ANCIENT HISTORY
OF THE
DECCAN

BY
G. Jouveau-Dubreuil
Doctor of the University of Paris,
Professor, College of France.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
BY
V. S. S. M. Radha Bhanu Rai, B.A.
Officer, Gitanjali College,
Calcutta.

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BY

V. S. SWAMI\NADHA DIKSHITAR, B.A., L.L.B.
Officer d'Académie
Professor of English, Colonial College, Pondicherry.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

A. D. Anno Domini (After Christ).
A. S. W. I. Archaeological Survey Western India.
B. C. Before Christ.
Ind. Ant. Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
Lüders's list. List of inscriptions in Ep. Ind. Vol. X.
Rapson. Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra dynasty, the Western Ksatrapas, etc, in the British Museum, by Prof. Rapson, London.
INTRODUCTION

India may be divided into two parts, the North and the South. From the remotest times, this division has been adopted by the Indians who have given the name of Dakshiṇa (Dakshiṇāpatha) or ‘The South’ to all the Country that extends from the Narbadā to the extremity of the peninsula. In this work, we shall use the word Deccan to designate the ancient Dakshiṇa, but with this little restriction, that the three Southernmost kingdoms of Chōḷa, Chēra and Paṇḍya, which have always remained a little isolated, shall be excluded. We shall therefore call “The Deccan” the large tract of country which is bounded on the north by the Narbadā and the Mahanadi, on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the west by the Arabian Sea, on the south by the Nilgiri Hills and the Southern Peṇṉār (which reaches the sea near Cuddalore and which is the northern boundary of the Chōḷa country according to the poetess Auvaṟṟar).

We have limited our subject in extent; let us now proceed to fix a time-limit for it. “Ancient History of the Deccan” means for us “the history of the Deccan in ancient times” and
the words "ancient times" denotes the 9 centuries extending from 261 B.C, to about 610 A.D, that is to say, from Asoka to Pulakesin II. In fact, we have no historical document anterior to Asoka; and so we shall begin our history from the time of this king, about 261 B.C, (the Kalinga war). On the other hand, from the time of Pulakesin II, about 610 A.D, we have a large number of historical documents and the history of the Deccan is mostly known. It is therefore this historic period between 261 B.C, and 610 A.D, that is denoted by the words, "Deccan in Ancient times" and that we are going to study in this work.

The only book in which we find some information on their subject is the "Bombay Gazetteer" Vol. I. Part II (1890) which contains two works: "Early History of the Deccan" by R. G. Bhandarkar and "Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts" by J. F. Fleet. This book is well-known and there is no need to praise it here. But to-day it has one defect: it is twenty-five years old and during this last quarter of a century numerous discoveries have been made and "The Bombay Gazetteer" Vol. I. Part II. is not at all "up to date". Besides, this book itself does not contain, strictly speaking, the history of the Deccan in ancient times. The portion concerning the ancient times is very succinct, for, in 1896, the number of documents concerning it was small. Moreover, the Bombay Presidency does not by itself constitute the whole of the Deccan.

We may therefore say that today the History of the Deccan is quite a new subject. The student who wishes to know what was the History of the Deccan between 261 B.C, and 610 A.D, does not know what books to consult. This history is lost in obscurity. Still it is not the documents that are wanting; for the dynasty of the Kadambas alone, we have about thirty copper-plates. We have also plenty of information about the Pallavas and the Gangas. Why then is the chronology of these dynasties so mysterious? I thought that what was wanted most at the present time was to arrange the parts and make a whole work of it; I thought that a complete and attentive study of all the documents we actually possess will throw a flood of light on the darkness, bring order out of chaos and, in short, give birth to, what we have not had up to
the present, the Ancient History of the Deccan.

Such a study is very important, as it is the history of nine glorious centuries of this large country. The documents that we have concerning the Deccan of the ancient times enable us to conclude that all this period was one of high civilisation and historical celebrity. We shall see that during the epoch of Aśoka, the Deccan was not at all uncivilised. The art of writing was known a long time before it and the inscriptions of Aśoka were read and understood very well at that time. From a military point of view, the Deccan was never more powerful than at the time of Śāṅkaraṇī who, without doubt, succeeded many times in vanquishing the kings of the northern countries and annexing a part of their territories. From a sculptural point of view, the Deccan, like the North, was inspired by the Greek and Roman arts and the marbles of Amrāvati can be compared to the sculptures of Gandhara. If now we consider the monuments, the Deccan is much superior to the North. If we compare the ancient monuments of Northern and Southern India we find that the North is relatively poor. In the Deccan there is a very large number of sculptured rocks at Udayagiri, Jumna, Ellora, Nāsik, Kanheri etc. And speaking only of the chief of them, which are the monuments in the north that will bear comparison with the grand Chaitya at Kārli that is equal in its dimensions to the Gothic Cathedrals, or with the monasteries of Ajanta with their marvellous painting? There is, it is true, the great Stupa at Sāñchi, but this monument is in Bhillā near Deccan; it may even be considered a monument of the Deccan, since its bales-trade which is the cause of all its celebrity has been sculptured, as is evident from an inscription, by the workmen of one Śāṅkaraṇī, that is to say, a king of the Deccan. Writing the history of the Deccan therefore means writing the history of the most remarkable monuments of India.

If we look at a map we find that the Deccan is an immense country, almost one half of India. If we examine the monuments, we shall have the certainty that this country has enjoyed a high degree of civilisation and if we bear in mind that the history of the Deccan in ancient times is the history of nine glorious centuries, we cannot but conclude that this history is well worth studying and that it must come out of the
almost complete obscurity in which it has remained up to the present day.

This book is up to date as far as the documents available in India up to the end of 1919 are concerned.
CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY KINGS

1st. Asoka.

One of the well-known events in the history of Asoka is the conquest of Kaliṅga which probably took place about 261 B.C. and it is not astonishing to find an inscription of Asoka at Dhauli. This town situated in the delta of the Mahanadi is in all probability the ancient Tosali, capital of the kingdom of Kaliṅga; for, according to Mr. Haraprasad Sastri, Tosali is etymologically identical with Dhauli. It is not more astonishing that there is another inscription at Jaugada (Ganjam District, Madras Presidency), as this place certainly formed part of the kingdom of Kaliṅga (concerning the Kaliṅga edicts, see Ind. Ant., Vol V, pp. 82-102; also Arch. Surv. Southern India, Amaravati, by Burgess, pp. 114-25).

The discovery of an inscription at Sopārā (Thānā District, Bombay Presidency) near Bombay, has proved that the north-west of the Deccan as well as the north-east where Kaliṅga is situated has been under the domination of Asoka. But the discovery, in 1892, of the inscriptions of Asoka near Siddāpura, in Mysore, which have immortalised the name of Mr. Rice, has caused very great surprise. They did not, in fact, think that the empire of Asoka extended up to the southermost part of the Deccan. One very important point in the history of India was thus well established. So, the discovery, (see Hyderabad Archaeological Series No 1) only a few years ago, of an
Inscription at Máski (Lingsugar Taluq, Raichur District) in the State of Hyderabad has caused no surprise.

The Siddápura edicts (near Brahmagiri, in Molakálmuru taluk; see Ep. Carn. Vol. XI, MK, 21, 14, 34, and Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions by Mr. Rice, page 11; see also Fleet, J. R. A. S., for 1903, page 829 and J. R. A. S., for 1904, pages 1 and 355) present certain peculiarities which have been pointed out by Bühler and especially “the particular uncouth form of “ma” with its abnormally large upper limbs” (which re-occurs in the inscriptions on the crystal prism from the Bhaṭṭi-prólū stūpa, Ep. Ind. Vol. III, page 135). These details are very important. One is indeed led to believe that the edicts were engraved by the emissaries of Aśōka who came from the north, but that the people of those distant countries, where the edicts were published, understood very little of those Inscriptions that were written in a language and an alphabet almost unknown to them. We may also suppose that at the time of Aśōka the people of Mysore were almost savages. On the contrary, the Siddápura, inscriptions prove that South India had a special alphabet which Bühler has called “Drāviḍi” and that the art of writing was known many centuries before Aśōka, for, in the III century B.C. the alphabet of the South has had time to vary from that of the North. Besides, the special alphabet used in the Siddápura inscriptions proves that the edicts of Aśōka were engraved by some Southerners who must therefore have understood the language of Aśōka and attained as high a degree of civilisation as the northerners.

It is almost certain that Aśōka led only one expedition, that to Kaliṅga. But how did the rest of the Deccan come under his domination? It is to be supposed that, at the accession of Aśōka, the whole of the Deccan except Kaliṅga was already in the possession of the Mauryas. There are also, in Mysore, certain legends about the Mauryan king Chandragupta (see "Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions" by Mr. Rice). We may also suppose that the rest of the Deccan quietly submitted on hearing of the conquest of Kaliṅga. Be it as it may, it is certain that the whole of the Deccan was under the suzerainty of Aśōka and that, consequently, the political unity of India was a fait accompli, twenty-two centuries ago.
§ 2. Kubēra of Bhaṭṭiprōlu.

In the year 1892, Mr. A. Rea deposited in the Madras Museum six large stones of the caskets that he had discovered in the centre of the dome of the stūpa at Bhaṭṭiprōlu (Repallē taluk, Guntūr District) near the mouth of the Krishṇā (see G. O., 18th June 1892, No. 423). These inscriptions were written in an alphabet which Bühler (page 39 of the Appendix of Ind. Ant. Vol. XXXIII) considers to be very old: "immediately after Aśoka or about B. C. 200" (see J. R. A. S., 1892, p. 602, "A new variety of the Southern Maurya Alphabet by G. Bühler"). One of these inscriptions (No. 1338 of Lüders's List) says that "at that time, Kubiraka (Kubēraka) was king" (see Bühler, Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 323).

We know nothing more about this king Kubēra; we do not know the name of the dynasty to which he belonged and the extent of his kingdom.
§ 3. Khâravela of Kaliña.

The Udayagiri hill is situated nineteen miles south of Cuttack in Oriissa. The Jains have cut many caves there. One of them called Hâttigumphâ contains a famous inscription which has been decently copied and studied only in 1917 (See Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. III, December 1917, pp. 425-507).

This inscription dated the 165th year of “râja-muriyakâle” which corresponds to the 13th year of the reign of Khâravela, king of Kaliña, gives us very valuable information about the reign of this king. He belongs to the Cheta dynasty; he vanquished Sâtakarâî and forced Bahapati, king of Râjagriha to flee to Mathurâ. Besides, the inscriptions in the Mancha-puri cave (see Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 159, No. 13) mention (insc. No. I) the chief queen of Khâravela who was the daughter of King Lâlâka, the grandson of Hastisâha (insc. No. II), the king of Kaliña Kûdêpasiri and (insc. No. III) the prince Vaûkha.

The date 165 will be of very great value if we knew exactly the origin of the era that has been employed; unfortunately we have to remain content with a supposition; it is however probable that this era dates from the coronation of Chandragupta and in that case the year 165 will correspond to 157 B.C.

The reading and the translation of the Khâravela inscription as given by Messrs. R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal, is open to some criticism; Mr. R. C. Majumdar (Ind. Ant. Vol. XLII, Aug. 1918, pp. 223 and 224) has contested many of these conclusions (see also: “Khâravela” by Ramâprasâd Chanda in J. R. A. S., July 1919, page 395). However, Mr. Vincent A. Smith (J. R. A. S. for 1918, page 543, “New light on Ancient India”) has admitted that king Bahapati can be identified with Pushyamitra and with Bahasatimitra of the coins and inscriptions, and he places the epoch of Pushyamitra in about 160 B.C.

The synchronism of Sâtakarâî and Khâravela with Pushyamitra is enough, by itself, to establish approximately the date of the ancient kings of the Deccan,
§ 4. The earliest Sātavāhana kings.

No. 1. Śātakarni of Nānāghāṭ.—Nānāghāṭ is a defile (the Nana pass) in the mountains to the east of Bombay. There is here a chamber cut in the rock to serve probably as a place of shelter for travellers. The walls of this cave contain inscriptions (No. 1112 of Lüders’s list in Ep. Ind. Vol. X) and further there are remnants of some bas-reliefs representing certain personages. These bas-reliefs contain explanatory legends (Nos. 1113, 1114, 1115, 1116, 1117, 1118 of Lüders’s list). From these inscriptions Bühler (A. S. W. I., Vol. V, p. 66) has drawn the following conclusions: Śātakarni, king of Dakshiṇapatha and son of Śimuka of the Sātavāhana dynasty gained many victories and performed the horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha) twice. After his death, his wife Nāganikā, daughter of Mahāraṇī [Trā]nakayiro [Kaṇṭa] Ṭāya, the scion of the Angira family, was proclaimed regent during the minority of the princes; the elder called Vediśri and the younger Śakti-Śri (Śaṭi-Srimat) or Haku-Śri. Here we have to note that an inscription at Nāsik (No. 1141 of Lüders’s list) mentions the granddaughter of Mahāhakuśri (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 91). As prince Hakuśri was but a child at the time when the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions were written and his granddaughter was an elderly woman at the time of the Nāsik inscription (her son Kapanaṇaka was probably a man at this time) the two Haku-Śris may be identified with each other by supposing that there was an interval of about a century between the two inscriptions. The palæography of the inscriptions seems in fact to indicate nearly this difference in age.

The alphabet of the inscriptions in the Nānāghāṭ cave seems almost to belong to the same epoch as that of the Khāravela inscription; and all the authors have admitted the possibility of identifying Śātakarni of Nānāghāṭ with the one mentioned in the Khāravela inscription.
No. 2. Krishṇa of Nāsik.—In Nāsik there is a small cave which seems to be the most ancient of all this group of excavations that are found in this place. An inscription (No. 1144 of Lüders's list and Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 93) tells us that it was caused to be made by an inhabitant of Nāsik in the time of Rājan Kānha (Krishṇa) of the Śādvāhana family. The alphabet of this inscription is analogous to that of the Nānāghāt and Udayagiri inscriptions.

We must mention here that according to the Purāṇas the dynasty of the Āndhras (Śādvāhanas) was founded by a king name Śiśuka, who had as his successors his brother Krishṇa and a third king called Sātakarnī. The name Śiśuka is possibly a modified form of the name Simuka that we find in Nānāghāt, that his brother Krishṇa was he of Nāsik and that Sātakarnī was the one of Nānāghāt.

No. 3. Sātakarnī of Sāñchi.—The grand Stūpa at Sāñchi which dates from Aśoka has been restored and embellished at different times. The most interesting part of it is undoubtedly the balustrade which has four magnificently ornamented gateways. The oldest of them (Archaeological Survey of India; Report for 1913-1914, page 6) is the one in the south. It is also the only one that contains an inscription in which the name of a king is mentioned and this name, strange to say, is Sātakarnī. This inscription says, in fact, that an image is due to the sculptor of the great king Sātakarnī. Unfortunately, this name has been borne by a great number of Śādvāhana kings. We are however glad to have the certainty that this dynasty extended its empire up to Bhilsā, namely the antique Vidiśā, and that it was precisely under this dynasty that one of the most celebrated monuments of India was sculptured. The inscription has been reproduced only in fac-simile in Cunningham's "Bhilsā Topes" where it figures as No. 190. Bühler has formed the following judgment (Ep. Ind. Vol. II, p. 88) on the characters of the inscription: "they are almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of the characters of Aśoka times."
There can therefore be no question of identifying this Śātakarni with the later king Gautamiputra though this king probably reigned not far from Śāńchi. The characters of our inscription are much too archaic. We cannot also identify this Śātakarni with those of the Udayagiri or Nānāghat inscriptions, for it was Pushyamitra that reigned at Bhilsā at this time. When, then, did Śātakarni of Śāńchi reign? It is probable that Bhilsā, which was under the Mauryas passed directly into the hands of the Śungas. It was the capital of the viceroy Agnimitra. We are sure (Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1908-1909, page 127) that later on Kāutsiputra-Bhāgabhadrā was the king of Vidiśa (Bhilsā) and a contemporary of Antialkidas. If the Besnagar inscriptions, to which we allude, mean by Kāsipurā Bhāgabhadrā the 9th Śunga king, there is no doubt that Bhilsā remained in the possession of this dynasty till the 10th king, Devabhūmi, the successor of Bhāgavata (Bhāgabhadrā) was murdered by Vasudēva Kāśyapa.

It is not impossible that a Śātavāhana helped Vasudēva in his usurpation and so appropriated the country of Bhilsā to himself. It must have taken place about 72 B. C. Besides, it is very probable that the Śakas invaded northern India in the middle of the 1st century before our era; it is possible that this great conquest took place about 58 B. C; at this epoch the Śātavāhanas would have been driven not only from Bhilsā but also out of Mahārāṣṭra. There is therefore room to think that the Śātakarni who is mentioned on the Śāńchi gateway reigned at Bhilsā between 72 B. C and 58 B. C. or in round figures from 70 to 60 B. C. I think that the alphabet of the inscription and the style of the sculpture accord with each other to justify this date.

The most ancient coins of the dynasty of Śātavāhanas have been found in western India and are of the type that Mr. Rapson calls Mālava fabric and which he thinks is "connected with the early east and punch-marked coins of Eras" (see Rapson: "coins of Andhra dynasty" page 1, Nos. 1 and 2). These coins represent an elephant and a river and bear the inscription "Śrī Sata." We may think that this king reigned at an epoch which is very close to that of Śātakarni of Śāńchi.
CHAPTER II.

THE ŚAKA PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE DECCAN

§ 1. The Kshaharātas.

To understand the history of the Deccan in the 1st century B. C. and the first two centuries A. D., we must know the history of the whole of India at this epoch; but that history is very uncertain even today; and we do not wish to force a theory upon our readers but intend only to set forth our personal opinion on this subject.

In the II century B. C. the Śaka tribe that came from the north entered into Northern India; from that time they were intimately connected with another tribe, the Parthians, and had close relationship with Persia. In the history of India, the names of Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas are mentioned simultaneously and denote those foreigners that came from the north-western frontier. It is probably about 100 B. C. that one of these princes reigned at Taxila under the name of Maues. Later on, about 60 B. C., Azes I ascended the throne. This king probably had a long and glorious reign. It was perhaps in his time that the Parthians and the Śakas conquered almost the whole of northern India and a portion of the Deccan. When the Indo-Parthian kings Azes I, Azilises, Azes II, Gondophernes were reigning over the Panjāb, the rest of the empire was governed by more or less independent princes who bore the title of Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas.

In the province surrounding the Gulf of Cambay (Surāśṭrī,
Ujjain, Aparânta) there reigned the Śaka kings who were called Bhûmaka and Nahapâna. The Śakas called Hagâna, Hagamâsha, Râjuvula, Šoḍâsa, Kharahostes and Kalni reigned at Mathurâ in the valley of the Ganges. The Śakas (Bhûmaka, Nahapâna) that reigned over the country round the Gulf of Cambay (in Surâshtra, Ujjain and Northern Deccan) belonged to the same family as the Śakas (Râjuvula, Šoḍâsa) of Mathurâ; this family was that of the Kshaharâtas. In fact, the Nâsik inscriptions say that the Śakas who reigned in Northern Deccan belonged to the dynasty of the Kshaharâtas and, they have discovered in 1910-1911 at Gañeshrâ (3 miles west of Mathurâ, in mound No. 2 (See J. R. A. S., year 1912, p. 122) a fragment of an inscription (fig. II, plate II) which contains clearly the word “Kshaharâtasa”.

Professor Rapson, who discovered the existence of the name Bhûmaka on the coins, has written: “considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin legends leave no room for doubting that Bhûmaka preceded Nahapâna” (Rapson, coins of the Ándhâ dynasty, page CVIII). These coins bear as insignia, either “the arrow, discus and thunderbolt” or “the Lion capital and Dharmachakra.” “The coins of Bhûmaka seem to supply an important link between the bronze coins of Nahapâna and those struck conjointly by the Pahlava Spalirises and the Śaka Azes” (J. R. A. S. for 1904, p. 372). The insignia ‘Discus, Bow and Arrow’ connect these coins with those of Azes: “It may be compared (Rapson, page CVII) with the rev. type “Discus, Bow and Arrow” of certain copper coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes (Percy Gardner, B. M. cat., Greek and Scythic kings, Pl. XXII, 4; C. Nehr, 1890, Pl. VII, 13). On the other hand, the insignia Lion capital and Dharmachakra were those of the Kshaharâtas of Mathurâ; and in particular the Lion pillar of Mathurâ is well known. We know that the Pahlava Spalirises and the Śaka Azes were kings of Arachosia and Sistân. Azes I reigned in the Panjâb and it would not be impossible that he founded the Vikrama era which begins in 58 B.C. “........he (Azes I) was reigning in the third quarter of the first century B.C., while the probability that he may have founded an era is also suggested by the abundance of his coins, which denote his pre-eminence among the Śaka-
"Pahlava sovereigns" (J. R. A. S. for 1914, page 177—"The date of Kanishka" by J. H. Marshall). We may therefore place the reign of Bhumaka approximately in the second quarter of the first century B.C. (50 to 25 B.C.)

The coins bearing the name "Nahapâna" that were rare at one time have become abundant since the discovery of a treasure containing 13250 coins at Joghaltembhi, near Nasik (see J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII, Art. XVI, page 223). This discovery has made a complete study of it possible. It must first be noted that this coinage extends over a very long period of time. It is not possible to give the exact number of years but it is certainly very large. In fact, we may observe very clearly a certain "evolution" in the style of the coins. For instance, these coins contain two legends, one in Greek and the other in Kharoshthi, but these two writings evolve inversely: when the legend in Kharoshthi is very legible, that in Greek is debased, and on the coins in which the Kharoshthi legend is debased the Greek legend is visible. Such an evolution can be produced only during a very large number of years. We know that with the lapse of time, Kharoshthi disappeared, little by little, from the coinage of India. (see J. R. A. S. for 1904, page 373.) Here I have to make another important remark. These coins bear an effigy which surely is not that of a single individual, since the nose is sometimes aquiline and sometimes straight. Further, the most ancient coins represent sometimes a young man, and sometimes an old man, as is the case also with the less ancient coins. "The Rev. H. R. Scott has pointed out that they exhibit an extraordinary diversity, not only in apparent age but also in features. They cannot possibly have been portraits, in the true sense of the word of, any single individual" (Rapson, page CX). What conclusions are we to draw from these remarks? We cannot say it exactly. It is possible that many kings called "Nahapâna" have reigned in succession. But we may also suppose that there were only one or two Nahapânas, but that, after them, they have continued to use their coinage for a long time. The latter hypothesis will explain the extraordinary diversity in the effigies; the most ancient coins bear the image of the Nahapâna that reigned at this epoch and the less ancient ones contain the image of some figure made to vary according to the fancy
of the coiner.

The coins struck in the name of Nahapâna resemble much those of king Râjûvula (see the plate facing the page 630 of J. R. A. S. for 1913). This is quite natural as Nahapâna and Râjûvula both belong to the Kshaharâta dynasty. But there is an epigraphical detail which proves well the relationship that exists between the coinages of the two branches of this very Kshaharâta dynasty: "........ the letter H found on a coin of Kharahostes and on some of those of Nahapâna......" (J. R. A. S., 1913, page 1013). Concerning the origin of this letter H we shall be content with giving here the opinion of Mr. Thomas (J. R. A. S., 1913, page 1013, note): "I think this H to be not Roman, but Aramaic (it is no accident that it is found only on Šaka-Pahlava coins)"

The coins bearing the name of Nahapâna contain the insignia "thunderbolt" and "arrow", Mr. Vincent A. Smith has written ("Early History of India," 3rd. Edition, page 218): "The arrow and thunderbolt of Nahapâna's coins connect him with the Parthians and the Northern Satraps Hagâna and Hagâmâsha (see Cat. coins in I. M., Vol. I., page 195)

And Nahapâna is a good old Persian name (J. R. A. S. for 1906, p. 211, No. 17.)

