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No. 21
THE BAGHELA DYNASTY OF
REWAH.

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THE BAGHELA DYNASTY OF REWAH
(CENTRAL INDIA).

Some four years ago Rai Bahadur Janki Prasad of Rewah State sent to me, at the instance of my friend Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Deputy Commissioner, Wardha, C. P. (now retired), an old manuscript of a work, named Varabhānūdojakāvyam, for examination. During my short leave in Kashmir where I was sent on deputation as Superintendent of Archaeology, I read the manuscript through and sent a short report on it to the above named gentleman. While doing it, I suggested that a summary of the book with a critical note should be published somewhere. As far as I am aware, no notice of this manuscript has yet appeared anywhere. In consideration of the fact that it supplies some interesting information concerning the genealogy of the Baghela dynasty and enables us to investigate the traditional accounts also, I want to place the following short account of the book together with a few historical inferences which it allows us to draw regarding some of the early rulers of Rewah.

This manuscript has fifty-five pages, each page having eight lines of about forty-eight letters or aksharas. It is all in verse and has twelve sargas or cantos. The manuscript was written at Kāśi (Benares) by one Tulasidāsa, the son of Krishnadāsa, who was a Kāyastha. The date of writing given at the end is the (Vikrama) samvatsara year 1648 (=A. D. 1591), the second day of the bright half of Agahan (Agrahāyaṇa) and Tuesday. The first and the last page of it (see Frontispiece) are marked with two different seals of Birbhadar (Virabhadra), one naming Akbar and the other Sultan Salim. The legend in the former reads:

"(In the year) 965; Birbhadra slave of King Akbar."

The legend in the latter reads:

"Birbhadra slave of King Salim."

Both these seals show that the manuscript belonged to Birbhadra (Virabhadra), the grandson of Virabhānu or the hero of the poem, and is to be regarded as
an heirloom of the house of Rewah. The necessity of marking articles like this manuscript by such seals is not apparent unless some show of loyalty to the Mughal throne was in view.

The genuineness of both these seals, however, appears to be somewhat questionable. In technique they, perhaps, may resemble some of the coins of Akbar and Jahangir. The date on one seal is 965 which, apparently, must be ascribed to the Hijri reckoning. That a Hindu prince adopted this era should cause no wonder for it was the era of the sovereign, named in the seal. Another instance of this nature is afforded by the copper-plate inscription which Cunningham noticed about 1881, and which is dated in the same year and belongs to the reign of Rama-chandra, the father of Virabhadra. Akbar ascended the throne at Kalânaur in the Punjab on 2-3 Rabi' II, 963 of 2 the Hijri era (or on the 14th of February 1556 A.D.), when he was only a boy of thirteen, although at the time of enthronement he had no kingdom. It was in the month of Muharram of the next year (i.e., November 1557 A.D.), when the battle of Panipat was won and Hemu killed, that he became the real king of India. Thus the year marked in the seal, assuming, of course, that it belonged to the Hijri reckoning, would be the third year of Akbar’s reign (or 1558 A.D.) and fit in well so far as the period is concerned. No date seems to be given in the second seal. Salim was the ‘alum’ or birth name of Jahangir which was given to him in acknowledgment of Akbar’s faith in the efficacy of the prayers of Shaikh Salim Chishti, the famous holy man of Sikri for the birth of a son. As was shown by Dr. Taylor, some years ago, and is evidenced by the Kâbul, Ahmadâbâd, and Agra issues, Jahangir struck several coins in this name. The couplet on the coin, as illustrated by Mr. Whitehead reads

\[
\text{شاہ سلطان شاہ اسمیت}
\]

and shows that the title of Sultan was coupled with it. The legend on this seal is indicative of the same fact. These coins are known as Salim coins and were struck in the Hijri year 1014 soon after Jahangir’s accession and within a period of some nine months immediately subsequent to Akbar’s death. He took the Imperial name of Jahangir—the world conqueror—some time after he had ascended the throne. That the Salim Sultan

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\(^{2}\) V. Smith; Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 449.
\(^{4}\) Half-mother, dated 1014 A. H., with Mr. H. N. Wright, see Proceedings of the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1923, p. 6.
\(^{6}\) Though in the printed catalogues we find such coins pertaining to some seven months only, yet Dr. Taylor’s collection, Mr. Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow, informs me, has got Salim coins of all the nine months, from Abân, in which Akbar died, to the month of Tir.

