THE DYNASTIC HISTORY
OF NORTHERN INDIA
(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II
THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA
(EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD)

By
H. C. RAY, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

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With a Foreword
By
L. D. BARNETT, M.A., Litt.D.

VOL. II

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY FATHER
PRASANNA KUMAR RAY
PREFACE

I must express my regret that circumstances entirely beyond my control have delayed the issue of this second volume for so long a period. Part of the book was already in print as far back as 1931. But the preoccupation of the University Press in printing certain under-graduate text-books, the difficulty of getting the maps ready and grave family bereavements are some of the reasons which delayed the publication of the volume. I have however utilized the time at my disposal by bringing up to date certain portions in the light of fresh material.

With this volume ends the analysis of the political history of the various dynasties that ruled in Northern India during the three or four centuries preceding the establishment of the imperialism of Delhi under the Turks. The beginnings of some of these dynasties however have been traced as far back as the middle of the sixth century A.D. while there were others which retained their vigour till the fourteenth century. The ruling tribes of some areas again were never thoroughly subjugated by the empire builders of Delhi while those of one area at least remained permanently outside their sphere of influence. The power of these dynasties during the period under survey, spread over a vast area extending from the Kishen Ganga in the north to the Godavari in the south and from the borders of Persia in the west to the Patkai hills in the east.

Though this volume is a continuation of the work undertaken in the first, it has got an individuality of its own. It deals entirely with Rajput dynasties most of which sprang up in the latter days of the Imperial Pratihāras. I hope it will be
of some use to the students of Hindu history in general and to those interested in Rajput history and the beginnings of Islam in India in particular.

Lack of space and a natural bias for facts have led me to keep my 'generalizations and idealizations' strictly under control. In this volume also I have accepted the humbler role of a builder of foundations rather than that of an architect, planning and raising an imposing superstructure and magnificent façade of History. I agree with the view that Indian history is at present in a much too primitive condition to attempt safely anything so ambitious. I have therefore consciously followed a method which has perhaps made this work less interesting to a certain class of students of Indian history.

As the press and the publishers here ordinarily accept no responsibility in the matter of Indexes of its publications, this heavy and mechanical work again fell on my shoulders. But thanks to the ungrudging assistance of my pupil, Mr. Matindramohan Sen, M.A., this task was very much lightened for me. I have added two new features to this volume. Firstly, I have accepted the suggestion of Prof. Jules Bloch (University of Paris) and prepared an index of ancient and mediaeval geographical names in the twenty maps contained in the two volumes. As the maps are drawn on different scales, I have often given in this index different latitudes and longitudes for the same place; this I admit is rather cumbersome but may be found to be more helpful to the general reader. Secondly, in addition to the Synchronistic Table, I have added a list of dynasties and the territories controlled by them chronologically arranged. As to the spelling of Sanskrit, Persian and modern names, I have followed the same system as in Volume I; the only exception is Brähman for Brahman. I have again tried to correct any want of uniformity in spelling by providing in the indexes alternative forms of spelling of names.

The ten coloured maps of the first volume, imperfect as they were, met with the approval of Indian and foreign scholars. I
have tried to effect some improvement in the ten tricolour maps of this volume. But lithography in Calcutta, so far as mapmaking of a technical nature is concerned, seems to be in a rather crude stage, and though I have tried to make the maps useful to students of Indian Historical Geography, I am not fully satisfied with their production. To Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury (Calcutta University), Mr. S. Dutt (St. Paul’s College and Calcutta University), Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti (Bethune College) and Mr. Matindramohan Sen, I am thankful for a few suggestions and help in correcting proofs of the maps.

To the Archaeological Survey of India I am indebted for a photograph of a portion of the Quwwat-ul-Islām Mosque at Delhi. In the twelfth century, Delhi was the great frontier outpost of the Cāhamāna empire. The site of the mosque and its neighbourhood contained fortifications and various buildings and places of worship of the Hindu dynasty. When I was in Delhi in December 1933, I noticed a portion of the ruins of the mosque which still shows clearly, in addition to a group of human forms, a beautiful female figure in tribhanga pose on one of the sculptured pillars of a Hindu temple. As the period under survey saw the foundation of Turko-Afghan imperialism on the bed-rock of old Indian civilization, the photograph in a way acts as a symbol for the whole work. I have therefore reproduced it on the jacket and cover of the volume.

My task of seeing the volume through the press was much facilitated by the courtesy and consideration of the officers of the Calcutta University Library, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Imperial Library and the University Press. In particular I am thankful to Mr. J. C. Chakravorti (Registrar, Calcutta University), Mr. Johan Van Manen, C.I.E., and Khan Bahadur Hidayat Hossain (General and Jt. Philological Secretaries, Asiatic Society of Bengal), and Mr. A. C. Ghatak (Superintendent, University Press) for help at various stages in the publication of the volume.
I have dedicated this volume to the memory of my father. I owe much of whatever success I have attained as a student of history to his advice and inspiration.