A Kshaharâta king named Nahapâna is found mentioned in several inscriptions engraved on the rock-cut excavations in Mahârâshtra, viz. at Kârli, Nâsik and Junnar. These inscriptions say that the daughter of Nahapâna named Dakshamitrâ, married a Šaka (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 85) called Ushavadâta (Rishabhadatta) son of Dinika (inscriptions Nos. 1132 and 1134 of Lûders's list.) This princess and her husband made numerous gifts to the Buddhist monks and had many rock-cut monasteries dug for them. Some of these grants were made at Pokhara (Ajmer) and at Ujjâni (Ujjain) which proves that the dominion of Nahapâna extended over an immense empire comprising Guzârat (Kutch, Surâshtra, etc.), a part of Râjputânâ, Mâlâwâ (Ujjain) and all the northwestern part of the Deccan (Mahârâshtra).

We may often estimate the greatness of empires by the beauty of their monuments. It is therefore probable that the reign of Nahapâna was very glorious, as some of the monuments constructed during his reign are among the most
splendid in India. One of these is the Buddhist temple cut in the rock at Kārli, the immense nave of which equals in grandeur that of the Gothic churches. It is noteworthy that the monuments containing the inscriptions of Nahapāna (at Junnar, Kārli, Nāsik) are all in the same style. This style resembles much that of the balustrade of the grand stupa at Sāñchi. We have already said that this balustrade was probably begun between 70 B.C. and 60 B.C. It must certainly have taken a sufficiently long time to build, for, the style of the sculptures shows that the gateways may be arranged chronologically in the following order: (1) Southern, (2) Northern, (3) Eastern (4) Western, (Archaeological Survey of India, Report for 1913-14, page 9.) It is therefore probable that most of the sculptures of Sāñchi date from 50 B.C. to 1 A.D. and that the monuments containing the inscriptions of Nahapāna have been sculptured shortly before the beginning of our era.

Many of these inscriptions are dated; we have at Nāsik (No. 1133 of Lüders’s list) the years 41, 42 and 45. At Junnar an inscription (No. 1174 of Lüders’s list) that records a grant of Ayama (Aryaman), minister of Nahapāna, give us the date 46. A reign of 46 years is rare; we may therefore suppose that these 46 years are not counted from the year of the coronation of Nahapāna but from the beginning of a particular era. This supposition seems to be confirmed by some other documents. We know that the satraps of Mathurā belonged to the dynasty of Kshaharātas and that one of them Rājūvula (Ranjubula) struck coins similar to those of Nahapāna, and we may suppose that they were contemporaries. The son of this Rājūvula named Śodāsa has left an inscription in Mathurā (No. 59 of Lüders’s list) dated in the year 72 (Āmohini record). Here there can be no doubt. Here it is question of the year 72 of a particular era, for, it is improbable that Śodāsa reigned 72 years. Moreover, Mr. Devadatta Ramkrshna Bhandarkar has affirmed (page 275, Vol. XX of Vol. XX of the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society) "I maintain that on similar paleographic grounds Nahapāna must be supposed to be prior to Śodāsa" and we find a complete justification of this opinion in his paper (‘A Kushan stone
inscription'). Thus Palaeography proves that the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa which are dated 41, 42, 45, 46, are more archaic than the inscription of Śoḍāsā which is dated in the year 72. As these two princes belong to the same family of Kshaharātta (J. R. A. S. for 1912 p. 122) and the coinage of Nahapāṇa resembles that of Rājūvula, father of Śoḍāsā, it is natural to suppose that Nahapāṇa and Śoḍāsā dated their inscriptions from the same era. What can this era be? It is generally admitted now that the inscription of Śoḍāsā is dated from the Vikrama era which begins in 58 B. C. If, then, the Vikrama era was no other than the Kshaharātta era, the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa at Nāsik and Junar will be dated in the years 17, 16, 13 and 12, B. C. These dates perfectly agree with the facts furnished by archaeology. We have said that the art of the monuments of Nahapāṇa at Kārli and Nāsik resemble that of the grand Śūpā at Sāṇchi. It must be noted now that the art of the monuments of Nahapāṇa differs much from the art of the epoch of Kaṇishka. The discovery of the casket in which Kaṇishka locked up the reliques of Buddha has proved, that in the time of Kaṇishka, Buddha was represented with the head adorned with an aureole and the body dressed in a robe with long folds. It is thus that Buddha is very often represented at Amaravati. We see nothing like it in the monuments of Nahapāṇa. It will be too long to give here a detailed history of the evolution of the Hindu art; we shall content ourselves with saying that we can approximately determine the age of the sculptures from the ornamentation and the style. We think it is useless to take up this question again, since we have already developed this theory at great length in Vol. I of our work, "Archeologie du Sud de l'Inde", Vol. I, Architecture. In the course of a series of tours that I made in the Deccan in 1910 - 11, I collected photographs of the principal monuments in this region and particularly those of Kārli and Nāsik. Illustrations intended to support the theory developed in chapters I & II, (pages 15 to 49) of the book will be found in plates I to IX. That theory is the following: there is a difference between the monuments that are anterior to the Christian era and those that are posterior to it. The monuments of Nahapāṇa
at Nāsil and Kārli are of the same family as the stūpa at Sāschi; and are anterior to Jesus-Christ. On the contrary, the sculptures of the epoch of Kānishka, those of the tope at Amaravati, the caves of Gautamiputra at Nāsil and of Yajña Śri at Kañhēri are posterior to Jesus-Christ and are characterised by a very particular kind of ornamentation.

In short, the coinage, paleography and the style of the monuments prove, that, at the beginning of the Christian era there reigned on the shores of the Gulf of Cambay one or more princes bearing the name of Nahapāna. A Nahapāna who had Ushavadāta for his son-in-law reigned in the years 41, 42, 45 and 46 of an unknown era. There reigned in Mathurā some princes of the same dynasty of Kshahārātas. These princes were: Hāgāna, Hāgamāsha, Rājūvula, Śoḍasā Kharahostes and Kalni, and they used a special era. If it is admitted that it is the Vikrama era (58 B.C.) we find that Śoḍasā reigned in 14 or 15 A.D. which well coincides with the information furnished by archaeology (it is the opinion of the Director-general of Archaeology, Mr. J. H. Marshall, see J. R. A. S. for 1914, page 986). The coins show that Nahapāna was very nearly the contemporary of Hāgāna and Hāgamāsha and so it will be a little before the beginning of the Christian era. This is in perfect accord with the supposition that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are dated from the Vikrama era. However, “the question has not been settled” (Vincent A. Smith, the Oxford History of India, 1919, page 153, footnote 1).

Who succeeded Nahapāna or the Nahapānas? It is probable that about the year 20 A.D., Gondopharnes, king of the Panjāb, became master of a great empire that extended all over the west of India; he conquered Arachosia, Sind and the country near the mouth of the Indus; the successors of Nahapāna were probably simple governors of provinces. On the death of Gondophares this empire was parcelled out into petty principalities. The Panjāb fell into the hands of his nephew Abdagases; Arachosia and Sind passed under the rule of Orthaghnes who was followed by Pakores [concerning Orthaghnes, see Gardner, page 109, Pl. XXIII, 9; concerning Pakoires, see gardner, page 110, Pl. XXIII, 8].

The “Periplus of the Erythraean Sea” gives a description
of this region at it was at that time. The date of this work has been determined recently by Mr. J. Kennedy (J. R. A. S. for 1918, page 106). The Periplus mentions Malichas who lived in 67 A.D. and died in 71 A.D. It is therefore probable that the anonymous author of Periplus went on his travels about the year 70 A.D. The Periplus gives a description of the valley of the Lower Indus, which he called Skythia "which is governed, however, by Parthian princes, who are perpetually at strife among themselves expelling each other" (Periplus, Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII, page 138). This description applies perfectly well to the state of Sind after Gondophares. The Periplus mentions two princes of the northern part of the Deccan: the king of Barygaza (Bharukacha=Broach) whose name ends in "hares" (Kennedy, J. R. A. S. for 1918, pages 108 and 113—"Nabhanos-Nahapana is a myth") and the king of Kalliem (Kalyan) who was called Sandanes who was hostile to the foreigners.

Cave No. 3 at Nasik contains an inscription (insc. No. 2,—see Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, page 61, and Lüders's list No. 1123) which is well-known for the information that it gives. We learn that the king Gautamiputra Śrī Śatakarni "destroyed the Śīkas, Yavanas, Palhavas, rooted out the Kshaharāta race and restored the Śātavāhana family."

The inscription says further that Gautamiputra Śrī Śatakarni was king of the following countries: Asika, Asaka, Mulaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparanta, Anupa, Vidartha, Ākaraṇanti. Since these countries once formed part of the kingdom of the Kshaharātas, we may conclude that Śatakarni took possession of them after the destruction of the Kshaharātas (Suratha=Surāṣṭra=Kāthiāwār; Ākaraṇanti=Mālva; Aparanta=the region along the coast, north of Bombay.)

The destruction of the Kshaharātas by Gautamiputra is fully confirmed by the coinage; in fact, out of 13250 coins bearing the name of Nahapana that were discovered at Joghaítembhī, there are 9270 that have been re-struck by Gautamiputra. The re-striking of the Kshaharāta coins by Gautamiputra is for us a very valuable information, for, we may then know for certain what kind of coinage the Śātavāhanas had at the time of the destruction of the Śīkas. The obverse bears the "Ujjain symbol" and the reverse the symbol "chaityā".
From the fact that all the coin re-struck by Gautamiputra bear the name "Nahapāna", certain authors have come to the conclusion that it was Ushavādata own father-in-law that was vanquished: "Gautamiputra killed Nahapāna". A closer examination of the coins proves exactly the contrary. Rev. H. R. Scoll has made three observations: (1) that the coinage bearing the name of Nahapāna extend over a very long period, since it had had the time to evolve considerably. (2) The effigies are of "extraordinary diversity" and "cannot possibly have been portraits, in the true sense of the word, of any single individual" (Rapson, page CX). The first two remarks show that, very probably, the coins bearing the name of Nahapāna have not all of them come from the Nahapāna of the inscriptions so the coins containing the name of Nahapāna cannot allow us to draw any conclusion concerning the Nahapāna of the inscriptions. But the third remark is still more important. (3) "Judging from the condition of the coins, I should say that they must have been a very long time in circulation... before... being counter struck" (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XXII, page 224). The last remark shows that, even if we admit that the Nahapāna of the inscriptions has issued the most recent coins of the whole group, "a very long time" must have elapsed between him and Gautamiputra. That is the opinion of Mr. Vincent A. Smith (Early History of India, 3rd Edition, 1914, page 217): "It is not necessary to believe that Gautamiputra Andhra fought with Nahapāna personally. Study of the great Joghaltembhī hoard of more than 13000 coins of Nahapāna proves that the coinage extended over many years, although always bearing the name of Nahapāna, who I believe was dead before Gautamiputra extirpated his family or clan". Bühlner and Bhagwanlal believed that they could read in one of the Nāsik inscriptions that Gautamiputra made a gift of a field belonging "ull to-day" (till then) to Ushavādata. But M. Séart (Ép. Ind. Vol. VIII, page 72) has proved that the word "ajakāliki-yam" means quite a different thing. Besides, the omission of Nahapāna's name in mentioning the destruction of the Kshaharālas in the Nāsik inscription proves that Gautamiputra has not encountered this great king. All the inscriptions of Ushavādata are in too archaic an alphabet for us to suppose
that he was the contemporary of Gautamiputra. Again, in my work "Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde" Vol. I., I have shown by figure 19 (Vihāras of Nyāśik) that the style of Nahapāna differs much from that of Gautamiputra; and these differences are due to time, since there is evolution of architecture [for instance the "bell-shaped" capitals have been replaced by the "pot shaped" ones. This transformation of the form of a bell into that of a sphere has needed at least one century]. Thus then, architecture and palæography perfectly agree with the coinage to prove that "a very long time" has elapsed between the Nahapāna of the inscriptions, and Gautamiputra, the destroyer of the Śakas.
§ 2. Chashtana, founder of the Šaka era,

During three centuries, Ujjain was the capital of a dynasty of kings whose genealogy begins thus:—

Chashtana

| Jayadaman
| Rudradaman
| Dāmajadaśī
data:text/html;

Jivadaman.

There is no room for doubting that Rudradaman, the representative of the third generation reigned in 130 A. D. Indeed, in 1905-06, Professor Dévadatta Ran-kṛishna Bhandarkar (Archæol. Survey Western India-Progress Report for 1905-06, page 35) has made very important discovery of several inscriptions of Rudradāman dated in the 52nd year of an era which is incontestably (see J. R. A. S. 1899, page 365) the Šaka era (78 A. D); they are the inscriptions of Andhau in Cutch.

The text of the inscription is as follows: Rājña Chāṣṭanasa-Ysāmotikaputrasa rājña Rudradāmasa Jayadāmaputrasa vārśhe dvipachāśe 50, 2. (Progress Report, Archæol. Survey of India, Western Circle 1914-1915, 67).

As the same text is reproduced in many inscriptions, it must be considered correct and there is no room to think that a fragment of it has either been lost or accidentally omitted by the engraver. Since we know from various documents that Jayadāman was the son of Chāṣṭana, the meaning of this text is certainly the following: “In the 52nd year, in the reign of Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, grandson of Chāṣṭana and great-grandson of Ysāmotika.” This
meaning has been accepted for the last 15 years. Very recently, however, Professor Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar (Dekkan of the Śātavāhana period, Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, part DXCVI, June 1918, page 154, footnote 26) has proposed a new interpretation. According to him the inscriptions will be dated in the common reign of Chāśṭana and Rudradāman who would have reigned conjointly: "at first, I was inclined "to supply "pautrasā" after Ysāmotikaputrasa and refer the "date to the reign of Rudradāman (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. "XXIII., page 68) Mr. R. C. Majumdar of the Calcutta "University has kindly offered the suggestion that the date "has better be referred to the conjoint reign of Chashtana and "Rudradāman". This interpretation is not possible: if here it was question of common reign of Chashțana and Rudradāman, the text would be "Rudradāmasa cha varshe" or something else which will show that it was the reign of two persons; but here there is no possibility of any doubt; "Rājñā Rudradāmasa Jayadānaputrasa varsha" can mean only one thing: "the reign of Rudradāman". The inscriptions of Andhau are therefore dated in the reign of Rudradāman and in the 52nd year of the Śaka era which corresponds to 130 A.D.

We know (see Rapson, page CXXIV), that Jivadāman, the representative of the fifth generation, reigned (as Mahākshatrapa) in Śaka 100 which corresponds to 180 A.D. We may suppose that this king ascended the throne about 2 years before it, in 178 A.D. and we may attribute a reign of 23 years to his father Dāmajadaśri. We thus obtain the following chronology:

Dāmajadaśri, acc. circ. 155 A.D.,

| Jivadāman, acc. circ. 178 A.D.

I request the reader to note that this chronology is not something imagined by me: if we open the book of Mr. Vincent A. Smith "Early History of India" 3rd edition, we shall find a plate facing page 218, giving the chronology of Western Kshatrapas; and we shall find there the same dates : Dāmajadaśri, acc. circ. 155 A.D.—Jivadāman, acc. circ. 178 A.D. I have therefore adopted the opinion of Mr. Vincent A. Smith which is certainly very near the truth.

We know the coins of Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, but...
of this prince bearing the title of Mahâkshatrapa have not been discovered so far. If therefore we admit that Jayadâman did not reign at all or reigned only for a short time, we can conclude therefrom that the reign of his father Châshṭana and his son Rudradâman have been long. But what is the duration of a long reign?

In the history of the Pallavas there is the example of king Nandivarman Pallavamalla who reigned for more than 62 years (Tândantottâm plates, 58th year and Tiruvallam inscription No. 76 of 1889, 62nd year) and was succeeded by his son Dantivarman who reigned for more than 51 years (Tiruchchânapuri inscription No. 262 of 1904, 51st year). But such instances are rare and we shall admit that a reign of average length is one of 25 to 30 years and that a long reign may last from 35 to 40 years. So, if we allow that Jayadâman did not reign at all or reigned only a very short time and that the reigns of Rudradâman and Châshṭana were long, we get the following chronology:

Châshṭana, acc. circ. 75 or 85 A. D.

Jayadâman (was living circ. 110 or 115 A. D)

Rudradâman, acc. circ 115 or 120 A. D

Dâmajâdâśri, acc. circ. 155 A. D.

The only objection that has been made to the above chronology is the following: "The inscriptions of Nahapâna are dated in the Śaka era."

It is certain that Châshṭana ascended the throne after the destruction of the Kshaharâtas; an examination of the coins proves it (see Rapson, page 72, Pl. X). When Châshṭana bore only the title of Kshatrapa (var. b; Pl. x: El and No. 259) and later on assumed the title of Mahâkshatrapa (Rapson, Pl. X., No. 260 and fl.) we find on the reverse of his coins the symbol "chaitya with three arches" identically the same as that of the coins restruck by Gautamiputra. The symbol "Chaitya with three arches" on the coins of Châshṭana proves incontestably that Châshṭana was a Satrap of Gautamiputra after the destruction of the Kshaharâtas.

If then the inscriptions of Nahapâna which bear the dates 41, 42, 45 and 46 are dated from the Śaka era and correspond
to 119, 120, 123 and 124 A. D. we must admit that Chashțana ascended the throne after 124 A. D.

This supposition clashes with difficulties which have been exposed by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji in a paper entitled “Nahapâna and the Šaka era” in the “Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society” for 1917, page 273.

We know that Chashțana reigned first as a Kshatrapa and afterwards as a Mahâkshatrapa. We have the coins of Jayadâman only as Kshatrapa. So, these coins bear the “Châitya with six arches” instead of the “Châitya with three arches” which seems to show that Jayadâman reigned as a Kshatrapa for a sufficiently long time after the destruction of the Kshaharâtas. (Rapson, page 76, No. 265 to 268). But, if we admit that the inscriptions of Nahapâna are dated in the Šaka era, there will be only an interval of five years between the inscription of this king dated 46 and the inscriptions of Rudradâman dated 52. Within these years (years 47, 48, 49, 50 and 51), must have taken place:

1. The end of Nahapâna’s reign;
2. The destruction of the Kshaharâtas;
3. The accession of Chashțana as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, his accession as a Mahâkshatrapa, and his reign as Mahâkshatrapa;
4. The accession of Jayadâman as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, and perhaps also his reign as Mahâkshatrapa;
5. The accession of Rudradâman and the beginning of his reign.

That all these events took place within five years, it is not impossible, but it is not probable. It is not probable that the Kshaharâtas were destroyed soon after the inscription at Junnar; it is not probable that the reigns of Chashțana, first as Kshatrapa then as Mahâkshatrapa and of Jayadâman as Kshatrapa and perhaps also as Mahâkshatrapa have taken only four or five years; and it is not probable that Rudradâman ascended the throne exactly before Andhau inscriptions were engraved.

A rash guesser may be allowed to suppose that Rudradâman ascended the throne only four or five years after the end of the reign of Nahapâna. But for laying down
such a supposition he must entirely disregard all information obtained from the archaeology, numismatics, palaeography and philology of India.

(a) Archaeology shows us that the architectural style, the ornamental design and the costumes of the personages of the epoch of Nahapāna clearly point to an archaic epoch very near the beginning of the Christian era and that it is impossible to place Nahapāna in the 2nd century A.D.

(b) Numismatics shows that Nahapāna was the contemporary of the Satraps, Hagāna and Hagāmisha, that the coins of Nahapāna were in circulation for a very long time and a still long period elapsed before they were restruck by Gautampitāra.

(c) Palaeography shows that the alphabet of the inscriptions of Nahapāna is more archaic than that of Śoḍāsa and much more archaic than that of Rudradāman. To say that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are almost contemporaneous with those of Rudradāman and that there was only a five years' interval between the reigns of these two kings is to introduce a monstrous anachronism into the palaeography of these inscriptions;

(d) Comparative philology shows that all the inscriptions of Nahapāna are in Prākrit whereas all the inscriptions of Rudradāman are in Sanskrit.

Upon the whole, we are not sure of the epoch of Nahapāna, but we are quite sure that the inscriptions of Nahapāna are not dated in the Śaka era; and nothing prevents us from admitting that Chashtiya ascended the throne between 75 and 85 A.D.

But, then, can Chashtiya be the founder of the Śaka era, since the 1st year of this era corresponds to 79 A.D.?

Some persons will say: "No, Chashtiya has not founded the Śaka era, because it was Kapiśika that founded it." It is therefore necessary to take up the question of the date of Kapiśika.

This question is perhaps one that has been very hotly discussed and though it is not yet completely settled, it is much more clear today than it was 10 years ago. After the skillful excavations of Mr. J. H. Marshall (see J. R. A. S.; 1914, pages 973-86; and 1915, pages 991-16), it is not possible any more to place Kapiśika before the two Kadphises.
Besides, the close resemblance existing between the coins of Kadphises I. and those of Augustus and Tiberius does not allow any doubt in regard to the approximate age of Kuju-Kadphises. As Fleet says: "We do not dispute in any way the view that at some time closely about A.D. 50, the sovereignty in the Kabul territory passed from the Greek king Hermæus to the Kushan prince Kozoulo-Kadphises, whose son Wemo-Kadphises then established a Kushan empire in Northern India" (J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 969).

We may therefore say now that it is certain that Kanishka did not come to the throne before about 75 A.D.

This date marks the earliest limit, but Kanishka might have ascended the throne much later. Very recently, a scholar (Ind. Ant, Vol. XI. VI. — Part DLXXXVIII, page 261) thought that he had proved that the era founded by Kanishka was the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. This is not possible. In fact, the reign of Vasudeva, the last of the Kushans, came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kanishka. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vasudeva reigned at Mathura. It is certain that this country over which extended the empire of Vasudeva was occupied about 350 A.D. by the Yaudheyas and the Nagas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudra-Gupta. The capitals of the Nagas were Mathura, Kantipura and Padmavati (or Pavëya, at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Para). We know the name of Svanandhi (Archæological Survey of India, for 1915-1916) who was a predecessor of Ganaṭapati Naga the rival of Samudra-Gupta. We have also coins of Gaṇapatimāga (Bühler's Grundriß, Ind. coins § 101, Pl. V, 2). Nāgasena, heir of the house of Padmavati, mentioned in Harsha-charita (page 221), (see J. R. A. S. for 1899, page 448), has been identified by Mr. E. J. Rapson with the Nāgasena of the pillar at Allâhâbâd. We know also the coins (Ind. coins, § 101) of Prabhâkara (J. R. A. S. for 1900, page 117), of Skandana, of Devanâga (Cunningham, coins of Mediæval India, pp. 23 and 24) and of Bhimanâga (Progress Report Arch. Surv. Western Circle for 1914-15, page 60).

The Yaudheyas were formidable at the time of Rudradaman; but the Girmar inscription tells us that they were
vanquished probably shortly before the year 150 A. D. It is probably after the death of Vásudéva that they established themselves in the Mathurā region. We have a stone inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 58, Plate XXXVI, B) found at Bijayagadh [or Bējēgdāth, about two miles to the South West of Byānā, the chief town of the Byānā tahsil of the Bharatpur (Bhurtpoor) state in Rājputānā] which has come to us from the Yaudhēyas and which enables us to know the geographical position of their empire. The alphabet of the inscriptions is intermediate between that of the last Kushāns and that of the first Gupta-. We have also the coins of this dynasty (Cunningham, Coins of Anc. Ind. Pl. VI., 6-8) and the Yaudhēyas are mentioned in line 22 of the inscription on the pillar at Allāhābād (No. 1 of Gupta Inscriptions). The invasion of Samudra-Gupta took place in the middle of the IV century. If we take nearly one century as the duration of the reigns of the Yaudhēyas and the Nāgas, we find that Vásudéva ceased to reign before about 250 A. D. and that Kannishka came to the throne before about 150 A. D.

So the accession of Kannishka should be placed between 75 A. D. and 150 A. D.