\(^{7}\) The name Salim was changed into Jahangir for it resembled that of the Emperor of Rûm as Jahangir has himself mentioned in his Memoirs quoted by Mr. S. H. Hodivala in his very learned memoir on the historical studies in Mughal numismatics, which has recently been issued by the Numismatic Society of India, at page 207. The footnote which he has added to the quotation shows how far Jahangir resembled his namesakes in the house of Oghâsân, of whom the first (Salim Jr. 1522-1552 A.C.) poisoned his father and murdered eight of his brothers and has been called “the greatest monster of that monstrous race, and the second (Salim II r. 1566-1674 A.C.) was an indolent voluptuary.”
of the coins is identical with that of this seal is too clear to require any demonstration. Salim was born in 1569 A.D. and broke out in rebellion about 1600 assuming the royal title in 1601 A.D. Virabhada was at Delhi when his father Râmachandra died in 1592. He started for Bandhagarh on hearing the news, but on the road, he fell from his palanquin and, soon after, died of the injuries caused by this fall. He expired in 1593 A.D. On the authority of this book, he was born in the life-time of Virabhânu, for, we are told in the 12th or the last canto that on his birth dâlîsrava (the lord of Delhi) Humâyûn sent suitable presents and congratulations to Virabhânu whom he regarded as his brother. The passage being interesting is quoted in full below with translation.

"The illustrious Humâyûn, who was the overlord of the Yavanas (Muhammadans), the lord of Dilli (Delhi) and crest-ornament of kings, on hearing that a son was born to the son of Virabhânu (i.e., Râmachandra), became very pleased. He regarded Virabhânu as his brother, and being delighted, he sent by his own ministers auspicious ornaments, horses, garments and scents. As there was the mutual brotherhood between the illustrious Virasimha and Bâbur so there was the relationship between the illustrious Virabhânu and this lord of the earth. That Lord of the Mughals (lit. Mughalas) thus wrote in his (congratulatory) letter "O! King Virabhânu! this grandson of yours, I think, is my own, for what difference is there between the grandson of a brother and one's own?"

Admitting poetic embellishments, we can say that Humâyûn might have sent such a message at the time of necessity for he was in need of help when he was routed by Sher Khan, the Afghan, at Kanauj and had to flee as a homeless wanderer from one quarter to the other, about 1540 A.D. He was
no more a 

From 1540 to 1554 A.D., i.e., during the sway of the Sūr dynasty. We know under dire calamity the scions or members of the Mughal house in India did seek for such relationships. For instance, as Manucci has told us in his *Storica do Mogor*, when Dārā Shikōh was hard pressed, Rāj Rūp, a petty prince of Nūrpur in the Punjab, was called a son of the latter and Dārā's wife having no milk in her breasts, water, with which her breasts were washed, was sent to him in token of his being regarded as a foster or say 'uterine' son. In 1555 A.D. Humāyūn recaptured Delhi, after winning Kandhār and Kābul with the help of Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia. He died in the succeeding year. I doubt if he stood in need of any help then from such chieftains as Virabhānu and it would appear presumptuous on the part of Virabhānu or his chronicler, the author of this *Kāvya*, to expect such an address from the Mughal Emperor. Taking it for granted, that he held Virabhānu in a very high esteem and could address him so always, we shall have to confront another difficulty which seems to be insurmountable. It is this: Rāmāchandra, we are told, succeeded to the throne when Virabhānu breathed his last in 1540. Therefore, Virabhādra must have been born either in 1540 or shortly before this year. In the year of the seal, i.e., 965 A.H. (1560 A.D.), he would be about 29 years of age. We know that he was attending the court at Delhi and was liked by Akbar. Finding that the Emperor was annoyed at his father's persistent refusal to come to Delhi, he arranged to have Birbal and Zā'in Khān Koka sent to bring him and see him received with due honours by the Emperor himself in 1584 A.D. Rāmāchandra was fairly advanced in age then, and, if Virabhādra was born in 1540 A.D., he would have been 44 and at the time of his demise in 1593 his age must have been 53 years. These dates may work well. As to the question why he marked the book with his seal during the lifetime of his father, it might be said that the matter is of little consequence for he does not call himself a rājā. He was attending on Akbar and could very well call himself his bandāh or slave. But then the perplexing question still remains, Where was the Salīm Sultān of the second seal then? As I have remarked above, Salīm or the future Jāhāngīr broke out in rebellion against Akbar in 1600 and next year openly assumed the royal title setting himself up as an independent king at Allāhabad. This, then, happened some seven or eight years after Virabhādra had died. Therefore, I am led to think that, if the second seal is to be taken to be genuine at all, Prince Salīm must have developed signs of weariness of waiting for the crown very early and formed a party of his own, our Virabhādra being one, to help his cause. Badāoni tells us, as has been already pointed out by Vincent Smith, that he was suspected of administering poison to the Emperor as early as 1591 A.D. In that case, Virabhādra, his ally or rather 'slave,' as he calls himself in the seal, could very well, though

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4 *Akbar, etc.,* p. 311.
surreptitiously, of course, call him the Sultan. The other seal would have served him as a defence in the case of exposure. He served both the present and the future masters. Otherwise the seal seems to be inexplicable.

