples had become the replicas of the Hindu temples. The worship of Mahavira had become as sumptuous and luxurious as that of Visnu and the Sun. It is true that Jainism preaches the doctrine of Ahimsa in a more extreme form than Buddhism ; but curiously enough, their doctrine had not an emasculating effect upon its followers during this time. Jainism of Amoghavarsha I did not come in his way of offering a dreadful feast to the God of death on the battlefield of Vingavalli. The same is true of the Kadamba king Krsnavarman who, although a Jain, was proud of his title 'Ranapriya' i.e. 'a lover of war.' Towards the end of the 12th century, however, Jainism lost its hold on account of the rise of Lingayata sect which grew probably at its cost.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

Education.

It is natural that knowledge of the three R's was not regarded as a necessary equipment for every citizen in those days. Members of industrial classes paid more attention to initiating their wards into the secrets of their profession than to those of the three R's. It has been already pointed out that village communities arranged to meet

¹ *I. A.*, XII, p. 216-18.

² Winterintz, *Geschichte der indischen Literatur*, III, p. 575.

³ *I. A.*, XXIII, p. 124.

⁴ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 68.

⁵ *The Rastrakutas and their Times*—Chapter XIII, p. 313,

their normal needs on the basis of the grain-share system. Thus the carpenter, the black-smith etc. whose services were necessary for every village, were assigned a grain-share that was paid to them annually at the time of the harvest. The teacher does not appear among the grain-sharing people. This shows that the services of the primary teacher were not considered essential. So it is probable that only Brahmanas and the trading classes cared for literacy.

Epigraphical records fail to throw any light on the arrangements made in an ordinary village for primary education. Neither Smritis nor accounts of foreign travellers help us in the matter. It appears that the village accountant or the priest or members of his family were undertaking the task of giving education as was required by the people. The guardians probably paid these people at the time of the harvest according to their means. The teacher had to supplement his income by the customary gifts in kind or cash on occasions like Dasara etc. In many cases, the village teacher of those days possessed some elementary knowledge of medicine and also got some money for writing letters, bonds and leases.

There is ample evidence to indicate arrangements made for higher education in our age. Higher education in those days meant Sanskrit education. Veda, Vyakarana, Jyotisa (astronomy as well as astrology), Sahitya (literature), Mimamsa, Dharmasastra, Nyaya (logic) and Puranas were the main branches of study. The donee of the Dhulia plates of Dhruva dated 779 A.D.¹ is declared to be well versed in the Vedas, Vedangas, History, Puranas, Vyakarana, Mimamsa, Logic i.e. Nyaya, Nirukta and Liturgy. Great predominance was given to grammar which was considered to be the key to the knowledge of all sciences, and must have been extensively studied.

The Society of our period did not pay much attention to the Dharmasastra injunction of studying the Vedas for 12 years laid down for the first three castes. The Vaisyas of our age had already lost their right to study the Vedas and the Ksatriyas though permitted to study them, preferred to follow the Puranic ritual. The normal Ksatriya youth, in those days, naturally took to military training; in fact Ksatriyas taking seriously to education were very rare. Among the Brahmanas, only the professional priests had to and did concentrate upon the study of the sacred lore; the average Brahmana intending to enter government service, or trade would have hardly bothered about the study of Vedic mantras. Proficiency in Dharmasastra was, however, necessary for entering the judicial branch of government service. It can be pointed out that Vedic study did not mean only cramming of Vedic Mantras; the title Vedarthajna in one of our records² shows that their meaning was also studied. Astrology had become an important and popular subject. Royal courts used to maintain astrologers³. One of our records speaks

¹ E.I. VIII, p. 182.

² I.A. XIV, p. 69.

³ Kavi plates, *Ibid.*, V, p. 145.

of an endowment to found a College where the works of the famous Bhaskara were to be studied¹ .