We know that Kannishka founded an era and we have just seen that he came to the throne between 75 and 150 A. D. Can Kannishka be the founder of the Śaka era which begins at the end of 78 A. D.? I believe that this hypothesis is not probable for the following reasons:

(1) If we admit that Kujula-Kadphises and Hermogenes reigned about 50 A. D. and that Kannishka founded the Śaka era in 78 A. D., we have scarcely 28 years for the duration of the end of the reign of Vima-Kadphises (I) and the whole of the reign of Kujula-Kadphises (II). It is probable that Kadphises I. reigned long and died when he was about 80 years old. Secondly, the reign of Kadphises (II) was probably very long (at least 40 years); that is the opinion of Mr. Vincent A. Smith: "No definite proof of the length of his reign can be given, but the extent of the conquests made by Kadphises II. and the large volume of his coinage are certain indications that his reign was protracted. Cunningham assigned it a duration of forty years." (Early History of India, 2nd Ed. page 239, foot note 1).
Again, it is not certain that Kanishka was the immediate successor of Kadphises II.

So, it is not possible that Kanishka should have come to the throne in 79 A. D.

(2) We do not know exactly in what era are dated the inscriptions of the year 103 of Gondophares and the inscriptions of the years 113 and 122 of the Kushâns; if we suppose that it is the Vikrama era, the dates agree so well with all the information furnished by history, palæography, and the coins, that most of the savants have accepted this hypothesis. For example, the year 103 of this era being the 26th year of Gondophares, he must have come to the throne in 19 A. D. And Gondophares uses the title “autocrat” which was introduced by Augustus and adopted by the Parthian king Phraates IV (8 to 11 A. D.). Mr. Marshall has discovered at Taxila (J. R. A. S., for 1914, pp. 973, 978) in the “Chîr Stûpa” a document dated 136, which, in the Vikrama era, corresponds to 79 A. D., and the King mentioned therein is probably Kadphises I, but certainly not Kanishka (see “Taxila Ins. of year 136” by Sten Konow, in Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV., pp. 284 to 288). This discovery is enough to shake the conviction of those that attribute to Kanishka the era of 78 A. D.

(3) Mr. Sten Konow has shown recently (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV., pages 141 and 290) that the Tibetan and Chinese documents tend to prove that Kanishka reigned in the 2nd century and not in the 1st.

(4) The scholars who thought that Kanishka founded the era 78 A. D. believed also that he introduced in India the Graeco-Buddhistic art in all its splendour. But when the reliquary bearing an inscription of Kanishka was discovered, one might expect that this work of art chiselled under the pious orders of the great king would be a splendid work of Greek art. Alas! The sculptures are deplorably inferior in workmanship and undoubtedly represent an art in full decadence. A further attentive study of the art of Kanishka has shown that this king did not reign certainly in the 1st century.

(5) Mr. Sten Konow has shown recently (Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV., page. 141) that the inscriptions of the Kanishka era and those of the Śaka era are not dated in the same fashion: “It becomes impossible to maintain that Kanishka was the founder
of the Śaka era and used it in his inscriptions because then it becomes unintelligible why he should have changed the way of expressing the dates”.

We shall therefore conclude that Kaṇishka is not the founder of the Śaka era.

The preceding lines had already been written when I had the honour of receiving from Mr. Vincent A. Smith a copy of “The Oxford History of India,” Oxford, 1919, and I read in page 127: “It may now be affirmed with confidence that the order of the five leading Kushān kings is finally settled, and that the uncertainty as to the chronology has been reduced to a period of forty years in round numbers or to state it otherwise, the question is, ‘Did Kaṇishka come to the throne in A. D. 78, or about forty years later?’”. When the third edition of the “Early History of India” was published in 1914, my narrative was based upon the working hypothesis that Kaṇishka’s accession took place in A. D. 78, although it was admitted to be possible that the true date might be later. Further consideration of the evidence from Taxila now available leads me to follow Sir John Marshall and Professor Sten Konow in dating the beginning of Kaṇishka’s reign approximately in A. D. 120, a date which I had advocated many years ago on different grounds.

Since the Śaka era was not founded either by Nahapāna or by Kaṇishka and as Gautamiputra also was not the founder of it (no one has made this supposition), there remain but two hypotheses: that the Śaka era was founded either by Chashtana or by Kadphises II. The latter opinion is held by Dr. Sten Konow who has written recently “I am still of opinion that the Śaka era was established by Vima-Kadphises”. (The Ara inscription, in Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV., p. 141).

For such a theory to be possible, Kadphises II must have reigned in 78–79 A. D. We may believe that the inscription of the “Chir Stūpa” at Taxila is dated in the 136th year of the era which begins in 58–57 B. C. and the date 136 falls precisely in 78–79 A. D. And if we study the inscription of the “Chir Stūpa” and ask ourselves who is the king therein mentioned, we are rather inclined to reply: “It is an inscription of Kujula-Kadphises (I)”: “So far as I can see, there cannot be much doubt that the Kusaha Emperor of the Panjâr and Taxila
records was Kujula-Kadphises and not Vima-Kadphises" (Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV Part VII, July 1918, page 289, "Taxila inscription of the year 136" by Sten Konow). It is not therefore probable that (Vima) Kadphises II reigned in 78-79 A.D.

But even granting that Kadphises II reigned in 78-79 A.D. it has to be proved that he founded an era. We have not even a single document that can make us believe that Kadphises II has founded an era. On the contrary, if the "Chir Stupa" inscription is dated 78-79 A.D., it will be proved that the Kushân Kings used after A.D. 78 the era 58-57 B.C.; and finally, granting that Kadphises II founded an era, it must be proved that this era was adopted by Chashtâna or his descendants.

After all, the theory of (Vima) Kadphises II having founded the Śaka era is not based either upon any proof or even indication.

There remains then but one hypothesis: "The Śaka era was founded by Chashtâna". This theory was expressed 30 years ago by Cunningham (see N. chr. 1888, p. 232 and 1892, p. 44) discussed notably by D. R. Bhandarkar (B. B. R. A.S., Vol., XX page 280) and was afterwards completely abandoned.

I now wish to assert boldly that this abandonment is quite unjustified. This theory has been slighted because for 30 years the historians of India have had two preconceived notions: (1) that the inscriptions of Nahapâna are dated in the Śaka era. (2) that the Śaka era was founded by Kanishka. I think I have proved that these two suppositions are now untenable.

I affirm that the only natural theory concerning the Śaka era is that it was founded by Chashtâna.

It is admitted on all hands that the dynasty of Chashtâna has used the Śaka era; and it is but natural to suppose that the founder of the dynasty was also the founder of the era used by it. Outside the kingdom of Chashtâna and his descendants, not a single inscription has been found which is dated in the above era. In fact the inscriptions of the Kushân kings are not dated from the Śaka era and the inscriptions dated from the same era which are found in South India are all posterior to the fall of the dynasty of Chashtâna. Thus then all the Śaka inscriptions
that are anterior to 400 A. D. are every one of them inscriptions of the dynasty of Chashṭana. The era is therefore special to that dynasty.

If we are not quite sure that Chashṭana was a Šaka, there is no doubt that he was of foreign origin. The names of the members of this family show that they were foreigners. Mr. Rapson says (page CXXI) : “Ghsamotika is Scythic”; “šṭana (in Chashṭana) is a Persian termination”; and (page CXXII) Damaghshada “foreign name, may possibly be an attempt to express the Persian Zāda, a son”.

A general of the W. Kshatrapas is mentioned in an inscription (Progress Report, Arch. Survey, Western India for 1917-1918, page 37) as being a Šaka.

Were Chashṭana and his descendants themselves Šakas? It is possible; but one thing is certain, that in ancient India they were designated by the name of Šakas. The Matsya Purāṇa mentions a dynasty of 18 Šakas which is probably that of Chashṭana; but there can be no doubt in certain cases: for instance, Bana in circ. 630 A. D. has written (“Harsha charita” trans. Cowell and Thomas, page 194): “In his enemy’s city, the king of the Šakas, while courting another man’s wife, was butchered by Chandra-Gupta”.

To sum up:

(1) It is certain that all the dates that are given in the documents of the dynasty of Chashṭana are of the Šaka era.

(2) We do not know of even a single inscription anterior to 400 A. D. which is dated in the Šaka era and belongs to a dynasty other than that of Chashṭana.

(3) Tradition has given the name of Šaka to the era beginning in 78 A. D., since it was the era used by the descendants of Chahṭana who in ancient India were designated by the name of “Šaka.”

(4) The most ancient inscriptions (Andhau) are dated in the year 52 of this era; and they are the inscriptions of the grandson of the founder of the dynasty. If the founder of the dynasty was also the founder of the era, it is quite natural that the grandson should have reigned 52 years later.

Therefore, the most simple, the most natural and the most logical theory consists in saying: “The Šaka era of 78 was founded by Chashṭana”.
§ 3. The Inter Śālavahana kings.

If 79 A. D. is the first year of the reign of Chashṭana, it is probable that the destruction of the Kshaharātas by Gautamiputra took place in 78 A. D. or a little earlier.

It is probable that Chashṭana was a Śaka prince, who, for some reasons not known, entered into an alliance with Gautamiputra against the Kshaharātas. Perhaps he was either a petty prince of Sind or Rājputāna who invaded the Kshaharāta empire or a vassal of the Kshaharātas who revolted against his suzerain.

The form of the hair on the head of Chashṭana differs from that of the king represented on the coins bearing the name of Nahapāna.

It seems that Chashṭana was first a vassal of Gautamiputra for the following three reasons: (1) Chashṭana first bore only the title of Kshatrapa (2) The reverse side of the coins of Chashṭana contains the Chaitya with 3 arches which characterises the coins restruck by Gautamiputra (3) The Nāsik inscription says that Gautamiputra was the lord of Surāśṭra and Mālwa.

However, Chashṭana, even as a Kshatrapa, had coins struck in his own name, and there is room to think that the powers of Gautamiputra in the states of Chashṭana were only nominal.

The mother of Gautamiputra was the queen Gautami Balaśri which justifies the name of Gautamiputra borne by her son. We know, in fact, that the kings of this epoch often added before their name the gōtra of their mother.

The son of Gautamiputra reigned under the name of Vāsishṭhiputra Śri Pulumāvi.

The famous Nāsik inscription, in which the queen Balaśri, mother of Gautamiputra and grandmother of Vāsishṭhiputra Pulumāvi, tells us that her son destroyed the Śakas, is dated in
the 19th year of the reign of her grandson Pułumāvi (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII., p. 61).

At Nāsik, there are two inscriptions of Gautamiputra dated in the years 18 (insc. No. 1125 of Lüders’s list) and 24 (insc. No. 1126). Professor D. R. Bhandarkar who has discussed this subject recently (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVII, page 152) says: “Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar contends that all these dates pertain to the reign of Pułumāvi and that he reigned conjointly with his father, the former over Mahā-
rāṣṭra and the latter over the hereditary Śatavāhana dominions. The latter view alone can be correct. For in inscription No. 5, Gautamiputra Śatarkaṇi, who is the donor there along with his mother, issues a grant in favour of Buddhist monks, who, it is expressly stated were staying in the cave which was the pious gift of theirs. This cave which was a pious gift of Śatarkaṇi and his mother must doubtless be cave No. 3 which, as we have seen above, was excavated and given over to the Bhadrāyaniyas. But then we have also seen that this cave was presented to these monks in the 19th regnal year, not of Śatarkaṇi but of Pułumāvi.” (Dekkan of the Śatavāhana Period by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar).

I regret I cannot accept this theory. On the contrary, the inscriptions themselves clearly show that Gautamiputra and Pułumāvi have reigned in succession. Indeed, Gautamiputra, in the year 24, states distinctly that the cave was excavated under the orders of his mother and himself: “Pious gift of ours”; and in the inscription of queen Balaśri in the 19th year of Pułumāvi, the queen mother makes a solemn gift of the cave in her own name. This can be explained in only one way: the excavation of the cave was begun under the orders of Gautamiputra and his mother before the 18th year of Gautamiputra and was finished only after the death of Gautamiputra and during the reign of his son Pułumāvi; we have proof of it in the fact that it was the latter king that had it embellished with paintings. The cave not having been consecrated officially, this consecration took place only in the 19th year of Pułumāvi. Since the king Gautamiputra was dead, the queen Balaśri made the gift officially herself.

I have besides another remark to make on this occasion.
I think that the meaning of the inscription of the queen Balaśrī has not been correctly understood till now. We wonder why this inscription dated in the reign of Pṛjumāvī contains exclusively the eulogies of Gautamiputra. I believe that the real meaning of the inscription is this: the queen nephew, when she was officially presenting the cave, cannot forget that it was under the orders of her son that the excavation of the cave was begun; it was therefore quite natural to eulogise the glorious Gautamiputra. Thus the inscription of Balaśrī has a clear meaning: it is the funeral oration on the great king delivered by an inconsolable mother.

Again the supposition that Gautamiputra was not the king of the region about Nāśik is untenable: 1) because Gautamiputra gives orders to the officers of Nāśik; 2) according to the inscription of Balaśrī he reigned over Surāśṭra, Aparānta, and Vidarba; and Mr. Bhandarkar admits that he reigned also over the South; why should the Nāśik region alone form an exception? 3) We have seldom seen a father dating his grants in the reign (and especially in the 24th year) of the reign of his son; 4) and lastly we have a positive proof of it in the hoard of Joghaltembhi.

We have said that this treasure consisted of 13250 coins bearing the name of Nahapāna of which 9270 had been restruck by Gautamiputra (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol XXII, page 224). It is remarkable that in this treasure there is not a single coin of Vāsiśṭhiputra Pṛjumāvī who, as we know, has struck coins in his own name (see: Rapson, Coins of the Andhra dynasty, page 20). As Joghaltembhi is a village in the environs of Nāśik, we have to conclude that, after the destruction of the Śākas, it was Gautamiputra that reigned in this place and that the treasure was buried during his reign and before the accession of Pṛjumāvī. But Rev. H. R. Scott who has examined the hoard of Joghaltembhi carefully has made an important remark: “Judging from the condition of the coins, I should say that they must have been a very long time in circulation and that both before and after being counter-struck (J B. B. R. A. S., Vol XXII, p. 224); and he adds “They could not have been buried earlier than 20 years after Śālakarṇi's victory”. So, there is no doubt that Gautamiputra reigned in the Nāśik region for a long time, since the coins have had time to get
considerably worn out. Puṣumāvi has therefore reigned at Nasik for more than 15 years after the destruction of the Kshaharātas.

It is certain that Chashṭana was for a time the contemporary of Puṣumāvi. In fact, Ptolemy says in his geography (Ind. Ant., Vol XIII., page 366) that Siro Polenaios reigned at Baithana, and TiasLANes at Ozēnē. Ozēnē is unquestionably Ujjain which was the capital of all the kings of the dynasty of Chashṭana, and Baithana is Paiṭana or Paṭhama, the capital of Puṣumāvi. Unfortunately the evidence of Ptolemy does not enable us to know exactly in what epoch Chashṭana and Puṣumāvi lived. We do not know for certain in what year Ptolemy wrote his geography and we know little about the life of this scholar. Olympiodorus says that when Ptolemy was at Canopus in 147, he had already been making astronomical observations for 40 years, which will place Ptolemy's works between 104 and 147 A. D. Ptolemy was not a navigator; he was an astronomer of Alexandria who wrote his geography chiefly with the object of drawing a map of the world with latitudes and longitudes: and has he not the pretension to give his own views about the countries he speaks about. He confines himself to reconstructing the configuration of the countries, relying upon the descriptions given by the travellers in the works which can be had in his days. He himself admits that he follows Marin of Tyr, navigator who made his voyage about 100 A. D. From which book has Ptolemy taken his information about Puṣumāvi and Chashṭana? It may not be impossible that it was from the work of Marin of Tyr which unfortunately has not come down to us. But it is certain that this information was obtained from relatively recent sources and as Ptolemy wrote his geography in the first half of the 2nd century, we may admit that the information he gives about Chashṭana and Puṣumāvi belongs to the beginning of the 2nd century.

When the Kshaharātas occupied Northern Deccan, the capital of the Śīlavāhanas was probably Amarāvati on the lower course of the Krishnā. The legend that Śri Kakulam was the capital has no foundation (see Ind. Ant., Nov. 1913, Vol XLII, page 276). At the time of Gautamiputra and at the beginning of the reign of Puṣumāvi it was Amarāvati that was
the capital: the king was called "Lord of Dhanaṃkāṭa" (inśe, No. 3 at Nāsik. Dhanaṃkāṭa=Dhānyakaṭaka=Dhanaṃkata=Dhāṇṇakaṭa). Puḷumāvi removed the capital to Pāṭhāna (Pratishtānā).

The Purāṇas pretend to give us the history of the Śatavāhanas to whom they give the name of Āndhras. However, if we compare the information given in the Purāṇas with what is contained in the historical documents we possess, we find that it is only the Matsya that deserves to engage the attention of the historian. We shall not however attach any value to the durations of the reigns given in the Matsya Purāṇa, for, each time we proceed to verify these dates, "the Purāṇas are proved to be in error" (Vincent A. Smith.—Early History of India, 2d Edition, page 194). However the order of succession of the kings is nearer the truth. That order is as follows:

Gautamiputra,
Puḷomā,
Śivaśri,
Śivaskanda,
Yajñāśri,
Vijaya,
Chaṇḍaśri Śāntikarna,
Puḷomā.

It is to be remarked that we find here Gautamiputra followed by Puḷumāvi; besides, the inscriptions and the coins are found to confirm the existence of Śivaśri, of Yajñāśri and of Chaṇḍa.

It is almost certain that the Matsya Purāṇa is right in saying that Śiva Śri was the successor of Puḷumāvi, for we have (Rapson, page 29) the coins bearing the name "Raṇō Vasiṣṭhiputra Śiva-Siri-Sātakarni (Vasiṣṭhiputra Śiva-Śrī-Sātakarni); and these coins are almost identical with those of Puḷumāvi in regard to the letters of the alphabet, the symbols (chaitya with three arches etc.) and the workmanship. We have also an inscription (No. 1279 of Lüder's list) of Amarāvati which is dated in the reign of Siri-Sivamaka-Sada who is perhaps Śiva-Śrī-Sātakarni.

We have not yet found any documents, coins or inscriptions, mentioning Śivaskanda Sātakaṇi. However, in cave 36 at Kapheri, there is an inscription (No. 1001 of Lüder's list)
dated in the 8th year of king Mādhariputa Śvāmi whose name is followed by another not very legible which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Ind. Ant. Vol. XLVII, Part DXCVI, June 1918) has read Śri Sāta. The alphabet of this inscription (as well as of another, No. 1002) seems to show that this king reigned before Yajña Śri. If this palaeographical indication and the list given in the Matsya are correct, this Mādhariputra can be no other than Śivaskanda.

Yajña-Śri seems to have had a brilliant reign. It was in fact at the time of Gautamiputra Yajña Śatakarnī that was dug the chaitya of Kanheri which is in a degenerate style compared with that of the splendid Chaitya at Kārli, but which is a remarkable monument (insc. No. 1124 of Lüders’s list; 16th year of Yajña). It was also during the time of this king that was embellished the VIII cave at Nāsik whose inscription No. 4 is dated in the 7th year of his reign (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII., page 94). A fragment of a pillar discovered at China near the mouth of the Krishnā which has since been transported to the Madras Museum contains an inscription dated in the 27th year of the reign of Yajña (Ep. Ind., Vol. I., page 95) : and the coins bearing the very characteristic name “Yajña” are also well known (see Rapson).

We know the name of Vijaya only from the Matsya Purāṇa.

Chaṇḍaśri Śāntikarna must probably be identified with Vāsiṣṭhiputa Chadasāta who reigned at the time, when the Koḍavolu inscription was engraved (see Report on Epigraphy; Madras Government orders; inscription No. 228 of 1908), and with Vāsiṣṭhiputa Śri Caḍa Sāti (Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śri Chandra Sāti) of the coins (see Rapson, pages 30 and 32; Mr. Rapson thinks that this king must have preceded Yajña).

We shall speak of Puḷumāvi, the last king of this dynasty, in the following chapter concerning the Pallavas and the inscription at Myākadoni.

The inscription (No. 965 of Lüders’s list) of Girnar (Junāgadh in Kāthiāvād) which is dated in the year 150 A. D. says [Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII., p. 47] that Rudradāman, by his own valour [ṣvavirya-ārjītānām] gained Ākarāvanti (Mālvā), Śurāshṭra (Kāthiāwār), Kachchha (Cutch), Aparānta (the coast
to the north of Bombay) etc, destroyed the Yaudhēyas, who were loath to submit, defeated Śatakarni, lord of Dākhināpatha, but on account of the nearness of their connection did not destroy him but himself acquired the name of Mahākshatrāpa.

Which king of the Śatavāhana dynasty is called here by the name of Śatakarni? The inscriptions and the coins seem to confirm the statement of the Girnar inscription. An inscription at Kanhēri (No. 994 of Lüder's list) "exhibits the neat characters of Western Khatera inscriptions" (Bühler, Ind. Ant., Vol XXXIII, page 43). This inscription, as those of Rudrādāman is in Sanskrit and thus differs from all other Śatavāhana inscriptions which are all in Prākrit. This inscription mentions the queen of Vāsiṣṭhīhiputra Śrī Śatakarni, daughter of the mahākshatrāpa Ru[dra]. The last name consists only of two syllables the first of which is certainly "Ru" and the second very probably "dra." Secondly Yajña Śri "issued coins.....and they are similar in fabric and style to the Khatera coins" (Rapson, section 87). The characteristic of these coins is that the head of king Yajña is represented on them, whereas the image of the king is not found in any coin of the other Śatavāhanas. It is therefore certain that it is Yajña who adopted the Khatera style for these coins. These coins of Yajña (Rapson Pl.VII., El) resemble those of Rudrādāman. It has to be remarked that the coif of Rudrādāman found on his coins resembles that of Yajña; it is a sort of spherical calotte covering the skull and differs totally from the coif of Chashṭana; and the sculptures of the chaitya of Kanhēri which are dated in the time of Yajña show us personages who have their hair dressed as Yajña and Rudrādāman. It is therefore probable that it was Rudrādāman who adopted the coiffure that was used in the Deccan at the time of YajñaŚrī. Thus then Rudrādāman was almost a contemporary of Yajña and was besides the father-in-law of a Vāsiṣṭhīhiputra Śatakarni, which Yajña was not, as we know that he was a Gautamiiputra. Unfortunately we know three Śatavāhanas who bore the name of Vāsiṣṭhīhiputra; the great Puḷumāvi, Śiva Śrī and Chanda Śrī. We know also a certain Vāsiṣṭhīhiputra Catarapana who had reigned 13 years when an inscription at Nāṅghāṭ (No. 1120 of Lüder’s list) was engraved; it is however probable that this latter
Vāsishṭhiputra is no other than Śiva-Śri or Chanda Śri, and the word Chaturapana is suspicious (see J. R. A. S. for 1905, page 798).

It is almost certain that the Vāsishṭhiputra who was the son-in-law of Rudradāman was not the great Puḷumāvi: we know in fact that Puḷumāvi was the contemporary of Chashiṇa. It appears therefore to be impossible that he should have married the great-grand-daughter of Chashiṇa. There yet remain Śiva Śri and Chanda Śri; but it is probable that the son-in-law of Rudradāman was rather Śiva Śri, who might have married the daughter of Rudradāman after having fought with him once and who might have been defeated in his turn about the year 130 A. D., when fighting a second time with the Kshatrapa king. Rudradāman might have been the victor and might have occupied Aparānta for some time up to the reign of Yajña Śri who might have adopted into this region a coinage similar to that of Rudradāman. The above are suppositions, since the documents we have do not enable us to have a correct knowledge of this history.