As we learn from the last canto, this book was composed after the birth of Virabhadra and in the lifetime of Virabhānu his grandfather, as well as the Emperor Humayun. As Virabhānu died in the year 1540 A.D. it must have been written about that very year.

The colophon or the end of the last canto of the book attributes the authorship to one Madhava, son of Abhayacandra, a Kāyastha of noble descent and devout worshipper of Vishnu, who was led to the path of virtue by his own mother. Madhava was patronized by Virabhānu, the hero of the poem. Possibly, he composed this work in honour of the birth of Virabhadra, as no subsequent event is narrated in it.

The manuscript under examination was written in the samvat year 1648 or 1591 A.D., i.e., only one year before Virabhadra was installed, or some 51 years after the poem was composed by the author. Virabhadra must have been very fond of it as the seals would show apparently, because it celebrated his birth.

The book divides itself into twelve cantos, which may be summarised here. A good deal of information which the poem gives requires confirmation. Still, there is much of it which is corroborated by the Muhammadan historians of the time, as I shall try to show below.

In the Baghela dynasty there lived a king whose name was Bhima. His son and successor was named Rāṇiṅgadēva who was a very pious and brave ruler. He took possession of Gahorā which developed into the capital town of the dynasty in due course. His son and successor was Vālanadēva who in turn was succeeded by his son Vallaṅadēva who got Rājalamalladēvi, the daughter of the ruler of Yaskarī, called Yasarajadēva, in marriage and built a tank after his own name. The temple of Sita was constructed near it later on by Virabhānu, the hero of the book. Through the grace of this goddess, who was the tutelar deity of the house, Vallaṅadēva had Simhadēva for his son who was a very religious sort of man and believed to have been a jātiśmara or one who knew his past birth. He got a son, named Viramadēva but committed suicide at the conjuncture of the Yamuna and the Ganges (i.e., at Prayāga) on thinking of something that had apparently happened in the past. On this Vallaṅadēva devoted himself to the care of the grandson but died before the latter came of age. In due course, Viramadēva, the grandson was anointed as king and he proved to be a formidable ruler who was a terror to the

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1 It is interesting to observe that, if this surmise is correct, the seal will lend some support to Mr. Beveridge’s opinion that the Samvat coins were issued by Jahāngīr during the lifetime of Akbar.
2 Can it be Charakhāri?
mlechcha kings. He looked brilliant in the company of the king of Delhi. He took possession of the town of Hounda and lived there for some time. One of his queens, named Apurvaratévi, bore him Naraharidéva, his eldest son who succeeded him. This prince, while ruling happily at Gahoré got a son and successor, named Bhaiderachandra, by the queen called Rajaéi who was the daughter of Arjuna ‘who held a fortress on the banks of the Ganges.’ This chief, namely Bhaiderachandra, extended his conquests over several places like Gayā, Benares and Prayāga where he built houses in which he stayed for a considerable time. He eagerly improved the town of Gahoré. His queen, named Uddharanadévi bore him several sons, the eldest being named Vahararaya. The latter predeceased his father and three of his wives, Gandharvadévi and others, committed sati. Bhaiderachandra conquered a town called Bagisara¹ and was succeeded by his younger brother, named Saliwana who married Kalyanadévi, the daughter of Purnamalla, a descendant of Hammir, the Chauhan, and got a son, named Virasimha, by her. When he reached maturity, Saliwana anointed him as his successor and retired. His other queen, named Arthadévi, gave birth to a son called Udayakama, who discarded the parental share and went over to Purushottama, the noble lord of the Gajendras. He settled in Utkala after marrying the daughter of the king of that country. Virasimha ruled the earth for a number of years and got a son, named Virabhana, by his queen called Sukumaradévi. Virabhana was married to a Haivalaya princess called Gosaini. Virasimha ruled happily and died in an advanced age on the banks of the holy river Yamuna.

Canto II.