I conclude with the hope that my readers will find this volume, like its predecessor, of some use at least as "a preparatory clearing ground for more ambitious work."

Department of Ancient Indian History
& Sanskrit,
University of Calcutta.
20th November, 1935.

Hem Chandra Ray
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LIST OF CONTRACTIONS

AAK  A'ìn-i-Akbari Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett.

ABOI  Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona (India).

AGI  The Ancient Geography of India by Alexander Cunningham, 2nd edition. Edited by S. N. Majumdar, Sastri, Calcutta, 1924.

AO  Antiquities of Orissa by Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta, 1875 and 1880.

AR  Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Edited by William Crooke.

ARB  Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency.


ASI, WC  Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.

ASR  Archaeological Survey Reports by Cunningham.

ASWI  Archaeological Survey of Western India.

BEFEO  Bulletin de L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.

BG  Bombay Gazetteer.


BI  Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kattiyar; published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department, Bhavnagar.

Brk  Buddhist Record of the Western World by S. Beal.

Caliphate  The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall by William Muir.
<p>| CHI  | Cambridge History of India. |
| CI   | Central India (Province). |
| CMI  | Coins of Mediaeval India by Cunningham. |
| CP   | Central Provinces of India. |
| CPMDN| Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by H. P. Sastri, with a Historical Introduction by Prof. C. Bendall, 1905, Calcutta. |
| EHI  | Early History of India, 4th edition, by V. A. Smith. |
| EI   | Epigraphia Indica. |
| Elliot | The History of India as told by its own Historian by Sir H. M. Elliot. |</p>
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<th>GDI</th>
<th>Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, by N. Dey, Luzac, 1927.</th>
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<td>GOS</td>
<td>Gaekwad Oriental Series.</td>
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<td>HR</td>
<td>History of Rajputana by Ojha (Rai Bahadur Pandit G. H.), Ajmer.</td>
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<td>IA</td>
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<td>JASB</td>
<td>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</td>
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<td>JBRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</td>
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<td>JBTS</td>
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<td>JL</td>
<td>Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.</td>
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<td>KFB</td>
<td>Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān of Balādhrī. Trans. by Hitti and Murgotten.</td>
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<td>KH</td>
<td>Kitāb al-Hind of al-Bīrūnī.</td>
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KY   Kitáb-i-Yamini of 'Utbi. Translated by Reynolds from the Persian version, London.
LEC  Lands of the Eastern Caliphate by Le Strange, Cambridge University Press.
Life Life of Huien Tsian by S. Beal.
M    Mahārājādhirāja.
MA   Mirāt-i-Āhmadi of 'Alt Muḥammad Khān.
MASB  Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
MASI  Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
MER  Madras Epigraphist's Report by Dr. E. Hultsch, Nos. 814, 815, Public. 6th August, 1896.
MG   Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin by M. Habib, 1927.
MM   Mukhaliṅgeśvara Temple at Mukhariṅgam, Ganjam district (Madras).
NA   Notes on Afghanistan by Raverty.
NC   Numismatic Chronicle.
NKGWG Nachrichten der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
OH   Oxford History of India by V. A. Smith.
OM   Orissa in the Making by B. C. Mozumdar, 1925.
P    Paramesvara.
PASB  Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Pb   Paramabhatāraka.
PB   Prtheirājaviyāya.
PI   Preaching of Islam by T. W. Arnold.
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<td>RMR</td>
<td>Rajputana Museum Report.</td>
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<td>Sasanian Coins by F. D. J. Paruck, Bombay, 1924.</td>
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<td>TF</td>
<td>Taʾrīkh-i-Fīrishtā.</td>
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<td>TFSB</td>
<td>Taʾrīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī of Barānt.</td>
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<td>Taʾrīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī of Shams-i-Strāj Āftī.</td>
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<td>Tuhfat ul-Kirām of 'Ali Shīr Qāntī.</td>
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<td>TKA</td>
<td>Al-Taʾrīkh ul-Kāmil of Ibn ul-Athīr.</td>
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<td>TM</td>
<td>Taʾrīkh-i-Maṣūmī.</td>
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<td>TN</td>
<td>Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī of Maulānā Minhāj ud-Dīn. Translated by Raverty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRAS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</td>
</tr>
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<td>UP</td>
<td>The United Provinces of India.</td>
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<td>WZKM</td>
<td>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Also known as 'Vienna Oriental Journal.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZDMG</td>
<td>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</td>
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DYNASTIC HISTORY
OF NORTHERN INDIA

CHAPTER XI

CANDRĀTREYAS (CANDELLAS) OF JEJĀ-BHUHKTI (BUNDELKHAND)

There is little doubt that the rise of the Candella povr in the south of the Jumna was one of the important contributory causes that hastened the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire in Northern India. When however we try to trace the first beginnings and growth of the Candella kingdom we meet with considerable difficulties. Tradition records the following account of their rise.