The following might perhaps be the chronology of the Sātavāhanas in conjunction with that of the Western Kshatrapas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Destruction of Kshaharātus by Gautamiputra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>1st year of the reign of Chashtana and of the Sakas; Circ. 10th year of the reign of Gautamiputra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 95 to 120</td>
<td>Reigns of Puḷumāvi and Chashtana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 120 to 140</td>
<td>Invasion of the Yaudhēyas and of the Āndhras; Ja-yadāman transfers his power to his son Rudradāman who gets the title of Mahākshatrapa and defeats Śiva Śri Sātakarni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 140 to 150</td>
<td>Rudradāman occupies Aparānta; reign of Śivaskanda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 150 to 155</td>
<td>End of the reign of Rudradāman; beginning of the reign of Yajña Śri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 155 to 178</td>
<td>Reign of Dāmajadaśi and of Yajña Śri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 178 to 180</td>
<td>End of the reign of Yajña Śri and beginning of the reigns of Jīvadāman and Vijaya Sātakarni.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the above chronology we have admitted that Rudradaman was the contemporary of a series of three kings:

(1) Vāsishthiputra Śiva Śṛi,
(2) Māḍhariputra Sīvaśakandā,
(3) Gauṭamiputra Yajña Śṛi.

But some coins found in the Kolhapur region (Rapson, pages 5, 7, 14) have struck which enables us to settle the following series:

(1) Vāsishthiputra Vilivāyaṅakaṇa,
(2) Māḍhariputra Sīvaḷakaṇa,
(3) Gauṭamiputra Vilivāyaṅakaṇa,

Can these two series be identified?

It is to be remarked that:

(1) The first names, Vāsishthiputra, Māḍhariputra, Gauṭamiputra, prove nothing, as we know that these names indicate a Gōtra and the custom of prefixing to the real name of a person the name of his mother’s Gōtra has been in existence in the dynasties of the neighbours of the Śātvāhanas (the Ābhiras, the Chuṭus, the Ikṣvākus). There then remain the second names, and they, Vilivāyaṅakaṇa and Sīvaḷakaṇa, have not been found in authentic Śātvāhana inscriptions.

(2) The coins bear as symbols “bow and arrow” in place of the Ujjain symbol of the coins of Śātvāhanas.

(3) Again, these coins have been found only in the Kolhapur region; and Ptolemy says, that at Hippokura, in a country which may be situated approximately in this part of the Deccan, there reigned a king named Bālokuros, who, many authors have believed, can be identified with Vilivāyaṅakaṇa. This king will, in that case, be a contemporary of Pulamāvi and belong to another dynasty.

I think therefore that these coins may be provisionally admitted to belong to the “Kolhapur Dynasty.”

Some coins bearing the names of Śīrī Rudra Sātakārṇi and Śīrī Krishna Sātakārṇi have been found (see Rapson, Coins of Indian Museum; Andhra dynasty) in the Chanda district of the Central Provinces. As these names have been found only in this region, we may suppose that these kings belonged to a peculiar dynasty that subsisted for some time in the Chanda district, when the Śātvāhanas had been replaced by the Chuṭus, the Nāgas, the Pallavas, the Ikṣvākus and the Bṛihatphalāyaṇas.
CHAPTER III

THE PALLAVAS.

§ 1. The Pallava mystery.

In "The Oxford History of India" which Mr. Vincent A. Smith has published this year (Oxford, 1919), he says (page 205); "The Pallavas constitute one of the mysteries of Indian history" and again in his "Early History of India" (2nd edition, page 423) he has said: "Who were the Pallavas? Whence did they come? How did they attain the chief place among the powers of the South?"

Many authors have answered this question with a theory [see the Mysore Gaz., 1., pages 303-4; see also Madras Manual, 1., page 129] which may be called "The theory of Parthian invasion". The supporters of this theory believe that the Pallavas were a northern tribe of Parthian origin, that they were a clan of nomads who, having come from Persia, were not able to settle in Northern India and so continued their invasion up to Kâñchipuram. This hypothesis was very charming to the imagination. They pictured to themselves a number of men of the white race, the Parthians, brandishing their bows (the Parthian arrow is well-known) forming a nomadic tribe, transporting their camp from country to country and destroying, like the Huns, everything they found on their way. It is thus they would have traversed the whole of India and would have stopped only at the extremity of the Peninsula. Then, after having vanquished the ancient tribes in the South, they would
have established their capital at Kâśchipuram. This theory presents a very great difficulty. This great invasion, by a whole clan of the Parthian tribe, extending from the frontiers of Persia to the extreme South of the Indian peninsula, implies an immense political commotion in the Deccan. When did this important event take place? Certain authors, and V. Venkayya in particular, have tried to determine “the date of the Pallava migration to the South”. But up to the present day we have not found any document which proves the existence of a Parthian invasion of Southern India. We may say that this theory makes the Pallava mystery still more mysterious. It is not therefore without cause that Mr. Vicent A. Smith, in the two last editions of his “Early History of India”, has abandoned the theory of the Parthian invasion and has tried to discover a less improbable theory.

“There is every reason to believe that future historians will be able to give a fairly complete narrative of the doings of the Pallava kings, and that the mystery which surrounds their origin and affinities may be elucidated in large measure.” (The Oxford History of India, page 210).

It is with the object of realising the wish of Mr. Vincent A. Smith that we now proceed to prove the following propositions:

(1) The Andhra empire was governed by feudatories who bore the title of Mahárathis and were called “Nágas” as they belonged to a race of serpent-worshippers.

(2) Coins containing the image of a “Ship with two masts” are found almost exclusively on the coast between Madras and Cuddalore and they represent the moneys of Toṇḍai-Manḍalam of which Kaṇchi is the capital. According to Prof. Rapson, these coins bear the legend “Śri Puḷumāvi”. The Ujjain symbol indicates the Śatavahana dynasty. So this dynasty reigned over the territory of Kâśchipuram. Further, an inscription of Puḷumāvi, the last king of that dynasty, shows that the prince Skanda-Nāga was his great general; there is no doubt that the Nágas were very powerful when the Śatavahana dynasty came to an end.

(3) It is certain that one of those royal families of Nāga origin, the “Chutu”, took the place of the Śatavahanas.

(4) It is certain that all the most ancient Pallava kings
were the contemporaries of the Chutus of the Naga race.

(5) It is also certain that the Pallavas succeeded the Chuṭus of the Nāga race.

(6) The Pallava plates of Vellūrṇālaiyam contain (verses 3 to 22) the history of the Pallavas according to the family tradition. There, it is said that the first member of the family who became king "acquired all the emblems of royalty on marrying the daughter of the lord of Serpents—evidently a Nāga princess" (Report on Epigraphy for 1910—1911; G. O. Public, 28th July, Part II, No. 7, page 61).

(7) I hold the theory that I have enunciated in my work "The Pallavas" (Pondicherry, 1917): "The earliest Pallavas were not kings, and they were alien to South India. One of them married the daughter of one of the kings of that country and thus became a king himself" (The Pallavas, page 23). At the time of the Girnar inscription the Western Satrapas reigned in Āparānta and had a Pahlava for their minister. These Pahlavas were the neighbours of the Nāgas when the Chuṭu-Nāgas reigned in Aparānta (Kaṇhēri inscription of the mother of Skanda-Nāga, No. 1021 of Lüders's list). A Pallava prince married the daughter of the King Śiva-Skanda-Nāga-Śālakarni, and inherited the throne of Kāṇchī.

Such, in a few words, is our theory in regard to the origin of the Pallavas. We shall now proceed to develop it.

No. 1. Mahāraṭhis, Chuṭus, Nāgas.

The inscription of Nānāghāt (Arch. Surv. West. Ind. Vol. V, No. 3, p. 64) says that Śālakarni, king of Dakshināpatha married Nāga-Nīkà, daughter of a Mahāraṭhi Kaḷalāya.

The "lion pillar" at Kārli (Ep. Ind. Vol., VII., page 49) was a gift of Mahāraṭhi Agni-Mitra-Nāga.

After the fall of the Śālavahāra dynasty, a large portion of the empire passed into the hands of the dynasty of the Chuṭus who were related to the Mahāraṭhis. The Chuṭus and the Mahāraṭhis often bore the title of Śālakarnis.

An inscription (No. 1195 of Lüders's list) at Maḷavalli in the Shikārppur taluq of Mysore (Ep. Carn., Vol. VII., Sk.
263; plate facing the page 252. See also "Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions", plate facing page 21) is dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Haridiputra-Vinhabadha-Chutukulananda Sātakarnī, king of Vaijayantī. We know that Vaijayantī is nothing but Banavāsi and this very town of Banavāsi contains an inscription (No. 1186 of Lüders's list; see also Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol IV., Pl. IV.; and Ind. Ant., 1885, 331) which is dated in the 12th year of the same king: "According to Dr. Burgess, account........., it is carved "on the two edges of a large slate slab, bearing the represent- ation of a five-hooded cobra." (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 331). According to Bühler (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, p. 332) "the alphabet "resembles, as Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has stated, that of the "Nāsik inscription of Sīriyāna-Sātakarnī". This king bears here the same name as in the Mahāvalli inscription. However, there is this important thing to be remarked here, that the name of the family is given here as Vinhabadha instead of Vinhabadachutu, the word Dutu is therefore synonymous with Chutu. We know (see Rapson, page 59 and Pl. VIII, No. 235) some coins of a king called Dhutukalānanda who belonged surely to the dynasty of the Chutus.

The inscription of Banavāsi says that king Sātakarnī had a daughter who joined her son in making gift of a Nāga. The son was called Sata or Śivaskanda-Nāga-Sri. An inscription at Kanheri (No. 1021 of Lüders's list), is a donation by Nāga-Mula-Nikā who was the daughter of the "great king" that reigned at this epoch. She was the wife of a Mahārathi and a more important detail is that she was the mother of prince Skanda-Nāga-Sata. Mr. Rapson writing on this subject says (page LIII): "there can be no doubt that she is to be identified with the donor mentioned in the following inscription from Banavasi and that she was, therefore, the daughter of king Haridiputra Vinhabadha Cutu Sātakarni whose name must have stood originally in the present inscription". Kanheri being situated in Aparanta, there can be no doubt that the Chutus succeeded the Ændhrs not only in Mysore but also in Aparanta, near Bombay.

The prince Skanda-Nāgra-Sātaka or Śivaskanda-Nāga was not a Chutu because his mother was a Chutu princess. His father was a Mahārathi; to which dynasty did he belong? It is
probable that he was a descendant of the kings that reigned over
the territory of Chitaldroog. We know that Chitaldroog is
only about fifty miles east of Banavasi, where we find the
inscription of Shivaskanda-Naga-Sata, and to the west of
Chitaldroog, on the site of an ancient city whose name is said
to have been Chandravali where found in 1888 some leaden coins
(Ep. Ind. Vol VII, p. 51, see plate III, fig A, B, C; and Rapson;
PI. VIII, No. 233 et page 57) which bear the name of Sadakana-
Kalalaya-Maharaathi. The emblems are, on the obverse, a
humped bull standing, and on the reverse, tree and chaitya.
This Sadakana (Satkarthi) who bears the title of Maharaathi
is probably an ancestor of Maharaathi Satakan or Sata who
made the grant of a Naga at Banavasi. In fact, both of them
are Maharaathis; they have the same title of Sata, and they
have both reigned in the same country, in the vicinity of
Malavalli and Chitaldroog. The kings of this country were
Nagas; Mr. Rice says (Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions
page 202): "The early inhabitants of the country were
probably to a great extent, specially on the female side, Nagas,
or serpent worshippers, that is, of the cobra, which is the
Naga.....In the Sattavahana inscription of Banavasi of the
first or second century, the king's daughter is named Nagasri
and she makes the gift of a Naga". We may add that this
queen is named Nagamula-Nikha in the Kanherti inscription,
that her son's name was Skanda-Naga-Sata; that the
Banavasi inscription is engraved beside the image of a Naga;
and that the country around Malavalli and Banavasi was once
called Nagaakhanda. It is probable that these Maharaathis-Nagas
who bore, like the Andhras, the title of Satkarthi, are the
Andhrabhrityas or servants of the Andhras, who, as mentioned
in the Purapas, succeeded the Sattavhanas.

The Myakadoni inscription (Report on Epigraphy for
1915-16; Madras, G. O. No. 99; 29th Aug 1916, Part II, No. 1,
page 112—inscription No. 509 of Apendix B.—See also
Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV., page 153) says that this village was in the
territory governed by the great general (Mahasennattu) Kanda-
naka (Skanda-Naga) and we know that Myakadoni is not far
from Chitaldroog. The Myakadoni inscription is dated in the
8th year of the reign of Siri-Pulumavi. Who is this Pulumavi? It
is noteworthy that we do not find here the name Vasisthiputra
which is peculiar to the inscriptions of the son of Gautamiputra. Besides, the alphabet of the Myākadoni inscription is much less archaic than that of the inscriptions of great Puḷumāvi. Mr. V. S. Sukthankar of Poona who has edited the Myākadoni inscription has observed this detail: "The alphabet resembles that of the Joggayyapeṭa inc. of Purisadata" (Ep. Ind. Vol. XIV., page 153); and the inscriptions of Purisadata at Joggayyapeṭa have been attributed to the III century by all the authors who have spoken of it and no one doubts that Purisadata reigned after the Śatavāhana. The alphabet of the Myākadoni inscription is incontestably much more developed than the alphabets of all the other Śatavāhana inscriptions and very much resembles those of the Čhūṭus and the ancient Pallavas. It is therefore very probable that the Puḷumāvi of the Myākadoni inscription is the last king of the Śatavāhana dynasty in the list given in the Matsya Purāṇa. The only objection that can be raised, is that the inscription is dated in the 8th year of his reign, whereas the Matsya Purāṇa gives him only a reign of 7 years. But we have already said that we must not rely on the duration of the reigns given in the Matsya Purāṇa; this objection is therefore worthless, and there are reasons to think that the Myākadoni inscription is dated in the reign of the last of the Śatavāhanas. In any case, we may affirm that this Puḷumāvi is not the son of Gautamiputra. We know the alphabet of this king from the Nāsik and Amarāvatī inscriptions; and there is a very great difference between them and that of Myākadoni; I believe that there must be an interval of more than a century between the two Puḷumāvis, and that the Puḷumāvi of Myākadoni is certainly one of the later Śatavāhanas. The discovery of the Myākadoni inscription has a very important bearing on this subject; it enlightens the causes of the fall of the Śatavāhana dynasty: we learn, in fact, that in the 8th year of the last king of this dynasty, a certain Skanda-Nāga was the Mahāsēnāpati — that is to say the military governor — of all the country extending to the South of the Tungiabhadra not far from Chiṭaldroog and Banavāsi.

Śiva-Skanda-Nāga who is mentioned in the Banavāsi inscription had probably a glorious reign, as, even in the time of the Kaḷambas, they remembered his name; in fact, an
inscription at Mālavalli (No. 1196 of Lüders's list), which is surely an inscription of an ancient Kadamba king, says that king Śivaskandavarman reigned over that country at one time (see the Plate in Ep. Carn. Vol. VII., facing the page 252).

Further, the celebrated Kadamba inscription at Tālgunḍa mentions a Śiva temple in that town "at which Śatākarni and other kings had formerly worshipped" (Ep. Ind., Vol VIII., page 24).

We do not know any other name given to this dynasty except that of Śatākarni-Śiva-Skanda-Nāga.

The same Tālgunḍa inscription says that Mayūraśarman, the first king of the Kadamba dynasty, conquered the country by fighting with the Pallavas. It is therefore certain that the Nāgas were succeeded by the Pallavas.

No. 2—The early Pallava kings.

Three sets of copper-plates written in Prākrit in a very archaic alphabet prove that, in the III century of the Christian era, there reigned on the southern banks of the Krishṇā, the dynasty of the Pallavas of Bhāradvāja gotra who had Kāñchicīpuram for their capital.

(1) The plates found at Mayidavōlu (Guntūr district) (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI., page 84) say that in the 10th year of the reign of his father whose name is not given, the heir-apparent (Yuva-mahārāja) Śivaskandavarman gave an order to the governors of Dhaṇḍakāda, i. e. Amarāvati.

(2) The plates (Ep. Ind., Vol I., page 2) found at Hiraḥadagalli (Bellary district) are dated in the 8th year of the reign of Śivaskandavarman who confirms a gift made by his father whose name is not given, but who is designated by the title of Bappa-dēva. These plates mention the province of Śatāhāni which we know (from the Myṅkadoni inscription) to be a portion of the Bellary district.

(3) The plates found in the Guntūr district (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII., page 143) are dated in the reign of Vijayaskandavarman and commemorate a grant made by Chārudēvi, wife of the heir-apparent (Yuva-mahārāja) Vijaya-Buddhavarman and mother of a prince whose name ends in "kura", J. F. Fleet
who was the first to edit these plates in the Indian Antiquary (see plate facing page 101 and note 23, page 101) has said: "two letters, containing the first part of a proper name, are illegible here". Dr. Hultzsch, in reediting this document, believed he could read the whole name as Buddhyanakura. In that case, it seems to be a surname and not the name.

It is possible to identify Yuva-Mahārāja Śiva-Skandavarman of Māyidāvūlu with the king Śiva-Skandavarman of Hirahadagalli. The king is called Śiva-Skandavarman in the Hirahadagalli plates and Vijaya-Skandavarman in those of the Guntur district. But the words Śiva and Vijaya are prefixes and we shall see in the Kadamba documents such names as Śiva-Mṛgēśavarman Śiva-Māṇḍhātrivarman, and also Śiva-Krisna (Bennur plates; Belur, 245; Ep. Carn., Vol. V). We find even the prefix Śī-Vijaya-Śiva (Ep. Carn., Vol VII., page 7.). Besides, a similar identification has been made in regard to the dynasty of the Nāgas: we have identified Śiva-Skanda-Nāga of Banavasi with Skanda-Nāga of Kaṭhēri. The alphabet of the Hirahadagalli plates closely resembles that of Charudēvi's grant.

I therefore think that there is no serious difficulty in putting together the three documents, Māyidāvūlu, Hirahadagalli and Guntur district and establishing the following genealogy:

A king  
(designated by the title of "Bappa-Dēva" in the Hirahadagalli plates)

The king Skandavarman  
(with the prefix Śiva in the Māyidāvūlu and Hirahadagalli plates; and with the prefix Vijaya in the plates of the Guntur district.)

The prince Buddhavarman  
(with the prefix "Vijaya"; husband of Charudēvi)

A prince  
(designated by the surname of [Buddhyan]kura in the plates of the Guntur district).

In what epoch did these princes reign? It is certain that they succeeded the Śātavāhanas; in fact, the three docu-
ments prove that they reigned on the southern bank of the Krishṇā (particularly at Amarāvatī) and in the Satāhāni district; since the Satavāhana dynasty probably subsisted up to the first quarter of the III century, and since the Māyidavolū plates are certainly contemporaneous with those of Kondamādi [it is certain that these plates were engraved, as we shall see, shortly after the fall of the Andhras] it is probable that the king surnamed Bappa-dēva reigned in the second quarter of the III century (225-250 A. D.).

On the other hand we know that in 338 A. D. Samudra-Gupta had as his adversary a king of Kāṇchi named Vishnugōpa. This king was therefore probably an immediate successor of [Buddhaṇa]kura, if this prince ascended the throne.

Thus then, with the historical information in our possession, we can imagine the following chronology:

(1) "Bappa-dēva" . . 2nd quarter of the III century.
(2) Skandavarman . . 3rd quarter of the III century.
(3) Buddhavarman . . 4th quarter of the III century.
(4) [Buddhaṇa]kura . . 1st quarter of the IV century.
(5) Vishnugōpa . . 2nd quarter of the IV century.

No. 3—The origin of the Pallavas.

Before handling the subject of the origin of the Pallavas, we must here specify an important point.

If we suppose that the word "Pallava" signifies a tribe, we must inquire by which invasion this tribe got possession of the kingdom of Kāṇchipuram; if, we admit that the word "Pallava" is the name of a family, it is enough, to explain the presence of the Pallavas in Kāṇchi, to find out by what political event one of the members of this family succeeded to the throne; here, no doubt is possible, because, the Māyidavolū, Hirahādagallī and Guntūr district plates, which come up to the III century of the Christian era, never mention a Pallava nation but only speak of a royal family one of whose members was king at Kāṇchi, and we shall now proceed to answer the following question: what political event was it that placed on the throne a prince who belonged to a family named "Pallava"?
In 1917 ("The Pallavas", page 23,) I drew the attention of the readers to a document which I think can give us the key to this problem: verse 6 of the Vēḻṟpālaiyam plates, (S. I. L., Vol II, Part V; page 510) in giving a summary of the history of the Pallavas, says that the first member of this dynasty that became king, got the throne by marrying the daughter of a Nāga king and that the son born of this union was named Skanda. Can this tradition that we find in the Pallava documents be verified by authentic history?

A large number of coins having for emblems the "ship with two masts" on the obverse and the "Ujjain symbol" on the reverse has been found on the Coromandel coast between Madras and Cuddalore. These ship-coins seem to be special to that part of the coast that is in the neighbourhood of Kāñchipuram. The "Ujjain symbol" indicates the Śātavāhana dynasty. Mr. Rapson (page 22) has been able to decipher the inscription on these coins; he has read it to be "Śri Pūjumāvi"; thus, all that part of the Coromandel coast which is in the vicinity of Kāñchipuram was under the domination of the Śātavāhanas. So, the Pallavas established themselves at Kāñchipuram after the Śātavāhanas. The alphabet of the Māyidavōlu plates proves that Śiva-Skandavarman was nearly contemporary of the last Andhra kings. So, it is at the time of the fall of the Śātavāhanas that a member of the Pallava family ascended the throne of Kāñchi; it is quite possible that this first king was "Bappa-dēva" father of Śiva-Skandavarman. We also note that the son of "Bappa-dēva" was called Skanda and tradition has it that the first Pallava king having married a Nāga princess had a son named Skanda.

When speaking of the famous inscription of Bala-Śri at Nāsik, we have said that Gautamiputra vanquished the Pahlavas (Ep. Ind., Vol VIII., Pl I, No. 2, line 5) in 78 A. D. Again, we learn from the Girnar inscription that Suviṣākha who was the minister of Rudradāman in 150 A. D. was a Pahlava (Junagadh inscription; Ep. Ind., Vol VIII., page 37 and Plate line 19). Thus the word which was written Palhava in 78 A. D. was written Pahlava in 150 A. D., and we note, when we see the Girnar inscription, that the compound letter "hla" resembles the double Il. Besides, in Māyidavōlu plates written in Prākrit: this question of letters has been solved in a very simple manner
they wrote Pallava. This can correspond to Pallava for in Prākrit the consonants are not doubled. In the Hirahadagalli plates it is written as Pallava though they are also in Prākrit. Later on, when the documents were written in Sanskrit, the word Pallava will be understood to mean “sprout”. The identity of names leads us to think that the ancient kings of Kāñchi belonged to the same family as the minister of Rudradāman. He lived in 150 A. D. and we know Pallava kings reigning at Kāñchi in about 225 A. D. How did a member of this family that we find in Sūrāshtra in 150 A. D. establish himself in Kāñchi? The Vēlūrpaḻuyum plates give the answer to this question: a Pallava became king by marrying the daughter of a Nāga king; and all the documents in our possession regarding the Nāgas and the Pallavas seem to confirm this proposition. The Gīrnar inscription says that Rudradāman reigned in the province of Aparānta, that is, in the neighbourhood of Kaphēri, and that his minister was a Pallava; and it is in this same Aparānta in Kaphēri that we find: (1) the inscription of the daughter of Rudradāman, (2) the inscription of Nāga-Mulani, mother of Skanda-Nāga-Sātakarṇi. The latter inscription is written in such an archaic alphabet that it was first believed to be an inscription of Pulumāvi (Rapson, page LIII). Thus the minister of Rudradāman and the mother of the Nāga prince have lived almost at the same time and in the same country. We must not forget that the daughter of Rudradāman married a Śātakarṇi. Moreover, the Hirahadagalli plates have been found in the Bellary district, not far from Chitaldroog, where have been found the coins of the Mahārāthi; these plates are written in an alphabet almost identical with that of the Banavasi inscription; the Hirahadagalli plates are dated in the reign of Śīva-Skanda-Pallava and the Banavasi inscription mentions Śīva-Skanda-Nāga. Thus the Nāgas were the neighbours and the contemporaries of the Pallavas.