During his just and prosperous rule Virasimha improved and embellished Gahoré, his capital town, and erected several fanes, mansions, tanks and various other buildings. Many learned men resorted to Gahoré which became the abode of many damsels and courtesans, resembling celestial nymphs. The lofty houses of the descendants of Mallinatha, who bore the title of Unnapa (?), with the series of their flags shone forth like clouds having lines of meteors on them. With a desire to conquer and extend his dominions Virasimha went out on an expedition. He attacked Vikramaditya in his own town and completely routed him, causing considerable havoc in his army. Thus, taking possession of his town, called Nara, perhaps the present Narogarh near Sutna, which was as beautiful as Mahishmati and Ujjain, he ruled there for some time and set out against the ruler of Gaghé, who at once fled away before him. Thereupon, he resided at Gaghé for some time and enjoyed the baths in the Narmada river. Then he came to the town of Svanara²(?) and wrested the fortress of Bandhava from the lord of the Kurus, named Narayana. He stayed in this fortress for some time and fully subdued the tribe of the Kurus round it. Then he went to the town of Alurka³ standing on the banks of the Ganges and there he formed an alliance with the Emperor of Delhi as was done by his ancestors. He then vanquished the ruler

¹ Possibly Buxur, though its Sanskrit name is Vayabhojana. The book names it Bagisara or Bag with Sutna.
² Mr. Hirala thinks that it means his own (see) Nara or Narogarh where Virasimha had ruled for some time.
of Ratnapur and got tribute from him conquering Dahāra together with the tract of Sahajora at the same time. In connection with the conquest of the fortress of Bāndhava he routed the Parihāras and defeated the cruel ruler of the Bharas also. In consequence of all this, even Bābur, the Mughal Emperor, was afraid of him. Thus he had a very successful career throughout his life which ended happily at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna.

Virabhānu, at the death of Virasimha, his father, duly performed all the obsequial rites and set out from Allahka towards Gahorā with all his army. On the way he was very pleased to see Śālivāhanapura, the town founded by his grandfather and described joyfully all its beautiful features to his royal friend Rāmachandra who was accompanying him along with other princes. He halted at a flower-garden on the banks of the Jumna and dismissed the princes who were with him. After giving good rest to his soldiers for some time he marched towards his capital.

Virabhānu, the crown prince, gradually reached Kotār, which was situated on the banks of the Jumna, and after taking a bath in the sacred river performed various rites under the directions of Bhagiratha, a very pious Brahman who accompanied him. Then he went to Guptavārānasī which lay to the south of Kotār at the foot of the Vindhyā mountain and, performing certain rites, reached the lake called Kumārahāra which was full of lotuses and beautiful like the Mānasa. Halting there for a day, he went to Gahorā and noticed the triumphal arches and other ornaments made by the citizens in his honour. He, then, put up in the newly erected mansion, which was set apart for him.

Staying in that mansion, which was decorated for the coronation ceremonies, he was bathed in sacred waters and went through several rites, connected with the occasion, after which he was anointed as King. He then began to rule like a pious and just king to the joy of his subjects. In the course of years, he annexed the tract named Ujjāta to his principality.

This canto praises in very glowing terms the wise and just rule of Virabhānu whom it describes in hyperboles as a model king.

Virabhānu had a queen named Rājamati who was the daughter of a prince called Dādūrya. She bore him a son who was predicted to be the champion of virtue and an incarnation of Vishnu. He was named Rāmachandra.

1 I am indebted to Rai Bahadur Hiralal for the following information about some of these place-names. Nara is possibly identical with the present Nagpur near Sutra which was in the possession of the Parihāras of Unchahāra (Nagod) who had wrested it from the Télis. So its ruler Vīrānākhyāya whom Virasimha routed should be a Parihāra king. Gāihā is the present Gherā some two miles from Jubbulpore. The Kurs are now known as Kāvars or Kāwars who inhabit the northern portion of the Bilaspur district in the Central Provinces. Their chiefs have changed their tribal name to Tiwar or Teer in order to assimilate themselves with the Tomara Rajputs and they still hold several big zamindaris in the Bilaspur district. Dādūra is the name by which Sargar State was formerly known and where Kāvars are still to be found. Virasimha might have taken some sort of it. Dāhāra or Dādūra, also mentioned by Alberuni, was the name of the Jubbulpore country, but, apparently, in the time of Virasimha the name was restricted to the Northern portion of the tract. From Ratnapur Virasimha went to Dāhāra or Jubbulpore side and that was a natural course to follow. Thus the Sahajora of the Kāyga would be the Sahobāla which is now a railway station on the B.N. R. lying between Kathi and Bilaspur. It is the same place where some astronomers came from England in the nineties of the last century to see the full solar eclipse.
Canto VIII.

This canto dilates on the way he was brought up and trained in various arts and sciences.

Canto IX.