Hem-rāj, the purohit of Indrajit, the Gaharwar rāja of Benares, had a daughter named Hemāvati. She was very beautiful, and one day when she went to bathe in the Rāti Tālāb, she was seen and embraced by Candramā (the Moon); as he was preparing to return to the skies, Hemāvati cursed him. 'Why do you curse me?' said Candramā, 'your son will be lord of the earth, and from him will spring a thousand branches.' Hemāvati enquired: 'How shall my dishonour be effaced when I am without a husband?' 'Fear not,' replied Candramā, 'your son will be born on the bank of the Kānvatī river; then take him to Khajurāya, and offer him as a gift and perform a sacrifice. In Mahoba (Mahotsavānagara) he will reign, and will become a great king...........On the hill of Kālañjara he will build a fort'........ A copy of the Mahoba-Khanda consulted by Cunningham, gave the date of the coronation of this child, who was named Candra-varma, as Sāmvat

\[1 \text{ ASR, Vol. II, pp. 445-46.} \]
225. The traditions preserved by the family of the Qanungo of Mahoba inform us that Candra-varma overthrew the Parihars in Bundelkhand. The genealogies preserved in the official charters of the Candeia princes, however, are ignorant of the existence of this prince. Thus the Khajraho stone inscription of Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011) gives the following account of the origin of the dynasty:—

Viśvaṅk Purāṇapuruṣa (The creator of the universe, that ancient being),

Sages Mārici, Atri, etc.

Muni Candraśreya—acquired fierce might by ceaseless austerities

From him princes (bhūbhujām) who had the power to destroy or protect the whole earth.

In this family Ṛṣi Nannuka

Vākpati

Jayāśakti

Vijayaśakti

Rāhila

Harṣa=Kaṅcukā

Yaśovarman

Dhaṅga (V.S. 1011=A.D. 954)

1 Ibid.
2 JASB, 1881, Vol. I, p. 3. The date of this event is given as Saṅvat 577.
3 EI, Vol. I, pp. 122 ff. This is the earliest record of the line, as far known, which supplies any information about the origin of the family. There are slight variations in other records. Thus in the Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala (V.S. 1058) we have: Atri: From his eye the Moon; His son the sage Candraśreya:—In the family of the Candraśreya-varṇasājña princes, Nannuka; see ibid, pp. 137 ff. The copper plates usually begin with the praise of Candraśreya-narendrāyana vālākha and then give the name of the grandfather of the donor of the grant; see IA. XVI, pp. 207 ff. Sometimes the inscription begins with the praise of only the Moon, the progenitor of the Candraśreya-narendrāyana vālākha; see EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 9 ff. A fragmentary Mahob inscription, however, begins with the genealogy with "From the beloved of the night there sprang a race beloved by all." The preserved portion does not contain the word Candra or Candraśreya; ibid, Vol. I, pp. 217 ff. Generally speaking, the earliest inscriptions refer to the dynasty as Candraśreya-vālākha. But the Dudahi stone inscriptions of Devalabhis, a grandson of Yaśovarman, describe the family as Candell-ānnya, from which no doubt the later form Candella is derived. Kiellhorn suspected
It should however be observed that both tradition and inscriptions agree in tracing the descent of the family to the Moon. The fact that the traditional founder of the dynasty is first taken to Khajrāho is also consistent with epigraphic and foreign evidence. For the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas come from that place, and the Kāmil, one of the oldest compilations of Arab history, connects the dynasty with Kajurāhah. Cunningham discovered another agreement between tradition and epigraphic evidence. By counting backwards from 954 A.D., the earliest known date of Dhaṅga, the 6th lineal descendant of Nannuka, and assigning a period of 20 to 25 years for each generation, he fixed upon the first quarter of the 9th century A.D., as the approximate date of Nannuka. Then by referring Sāmevat 225, one of the traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella dynasty, to the Hārṣa era, he found it in perfect agreement with the above date (325 + 606 = 831 A.D.). There is yet another agreement between tradition and epigraphy if we accept the name Candra-varmā as a mere biruda of Nannuka. But the statement that the founder of the dynasty supplanted the Parihārs cannot be accepted. From about the time of Nannuka down to the beginning of the 10th century the Gurjara-Pratihāras were at the height of their power, and it is unlikely that, during this period, the Candellas would succeed in driving them out of the land lying to the south of the Jumna. It is more