There is again a very peculiar point of resemblance between these two dynasties; we have said that Śīva-Skanda-Nāga was a Mahārāthi who reigned in the Chitaldroog region where the coins of a Mahārāthi have been found. These coins bear for emblem a “humped bull standing” (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, page 51, plate III., figures A, B, C; and Rapson, Pl. VIII, No. 233, and page 57), and it is the “humped well standing”
that is represented in the seals of the Guntur district plates of Skandavarman (see Ep. Ind., Vol VIII, plate facing page 144); we know that the bull was the crest of the Pallavas.

All that we have said above seem to show that a Pallava prince who was a native of the territory adjoining Aparanta married the daughter of Siva-Skanda Nagas, and became king of Kanchi, after the downfall of the Sutavahanas dynasty; and that the son born of the marriage of the first Pallava king with the Nagas princess bore, according to the custom of the Hindus, the name of his grandfather Siva-Skanda.

Upon the whole, the history of the Deccan in the III century is not well understood; however, all the documents in our possession seem to show that in the first quarter of the III century the last Sutavahanas king was called Pulimav; the empire was governed by the Maharaatis who belonged to certain families that were related to one another and bore the names of Chuatu, Nagas and Pallava; it is these families that replaced the Sutavahanas.
§ 2. The expedition of Samudra-Gupta.

We know that a pillar in the fort of Allahabad contains an inscription which is not dated but which has been engraved during the reign of Samudra-Gupta. This inscription which is intended to glorify the emperor and which gives us the history of his reign has been published by J. F. Fleet in his work "Gupta inscriptions".

The interpretation of this inscription has given room to numerous errors and some of them great ones. A few of them have been corrected. For instance, the text contains the word "Kaurâla"; Fleet (Gupta Insc., page 7, footnote 1) has said that this word "is obviously a mistake" and has corrected it into "Kâraâla" and then into Kâraâla; thence it has been concluded that Samudra-Gupta advanced as far as the Chêra kingdom in South India. This identification of Kaurâla with the Malabar coast seemed to be confirmed by two other identifications: Kauâra with Kötturâ—Pollâchi (Coimbatore District) [see J. R. A. S., 1897, page 29] and Palakka with Pâlghât. But now Kauâra is identified with Kothoor in Ganjâm, and Palakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the South of the Krishnâ and which is mentioned in many Pallava copper-plates (J. R. A. S., 1905, page 29). Moreover, I have myself, in 1917, in my work "The Pallavas," pages 14 and 15, said that the Pallavas reigned on the banks of the Krishnâ having their capital at Kâñchi; so, Samudra-Gupta was able to fight with Vishnugopa of Kâñchi without any necessity to advance to the capital; and I ventured the opinion that they probably met on the banks of the Krishnâ and perhaps even in the north of the river as we may suppose that the Pallava king went forward to meet the Guptâ emperor. Thus Samudra-Gupta's expedition turns out to be considerably reduced. However, I think that there are yet numerous errors to be corrected and that the whole history of Samudra-Gupta must be set right.
(1) Mr. Vincent A. Smith believes that Samudra-Gupta carried on his campaign in the valley of the Ganges before making that of the Deccan and that the latter ended about 350 A.D. However, the author of the inscription speaks of the expedition against the kings of Dakshinapatha before speaking of the expedition against the kings of Aryavartta. I cannot but think that he has followed the chronological order; I am therefore of opinion that the expedition to the south took place at the beginning of the reign, about 335 or 340 A.D.

(2) Certain authors affirm that the hill Mahendragiri is mentioned in the inscription. However, the passage "paishṭapuraka-mahendragirikauṭṭurakasvānidatta" means: Mahendra of Paishṭapura and Svāmidatta of Girikauṭṭura, that is to say, the fort of Koṭṭura which is on the hill. There is therefore no reference in the inscription to the hill named Mahendragiri.

(3) Mr. Kielhorn in studying the Aihole inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., No. 1, page 3) has identified "the water of Kunāla" mentioned in this inscription with the kingdom of Kaurāḷa mentioned in the Allāhabād inscription. This interpretation has been adopted without any discussion and now everybody admits that Samudra-Gupta defeated the king who was reigning "on the banks of the Kollēru (Colair) lake." I do not however see any reason why Kaurāḷa should be identified with Kunāḷa. The names themselves do not resemble each other. I think that the word Kaurāḷa must be read as Korāḷa and must be translated as "the Korāḷa kingdom" and that the Colair lake is not mentioned in the Allāhabād inscription.

(4) In 1898 (J. R. A. S., 1898, page 369) Fleet affirmed that Airandapalla must be identified with Eraṇḍol, the chief town of a subdivision of the same name in the Khāndesh district of the Bombay Presidency. The only proof was the similarity of the names. At once, all the historians admitted this interpretation and supposed that Samudra-Gupta, after having gone as far as Kāṇchi returned to the North of India travelling through the vicinity of Bombay; and then, they identified the "Dāvarāstra" of the Allāhabād inscription with Maharāṣṭra.

This identification of Airandapalla with Eraṇḍol is surely wrong. In the Allāhabād inscription, Airandapalla is mentioned immediately after the citadel of Koṭṭura hill; it is therefore on the coast of Orissa that we must search for Eraṇḍapalla. The
Siddhantam plates of Dévendravarman (Ep. Ind. Vol. XII, page 212) were issued to make a grant to an inhabitant of Eraṇḍapali, a town probably near Chicacole and which is, in all likelihood, the Airandapalla of the inscription of Samudra-Gupta.

(5) The identification of Dévarashtra with Mahárashtra is quite wrong. A set of copper-plates discovered in 1908-9 (No. 14) at Kásimkóta in the district of Vizagapatam mentions the grant made by the E. Chalukya king Bhima I. of a village situated in Elamañcha Kalinya désa which formed part of the province called Dévarashtra. "Elamañcha-Kalinya désa is perhaps to be interpreted as "the Kalinya-country of which Elamañcha (The modern Yellamanchili) was the chief town" (see Report on Epigraphy for 1908-1909; G.O. n. 538; 28 July 1909. Part II, No. 59, page 109).

To conclude: a) Airandapalla is situated in the Ganjam district and Dévarashtra is in the Vizagapatam district. I think I have now proved that Samudra-Gupta never went to the western part of the Deccan.

So the Allâhabád inscription does not at all speak of Kérala, Polláchi, Pâlghât, Mahéndragiri, Colair lake, Eraṇdól in Kânâdésa and Mahárashtra. All the kingdoms mentioned in the inscription are situated on the east coast of the Deccan. The expedition was solely confined to this coast. How far did Samudra-Gupta advance? Since Vishnugopa of Kâñchí reigned on the banks of the Krishnâ it is probable that he met with Samudra-Gupta in that region.

(6) It has always been admitted till now that the expedition of Samudra-Gupta was a very glorious one. However the inscription contains a detail which indicates the contrary: in fact, it is said that Samudra-Gupta captured the kings and afterwards released them; and it is confirmed by the fact that none of the kingdoms of the Deccan remained in the possession of the Guptas. It is probable that Samudra-Gupta first subdued some kings, but that very soon he encountered superior forces and was therefore obliged to relinquish his conquests and return rapidly to his own state. After all those rectifications that we have just made, the expedition of Samudra-Gupta presents itself before our eyes in quite another form: it is no more a new Alexander marching victoriously through South
India; it was simply the unfortunate attempt of a king from the North who wanted to annex the coast of Orissa but completely failed. About A.D. 340, Samudra-Gupta left his capital Pātaliputra and marched directly towards the South. First he conquered Southern Kōśala where the king Mahêndra was reigning in the vicinity of Sirpur and Sombalpur. He then crossed the forests that are to the south of Sonpur and found there the small kingdom of Mahākântara which means "the great forest" and where Vyāghra-rāja, "the tiger king" was reigning. Then he reached the coast of Orissa. Maṅgarāja, king of Korāla, Mahêndra of Pishiapura, Svāmudatta of Koṭṭāra, a citadel on the top of a hill, and Damana of Eriṇḍapali tried to stop him but were captured. Samudra-Gupta now prepared to make new conquests when he was opposed by a confederacy of all the kings that reigned near the mouths of the Gōdāvaṇi and the Krishṇa, the most powerful of them being Vishṇugōpa, the Pallava king of Kâñchi. The other kings were Nilarāja of Āvamukta, Hastivāman of Veṇgi, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kubera who reigned in Dēvarāṣṭra and Dhananājaya whose capital was Kosthalapura. Samudra-Gupta being repulsed by the kings of the Eastern Deccan, abandoned the conquests he had made in the coast of Orissa and returned home.

Of all the kings mentioned in the Allâhâbâd inscription, there is only one who is known in other ways; it is Vishṇugōpa of Kâñchi whose name figures in the Vâyalûr inscription (see The Pallavas" pages 20 and 23).
§ 3. The Pallavas from 340 to 610 A. D.

We now propose to study the history of the kings who have reigned after Vishṇugopa, the adversary of Samudra-Gupta about 340 A. D., up to Mahēndravarmān I, the adversary of Pulakesin II, about 610 A. D.

In chapter II of my work "The Pallavas", I have shown that the Vāyalūr inscription enables us to construct the following genealogy:

```
Kumāravīṣṇū
    |
Skandavarman
    |
Viravarman
    |
Skandavarman
   ____________
   |            |
Simhavarman Yuvamahárāja Vishṇugopa
    | (father)    |
Skandavarman
    |
Nandivarman
   ___________________________
   |                             |
Simhavarman Simhavarman Simhavarman Simhavarman
   |                     |                     |                     |
Vishṇugopa Simhavarman Simhavishtō
   |                     |                     |
Mahēndravarman I
```

In fact, the Ōmōdiu No. 1 plates (G. O. No. 99, 29th Aug. 1916, Part II, No. 3), Ōmōdiu No. 2 (G. O. No. 99, 29th Aug. 1916, Part II, No. 4), Pikira (Ep. Ind., Vol VIII, p. 159), Māṅgalūr (Ind. Ant., Vol. V, page 154) and Chūra (G. O. No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914, Part II, No. 1) give us the following genealogy:
Kumāravīṣṇu

Skandavarman

Viravarman

Skandavarman

Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa

Suhhaivarman

Viṣṇugōpa.

It must be noted that the Chūra plates which are dated in the reign of the last king give him for grandfather Viṣṇugōpa with the title of Mahārāja, whereas the other documents call him Yuvamahārāja. This detail is of very little importance, for the documents sometimes give us incorrect details about the grandfather of a reigning sovereign. This genealogy can therefore be accepted with certainty.

The copper plates of Uruvapalli (Ind. Ant. Vol. V, page 20) give us the succession: Skandavarman, Viravarman, Skandavarman, Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa, which conforms absolutely to the one given above; but these plates are dated in the reign of a king named Sīhhaivarman whose relationship to the other kings is not given. The most natural supposition would be to take this Sīhhaivarman to be the elder brother of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa and consequently the son of Skandavarman. The Udayendiram plates (Ep. Ind. Vol III, p. 142) give the following genealogy:

Skandavarman

Sīhhaivarman

Skandavarman

Nandivarman

in which we find a Sīhhaivarman, son of a Skandavarman. One may therefore be tempted to believe that the Sīhhaivarman of the Udayendiram plates was the grandson of Viravarman.
The Vayalur inscription (see "The Pallavas", chapter II) has thrown a final solution on this problem since it gives us the following series:

(23) Viravarman,
(24) Skandavarman,
(25) Sinhhavarman,
(26) Skandavarman,
(27) Nandivarman.

The Velurpaliyam plates (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II., Part V, give us a brief history of the Pallavas of Kanchi; after having spoken, in verse 9, of Nandivarman, these plates say: "Then from the king named Sinhhavarman...was born the victorious Sinhhavishnu". According to this passage it would appear that Sinhhavarman, the father of Sinhhavishnu was the successor but not the son of Nandivarman, because we have here "then" and not "from him" and this supposition has been completely confirmed by the Vayalur inscription which gives the following series:

(29) Sinhhavarman,
(30) Vishnugopa,
(31) Sinhhavarman,
(32) Sinhhavishnu,
(33) Mahendravarman (I).

Thus it follows that Sinhhavishnu was the grandson of Vishnugopa of the Chura plates. Indeed, in the Vayalur inscription, as well as in the Chura plates, this Vishnugopa figures as the son and successor of a king named Sinhhavarman.

So then, in my opinion, the genealogy I have given at the beginning of this chapter can be considered as correct.

We have thus utilised all the documents that we have, with the exception only of the Chendalur plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, page 233), which give the following genealogy:

Skandavarman

Kumavishnu (I.)

Buddhavarman

Kumavishnu (II.) king of Kanchi.

Up to this time, all the authors that have tried to connect
this genealogy with the one that we just examined have completely failed. I humbly confess that the theory I have propounded in my work “The Pallavas” pages 17 and 22 is entirely “untenable.” I have supposed that these plates were a copy of a document dated at the beginning of the IV century. I now admit that this is not possible, for if the text of these plates belonged to circ. 300 A.D., it will probably be in Prākṛt; but the Chendalur plates are in Sanskrit and their phraseology clearly points to the middle of the V century, that is to say, circ. 450 A.D.

Recently I made a special study of this question and these are the results I have arrived at:

(1) There is so great a resemblance between the phraseology of the Chendalur plates and those of Uruvupalli that there can be no doubt that the two grants were nearly contemporaneous, Professor Hultzsh has remarked that whole sentences were common to both these documents.

(2) From a palaeographic point of view, Professor Hultzsh has compared the alphabet of the Chendalur plates and those of Uruvupalli, Māṅgalur, Pikira and has established that the letters “ra” and “ka” seemed to be more developed in the Chendalur document and that it must therefore be more modern. When I myself examined the alphabet of these four documents, I observed that, if the letters “ra” and “ka” were in fact developed a little more, there were as a set-off other letters such as “ha,” “ya,” etc, which were developed a little less and that all that one can say on comparing the letters individually is that the Chendalur document was contemporaneous with the other three.

But, if, instead of comparing the letters, we compare the general aspect of the writings, the Chendalur plates appear to be a little irregular and disorderly which is a characteristic of the ancient documents, whereas, the plates of Uruvupalli, Māṅgalur, Pikira possess the order and regularity that belong to more modern writings. However, I do not believe that, in general, a comparison of the alphabets can give us any very correct information. Not only the plates of the Pallavas but also those of the Gaṅgas and the Kādāmbas prove that the alphabets differ much according to the scribes who have engraved the plates; and the documents of the same reign do
not sometimes resemble one another. Lastly, I think that there is no need to compare the Chendalūr plates dated from Kāñchi-puram with those of Uruvupalli dated from Palakkada, Māṅgalūr dated from Daśanapura, and Pikira dated from Mēnmatura; the towns of Palakkada, Daśanapura and Mēnmatura were probably in the Guṇṭūr district, that is, far away from Kāñchipuram and the difference of the countries fully explains the difference in the alphabets.

(3) We have said that the Chendalūr plates were surely almost contemporaneous with those of Uruvupalli and we have also pointed out that the alphabet of the plates does not enable us to say if Kumāravishṇu II. of Chendalūr who reigned in Kāñchi was the predecessor or successor of Sīṁhavarmān of Uruvupalli who probably reigned at Kāñchi while his brother the Yuvamahārāja Vīṣṇūgopa reigned over the province of Palakkada. Now we shall find that it is certain that Kumāravishṇu II. did not reign after Sīṁhavarmān. In fact, the grand-son of the latter, Nandivarmān, reigned at Kāñchi (Udayendiram plates) and we learn from the grant of Vēḷupāḷalāyam that Nandivarmān had for successors Sīṁhavarmān and Sīṁhavishṇu who was surely reigning at Kāñchi because he conquered the Chōla kingdom; after Sīṁhavarmān, we cannot find a place for the dynasty of Chendalūr. Besides, the Vāyalūr inscription places the series Skandavarmān-Kumāravishṇu-Buddhavarmān before the series Sīṁhavarmān-Skandavarmān-Nandivarmān; and the Vēḷupāḷalāyam plates place Kumaravishṇu and Buddhavarmān (mentioned in verse 8) before Vīṣṇūgopa and Nandivarmān (mentioned in verse 9).

There is therefore room to think that the series of kings:

Skandavarmān

| Kumāravishṇu (I.)

Buddhavarmān

| Kumāravishṇu (II.)

(the donor of the Chendalūr plates)
have reigned at Kāñchi before the series:

Simhavaraman
(mentioned in the Urūvupalli plates)

| Skandavarman |

| Nandivarma, |

and owing to the resemblance between the Chendalur and Urūvupalli plates, Kumāravīṣṇu II would have been the immediate predecessor of Simhavaraman at Kāñchi.

At the end of 1915, Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari, Telugu Assistant in the Epigraphical Office of Madras, has made a discovery which I consider to be of very great importance for the history of the Pallavas. I mean the discovery of the Ōṅgōḍu No. 1 plates (Report on Epigraphy, G.O. No. 99, 29th Aug. 1916; Part. II., page 113) which gives us the following genealogy:

| Kumāravīṣṇu |

| Skandavarman |

| Viravarman |

| Skandavarman. |

We must note, first of all, that the last of these kings did not probably reign at Kāñchi since the document is dated from Tāmbrāpa. Who then reigned at Kāñchi when Skandavarman reigned in the Guptur district? As this Skandavarman is the father of Simhavaraman and the Yuvamahārāja Vishnugōpa of the Urūvupalli plates, we may suppose that the king who reigned at the time of Viravarman and Skandavarman of Ōṅgōḍu No. 1 was Kumāravīṣṇu II of Chendalur.

But there is something more: the Ōṅgōḍu No. 1 plates mention a king called Kumāravīṣṇu, a name which we find mentioned twice in the Chendalur genealogy; but since Kumāravīṣṇu II probably reigned at the time of Viravarman and his son Skanda, it is Kumāravīṣṇu I, who can be identified with the one of Ōṅgōḍu No. 1.

So we obtain the following genealogy which agrees with all the documents that we possess:
Skandavarman (350-375 A.D.)
  |  
  Kumāravishṇu I. (375-400 A.D.)
    |  
    Buddhavarman  
      |  
      Skandavarman (400-425 A.D.)
        |  
        Kumāravishṇu II. (King of Kāñchi)
          |  
          Viravarman (425-450 A.D.)
            |  
            Skandavarman (450-475 A.D.)

Simhavarman (King of Kāñchi)
  |  
  Y. Vīṣṇugopa (475-500 A.D.)
    (Governor of Palakkada)
  |  
  Skandavarman (500-525 A.D.)
    |  
    Nandivarman (King of Kāñchi)
      |  
      Vishṇugopavarman (525-550 A.D.)
        (King of Palakkada)
          |  
          Simhavarman (550-575 A.D.)
            |  
            Simhavishṇu (575-600 A.D.)
              (King of Kāñchi)

Mahendravarman I. (600-625 A.D.)

It is to be observed that in the Ongōdu No. 1 plates the name of Viravarman is not preceded by any title. It is therefore probable that he did not reign but died young: so that Kumāravishṇu II of Kāñchi was the contemporary of Skandavarman of Tambrapaṇa and the immediate predecessor, at Kāñchi, of Simhavarman.

In the chronology given above, we have admitted that Mahendravarman I. ascended the throne about 600 A.D. and we have allowed for each generation an average of 25 years.

It is probable that the first of these kings, Skandavarman (350-375), was the son and successor of Vīṣṇugopa of Kāñchi who reigned there from 325 to 350 at the time of Samudragupta.

It is more easy for us to construct the genealogy of these
kings than to compile their history, because the copper-plates give us always the names of the great-grandfather, the grandfather and the father of the donor, but these names are not followed by any historical details. They have words of praise added to them which are purely conventional and are applied indiscriminately in a haphazard manner to any king.

The only thing we know is that from 400 A.D. to 550 A.D. the empire remained always divided into two kingdoms: Tondaimandalam in the south with Kanchi for its capital and the present districts of Guntur and Nellore in the north with Tanbrapa, Palakkada, Menmatur and Daaranapura for capitals.

We can also have some additional information when we proceed to study the Gangas and the Kadambas.

From the time of Simhavishnu the history of the Pallavas becomes clear. I think it is useless to repeat here what I have said in my book "The Pallavas," page 36; I shall be content with saying here again that Simhavishnu vanquished the Malaya, Kalabhra, Malava, Chol, Pandya and Simhala king and the Keralas, conquered the Chola kingdom and took possession of the banks of the Kaveri; that Mahendra was pursued by Pulakesin II, up to the banks of the Kaveri, that he succeeded in defeating his adversary at the battle of Pullalur and preserved the country of Kanchi; but he lost the districts of Guntur and Nellore which remained in the hands of the Chalukyas.

Concerning the Pallava civilisation at the time of Mahendravarman I., I request the reader to refer to the following works:


Concerning Sculpture: "Pallava Antiquities" Vol. I. Chapter II.

Concerning Drama: "The Maltavilasaprasahasana;" Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. L V.


Concerning Painting and Dance: "My forthcoming paper entitled "Pallava painting," concerning the fresco-paintings at Sittanavasal,
GENEALOGY OF THE PALLAVAS

"Bappa-déva" (225-250)
Skandavarman (250-275)
Buddhavarman (275-300)
[Buddhyan]kura (300-325).
Vishnugopa (325-350)
Skandavarman (350-375)
Kumáравišňu I (375-400)

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CHAPTER IV.

THE DYNASTIES OF CENTRAL DECCAN.

§ 1. The Vākātakas.

Till now, no one has thought of classing the Vākātakas among the dynasties of Deccan; it was believed that it was a dynasty that had to be studied with the dynasties of the North. An example of this error is given by Kielhorn who classes the Vākātaka inscriptions (nos. 618 to 624) under the rubric "Inscriptions of Northern India".

Now then, I wish to make the following declaration: when trying to compile the ancient history of the Deccan, I have come to the conclusion that the Vākātakas must be classed among the dynasties of the Deccan; and what is more, I can affirm that, of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the III to be VI century, the most glorious, the most important, the one that must be given the place of honour, the one that has excelled all others, the one that has had the greatest influence on the civilisation of the whole of the Deccan, is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākātakas.

The undermentioned documents: Chammak (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 55, p. 235), Siwani (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 56 p. 243), Dudia (Ep. Ind., Vol III, p. 258), Bālāghat (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 268), Professor K. B. Pāthak's plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. XLII, 1912, p. 215), two inscriptions at Ajantā (A. S. W. I. IV, pp. 53, 124 and 129), and the inscription in the Ghatotkacha cave at Guwārā (A. S. W. I., vol IX, pp. 64 and 138) give us
the following genealogy:

Vindyaśakti
  |  Pravarasēna I.
  |    Gautamiputra
  |     Rudrasēna I.
  |      Prithivishēna I.
  |       Rudrasēna II.
  |        Pravarasēna II.

| a son | Narēndrasēna
|       | Prithivishēna II.

Dēvasēna

Harishēpa

The first Mahārāja, Pravarasēna I., was the son of Vindyaśakti, "the banner of the Vākātaka race" mentioned in the Ajanta (A. S. W. I., IV, p. 124) inscription without any royal title. Pravarasēna I. performed sacrifices, especially Aśvamedha. Gautamiputra, who died probably before his father, as is seen by his never being a Mahārāja, married the daughter of Bhavanāga, king of the Bhārasīvas, "who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of Bhāgrathī (the Gaṅgā)". It is probable that Bhavanāga who reigned near the Ganges belonged to the family of the Nāgas of Padmāvati.