In this canto we are told that when Rāmachandra grew to a marriageable age, Virabhānu, in consultation with his ministers and priests, arranged to marry him to the grand-daughter of Kirtitisimha and daughter of Mādhavasimha of Gaura. The bridegroom and the party went to Gaura and the marriage was duly celebrated with great pomp. The nuptial-tie thus united the two great houses, namely, the house of Bhāradvāja Vyāghrapāda, the great sage, and the house of Arishtanēmi, the great 'Vipra' (or seer) 'who stopped even the Sun by his command.' The nuptials being over, the bride's brother, named Ratnasēna, went with the bridegroom a few stages to wish good-by and came back to Gaura after a few days. Virabhānu came to Gahora with the married couple and received a hearty welcome from his subjects on return. Thereafter, in consultation with his ministers, he installed Rāmachandra as the Yuvarāja and, yoking him to the eares of the state, set up his mind on the meditation of the Supreme Being.

Canto X.

While recounting his good qualities, this canto describes how wisely Rāmachandra ruled over his kingdom and established his name as a strong king. Evidently, much of what is said here is poetic exaggeration. Leaving aside the hyperboles, this canto tells us that he gave shelter to one Sultan Muhammad Sayyid Ali and that he was very fond of Tāneśa, the well-known musician of the age with whom he happily passed his time lavishly rewarding him for his sweet songs and dhrupads. Herein Tāneśa is termed the embodiment of the art of music having no rival in the three times, neither on the earth nor in heaven. The way in which the poet describes and praises this musician shows that like the royal patron he himself was very fond of him.

Canto XI.

This canto gives a vivid account of Rāmachandra's trip to some forests in his dominions in the company of his friends and of some hunting scenes which testify to the high descriptive power of the author.

Canto XII.

This brings the narrative to a close. When the aged king Virabhānu was passing his days happily, his son, Rāmachandra got a son by his queen-consort Yaśodā, the daughter of the above mentioned Mādhavasimha. The birth of the grandson was celebrated with much eclat in both the families and much largess was freely distributed. After the performance of the natal rites the child was named Virabhādara. The canto further tells us that Humāyūn, the Lord of Delhi, felt highly pleased and sent in token of delight ornaments, horses, garments, perfumes, etc., through his ministers, as presents for the occasion. As Bābur had, the poet says, a fraternal regard for Virasimha, likewise Humāyūn had affection for Virabhānu. So, while sending a communication (lekha) or firmān, Humāyūn wrote to Virabhānu that he loved the child as his own grandson for in his eyes there was no difference between one's own grandson and that of his brother. Thus, being happy, all round, Virabhānu spent his days in complete joy. With his son and grandson he formed an auspicious trinity and shone like Kṛishṇa, Kāma and Aniruddha, the three Rāmas, the three Vedas and other triads. He, then, left the state to the care
of his son and retired to Prayāga, the holy confluence of the Ganga and the Yamunā, where he spent his time in the company of learned men, performing various deeds of merit.

The author then introduces himself and tells us that he was a devout worshipper of Mādhava (Krishṇa) and his name was also Mādhava. He came of a noble family and was a good man leading a pious life. His father was Abhayachandra, a Kaurava ? of wide fame.

As has been remarked above, the most important information which the genealogy supplies is the genealogy of the Baghela chiefs for a few generations. As the book was written for one of these chiefs, and the genealogy, it gives, was or must have been within the range of the living memory of the time, there can be no doubt as to its authenticity or being correct and trustworthy in preference to the one given in the histories of comparatively modern composition. 'The Rewah family,' we are told, 'are singularly devoid of reliable historical records. Such histories as exist are of modern composition, and confuse persons and dates in a most bewildering manner.' This being the case, the value of this information can hardly be overrated.

The popular account connects the house of Rewah with the village of Vyāghrapalī, 'the tiger’s lair,' lying some ten miles to the south west of Anhilwāra, which gave the name of Baghela to the dynasty. It further states that Vyāghradēva, son of Viradhavala, made his way into the north and took possession of the fort of Murphā lying 18 miles north of Kālanjar. Our kārṣyā gives no such account at all and in a cut and dry way at once introduces us to the chief, named Bhima, leaving aside such fables as are met with in the Yāmadvīpas of the royal houses in India. This king Bhima is not named in the list of the chiefs of Rewah given by Cunningham. Apparently, he is different from the homonymous prince of the State Gazetteer, the grandson of whose minister Lavanapraśāda, to wit, Vyāghradēva, came to Northern India. As our author starts the line with Bhima he must have looked upon him as the first known ancestor of the house of Rewah. Apparently, he cannot be identical with the Rājā Bhēra or Bhaira of the Muhammadan historians. The genealogy given in the kārṣyā is different from what is found in the above