Higher education was imparted mainly in two places ; (1) Mathas associated with temples with an endowment from the state or from private sources, (2) special educational institutions conducted by private individuals or village communities with the help of the public or the state. Bhadravisnu gave a donation to the Buddhist Vihara at Kanheri in the reign of Amoghavarsa I, a part of which was utilised for purchasing books. This monastery at Kanheri was obviously maintaining a library. Itsing (p. 155) tells us that these monasteries attended not only to the training of the monks but also to the children of the laity. Some temples used to indirectly help the cause of education by giving free food to the students in the feeding-houses attached to them². Kalas from Dharvar district and Salotgi in Bijapur district were *agrahara* villages and Sanskrit colleges run in these were quite famous. Narayana, the minister of the Rastrakuta Krsna III, is known to have built a hall attached to the temple of Trayi-purusa in which this college was located³. Ordinary villages also sometimes had their schools and colleges. One institution imparting Sanskrit education existed at Yewoor in 1077 A.D.⁴ another was located at Belur in Bijapur district in 1022 A.D.⁵ Probably many more institutions existed; although their memory is not preserved in epigraphical records. These institutions were financed partly by the state endowment and partly by private charity.

Literature

The energy of schools and colleges indicated above, was mainly devoted to the study of Sanskrit. Inscriptions of our period indicate that the Kavya or classical style of writing had its firm hold on the Deccan upto 10th and 11th century. Kielhorn has indicated how the poets who were responsible for writing the *sasanas* of the Rastrakutas were indebted to works like the Vasavadatta of Subandhu and the Kadambari and the Harsacarita of Bana. The author of Kadab plates of Govinda III tries to emulate or rather imitate the style of Bana in the prose portion. Epigraphical poetry of our period does not strike the reader as being one of the first order mainly because of the lack of pratibha. It is interesting to note that most of the epigraphical poetry is in the Vaidarbhi style.

On the whole, the output of Sanskrit poetry or literature in our period is not very rich in quality. Kumarila, Sankara, Sarvajnatman, Vacaspati in the realm of philosophy, Lalla along with his pupil Aryabhatta II in the branch of astronomy, Kamandaka and Sukra in the sphere of political science are, no doubt, celebrities of our age; but none of them belongs to our province. We have to rest content

¹ *E. I., I*, p. 30.

² Kharepatan grant, *ibid.*, III, p. 360.

³ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 60.

⁴ *I, A.*, VIII, p. 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 273.

with Harisena's Prasasti composed in the Kavya style and Yasa-stilakacampu of the Digambar Jain Somaprabhasuri. The latter is an extensive work in eight Asvasas composed in 959 A.D. under the patronage of a feudatory of Rastrakuta king Krsna. It relates the legend of Yasodhara, lord of Avanti and the machinations of his consort and ends with the conversion of the king to the Jain faith after repeated births. The artificial style is evident even to a cursory reader. A reference may be made to Vidyamadhava, a poet of the court of the Calukya king Somadeva probably Somesvara IV of Kalyani, who ruled in about 1126-1138 A.D. This Vidyamadhava had written Parvati-rukminiya describing the marriages of Siva and Parvati and Krsna and Rukmini.

The Vakataka kings, who ruled over Northern Maharashtra from 3rd century A.D., were not only patrons of learning but were writers of no mean importance. Sarvasena, the founder of the Vatsagulma branch of Vakatakas, had composed a line work in Maharastri known as Harivijaya. We know about this work from quotations given by celebrated rhetoricians like Dandin, Anandavardhana and Bhoja. The Harivijaya teems with excellent passages.

The Yadavas of Devagiri, who came to power by the end of the 12th century, were great patrons of learning in Sanskrit as well as Marathi. Hemadri, who distinguished himself by his learning, was the Srikaranadhapa in the reign of kings Mahadeva and Ramadeva. His Caturvargacintamani, a standard work on Dharmasastra, is divided into 4 sections known as Vratakhanda, Danakhanda, Tirtha-khanda and Moksakhanda. The Ayurvedarasayana is the result of his research in Ayurveda. Hemadri's commentary on Muktapphala, a work of Bopadeva, is also famous. Bopadeva was also a prolific writer with 26 books to his credit. He was a master of medicine, grammar and astronomy.