We know nothing about Rudrasēna I. His son Prithivishēna reigned for a long time. Mr. Vincent A. Smith attributes an inscription (Gupta Inscriptions, No. 53 and 54, page 233) at Nāchhā to this king; but when writing, Mr. Vicent A. Smith has not taken into account the Bālāghat plates which show that there was a second Prithivishēna. Is the Nāchhā stone dated in the time of Prithivishēna I. or Prithivishēna II? Judging from the form of the letters I would attribute it rather to the second; the small circle at the head of the letters seems
to point rather to the V than to the IV century [for the History of the Vākāṭakas by Mr. Vincent A. Smith, see J. R. A. S.; April 1914, page 317].

The 8th verse of the Ajanta inscription says that Prithvishēna I. vanquished the king of Kuntāla, i. e., the Kadamba king.

The passage that follows it is so badly damaged that we can read nothing therein. The name of Rudrasēna II. is not visible; but it is not probable it has been omitted. In fact, this prince had the honour of marrying Prabhāvati, daughter of Chandra-Gupta II. the illustrious emperor of the Gupta dynasty. Mr. Vincent A. Smith (J. R. A. S.; 1914, p. 326) thinks that this marriage took place about 395 A. D. and we shall admit this date. It was at this time that Chandra-Gupta II. took possession of the kingdom of the Western Satrapas, and it is certain that the Vākāṭaka empire adjoined that of the Western Satrapas; and the conclusion of Mr. Vincent A. Smith, which is very important for the chronology of the dynasty, is probably the right one.

Professor K. B. Pāthak's plates (Ind. Ant., 1912, page 215) is a grant of land issued by Queen Prabhāvati, widow of Rudrasēna II., during the minority of her son the Yuvarāja Divakārasena. It seems therefore that Rudrasēna II. died shortly after his marriage and that about the year 400 A. D. the queen Prabhāvati, the glorious daughter of the Gupta emperor was the regent of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. We have said that Prithvishēna I. vanquished the king of Kuntāla; and Kuntāla is the empire of the Kadambas: the town of Halsi, in Belgaum district, which was at one time called Palāśikā (Halasige) was originally in the Kuntāla kingdom (Ep. Ind. Vol XIII., p. 299; Kadamba inscription, verses 58-62). The Vākāṭakas were the neighbours of the Kadambas and the Vākāṭaka kingdom extended up to the modern town of Kurnool on the banks of the Krishṇā. We know that the famous temple of Śrīśailam or Śrī-Parvata is in the Kurnool district; and a "story, as related " in the Sthala Māhātmya of the place, says that the princess "Chandravati, a daughter of the Gupta king Chandragupta "conceived a passion for the God on the Śrīśaila hill and "began offering every day a garland of jasmine (mallikā) "flowers to him" (Report on Epigraphy for 1914-1915-G. O,
No. 1260, 25th Aug. 1915, Part II, No. 13, page 91). This information is very precious as throwing light on the origin of the dynasty of the Vishnu kuṇḍins that we shall study further. In fact, we shall see that this dynasty had for its tutelary deity, the God of Śri-Parvata; and that the first king of this dynasty, Mādhavavarman married a Viṣṇu kuṇḍin princess. I think there can be no doubt that this princess was the daughter or the grand daughter of queen Prabhāvati or Chandravati who was the daughter of the Gupta emperor, wife of Rudrasena II, mother of Pravarasena II and a votary of the God of Śri-Parvata. It is probably during the reign of Pravarasena II, that the Vakāṭakas who reigned over almost the whole of the modern State of Hayderabad, succeeded in founding the dynasty of the Vishnu kuṇḍins by placing on the throne of Vēṅgi, Mādhavavarman I who was the husband of a Vakāṭaka princess and an adorer of the God of Śri-Parvata.

We do not know if the Yuvarāja Divakārasena ascended the throne. We only know for certain that a son of Rudrasena II, reigned under the name Pravarasena II, The poet Bana in his introduction to Harshacharita mentions, among the most famous poets that had preceeded him, Pravarasena who was the author of a work called Sētukavya. The capital of Pravarasena was called Pravarapura and was probably founded by that king. It is certain that Pravarasena II. reigned in the south of Jabalpur (Jubbulpore) in the country in which we now find the towns of Seoni (Seoni) and Elichpur (Ilichpur). The Narbadā separated his kingdom from that of the Guptas, Chammak (Charmāka) is situated on the banks of Mahānadi Gupta Insc., page 241). We have said that the Vakāṭka empire extended further south. In 450 A.D., the Vakāṭka empire had the following boundaries: in the north it was separated by the Narbadā from the kingdom of Ujjain where reigned the illustrious emperor Kumāra-Gupta I. In the east was the vassal state of Raypur of which we shall speak further: the king Mahā-Sudēva had Sarabhapura for his capital. In the south-east was situated the kingdom of the Viṣṇu kuṇḍins over which Mādhavavarman I was reigning at Vēṅgi. In the south west, the river Bhimā separated the Vakāṭakas empire from that of the Kādambas whose king Śāntivarman was the "master of the entire Kārṇātaka region";
one of his capitals was Palāsikā (Halsi in Belgaum). In the west the Traikūṭas occupied the coast province of Aparānta. Thus the Vākāṭakas reigned over an empire that occupied a very central position and it is through this dynasty that the high civilisation of the Gupta empire and the Sanskrit culture in particular spread throughout the Deccan. Between 400 A. D. and 500 A. D. the Vākāṭakas occupied a predominant position and we may say that "In the history of the Deccan the V century is the century of the Vākāṭakas".

The alphabet of the plates of this dynasty is very peculiar; it is "box-headed". We shall have occasion to revert to this subject when speaking of the Kadambas.

According to the Ajanṭā inscription, the son of Pravara-
sēna II, whose name has been lost, must have ascended the throne when he was 8 years old (Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. IV., page 125) It is probable that this prince was dethroned by his younger brother Nārendrasēna. In fact, the Bālāghat plates say that Nārendrasēna "appropriated or took away the family's fortune." Nārendrasēna was married to Ajjhitaḥaṭā
dārikā, daughter of the king of Kuntāla. This marriage took place probably about 445 A. D. We have admitted that Rudra-
sēna II married the daughter of Chandra-Gupta II about 395 A. D. It is probable that the marriage of the grandson took place about 50 years after; we shall see later on that this king of Kuntāla was probably the Kadamba Kakusthavarman. The Bālāghat plates say about Nārendrasēna that "his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess". This latter event took place after 467 A. D. It is impossible that Nārendrasēna should be able to give orders to the Mālava king before this date: in fact, from 455 to 467 A. D., the king of Ujjain was the illustrious Skanda-Gupta Vikramāditya (Mr. Panna Lall in "The dates of Skanda-Gupta and his successors," Hindustan Review, Jan. 1918, argues that the reign of Skanda-Gupta ended about A. D. 467. See also, "Annals of the Bhandarkar institute 1918-19, Vol. I, Part I, page 69"). From 484 to 494 A. D. the country situated between the Jamnā and the Narmadā was under the orders of Budha-Gupta.

Prithivishēna II, son of Nārendrasēna, was reigning at the time when the Bālāghat plates were engraved,
It is impossible to know if Dēvasēna reigned at the same time as Prāthivishēna II or after; it was probably at the end of the V century. The minister of Dēvasēna was Hastibhoja who probably dug the Ghātottkacha cave at Gulvārā, eleven miles W. of Ajanṭā.

Harishēna, son of Dēvasēna reigned probably about 500 to 530 A. D. It is probable that this king made conquests in all directions, since the Ajanṭā inscription mentions Kuntalā (the Kadamba kingdom) Avanti (Māḷvā), Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭa, Lāṭa and Andhra. These events probably took place from 500 to 515 A. D. In fact it is about 500 A. D. that Rāvivarman killed Sri-Vishṇuvārman, who was reigning at Paḷāśīkā; Harivarman might have contributed to the struggle against the king of Kuntalā. In the VI century we have not a single document of the Traikūṭas. It is therefore probable that they were destroyed by Harishēna at the beginning of this century. It is also probable that it was at the beginning of the VI century that Indra of Kaliṅga fought with Indrā the Vīṇaṅkūṭpāna; and possibly Harishēna had to interfere in the affairs of the Kaliṅga and the Andhra (between the Gōdāvāri and the Krīṣṇā). Again, an inscription of Eran (Gupta Insc., p.93), dated 510-511 mentions a fight in which Bhānu-Gupta was allied with the king of Śarabha i.e. the king of Kosala. It is perhaps at this time that Harishēna fought with the kings of Avanti (Māḷvā) and Mēkala (the Narbadā).

It is probable that the Vākāṭaka dynasty was replaced, in the middle of the VI century, by that of the Kalachuris who held possession of all the country between Nāsik and Ujjain in the second half of the VI century.
\( \text{§ 2. The kings of Śarabhapura.} \)

The seal of the Khariar plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, page 171) bears the following genealogy:

Prasanna

| Mānamātra

| Mahā Sudēva

Dr. Von Konow in editing these plates, has observed that the word Mānamātra was synonymous with Mānaṅka, the words Mātra and Aṅka meaning "ornament," and the Uṇḍīvāṭika plates give us the following genealogy (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 163 and Ind. Ant. Vol. XXX):

Mānaṅka

| Dēvarāja

| Bhavishya

| Abhimanyu.

The king Dēvarāja had many sons of whom Bhavishya was one. Abhimanyu resided at Mānapuram (Māna-town) which is identified with Mānpur (lat. 23°46'; long. 81°11' E; see Gupta Inscriptions, page 136) near Bandhogarh in Rēwa. The Uṇḍīvāṭika plates were issued to make a grant to the temple of [Pēṭha]-Paṅgaraka which has been identified with Pagara near Pachmarhi (Sohagpur Tahsil; Hoshangabad Dist; Central Provinces). The king Mānaṅka is described as being "the ornament of the Rashtrakūṭas." We have thus the two following series:
Three documents, the Khairar (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX; page 170) Raipur (Gupta Inscriptions, page 196) and Sārangarh (Ep. Ind., Vol IX, page 281) copper plates, speak of king Sudēva (Mahā-Sudēva-rāja) who had Šarabhapura for his capital; this town cannot be identified; however, it is probable that this king reigned in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Raypur which is situated to the south of the Mahānādi and near its source. This kingdom was therefore situated between Kālunga in the east and the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas in the west. It is also very probable that the kings of Šarabhapura were the vassals of the Vākāṭakas.

It is also from Šarabhapura that were issued the Arang plates (Gupta Inscriptions, page 191) which speak of the king Jaya (Jayarāja). This king was almost the contemporary of Sudēva, since the alphabets resemble each other. However it is impossible to know the relationship that existed between these two princes.

The alphabet of the plates issued from Šarabhapura has a peculiar characteristic; it is box-headed as in the Siwani plates (Gupta Inscriptions, page 243) which are dated in the reign of Pravarasena II.

I believe we can place the two kings Sudēva and Jaya approximately in the second half of the V century.

It is possible that their kingdom was the Southern Kōsala.

An inscription of Eran (Gupta Inscriptions, page 93) gives us the following genealogy:

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{Mahāvīra} \\
\text{Mādhava} \\
\text{Gopāra} \\
\text{who married the daughter of the king of Šarabha,} \\
\text{who was the ally of Bhānu-Gupta and was killed a little before the year 510-511 A. D.}
\end{array} \]

To sum up, we know very little about this dynasty. However, we may suppose—it is only a hypothesis—that the genealogy was as follows:
Jayarāja was perhaps the son of Sudēva, as the Uṃḍivātika plates say that Dēvarāja had many sons and it therefore appears that Bhavishya was not the eldest.
CHAPTER V.

THE DYNASTIES OF WESTERN DECCAN.

§ 1. The Âbhîras.

At the end of the II century and the first half of the III century the Âbhîras were powerful in Gujarât and Kâthiâwar. An inscription (Ind. Ant. Vol. X., page 157) of the Western Kshatrapas dated 181 A.D. (Ś. 103) is a donation by general (senāpati) Rudrabhûti, who was an Âbhîra and the son of general Bâhaka. In Mâlvâ, in Gujarât and in Kâthiâwar have been found silver coins of a king named Iśvaradatta. Mr. Rapson (page CXXXVI) says: "there can be little doubt then that Iśvaradatta reigned some time between A. D. 236 and A. D. 239." Besides, it seems that the power of the Western Kshatrapas began to decline at this epoch: "Already in this reign (of Vîjayasena) appear the first symptoms of a decline about the year 167 or 168 (A. D. 245-246)" (Rapson, page 137). At Nâsik (Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII., page 88) there is an inscription (No. 1137 of Lüders's list) dated in the 9th year of Mâdhâhariputra Iśvarasena, an Âbhîra, son of Śivadatta. The latter is not mentioned as being a king. It would therefore appear that Iśvarasena founded the Âbhîra dynasty.

Is this Âbhîra named Iśvarasena the same as the king Iśvaradatta of the coins, who, towards the middle of the III century founded the Âbhîra dynasty and carved out for himself a kingdom extending over Kâthiâwar and the Nâsik region?
§ 3. The Traikūtaśas,

This dynasty (see Rapson, sections 42, 132, 134) reigned on the coast north of Bombay.

They have found (J. B. B. R. A. S., 1914, Vol. XXIII., pages 1 to 7) some coins that mention a certain king named Indradatta and his son Dahragaṇa, some other coins that mention a king called Indradatta and his son Daharasēṇa and a few others that mention Dahragaṇa and his son Vyāghragaṇa.

The Pardi plates (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol XVI, Art. XIX; page 346) are dated in the reign of Dahrasēṇa and in the 207th year of the era used by the Traikūtaśas.

The Surat plates (Ep. Ind., Vol XI, page 219) are dated in the reign of Vyāghrasēṇa in the year 241 and the plates discovered at Kānḫēri by Mr. Bird are dated in the year 245.

It is admitted that the era used by the Traikūtaśas is nothing but the Kṛṣṇaṇī or Chēdi era which begins on the 5th September 248 A.D. (Ep. Ind., Vol IX, page 129). So Dahrasēṇa reigned in 455-6 A.D.; Vyāghrasēṇa in 489-90 and the Kānḫēri plates are dated in the year 493-494 A.D. It is quite possible that this era was not founded by the Traikūtaśas; it was perhaps founded by the Ābhīras.

A close examination of these documents enables us to admit that the kings whose name ends in "gaṇa" may be identified with those whose name ends in "sēna".

Thus we have the following genealogy:

\[ \text{Indradatta} \]
\[ \text{Dahrasēṇa (who reigned in 455 A.D.)} \]
\[ \text{Vyāghrasēṇa (who reigned in 490 A.D.)} \]

The Traikūtaśa is mentioned by Kālidaṇa.
The Vākāṭaka Harisaṇa conquered it.
The Pardi plates have been issued from the town of Āmrakā and the Surat plates from Ahruddhapura.
§ 4. The Kāḻachuris.

The Abhona plates (Ep. Ind., Vol VI., page 294) and Sarsavni plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., page 295) give us the following genealogy:

Krīṣhṇarāja

| Śaṃkaragaṇa (who reigned in 595 A.D.) |

| Buddharaṇa (who reigned in 610 A.D.) |

These kings use the special era we have already spoken of. We have a coin of Krīṣhṇarāja (Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. West. Ind. for 1914-15, page 60).

It seems that the reign of Śaṃkaragaṇa was glorious: the Abhona plates tell us that he had his capital at Ujjain and reigned over the Nāṅak regions which denotes a vast empire.

The chief Nirīhullaka reigned in the lower Narbādā valley about 580 A.D., and was a feudatory (Śāṅkhiḍa grant; Ep. Ind., Vol. II., page 22) of Śaṃkaragaṇa. Nirīhullaka was perhaps a descendant of Saṃgamaśimha who was king of Bārakuchchha in 292 i.e. 530-531 A. D. (Sunao-Kala plates).

Buddharāja probably met with great reverses: before the year A.D. 601 (Bādāmi inscription) the king Maṅgalēśa of the Chaḷukya dynasty vanquished him. In 609 A.D. he reigned at Viḍiśa (Bēśnagar, near Bhīlsā, Vadner plates). In 610 A.D. (Sarsavni plates) he reigned at Ānandapura (Ānand in Kaira dist.; Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., page 297) and gave orders about the Barukachchha-vishaya.

We know (Aihole inscription) that Pulakēśin II vanquished Lāta, Gujārat and Māḷwa.
CHAPTER VI.

THE DYNASTIES OF EASTERN DECCAN.

1.—The Ikshvakus.

Three inscriptions (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, page 256) found ("Amaravati and Jagayyaapeta Stupa", Arch. Surv. Southern India, page 110) on the ruins of the stupa at Jagayyaapeta (Nandigama Taluk, Krishnâ district) give the name of a king called Mâdhari-putra Śi Vira Purushadatta (Purisadatta) of the Ikshvakus (Ikhâkus) and are in an alphabet which seems to point to the III century of the Christian era.

What became of this dynasty later on, it is impossible to say. However, there exists a stone in Guḍḍappa dry land at Anaji in the Dâvanagere taluq of Mysore (Ep. Carp., Vol. XI, Dg, No. 161) which mentions "the family of the Kâkayas, who made intermarriages with the Ikshvakus."
§ 2. The Brihatphalâyana.

The Koṇḍamudi plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., p. 315) are dated in the 10th year of king Jayavarman, of the Brihatphalâyanas, who reigned at Kudûra. The alphabet of these plates is extremely archaic; they are in prâkrit; besides, "the language and phraseology of the inscription are so similar to the Nâsik inscriptions of Gautamiputra Sâtakañi and of Vâsishthiputra Pulumâyi, that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two ândhra kings" (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII, No. 31, page 315). It must however be noted that the legend on the seal is in Sanskrit. It is therefore certain that Jayavarman reigned immediately after the Sâtavâhanas.

The Koṇḍamudi plates record the grant of the village of Padâra in Kudûrahâra which is the province, as we know, of which Kudûra was the capital. Where were this province and especially this town of Kudûra situated? Koṇḍamudi, where the plates have been found, is situated in the Tenâli taluq which is not far from the mouth of the Kriśhâ. The town of Kudûra is found mentioned in an inscription at Amarâvali (No. 1295 of Lüders's list). The country of Kuduhâra or Kudrahâra is mentioned in the plates of Nandivarman of the Sâlankâyana dynasty. These plates were issued from Vêngi and have been found near the Kolleru lake (Ind. Ant., Vol V, 1876, page 175. See also Burnell, "South Indian Palæography, 2e Ed. page 135.) The country called Kudrahâra or Guḍrahâra is referred to in many documents (see in particular: Ind. Ant., Vol XIII, page 138, line 17; Ind. Ant., Vol VII, page 191, line 12, and the Renḍubâlli copper-plate, Rep. on Epigraphy for 1914-1915, G. O. No. 1260, Public, 25th Aug. 1915, page 8, copper-plate No. 2 of 1915) The geographical indications given by these documents [see also: Ind. Ant., Vol VIII, page 76; S. I. I. Vol I, page 47; and inscriptions Nos 539 and 544 of 1893]
show that Kudūrahāra or Guḍrahāra is the country adjoining the modern town of Masulipatam (Bandar).

Besides, there have been found at Masulipatam (Bandar Taluk) four sets of copper-plates that give information about this country:

(1) The grant of Amma II. (S. I. L., Vol I., page 47) containing an order to the people living in Guḍravāra-vishaya.


(4) The plates of Amma II. (Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, page 74; and Vol. XX, p. 271; Ep. Ind., Vol. V., page 139), granting land. The last document is interesting as it shows the precise position of the land: it was situated beside the village of Pāṁbara in the Guḍravāra-vishaya and near Ganaṭṭasālā; again this grant of land was made to a chief "for having improved the town of Guḍravāra"; we know that Ganaṭṭasālā, which was situated in Guḍravāra-vishaya is a village in the Divī taluq situated at a distance of 10 miles from Masulipatam (Bandar) and 6 miles from the village of Kudūru.

We shall therefore conclude that the town of Kudūra, which was the capital of Jayavarman in the III century of the Christian era, is but the modern village which is 4 miles west-north-west of Masulipatam and 6 miles from the village of Ganaṭṭasālā and is mentioned under the name of Kudūru (Z) in the list of villages of Bandar (Masulipatam) taluq (see "List of villages of the Madras Presidency," 1914, page 150). The village named Panaṭṭura in the Koṇḍamudi plates, is perhaps Pandurū, a village in the Bandar (Masulipatam) taluq.

It so happens that the result we have arrived at is found to be of immense importance not only for the ancient history of the Deccan but also of Indo-China.

We know that the civilisation of Indo-China is of Indian origin and a study of the Indo-Chinese documents has proved that the civilisation of Indo-China came almost exclusively from the Deccan. The Indo-Chinese inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era and their alphabets very closely resemble those of the
inscriptions in the Deccan. Such an inscription of Cambodia (see, "Journal Asiatique" VIIe sèrie, Tome XX., No. 2, Août-Septembre 1882) dated in the Śaka year 589 "essentially agrees with those of the first Chālukyas from the sixth to the eighth century." The alphabet of the most ancient inscriptions found in Annam fully resembles, as has been remarked by M. Abel Bergaine (Journal Asiatique, Janvier 1888, page 15) the alphabets of the inscriptions of the kings of Vēngi, the Pallavas and the first Kadambas. Again, certain inscriptions (for example Nos 415 and 415 bis, XXI of the collection mentioned by Mr. Bergaine) are characterised by a peculiarity which is called the "box-headed" alphabet and M. Bergaine observes that "the relations between the Champā kingdom and those of Southern India were so frequent that the alphabet changed there in the same manner. We shall even see that a simple ornamental appendage, a deeply cut square at the head of the letters which, in India proper, seems to have been in fashion during almost the whole of the V century finds its way into our XXI inscription.

It must first be noted that this influence existed in the II century of the Christian era:

(1) The inscription of Mura-rāja or Śri Mara, king of the Champās, which is found near the village of Vo-can, in the Nhatrang valley in the province of Khah-Hoo (Journal Asiatique, Janv.-Fevrier 1891, page 17) in Annam, is written in Sanskrit and in an alphabet that is identical with that of the inscription of Rudradāman at Giṃnar.

(2) Ptolemy gives the names of the towns situated on the coast of Annam that were not simply Indian but were also Sanskrit (Journal Asiatique-Rapport Annuel; Juillet-Août 1888, page 70).

We thus arrive at the following very important conclusion: "The Indo-Chinese civilisation did not come from every place in India, but, from a port of the Deccan whence the travellers embarked for Indo-China".

Where was this port situated? That is the important problem we are now going to solve. This port was existing at the time of Ptolemy, and is found mentioned by this geographer. In fact, this is how Ptolemy describes the east coast of the Deccan (see Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., page 332): "Mouth of the river

We see that, in the II century, Ptolemy has said that the ships that wanted to go to the country of gold (Khrýsê) i.e. the Indo-Chinese peninsula (Burma, Malacca, Cambodia, Annam) started from a fixed point (locus unde solvunt in Chrysen navigantes). Till now there was complete uncertainty in regard to the geographical position of this port. There was no doubt at all that “Khabérís-emporium” designated the town of Kāv' ripatam; in fact, Ptolemy has mentioned above the “mouth of the river Khabéros” which is undoubtedly the Kāvēri. But between this town and the Ganges not a single place mentioned by Ptolemy could be identified with some amount of certainty. Many authors have put forth hypotheses but without any great success. Colonel Yule thought that the river Maisólus was no other than the Kríshṇā, because not far from its mouth there is the modern town of Masulipatam; but this reason was not very convincing. In the theory of Colonel Yule the town that Ptolemy calls Koddura was identified with Gūḍūru, near Masulipatam. This identification was regarded with the greatest scepticism, for they replied to Colonel Yule that:

(1) The word Koddura does not fully resemble the word Gūḍūru.

(2) There is nothing to prove that the village of Gūḍūru existed at the time of Ptolemy and has preserved the same name for 18 centuries.

It is no more the same thing to-day. In compiling the ancient history of the Deccan and in studying the Koḍamudi plates, we have made the following important discoveries: (1) That the modern town named Gūḍūru by Colonel Yule was once called Kudûra (2) that Kudûra existed at the time of Ptolemy. So we can now think of identifying the Koddura of Ptolemy with the Kudûra of Koḍamudi plates.