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2 Rewah State Gazetteer, page 12.
3 In connection with the origin of this dynasty, it will not be out of place to observe, in passing, the statement made in the book (see above Canto IX), that in the marriage of Rāmabhānta, the son of Virabhānta, and Yasōdā, the daughter of Mādhavadvīpa, the two great houses of the munīndra (= the chief of munīs or sages) Bhradvāja Vyāghrapalī, and Vīṣṇudēva (= the chief of Vīṣṇu) Aritkānta were happily united. It looks more than curious, especially, because Vīṣṇu not only signifies a sage but a Brahman as well. Is it an instance of 'priest-kings' similar to those of the house of Mewār, who hold the office of the Dīwān of Khālinga, as pointed out by William Crooke, in his Introduction to the Annals and Antiquities of Mewār, by Col. Tod, page XXXVI ? Mention may also be made here of Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's very suggestive paper on the 'Guhfīdāta' [J. and Proc. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. V, 1909] referred to by V. Smith in his Early History of India, p. 415, footnote 1.
4 See the State Gazetteer, pp. II 1.
6 Pp. II-12.
named works from this Bhima up to Śālivāhana. After the latter there is no disagreement in the line of succession right up to Rāmachandra, or we may say Virabhadra. Unfortunately, the book gives no dates, otherwise, we would have been able to settle some of the connected points quite definitely. For the sake of comparison and ready reference, I append below the genealogical table as shown in the book.

1. Bhima
2. Rāṇīngadēva
3. Vālasadēva
(4) Vallasadēva (married Rājālamalla-devī, daughter of Yaśorājadeva, the Chauḍela King of Yaśūrī.
   Śikhadēva (predeceased his father).
5. Vīramadēva
6. Narahalīdeva (by Apūrvavadēvi)
7. Bāhupravindra (by Rājālamalla-devī, daughter of Arjuna).
   Vāharakīya (by Uddhamānadeva; predeceased his father).
8. Śālivāhana (succeeded No. 7).
9. Vīrālāhika (by Kalyagnadēvi, daughter of Pūruṇamalla Chauḍān).
10. Virabhāma (by Sukumārādevī; married Gūsānī, a Hāshaya princess and Rājamaṭi, daughter of Dāsvarāyī).
11. Rāmachandra (by Rājamaṭi; married Yaśodā, daughter of Madhavananda, chief of Gaurī).
12. Virabhadra (by Yaśodā).