Marathi language and literature were given a great encouragement during the reign of the Yadavas of Devagiri. The earliest inscription found in this language belongs to Sravan Belgola in Mysore dated Saka 930 i.e. 1008 A.D. Another at Gardanda belongs to Saka 1077 i.e. 1155 A.D. The Cahgadeva inscription of Patan, dated Saka 1128 i.e. 1206 A.D. as well as one more found at Pandharpur, dated Saka 1195 i.e. 1278 A.D. also belong to Marathi proper. The pioneer of the Mahanubhava sect is one Govinda Prabhu *alias* Gundam Raul who was a resident of Rddhapur near Amaravati. It is, now accepted that he died in Saka 1200 i.e. 1278 A.D. The disciple of this person, the illustrious Cakradhara (1298 A.D.), was the most successful preacher of the Mahanubhava sect in Vidarbha. Many persons received inspiration from Cakradhara and contributed largely to the development of the Marathi language. Thus Mhaimbhatta's 'Lilcaritra', Bhaskarabhatta's 'Sisupalavadha', Narendra's 'Rukminisvayamvara', Damodara's 'Vatsaharana', Visvanatha Balapurkar's 'Jnanaprabodha', Ravalo Vyasa's 'Sahyadri-varnana' and Naro Vyasa's 'Rddhapuravarnana' deserve mention. These writings have paved the way for the development of Marathi.

Mukundaraja, the author of ‘ Vivekasindhu’, ‘ Paramamrta’, ‘ Pavanavijaya’, ‘ Mulastambha’ and ‘ Pancikarana’ is considered to be the first well known writer in Marathi proper. He belonged to Marathvada and flourished in the end of 12th century. Thus Marathi became known as the language of literature towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century. This paved the way for the celebrated Jnanesvara (1275 A.D.), the author of Jnanesvari and the founder of the Bhagavata dharma. He was responsible for establishing Marathi as the language of the literature of the best order.



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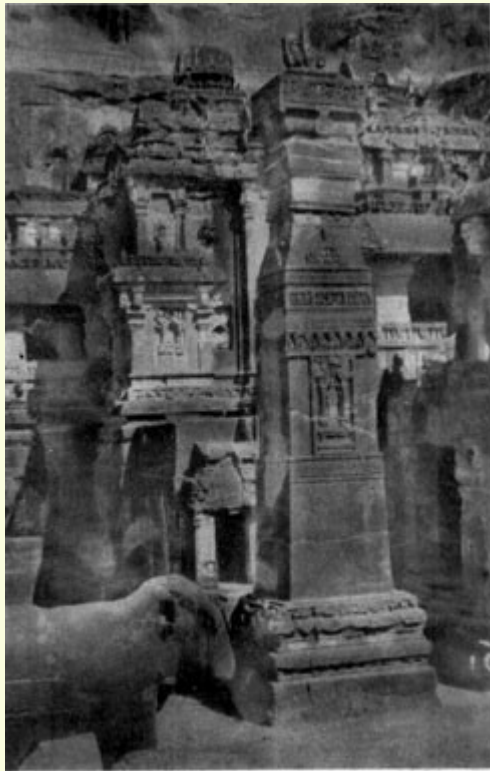
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Kailash Temple—Ellora