Our knowledge of ancient Deccan enables us to make another new identification. Between Gūḍūru and the mouth of the
Krishṇa, there is the town of Ghaṇṭaśālā, where Mr. Alexandre Rea (South Indian Bouddhist Antiquities—Madras 1894, page 32) has discovered the remains of a Stūpa which date from the beginning of the Christian era; so, Ghaṇṭaśālā existed at the time of Ptolemy, and exactly at the required spot, on the seaside, between Koddura and the mouth of the river, Ptolemy places the mart of Kontakossyla.

We have thus solved an important problem, we have been able to identify certain places named by Ptolemy in a part of the Deccan coast; and the place whence ships departed for Indo-China is found near Koddura, a little more to the north on the coast, i. e. not far from the mouth of the Godāvāri.

We shall therefore conclude that the port of departure for vessels bound for Khrysē, during the time of Ptolemy, was situated near the mouth of the Godāvāri and that it was from there that the civilisation of India started to go over to Burma, Java, Cambodia and Annam.
§ 3. The Śālaṅkāyanas.

This dynasty had Veṇgipura for its capital, and had a special cult for the god Chitrarathaswāmin. The remains of a temple dedicated to this deity are found at Pedda-vēgi near Ellore. As copper-plates connected with this dynasty and this country have been found in the environs of this town, I think we may admit the identity of Veṇgipura with Pedda-vēgi. The plates of king Vijaya-Dēvavarman (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX., No. 7, page 56) are in Prākrit but contain two sanskrit verses. This king is said to be the 'performer of horse sacrifices.'

Another set of plates found near lake Kolleru (Ind. Ant. Vol. V., 1876, No. XVIII, page 175) is in Sanskrit and is probably not so ancient. It mentions Chaṇḍavarman and his son Vijaya-Nandivarman. The Śālaṅkāyanas ruled at this epoch over the same country of Kuḍūhua which formerly was the native land of the Brīhataphalāyanas.

And J. F. Fleet says (Ind. Ant. Vol. V., 1876, page 175): "In Sir W. Elliot's fac-similes I have another copper-plate inscription of Vijaya-Nandivarman and his Yuvamahātāja whose name seems to be Vijaya-Tuṅgavarma or Vijaya Buddhavarman

................. the language, even, is doubtful but seems to be prākrit.........." This name is probably Buddhavarman, for, in the margin there is the character "dha" ".

It is probable that these kings: Dēvavarman, Chaṇḍavarman, his son Nandivarman and perhaps also the problematical Buddhavarman, have reigned between 350 and 450 A. D. It appears in fact that these kings came after the invasion of Samudra-Gupta; and it is again probable that their kingdom was conquered in the fifth century by the Vishṇukuṭḍins with the help of the Vākātakas.
§ 4. The Vishṇukūḍins.


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No I.  No II.
Mādhavavarman I.  Govindavarman
   Vikramēndravarman I.   |  Mādhavavarman (II).
   Indrabhatṭārakavarman   |
   Vikramēndravarman II.   |
   Vikramahēndra          |
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I am of opinion that Vikramahēndra may be identified with Vikramēndravarman II. In fact, I have remarked that in several documents the information regarding the grand-father or other ancestors of the reigning king has been sometimes altered. It is probable that the real name of the grandfather of Mādhava II was Vikramēndravarman II.

It seems that the capital of the kingdom was Lendulūra which is probably the present village of Dendulūra, in the Ellore taluq near the ancient city of Vengi.

The tutelary deity of the dynasty is the "Holy Lord of Śrī Parvata," Śrī Sailam in the Karnul District. This God was the favourite deity of Prabhāvatī, widow of Rudrasēna II. and mother of Pravaraśena II, the Vākāṭaka king. On the other hand, Mādhavavarman I., the first Vishṇukūḍin king had married a Vākāṭaka princess and we have said already, that very probably, in the middle of the V century, the Vākāṭakas uprooted the ancient Sālaṅkāyana dynasty of Vengi and placed on the throne their relation Mādhavavarman I. This king, in fact, is reported to have performed numerous sacrifices, 11 of
them being horse sacrifices which are emblems of victory. Besides that, the eulogies of this king resemble those found in the Vākāṭaka copper-plates of Pravarasena I.

The king Vikramendraavarman I. had no other merit than that of birth. He was the ornament of two families, the Vishnukundins and the Vākāṭakas. His reign was probably short.

On the contrary, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman had a long reign as the Rāmatirtham plates are dated in the 37th year of his reign; besides, during this reign, there was a terrible attack made by a king, who probably reigned in Kaliṅga, who was also called "Indra" and who seems to have been the head of a coalition of kings. These plates tell us that Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman "encountered in hundred thousands of battles numerous four-tusked elephants (chaturdanta)"; we know that God Indra is mounted on the elephant of the East which has four tusks. That statement is wholly confirmed by copper plates written in a similar alphabet which have been found in the Gōdaverī District. They are those of Prithivimūla (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., page 116). From lines 17-20, we learn an alliance was entered into by several chiefs to uproot by force Indrabhaṭṭāraka whose elephant Kumuda (the elephant of the S. W. quarter) was struck down by Indrādhirāja mounted on his own elephant Supratika (the elephant of N. E. quarter). So there were two Indras present: Indrādhirāja, king of the northeast, that is, of Kaliṅga along the coast of Orissa, and Indrabhaṭṭāraka, the Vishnukundin who reigned in the southwest, that is to say in Veṅgī. Now, it seems that it was the king of the Vishnukundins that was the victor. In fact the same Rāmatirtham plates commemorate the grant made by Indra of a village situated in the Pāḷaki-rashṭra. This province is mentioned in the Timmapuram plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX., page 317) under the name of Pāḷaki-vishaya. And we know that this same province of Pāḷaki-vishaya contained the village of Chērūpūra, which is nothing but Chipurupalli in the Vizagapatam District (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX., pages 15 and 16). Since the Vishnukundin Indra was the master of Vizagapatam District after his war with the king of Orissa, it is certain that he was the victor. We have said that there was a coalition of many kings against Indrabhaṭṭāraka. Among them perhaps was Ḥarishēna the Vākāṭaka;
in fact, the Ajanta inscription says that Harishena vanquished
the king of the Andhra country. This word shows the country
between the Godavari and the Krishnâ, that is to say, the
kingdom of the Vishnukundins.

The son of Indrabhâñâra is Vikramândavaranman II. It
is certain that this king reigned on the banks of the Krishnâ
as the Chikkula plates mention the village of Rêgonram to the
S. E. of Râvirâva on the bank of the Krishnabennâ; and
Râviaﾂva has been identified by Mr. Sewell with Raveralah
80°10'E and 16°50'N.:

The son of Vikramândavaranman II. (Vikramândra) was
Gôvindavarman and his grandson Mâdhavavarman II (Janârâya).
The last of them “crossed the river Godavari with the desire to
conquer the eastern region”. This event probably took place
shortly before the invasion of Pulakesin II, who put an end to
the dynasty of Vishnukundins and annexed the kingdom of
Vêngi.

In my work “The Pallavas” (chapter III, page 34), I have
attributed the caves of Uṇḍavalli, Sittanagaram, Bezwada,
Mogalrajapuram to the Vishnukundins. I shall not speak of it
once again.

The seal of the Chikkula plates (Ep. Ind. Vol IV., plate
facing the page 244) resembles that of the Râmâtirtham plates:
an advancing lion with its fore-paw raised, mouth wide open
and the tail swung over the back so as to end in a loop
(G. O. No. 538; Rep. on Epi. 28th July 1909). The lion
was then the crest of the Vishnukundins. It is to be remarked
that the Kadambas have the same crest which proves the
family relationship that existed between the Kadambas and
the Vishnukundins. We find the image of a vase sculptured
on the pillars at Uṇḍavalli and Mogalrajapuram, and the image
of a lion at Uṇḍavalli. Coins bearing the image of a lion on
the obverse and the image of a vase on the reverse have also
been found. (see for instance, in Mr. Vincent A. Smith’s, “Early
History of India,” the plate concerning the Indian coins in
the British Museum: coin No. 16, from Elliot, “Coins of
Southern India” Pl., II, 49). These coins have been
attributed to the Pallavas. In 1917, in my work “The Pallava-
vas” (Chapter III, page 34), I have attributed these coins to
the Vishnukundins.
§ 5. The Kings of Kaliṅga.

We have six documents that give us information about the kings of Kaliṅga. We have said that, about A. D. 340, Samudra-Gupta met on the coast of Orissa with Maṇṭarāja, king of Korāla, Svāmīdaṭṭa of Koṭṭūra, Damana of Eraṇḍapali and Mahēndra of Pishṭāpura. The last of them had probably the title of king of Kaliṅga: we shall see, in fact, that Śaktivarman (Ragolu plates) who also reigned at Pishṭāpura had this title. The six documents we have mentioned being all in Sanskrit are probably posterior to the year 400 A. D. On the other hand the coast of Orissa was conquered by Pulakēśīn II (Aihole inscription) about 609 A. D. and was probably shared between the Eastern Chālukyas in the south and the Eastern Gaṅgas in the north. The dates of the 6 documents in question are therefore between 400 and 600 A. D.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish a chronology of the kings of Kaliṅga whose names we know. Therefore we shall now proceed to enumerate those documents without any ascertained chronological order.

a) The Ragolu plates (Ep. Ind. Vol XII, page 2) mention Vāsishṭhiputra Śaktivarman, king of Kaliṅga who reigned at Pishṭāpura. It is said that this sovereign "adorns the Māgādha family," which goes to show that this prince was related to the Guptaś and reigned towards the middle of the V century when the Guptaś and the Vākāṭakas dominated the Deccan.

b) The Gōdāvari copper plates (J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol XVI, page 116) had been studied when we gave the history of Indrabhaṭṭaraka of the Vishṇukūpīn dynasty; the king Prīthivimūla who was the donor of the Gōdāvari plates was the son of Śī-Prabhākara and reigned in the city of Kāndāḷi. He was the vassal of another more powerful king named Indra who was the son of Mitavarman, reigned at Maṇalkudi
and had for his war-elephant Supralika (the elephant of the N. E. quarter). The document says that this king was the victor in the struggle against the king Indrabhaṭṭāraka. But we have said that this is not probable and that, on the contrary, the Vishṇukūḍin king seems to have annexed the districts of Gōdāvari and Vizagapatam and driven away the kings of Kaliṅga to the north. In fact, the capital of the kings of Kaliṅga which was Pīṣṭāpuram at the times of Mahēndra and Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śaktivarman seems to have been transferred further north to Sārapalli and Simhāpura after the Vishṇukūḍin captured Pīṣṭāpuram. This event probably took place in the first quarter of the VI Century.

c) The Chikakole plates (Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII., page 48) of Nandaprabhaṇjanavarman issued from Sārapalli and d) the Kömarti plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV., page 143) of Chandavarman issued from Simhāpura, have many points of resemblance: the phraseology of both these documents is almost the same; the seals bear the word “Pitṛbhaktah”; Nandaprabhaṇjana and Chandavarman are both of them called kings of Kaliṅga; and lastly, Simhāpura, the capital of Chandavarman may be identified with Śingupuram, a village near Chikakole where the plates of Nandaprabhaṇjana were discovered.

e) The Brihaṭprōṣṭha grant of Umāvarman, lord of Kaliṅga, issued from Simhāpura (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII., page 4) surely belongs to the same group as the plates of Chikakole and Kömarti. It is impossible to say in what chronological order, Umāvarman, Nandaprabhaṇjana and Chandavarman reigned. Their epoch is also uncertain; they might possibly have reigned between 525 and 609 A. D.

f) Lastly, we have to mention the Sarabhavaram plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII., page 104) for, this village where they were discovered is in the Gōdāvari district and it is probably here that the Lord of Chikūra, whose name is not mentioned and who perhaps lived in the VI century, reigned. He was probably not a "king of Kaliṅga" but only a simple feudatory.
CHAPTER VII.

THE DYNASTIES OF THE KANARESE DISTRICTS.

§ 1. The Kadambas.

The genealogy of the Kadambas may probably be the following:

Mayūraśarman (340-360 A.D.)

Kṣaghavaran (360-385 A.D.)

Raghu (410-425 A.D.)

Śāntivarman (450-475 A.D.)

Kākusthavarman (425-450 A.D.)

Kṛishṇavarman I.

Mṛgēśavarman Māndhātrivarman

Vishṇuvarman Dēvāvarman

(475-488 A.D.)(488-500 A.D.)

Simhavarman

Ravivarman Bhānuvarman Śivarathya

(500-537 A.D.)

Harivarman (537-550 A.D.)

Kumaravarman

Mandhata-Rāja
(Shimoga plates)

Krishṇavarman II. (550-565 A.D.)

Ajavarman

Bhōgivarman

Vishṇuvarman etc.
A part of this genealogy has been published by Professor Kielhorn (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII., page 30) and admitted by Mr. Rice in his work "Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions" ["jyēṣṭha-piṭri," in the Birur plates, means a father's elder brother].

The genealogy given above differs from those published by Messrs. Kielhorn and Rice because I have taken into account the discovery of the Shimoga plates in 1911 and those of Tagare in 1918. The Tagare plates (Annual Report, Mysore Archaeological Department, for 1918, page 40, No. 71) give us the following genealogy:

- Krishnavarman
  - Ajavarman
    - Bhogivarman
      - Vishnuvarman

Relying on the form of the letters, I thought that it was not possible to admit that this Krishnavarman was Krishnavarman I; but that he was, on the contrary, very probably Krishnavarman II.

The Shimoga plates (Annual Report, Mysore Archaeological Department, for 1911, page 31), say that the king Mándhāta-Rāja, son of Kumāravarman reigned at Uchchangi (Uchchangidurgā=Uchchasringi). This town belonged to Śivaratha in the 4th year of the reign of Harivarman (Halsi plates, Ind. Ant., Vol., page 30); that is why we can suppose that Kumāravarman was the son of Śivaratha or Harivarman; the Shimoga plates do not give us any information about his filiation.

The chronology of the Kadambas has not yet been fixed on a sure basis. It is only a complete study not only of this dynasty but also of all the other dynasties of the Deccan that will enable us to arrive at a satisfactory result. In the genealogical table, I have just given, I have put within brackets, beside the name of each king, the approximate date of his reign, according to the chronology I have adopted. I shall now try to justify this chronology.
(1) We have said, when speaking of the copper plates of the Pallava dynasty, that paleography was generally a bad auxiliary to the chronology of dynasties; very often, two documents dated in the same reign differ much from each other. However there is a special case to which I must draw the reader’s attention. We know that in the middle of the V century the Gupta-Vākāṭakas were very powerful in the Deccan. I call Gupta-Vākāṭakas those kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty who were the sons, grandsons or great-grandsons of queen Prabhāvatī, daughter of Dēvagupta (Chandra-Gupta II). We know that this queen was the regent of the kingdom during the minority of her son; and the plates of Professor Pātāk (Ind. Ant., 1912, page 215), which are dated in the time of this princess, bear on the seal not the genealogy of the Vākāṭakas but of the Guptas. The descendants of this queen considered themselves to be as much Guptas as Vākāṭakas. They adopted a very peculiar alphabet which spread as a queer fashion in the V century, in the empire of the Guptas, at the time of Chandra-Gupta II (Bühler “Ind. paleography” Ind. Ant. Vol XXXIII, page 64). This has been styled the “box-headed” alphabet. I distinguish two sorts of “box” placed at the head of the letters:

The “true box”; it is thus described by J. F. Fleet: “formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square and leaving a block of stone or copper in the centre of them” (Gupta Inscriptions, page 19).

The “false box” is more simple: the sculptor or engraver has simply removed a sufficiently large square surface at the head of each letter.

As an example of the “true box” we may take the Balaghat plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX., page 268) of Prīthivishēṅga II and all the plates of Pravarasēna II (Channak, Śīwāni and Dūdia).

When examining the Uruvupalli plates (see the plate in Ind. Ant, Vol. V, page 51) which are dated from Palakkada in the 11th year of the reign of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman and which have been engraved by order of Yuvamahāraja Viṣṇugopa, I made the important remark, which no one has done up to the present, that the alphabet of this document was “box headed”; nay more, it is not the “false box”
but the “true box” so much so that these plates can be shown as an excellent specimen of the “true box”, Simhavarman and Vishnugopa have reigned between 475 and 500 A.D. and the Urvupalli plates are probably dated 486 A.D. The plates of Maṅgarār and Pikira of the son of Vishnugopa are not box-headed; we may therefore say that from 500 A.D., the box method disappeared. The same phenomenon is to be seen in the Kadamba documents: the plates of Mṛigēśa and Māndhāṭri are box-headed, but those of Ravivarman are not. There is room to think that Mṛigēśa and Māndhāṭri reigned from 475 to 500 A.D. and were contemporaries of Simhavarman and Vishnugopa; and that Ravivarman reigned after 500 A.D. when the box method has disappeared from the Deccan.

(2) We know that about 550 A.D., Pulakēśin I seized Vatāpi and founded the Chaḷukya kingdom: but if we look at the map, we see that the geographical position of Bādami (Vatāpi) allows us to affirm that Palāśikā (Halsi) could not belong to the Kadambas when the Chaḷukyas were in Bādami. It may therefore be asserted that all the plates found at Halsi and dated from Palāśikā (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, pages 23, 25, 28, 29, 31,) are anterior to 550 A.D. We may therefore say that Harivarman who, in the 5th year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, page 31) held Palāśikā, reigned there before the middle of the VI century. It has to be noted that we do not know of any Kadamba document dated from Palāśikā which is posterior to the one we have just mentioned; it is therefore probable that Harivarman was almost the contemporary of Pulakēśin I and was vanquished by him. The Sangoli plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, page 165) mention an astronomical phenomenon and Mr. K. N. Dikshit of Poona has observed that during the VI century this phenomenon could have occurred only thrice: in 507, in 526 and in 545. The Sangoli plates being dated in the 8th year of Harivarman’s reign, this king must have come to the throne only in 526-8=518 A.D. or in 545-8=537 A.D., if we believe that this event happened in the VI century. The latter date agrees perfectly well with the chronology we have adopted; we shall therefore admit that Harivarman ascended the throne in 537 A.D.,

Let us now proceed to sum up the history of this dynasty.
The Tāḷgunda inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol VIII, page 30) gives a version, probably historical, of the origin of the Kadambas. There was a brahman belonging to the Māṇavya gōtra named Mayūrāśarman who was a native of Śhānakundur (Tāḷgunda) and belonged to a family called Kadamba since a kadamba tree sheltered their house. He came to the capital of the Pallava empire to study the Vēdas and there had a quarrel with a horseman. Hearing it said that the brahman caste was inferior to that of the Kshatrias, he got angry, put himself at the head of a band of adventurers and attacked the Pallavas in the forests of Sri Parvata. With the help of Bṛhad-Bāna and other kings, he succeeded in founding the kingdom of which Banavasi (Vaijayanti) was the capital. Mr. K. G. Sankara Iyer of Trivandrum in his excellent article on “The age of Kālidāsa” published in the “Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,” (Bangalore, Vol. VIII, July 1918) says: “It is probable that Māyūrāśarman took advantage of the confusion caused by Samudragupta’s southern expedition to set himself up as an independent ruler”. This hypothesis accords with the chronology we have adopted.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah, the learned officer of the “Mysore Archaeological Department”, has written an article on “The Kadamba prākrit inscription of Malavalli” Ind. Ant., Vol. XLVI, page 154), in which we find the exact tenor of that document. It is a Kadamba inscription, but the name of the king is not mentioned. However, as it is in prākrit we may suppose that he was the most ancient king of the dynasty and that the document is dated in the reign of Mayūrāśarman, that is, the middle of the IV century.

The 8th verse of the Ajaṇṭā inscription (cave No. XVI, Arch. Surv. W. Ind., Vol IV, pages 53 and 124) says that the Vākāṭaka king Prithvishēṇa I. vanquished the king of Kūptala, i.e. the Kadamba king. It is certain that Prithvishēṇa I. reigned for a long time: tradition says that he reigned for about a hundred years and Mr. Vincent A. Smith is of opinion that it means “from about forty to sixty years”. We know that his son Rudrasēna II. married the daughter of Chandra-Gupta II, about 395 A. D. We may therefore be almost sure that Prithvishēṇa I. reigned between 350 and 390 A. D. According to our chronology he must have been the contemporary of the Kadamba
king Kaṅgavarman (360-385 A. D.) and it is probable that this king of Kunṭala is the one whose defeat is mentioned in the Ajaṅṭā inscription; and the Tāḷguṇḍa inscription seems to confirm this supposition, as it says that Kaṅgavarman accomplished "lofty exploits in terrible wars".

We have not got any information about Bhagiratha.

Raghu "subdued enemies by his valour". It is probably in his reign that his brother Kākustha bore the title of Yuvamahāraja and ruled over Pāḷāśikā (Halsi in Belgaum) in the year 80 of an unknown era which probably began with the founding of the dynasty by Mayūrasarman. In that case, the Halsi plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, page 23) would be dated about the year 420 A. D. and Kākustha would have come to the throne in 425 and reigned till 450 A. D.

The Balaghat plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, page 268) say that Narēndrasēna was the grandson of Prabhāvati-Guptā and that he married the daughter of the king of Kuntala named Ajjhita-bhaṭṭarikā. When did this marriage take place? We have admitted with Mr. Vincent A. Smith (J. R. A. S., April 1914, page 326) that the marriage of Rudrasēna II with the daughter of Chandra-Gupta II, the queen Prabhāvati-Gupta, took place about 395 A. D.; we may suppose that the marriage of their grandson took place 50 years later. So the marriage of the prince Gupta-Vākāṭaka with the daughter of the king of Kuntala must be placed about 445 A. D. We have said above that it is certain that the Kuntala kingdom was no other than the kingdom of the Kadambas (see Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, page 299, verses 58—62). We may therefore put the question: who was the Kadamba king that reigned in 445 and gave his daughter in marriage to the Gupta-Vākāṭaka king? In our chronology Kākusthavarman is shown to have reigned from 425 to 450 and it is quite possible that in 445 he had a daughter of marriageable age; and the celebrated inscription of Tāḷguṇḍa which contains the eulogy of Kākusthavarman and is written in the "box-headed" alphabet says that Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Guptas and other kings.

The plates of Mṛgēśa and Māndhāṭri, "the sons of Śāntivarman, are also written in the same alphabet.

Two sets of copper plates discovered at Dēvagiri (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, page 35 and page 37) are dated in the 3rd
and 4th years of the reign of Mrigēśa; the Halsi plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 24) and the Hire-Sakuna plates (Ep. Carn., VIII, page 12), are dated in the 8th year of the same reign. The Hiṣṇahababagalu (Ep. Carn., IV, p. 136) and Tālgunda records are not dated. The last document (Mysore Archaeological Report, for 1910-11, page 35, and Plate IV, 2) mentions the wife of Mrigēśa, who was born in the Kaikēya family, and was called Prabhavati. In the first 8 years of his reign, about 480 A.D., Mrigēśa uprooted the Gaṅgas, and was a very fine of destruction of the; Pallavas (Halsi plates, Ind. Ant., VI, p. 24). Mrigēśa reigned at Vaijayanāti. It is probable that he did not reign long, since the documents we have got do not go beyond the 8th year of his reign.

It is probable that Mrigēśa was succeeded by his younger brother Māndhāṭrivarman who also reigned at Vaijayanāti: the Kūḍgere plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., p. 14) are dated in the 2nd year of his reign. His private secretary Dāmōdaradatta was probably the Dāmōda of Koṇṇār (Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., p. 93).

In the absence of more precise information, we may admit that Mrigēśa reigned from 475 to 490 A.D. and Māndhāṭri from 490 to 500 A.D.