The above list will show that Cunningham has given not only incorrect spelling but wrong names as well. Correcting his list in the light of our manuscript, the following table may be drawn for the sake of comparison, omitting the first five names, not mentioned in our kāvyā. The two names Dālakāśvaradēva and Malakāśvaradēva are not only not found in this book but appear to be fanciful and I have left them out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number in Cunningham's list</th>
<th>Number according to the Vīrabhānasūryā-kāvyā</th>
<th>Name given by Cunningham</th>
<th>Name according to the Vīrabhānasūryā-kāvyā</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bhanāh Deva</td>
<td>Bhima</td>
<td>Anika (army) is too Sanskrit. Correct name may be Rāṇīngadēva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Anika Deva</td>
<td>Rāṇīngadēva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Balāna Deva</td>
<td>Vālasadēva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ballār Deva</td>
<td>V (B) allāradēva</td>
<td>Bariārdēva is not given in the kāvyā. Apparently it is identical with Balāradēva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in Cunningham's list</td>
<td>Number according to the Vīrabhairava-ya-sārga</td>
<td>Name given by Cunningham</td>
<td>Name according to the Vīrabhairava-ya-sārga</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhairava Deva.</td>
<td>Viramadeva.</td>
<td>Simhadēva died in the lifetime of his father and Viramadeva, his son, succeeded to the throne. Cunningham calls him Siddha and our Kālya, Jātiyārāma. See Canto I. (Contents given above p. 5.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Narahara Deva.</td>
<td>Naraharidēva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Śālivahana Deva.</td>
<td>Śālivahana.</td>
<td>Śālivahana was the younger brother of Bhaidačandra and succeeded to the throne as Vāhara-śāya died before his father (Bhaidačandra).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Vīra Sirisha Deva.</td>
<td>Vīrasimhadēva.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Vīrabhairāṇa.</td>
<td>Vīrabhāṇu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Rāja Rāma Deva.</td>
<td>Rāmāchandra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Vīrabhadra.</td>
<td>Vīrabhadra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from the correct genealogy, our manuscript supplies some historical information which is corroborated by the accounts given by the Muhammadan historians. Remembering that the book is not history but a kālya and as such is full of poetic hyperboles or exaggerations, which can at once be set aside, we find it very helpful in examining some of the current traditions and comparatively modern chronicles of Rewah. As a rule, such works will hardly omit incidents which add to the glory of the dynasty they describe. Very often, on the other hand, they either omit or take a casual notice of the event which causes a slur on it. The same is the case with the Varāhavali or genealogical rolls. It stands to reason, therefore, to reject the story regarding Humayun’s family receiving shelter in Bandhagarh when the Emperor fled before Sher Shāh as worthless on the ground that it finds no mention whatsoever in this book. Vīrabhāṇu, our author tells us, was on very intimate terms with Humayūn who addressed him, as I have told above, like his brother while sending presents and congratulations on the birth of his grandson. Had the story been based on facts, the poet could not have omitted it especially when he has mentioned a comparatively insignificant man, namely, Sūltān Muhammad Sayyid Ali seeking refuge with Rāja Rāmāchandra.
The first event which the book mentions is the conquest of Gahirā by Rāṇīgadāvā, the son and successor of Bhīma, the first ancestor of the dynasty named in it. This Gahirā, we are told, developed into a very prosperous town and almost each succeeding ruler added to its importance. It became the capital town of the House. As I have remarked while giving the genealogy of the dynasty above, Rājā Bhīra or Bhaira of the Muhammadan historians must be identified with the Bhaida or Bhaidachandra of this book. This identification not only fits in well but, with slight modifications in spelling, would support a part of the list, which Cunningham gave in his Survey Reports, alluded to above. From Vālāpadāvā (or Balāpadāvā of Cunningham) downwards the list practically becomes identical. As Vālāpadāvā was, obviously, preceded by Vālāmadāvā, his father, there could be no room here for Dalakēvāra and Malakēvāra of Cunningham or Dalākē-wa-Malākī of the Muhammadan historians. The date of Bhaida (Bhīra or Bhaira of the Muhammadan historians) may be taken to be 1450 A.D. Counting backwards, roughly, one might say that the occupation or conquest of Gahirā by Rāṇīgadāvā took place about the end of the 13th century A.D. This town continued to be the capital of the Baghelas up to the time of Rāmachandra who was anointed, according to our manuscript, there. One is surprised to find that there is no mention of it at all in the State Gazetteer or even in Cunningham’s accounts. Possibly, I think, it was razed to the ground during the expedition of Āṣaf Khān and as it was not of any special strength, no endeavour was, perhaps, made to repopulate or renovate it, especially, when the State had got by that time an impregnable stronghold in Kālanjar and Bandhagarh as well. I am unable to identify the site of it. Possibly, we may trace it in the remains near Gurhā, a small village in the tehsil Huzur, lying some 15 miles south east of Rewah town in 24° 29’ North and 81° 27’ East.

Sikandar Lodi’s invasion, referred to in Cunningham’s report or the State Gazetteer, finds no mention in this book, apparently, because the Baghela chief was worsted in it. As I have already remarked, such works seldom talk of incidents which would detract from the greatness of or lower their heroes in public esteem. Nor does the book refer to the seizure of Mubārak Khān, the Governor of Jaunpur, by Rai Bhīd, Rājā of Bhatah (apparently the Bhaidachandra of the list given above) or his confirmation1 by the Sultan in the possession of Kantīt. Nor do we find mention of Bhīd’s flight before Sikandar or the latter’s support by Śālivāhana against Husain Shāh of Jaunpur.2 At the same time there is no allusion to Śālivāhana’s refusal to give his daughter in marriage to Sikandar Lodi which has been recorded by Ferishta.3 One fails to understand why the poet omitted altogether the last mentioned incident especially when it would have added to the dignity of the Baghela Rājā for we are not told if the Sultan could achieve anything more than coming back

2 H. M. Elliot’s Muhammadan Historians by Dower, Vol. V, p. 95, as quoted by Cunningham, ibid
3 Ibid.
to Jaunpur' after laying waste or devastating the Rājā's country. One should not wonder if this existed only in the imagination of Ferishta. In this connection it should be observed that according to our kāvyā the fort of Bandhogarh came into the possession of the Baghelas during the reign of Virasimhadēva, the son of Śālivāhana, but the account of these events given by the Muhammadan historians as stated by Cunningham¹ would show that it was already in their possession. Vāharāsya, the son of Bhaidachandra and the rightful heir, predeceased his father. Thereupon, Śālivāhana, the younger brother of the king, succeeded to the throne. Virasimhadēva, who was the son of Śāli-
vāhana and not of Bhīd (i.e. Bhaidachandra) as shown by these historians, defeated Vikramāditya in his very capital called Nara. He also routed Narayana, the lord of the Kuru, and took possession of the fort of Bāndhavagādha from him worsting all the Parīnāra princes at the same time.² Further, he vanquished the chief of Ratnapur and took possession of Dāhāra and Sahajora. I do not know why these statements of our author should be rejected in favour of Ferishta, especially when there is hardly any exaggeration in them. I think the Muhammadan historians while writing about these small principalities mixed up different rulers and their accounts are confused.