Bodhisattva Padmapani



Carvings on the Walls of Karla Caves



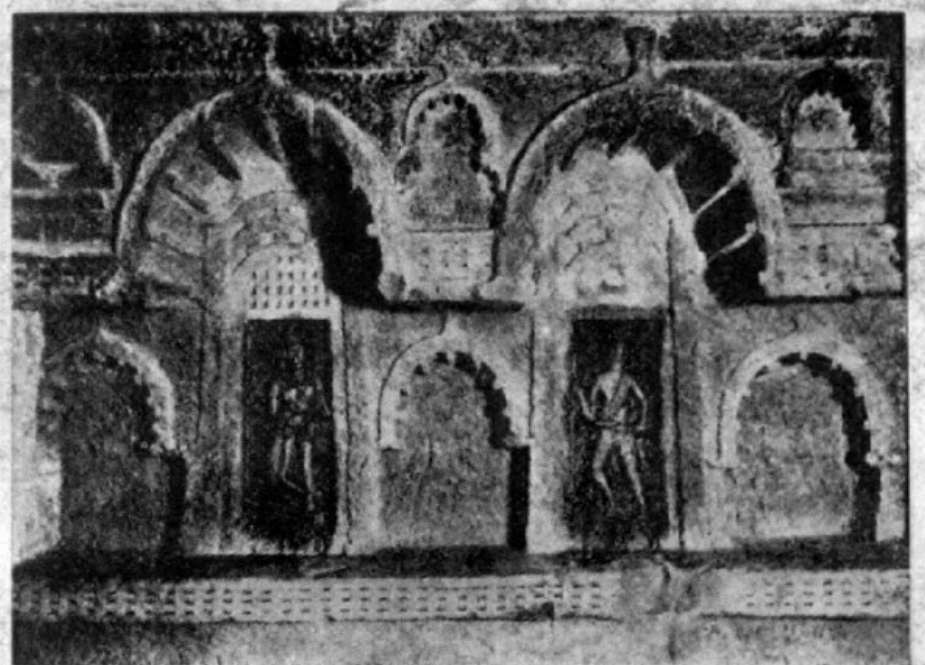
Magnificent Trimurti—Elephanta



The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora Caves 3 to 6



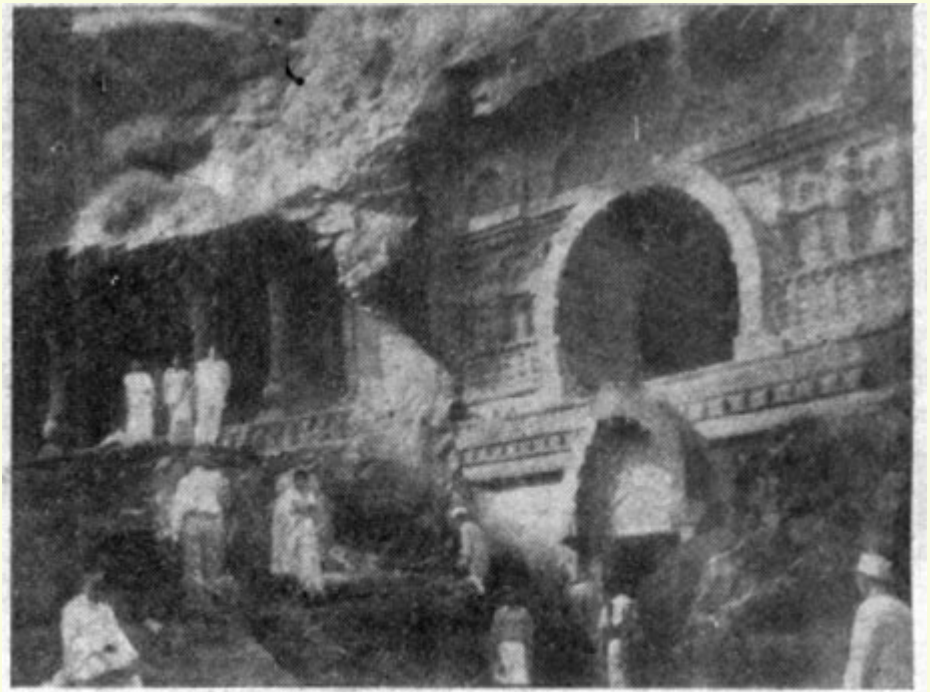
Bedsa Caves—Lonavla



Vihara—Bhaja Caves



A general view of Pale Caves, Mahad



Pandav Lene (caves)—Nasik



Pillar bracket at Ajanta Caves



Ambarnath Temple near Kalyan



Ajanta Cave No. 19