When Sāntivarman, Mrigēśa and Māndhāṭri were reining at Vaijayanāti, the northern provinces (Belgum, Kaladège and Darwar), which had Palāṣikā (Halsi) and Tripuravata (probably Dēvagēri) for their capitals, were governed by princes belonging to the younger branch of the Kadamba family. Krishṇavarman I., son of Kākustha and elder brother of Santivarman, reigned at Tripuravata (probably Dēvagēri, in the Karajgi taluk of Dhārward District). He had the prince Dēvavarman as yuvamahārāja (Dēvagēre plates, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 33). Almost at the same time, Vīsṇuvarman, the elder (Birur plates) son of Krishṇavarman I, made a grant in the Sindhuthaya-rashtra (Bijapur District) with the permission of his cousin Santivarman (Birur plates; Ep. Carn., Vol. VI., p. 91; Kadur No. 162) Vīsṇuvarman was the son of a Kaikēya princess who had married Krishnavarman I. Who were the Kaikēyas? Nothing is known about them. The kingdom of Palāṣikā (Halsi), which was governed by Vīsṇuvarman, belonged to the Kadambas of Vaijayanāti; in fact, when Mrigēśa
was reigning at Vaijayanti (Ind. Ant., vol. VI, page 24), he
gave orders for the construction of a temple at Palāśikā.

It is probable that on the death of Māndhaṭri, the crown
of the Kadambas came, as a matter of right, to Rāvivarman
the son of Māndhaṭri; this prince being young, his cousin
Vishṇuvarman tried to seize upon the throne with the help of
the Pallavas; but Ravi killed his adversary. In fact, a set of
Halsi plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, page 32) say that Rāvivarman
“acquired the regal power by the strength and prowess of his
own arm”, and another set of Halsi plates (Ind. Ant.,
Vol. VI, page 29) also add that Rāvivarman “having slain
Śrī-Vishṇuvarman and other kings, and having uprooted
Chaṇḍaḍanda, the lord of Kāṇchi has established himself at
Palāśikā”. The Nilambur plates (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, page
146) are dated in the 5th year of Rāvivarman’s reign; and
there are three sets of plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, page 25, 28
and 29) that are dated in the same reign from Palāśikā.

The Ajjibad-Sirsī plates (Progress Report, Arch. Surv. West.
Ind., for 1917-1918, page 35) are dated in the 35th year of his reign
which corresponds probably to circ. 535 A. D. and it is likely,
that, having come to the throne about 500 A. D. when suffi-
ciently young, he reigned for about 40 years and died in 537
A. D. The inscription on the stone at Kavaḍi (Sorab 523,
Shimoga; (Ep. Carn., Vol. VIII, page 167) mentions the
death of Ravi and of his wife who probably became a sati.

His son Harivarman succeeded him at Vaijayanti (Sangoli
plates; Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, page 165; 8th year of the reign)
and at Palāśikā (Halsi plates, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, page 31; 5th
year of his reign). We have said that he ascended the throne in
537 A. D.

About the year 550 A. D., Pulakēśin I. of the Chaṇḍuka
family installed himself at Vātapi (Bādāmi). This town being
situated exactly in the middle of the northern provinces of the
Kadamba kingdom, it is almost certain that Harivarman lost,
about 550 A. D., all the country that had for its capitals
Palāśikā (Halsi) and Triparvata.

We have seen that Rāvivarman killed Vishṇuvarman, his
cousin and settled at Palāśikā; Śimhavarman, the son of
Visṇuvarman, probably remained in an inferior position during
the reign of Rāvivarman; but the son of Śimhāvarman who
was called Kṛishṇavarman II, ascended the throne of Vaijayantī. The Beṇṇur plates (Ep. Carn., Vol. V., page 594; Belur 245) speak of a military expedition and the Bennaḥalli plates (Ep. Carn., Vol. V, Be, 121; and Ep. Ind., Vol. VI., page 18) say that Kṛishṇavarman II. "has gained the fortune of royalty by his heroism". The kingdom of Kṛishṇavarman II. extended between the Chālukya kingdom in the north and that of the Gaṅgas in the south. Mādhava II. of the Gaṅga dynasty married the sister of Kṛishṇavarman II. Probably, it was Kṛishṇavarman II. that was defeated by the Chāluka Kirtivarman I. shortly before 570 A. D. and whose country was ruined by the Pallavas (Aṇaji insc., Ep. Carn., Vol. XI, Dg, No. 161).

For a long time it was believed that the dynasty was completely destroyed. However, the discovery of the Tagare plates (Mysore Arch. Report for 1918, page 40 and plate XI) seems to prove that the son of Kṛishṇavarman II. who was called Ajavarman, did not reign, but that Bhōgivarman, the son of Ajavarman, was the "acquirer of an extensive kingdom by the strength of his own arm". It is probable that this kingdom did not last long, for, it appears that this country was occupied, shortly after, by the Gaṅgas (Tagare plates of Polavira, Mysore Arch. Report for 1918, page 41). Vishṇuvarman son of Bhōgivarman probably lived in the beginning of the VII century.

The Chālukya king Pulakesin II besieged Banavāsi (Ahole insc.) and, in the Kadamba country there are inscriptions of Pulakēśin II (Sh, 10), Vikramāditya (Sa, 79), Vinayāditya (Su, 154) and Vījayāditya (Sk, 278).

At the end of the VIII century, the Pallava king Danti-varman married Aggaṇanimmaṭi, "the daughter of the celebrated king, a crest jewel of the Kadamba family" (Vēḻṟṟṟṟḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷḷ Operand plates, vers 18; S. I, I., Vol. II., Part V., page 511).
§ 2. The Gaṅgas.

Up to the moment of writing this, the genealogy of this dynasty has remained unsettled for the following reasons: The first documents that were discovered were no doubt spurious. They gave the following genealogy:

Konāṇivārman,

Mādhava (I),

Harivarman,

Kishnugopa,

Mādhava (II),

Avinīta,

etc.

In 1913, were discovered the Penukonda plates which give the following genealogy:

Konāṇivārman,

Mādhava,

Āyyavarman,

Madhava.

This document was certainly a genuine one; it was admitted that the genealogy given in the spurious records is erroneous and that the only reliable one is what is given in the Penukonda plates. It has therefore been admitted that the following is the correct genealogy:

Konāṇivārman,

Mādhava II,

Āyyavarman,

Mādhava II,

Avinīta,

etc.
Here the donor of the Penukonda plates is mentioned as the father of Avinita. I strongly protest against these suppositions. I affirm that the genealogy given in the spurious records is quite correct, but that, till now, no one has understood the true reason for the disagreement that exists between the Penukonda plates and the other documents. F. Fleet says (J. R. A. S., 1915, page 472): "It must be obvious that two such different statements cannot both be true". There lies the mistake: I am of opinion that both the genealogies are correct; but they are of two different dynasties.

First of all, I have to declare most emphatically that the genealogy given in the spurious records is quite correct. In the Mysore Archaeological Report for 1916, Mr. R. Narasimhachar has published two sets of copper plates: the Sringeri plates of Avinita and the Uttanur plates of Durvinita; and, as for the Gummaredhipura plates of the same king, published in 1912 § 69, "there are no indications, that would lead one to suspect the genuineness" of those records. The dynasty referred to in these documents is that of the "Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ".

I now proceed to prove the existence of a second dynasty which I shall call the dynasty of the "Gaṅgas of Paruvi". We possess two documents of this dynasty which has remained unknown till now:

1) The Penukonda plates issued by the king Mādhava when making a grant of land situated near the tank of Paruvi in Paravivishaya (J. R. A. S., 1915, page 480 and "Report on Epigraphy" for 1913-1914, Madras, page 83-84);


The capital of this dynasty was perhaps Kavnipata from which place are dated the plates of Krīṣṇavarman.

The chronology of the Gaṅgas has till now remained so very uncertain that the authors who have treated the subject sometimes differ by several centuries.

However, all of them are almost agreed on the one point, that Mādhava II, the father of Avinita, married the sister of Krīṣṇavarman I, the son of Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba
dynasty; but it is quite certain it was not the case. The documents say that Mādhava II, married the sister of the Kadamba Krishṇavarman, but this king was, I am sure, the second of that name and not the first. I declare that Mādhava II, married the sister of Krishṇavarman II.

The first king, of whose date we are sure, reigned in the VIII century: in 1918, Mr. R. Nara-imhachau discovered at Halkūr (Sira laulk) an inscription on a stone belonging to the reign of Śrīpurusha and dated Ś. 710 or 788 A.D. This king was the son of Śīvamāra (Vaḷḷimalai insc., No. 91 of 1889), and grandson (Śūḍi plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 181), of Bhūvikrama. Since Śrīpurusha reigned in 788 A.D. we may suppose that his grand father Bhūvikrama ascended the throne in the first quarter of the VIII century (700-725 A.D.). The father of Bhūvikrama named Śrīvikrama must have reigned therefore in the 4th quarter of the VII century (675-700 A.D.) and his grandfather Mushkara in the 3rd quarter of the same century (650-675 A.D.). We know that Durvinita the father of Mushkara reigned for a long time: the Gummareṇḍipura plates (Report, Archæol. Depart. Mysore, for 1912; paras 65-69) are, in fact, dated in the 40th year of his reign, and, as it is probable that he lived a few years more, we may give him a reign of 45 years which will extend from 605 to 650 A.D. His father Avinita probably reigned for an equally long period, for, the Śrīngēri plates, which are dated in the second year of his reign, say that he obtained the “sovereignty while still on the lap of his divine mother” and the grant of Ep. Carn., 9, Doḍa-Ballāpur, 68, is dated in the 29th year of his reign. We may therefore believe that he reigned for a further period of 11 years after making the latter grant and that his reign lasted about 40 years. Avinita would therefore have reigned from 565 to 605 A.D. According to these calculations, Mādhava II., the father of Avinita, would have reigned from 540 to 565 A.D. and this is exactly the epoch we have assigned to the Kadamba Krishṇavarman II. If we now bear in mind that the Gaṅga Mādhava II. and the Kadamba Krishṇavarman II. both reigned over Mysore, the one in the North and the other in the South, and that, in consequence, they were neighbours, it would seem to be quite natural that Mādhava II. should marry the sister of Krishṇavarman II. It is
clear that it is absolutely impossible that Madhava II, who lived in the middle of the VI century, should have married the sister of Krishnaavarman I, who lived in the middle of the V century. We shall therefore conclude by saying: "Madhava II, the father of Avinita, married the sister of the Kadamba Krishnaavarman II, and reigned from 540 to 565 A.D."

This chronology is in perfect accord with all the documents. We shall presently see that Ayyavarman was placed on the throne about 480 A.D., by Sirhavarman, the Pallava king that reigned from 475 to 500 A.D., and that the son of Ayyavarman was crowned by the Pallava Skandavarman (500-525 A.D.).

We get therefore the following genealogy and chronology:

Koniganivarman, (of the Kaavyaana gotra),

    \[ \text{Madhava I} \]

    \[ \text{Ayyavarman (480-505)} \]
    \[ \text{Madhava (505-530)} \]
    \[ \text{Krishnavarman} \]
    \[ \text{(acc. circa 530)} \]
    \[ \text{(Paruvi dynasty)} \]
    \[ \text{Harivarman} \]
    \[ \text{Vishungopa} \]
    \[ \text{Madhava II (540-565)} \]
    \[ \text{Avinita (565-605)} \]
    \[ \text{Durvinita (605-650)} \]
    \[ \text{Mushkara } \]
    \[ \text{second half of the} \]
    \[ \text{Srivikrama} \]
    \[ \text{VII century} \]
    \[ \text{Bhuvikrama } \]
    \[ \text{first half of the} \]
    \[ \text{Sivamara} \]
    \[ \text{VIII century} \]
    \[ \text{Sripurusha (788 A.D.)} \]
    \[ \text{etc.} \]

We shall now try to give the history of these kings.
We have said that, about 480 A. D., the Kadamba Mrigeśa fought with the Gaṅgas and was "a very fire of destruction of the Pallavas" (Halsi plates, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., page 25). This information is very important as it proves that about 480 A. D. the Pallavas aided the Gaṅgas in their fight with the Kadambas. The Pallava king at this epoch was probably Śimhavarman who reigned at Kāṇchi and to whom we have assigned the date 475 to 500 A. D.; and this fact is confirmed by the Penugonḍa plates that say that the Gaṅga king Āyyavarman "was duly installed on the throne by Śimhavarman Mahārāja, the lord of the prosperous Pallava family (Rep. on Ep. for 1913-14; G. O., No. 920, 4th Aug. 1914). The son of Āyyavarman who was called Mādhava alias Śimhavarman was "installed on the throne by the illustrious Pallava (king) Skandavarman". We have said that Skandavarman of Kāṇchi, son of Śimhavarman reigned from 500 to 525 A. D. It is probable that this Pallava king had also to contend with the Kadambas for strengthening the sovereignty of the Gaṅga king for, the Halsi plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 29) say that Rāśivarmain struggled against "Chaṇḍadanda, the lord of Kāṇchi". Since we do not know of any Pallava king of that name, we may suppose that the name "Chaṇḍadanda" was a "biruda" of Skandavarman who reigned at this epoch (500-525 A. D.)

Mādhava alias Śimhavarman, who made the grant commemorated by the Penugonḍa plates, reigned over Paruvishaya and must be identified with the Mādhava of the Benṇigāṇhalli plates (Mysore Archae. Report for 1914-15, plate XIII) whose son Vijaya-Krishṇavarman reigned over Paruvishaya. This king Krishṇavarman must have reigned in the middle of the VI century, for, the alphabet of the Benṇigāṇhalli plates is almost identical with that of the Bannahalli (Ep. Ind., Vol. VI, p. 18) and Chikkulla (Ep. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 196) plates. Krishṇavarman is the last known king of the Paruv dynasty.

The king Mādhava II, who belonged to the dynasty of the Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ, "bought the sovereignty with the strength of his own arm", and married the younger sister of the Kadamba Krishṇavarman II, who, in the middle of the VI century, reigned over a large part of Mysore.

His son Avinīta (565-605 A. D.) married the daughter of Skandavarman king of Punnāṭa.
We must here say a few words about the kings of Punnâḍ. The capital of this province was Kittāhpura or Kittur (Hg. 56, Ep. Carn., Vol. IV) on the river Kabbani, to the west of Talakāḍ. In 1917, Mr. R. Narasimhachar discovered (Mysore Archæol. Report for 1917, page 40, No. 87) the Mâmballi plates that give us reliable information about this dynasty. The spurious plates of Kōmaraliṅgam (Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII; page 362) give further details which are very probably historical.

The genealogy of this dynasty would be the following:

Rāṣṭravarman
(of the Tāmra-Kāśyapa family)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prithivipati (the eldest)</th>
<th>Nāgadatta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhujaṅga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(who married the daughter of Singavarman)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

It is probable that the Skandavarman gave his daughter in marriage to the Gaṅga Avinīta (565-605 A. D.), king of Talakāḍ. The issue of this marriage was Durvinita who annexed Punnâḍ to the kingdom of the Gaṅgas.

Durvinita (605 to 650 A. D.) is known "as having his broad chest embraced, of her own accord, by the goddess of sovereignty, though she was intended by his father for another son", as the victor in the battles of Andari, Ālattur, Polulāre, Pernagāra (in Salem district); as the lord of Pāṇṇāḍa and Punnāḍa; as the author of three works, namely a Śabdāvalāra, a saṃskṛt version of the Vaḍḍakatha or Brīhalkatha, and a commentary on the 15th sarga of the Kirāṭārjuniya (Mysore Archæol. Report, for 1916, page 45).
SYNCHRONIZATION OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circ. A.D.</th>
<th>Pallavas</th>
<th>Vakatakas</th>
<th>Vishnukundins</th>
<th>Kadambas</th>
<th>Gangas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>425-450</td>
<td>Viravarman</td>
<td>Pravarasena II.</td>
<td>Madhava I.</td>
<td>Karkustha</td>
<td>Konkanivarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>460-475</td>
<td>Skandavarman</td>
<td>A son Narendrasana</td>
<td>Sanyivarma Krishna varman</td>
<td>Madhava I.</td>
<td>Madhava I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>475-500</td>
<td>Simhavarman Y.M. Vishnu gopa</td>
<td>Devasana Prithivishena II.</td>
<td>Vikramendra I.</td>
<td>Mrigesa Vishnu varman</td>
<td>Ayya varman Harivarman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500-525</td>
<td>Skandavarman Simhavarman</td>
<td>Harisena</td>
<td>Indrabhataraka</td>
<td>Ravivarman Simhavarman</td>
<td>Madhava Vishnugopa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>525-550</td>
<td>Nandivarman Vishnu gopa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vikramendra II.</td>
<td>Harivarman Krishna varman</td>
<td>Krishna varman Madhava II.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pravarasena II being the grandson of Chandra-Gupta II (375-413) was certainly living in the second quarter of the V century. The box-headed alphabets of the Kadamba kings Mrigesa and Mândhatri are contemporaneous with the box-headed alphabet of the Balaghat plates of Prithivishena II who was the son of a Kadamba (Kuntala) princess.

The Buvupalli plates of Yuvamaharaja Vishnugopa are box-headed as the plates of the Kadamba kings Mrigesa and Mândhatri. The alphabets of the Bendigahalli (Mysore Arch. Rep. for 1914-15, plate XVIII) Chikkulda (Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 196) and Bannahalli (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, p. 18) plates are so similar that there is no room for doubting that the Ganga Krishna varman, the Vishnukundin Vikramendra varman II and the Kadamba Krishna varman II were contemporaneous; the sister of this latter king married the Ganga Madhava II.

It is very probable that the Kadamba Harivarman ascended the throne in 537 A. D. and so, was contemporaneous with the Pallava king Vishnugopa (525-550), grand father of Simhavishnu whose date 575-600 is not doubtful.
§ 3. The Chāḷukyas.

The genealogy and the chronology of the Western Chāḷukyas present no difficulty:

Jayasimha (of the Mānava gotra)

Raṇarāga

Raṇavikrama Puḷakēśin I (c. 550 A.D.)

Kittivarma I (566-597), Maṅgalēśa (597-608),

Puḷakēśin II, Kubjā-Vishṇuvardhana (609-642) (founder of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty)

The origin of this dynasty is obscure [the legend given in the “grant of Vira-Choḍa,” S. I. I., Vol. I, page 50, has nothing historical in it]. In 1905, (J. R. A. S., for 1905, page 360) Fleet found out that the hypotheses formed on this subject were all of them baseless. I shall, however, make a remark: the grant of Uṇḍivāṭika (Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII., page 163) which is probably dated in the first half of the VI century says that the commander of the fort of Harivatsakotṭa was a certain Jayasimha (see also Ind. Ant., Vol XXX). Can this Jayasimha be the founder of the Chāḷukya dynasty?

Puḷakēśin I., who probably came from a town called Indukánti installed himself about 550 A.D., at Vālaḍi (Bāḍāmi). We have said that this military operation could have been effected only by having defeated the Kadamba king (probably Harivarman) who reigned, with Halsi for capital, over the modern provinces of Kaladge, Belgaum, and Dharwar. The historical documents say that he performed a horse sacrifice. We know also (Bāḍāmi insc., Ind. Ant., Vol. III, page 305; Vol. VI, page 363; Vol. X, page 58) that he married Ḫurlabhā-
dēvi of the Batpūra family. This family lived probably not far from Goa at Rēvatiḍvipa (Goa plates; J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., page 348). His eldest son Kirtivarman I. succeeded him in 566-7 A. D.

The inscription of Mahākūṭa (near Bādāmi) [Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, page 7] says that Kirtivarman gained victories in the following countries: Vaṅga and Aṅga (E. and W. Bengal), Kaḷiṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kēṭaḷa, Gaṅga, Mūshaka, Pāṇḍya, Dvārakā, Chōḷya, Āḷuka (the Āluvas or Āluvas, in the N.-E of Banavāsi) and Vijayantī. Again, the Aihole inscription says that Kirtivarman was a “night of doom to the Naḷas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas.” The Naḷas probably occupied Naḷavāḍi (mentioned in plates of Vikramāditya I) near Bellary and Karnat districts. The Mauryas were a people of Northern Korikā (see Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part. II., page 282). A stone discovered at Vāḍi in the Thāna district (see Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIV, page 373) mentions the Maurya Seketuvarman. We have already spoken of the defeat of the Kadambas a little before 570 A. D. It would appear that Kirtivarman defeated a confederation of Kadamba princes probably Krishṇavarman II and his feudatories. In the 12th year of his reign, Kirtivarman had as Yuvamahārāja his young brother Maṅgalēśā; and it is this prince that had one of the caves of Bādāmi dug in the year 500 of the Śaka era, which corresponds to 578 A. D. (Ind. Ant., Vol. III, page 305; Vol. VI, page 363; Vol. X, page 58). Kirtivarman married a princess of the Sēndraka family who was the daughter of Sēnānanda rāja (Chiplān plates, Ep. Ind., Vol. III, page 51). Of this union was born a son named Pūlakēśin II. This prince was probably very young when his father died and the crown passed to Maṅgalēśa, the brother (or half-brother, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX., page 15) of Kirtivarman I.

The inscription of Mahākūṭa which is dated in the 5th year of the reign of Maṅgalēśa i.e. 601-602 A. D. say (Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, page 7) that this king vanquished Buddha, and the Nerūr plates (Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., page 166) say that he “put to flight Śaṅkaragopa’s son Buddharaṇa and killed Śāmiraṇa of the Chālīkya family (see also Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, page 363). We have already spoken of the defeat of Buddharaṇa when studying the Kaḷachurī dynasty. The Aihole inscription (Ep.
Ind., Vol. VI, No. 1, page 8) says that Maṅgalēśa "took in marriage the Fortune of the Kaṭachchuris" and seized upon the isle of Rēvatī; it was perhaps in this island that Śrāmirāja reigned. The Aihole inscription adds: "when his elder brother's son named Polakēśin had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile, that Maṅgalēśa abandoned together with the effort to secure the kingdom for his own son, both his kingdom and his life". This event took place in 608 A. D. Pulakēśin was formally crowned in the following year.

The Aihole inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. VI, page 4) gives us the following description of the exploits of Pulakēśin II.

Two chiefs, Appāyika and Gōvinda having tried to conquer the country to the north of the river Bhima, one is repulsed and the other submits and becomes the ally of the Chāḷukyas. Pulakēśin then lays siege to Vanaśā and subdues the Gaṅgas, the Āḷupas who reigned in this region, as also the Mauryas of Kōṅkan. He then besieges Puri, an important town on the coast of the western ocean (Arabian sea); the Lāṭas, the Māḷavas and the Gūrjaras surrender as well as the inhabitants of the Vindhyas, the banks of the Rēvā and the three Mahārāshtras. In the North-east, Pulakēśin subdues the kingdoms of Kaliṅga and Kōśala. He seizes the citadel of Pīṣṭapura and fights near the waters of the Kunāḷa; then he turns to the south, routs the king of the Pallavas (Mahēndravarman I.) of Kāṛchi, crosses the Kāveri, causes "prosperity to the Chōḷas, Kēralas, Pāṇḍyas" and returns to his capital Bāḍāmi. These exploits took place at the beginning of his reign, circ. 609 A. D.

The conquest of the Telugu country comprising the districts of Godavari, Krishna and Guntur is a landmark in the history of the Deccan, owing to the creation of an important kingdom, that of the Eastern Chāḷukyas.

It is noteworthy that the Aihole inscription which bears the date 634 A. D. makes no mention of king Harsha Vardhana. The documents posterior to it mention the victory gained by Pulakēśin over Harsha. It is probable that it was about the year 636 A. D. that Harsha vanquished Dhrūvasēna II, king of Valabhi; Harsha wished to extend his conquests much more, but was stopped by Pulakēśin. This event probably took place about 637 or 638 A. D.
We close the "Ancient History of the Deccan" with the year 610 A.D. At this epoch, Pulakesin II, has become master of the whole of the Deccan; the Pallavas have been repulsed in the south, and all the other old dynasties have been destroyed. From 610 A.D. the documents have become more numerous, and chronology has become more precise; we enter into a new epoch in the history of the Deccan, the middle ages.

Pondicherry, December 1919.
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