Virasimhadēva, the son and successor of Śālivāhana, was a fairly successful prince. The manuscript says that he was on very intimate terms with Bābur. He is evidently the 'Nar Singh' of Bābur's Memoirs.³ His intimacy must have come after the battle of Kanwara or Khānva in 1527 A.D. when, according to Bābur himself, he assisted Rāṇā Sinhā with 4000 horse. On the authority of the State records alluded to in the Gazetteer (p. 14), he received the Bhatia territories in Nānkār Jāgar (maintenance grant) from Bābur. Virasimhā, we are further told by our author, took possession of Gāḍhā after defeating the ruler of it. The account given in the Gazetteer would support this statement. This ruler of Gāḍhā must be Amān Dās, who is better known as Sangrām Shāh, the father-in-law of the famous princess Durgāvati, and the 'ill-disposed crafty fellow' of Abul Fazl. He contrived to murder his own father, who had disinherited him, and seize the State. Bīr Singh (Virasimhā) heard of it and at once overran Gāḍhā forcing Amān Dās to take refuge in the hills.

While giving the account of Rāmachandra, our manuscript says that Sultan Muhammad Sayyid Ali took shelter with this ruler, though it does not say, who he was. According to Cunningham he gave asylum to Ibrāhīm, the son of Sikandar Sūr, in A.H. 962 or A.D. 1555. Virabhānu had a very long reign and Rāmachandra continued to rule as a Yuvarāja till the former retired to Prayāga⁴ after the birth of his grandson, namely, Virabhādra, thereby fulfilling the 'ṣastraic' injunction⁵

¹ On the authority of our manuscript the account appearing in the State Gazetteer (p. 20) that the fort of Bandhogarh was given in the 13th century as a part of the dowry of the Kalachuri bride cannot be accepted.
² See page 16, above.
³ Emirian, p. 300 (as referred to in the State Gazetteer, p. 14, footnote 3).
⁴ 'Muns, VI, 2.'
Another interesting information, the manuscript supplies, is regarding Tansen, the premier singer and musician of the age. Our narrative does not go beyond the reign of Humayun. So we do not find in it any mention of Akbar or Rama Chandra's parting with this master-musician under the peremptory demand of the Emperor. The book tells us how enamoured Rama Chandra was of this prodigy and how he passed his days with him in happiness. In the year 1662, we know, Tansen had to go to Akbar's court1 where he was lavishly rewarded for his skill. Abul Fazl says that Akbar gave two lakhs of rupees to Tansen at his first performance. All this may be so, but considering the status of Rama Chandra in comparison to that of Akbar one might reasonably say that the former was in no way inferior to the latter in his liberality. Our author has praised him like Badami, who said that "he (i.e. Rama Chandra) left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts he gave a crore of gold to his minsted Tansen in one day."2 Says our author,

For every song and each tana (running over the notes to catch the key) and each drupat (special song or melody) he gave a crore of rupees to this musician (kalavida), namely, Tansen, who was the embodiment of the art of Music. The praises which our author has bestowed on Tansen are found in the accounts given by the Muhammadan historians, as well as other writers who have written about him. Hindu musicians, however, accuse him of having falsified the traditional ragas by violating the canons. They further say that the two great ragas—the Dipak and the Malhar—have disappeared since his time and that his influence was deleterious to the musical science of India.3 That he had no rival in music—excepting, of course, his guru Baiju Bavara, who was a reducible—is admitted to be a fact.

Several other points are mentioned in the manuscript but, as I am unable to test their accuracy, I need not dilate on them. They have briefly been related in the analysis of the book which has been given above. If similar accounts are available for the sister-states like Panna and others, it would be possible to investigate them all and write a connected history of Baghelkhund as well as Bundelkund with their help. The kayya is not history, still, the information which it supplies is, as I have tried to show in these pages, really valuable. Besides, it possesses considerable literary merit evincing high descriptive power of the author and can serve as a good specimen of what may be termed an historical kayya.

1 V. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 6.
3 C.L. V. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, p. 82.
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