that the name Candraṅgā was really a later Sanskritized form of the word Candella. According to him this last word was formed from Candra by the addition of the Prakrit suffix iṅga. The form Candella occurs in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kṛtīvarman, IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff. The form Candella is found in the Benares grant of the Kalesari Lakṣmi-Kāraṇa BI, Vol. II, p. 306; while the form Candella occurs in the Madanpur inscription of Cāhamukha Pythvirāja III, (V.) Sāmevat 1230; see ASB, Vol. XLI, p. 174. We reserve for discussion the question of the origin of the Candellas in Vol. III of the present work.

1 Sometimes spelt Khajurāho.

2 TKA, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16.


4 The other traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella power are 204, 661, and 689. We can of course refer the first of these to the Hārṣa era; but the three other dates, 661, 677, and 689 cannot be satisfactorily explained. See JASB, Vol. I, pp. 3-6.
likely that the Candella Nannuka was at first a feudatory of Nāgarāja II (c. 815-33 A.D.) and ruled over a small principality round about Khajraho, the Kharjuraśānaka of the inscriptions. This agrees with the tradition which places the original home of the Candellas at Maniyagarh in the Chhatarpur State (C. I.). In the Khajraho inscription of Dhanga, Nannuka is called nṛpa and is described as 'a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame,' and whose enemies carried 'his commands on their heads, like a garland.' In another Khajraho inscription of the same king Nannuka is called a mahāpata 'whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna.' This is the only information available about the first historical personage in the genealogy of the Candellas. The Indian prāṣastikārās at any rate do not err on the side of moderation and it is extremely impossible that they would have omitted such a tangible historical fact as the defeat of the Pariharas, if that incident really happened in the career of the founder of the dynasty, and attached to his memory such vague generalities which in Indian records mean practically nothing. It is also significant that Nannuka's name is omitted from all the other Candella inscriptions, which are not few. He would have certainly loomed as a more substantial figure in the family tradition if he had really laid the foundation of the sovereignty of the family by violently uprooting another dynasty. The evidence available therefore suggests that his position was that of a petty feudatory ruler. It would even be risky to assume that he 'enjoyed some share of sovereign power' from the mere fact that in the inscriptions of his distant descendants he is designated a mahāpata or a nṛpa. There is also no evidence to prove the alleged connection of the founder of the dynasty and the prabhita of the Gāhadavālās. In fact

epigraphic evidence is against the supposition that Nannuka could even be a contemporary of the early Gāhadāvālas of Benares (11th century A. D.).

The next person in the Candella genealogy is Vākpati, the son of Nannuka. His existence is also known from the two inscriptions referred to above. The first informs us that the illustrious Vākpati defeated his enemies in battle and made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mount (Krīḍā-giri). According to the other record, the Kṣitipa Vākpati is said to have excelled by his wisdom and valour (even) the mythical kings Prthu and Kakustha. From the fact that he is referred to as having made the Vindhyas his pleasure-mount we may perhaps be justified in concluding that Vākpati succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his small ancestral principality. But in my opinion the persons who really succeeded in establishing the foundation of the prosperity, though not the sovereignty of the family, were his sons Jayaśakti and Vijayāśakti.

Excepting in the two inscriptions mentioned above, these two brothers are generally described in records as the first ancestors of the Candellas. Verse 10 of a fragmentary inscription at Mahoba again tells us that Jejā (Jayaśakti) gave his name to Jejā-bhukti, just as Prthu did to Prthiṇi. This Jejā-bhukti is generally accepted as the old name of Bundelkhand and the original of the vernacular form Jajāhūti or Jaiāhoti, just

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2 EI, p. 126, Vs. 11-12.
3 Ibid, p. 141, Vs. 16-17.
4 There are variant forms of these two names in the inscriptions. For the former we have Jejā (EI, Vol. I, p. 221, V. 10), and Jejāka (EI, Vol. I, p. 122, line 6); for the latter, we have Vijaya (EI, Vol. I, p. 141, V. 13), Vijā (EI, Vol. I, p. 122, line 6) and Vija (EI, Vol. I, p. 221, V. 10).
6 There are variants of this name. A Madanpur stone inscription gives the form Jejāka-bhukti (Cunningham, ASR, Vol. X, plate XXXII, No. 10, lines 2-3). The same form of the name is found in several other Madanpur records, with the addition of deśa, or maṅgola. (See ibid, Vol. XXI, p. 174.) The Batalpur stone inscription of the Kalacuri Jejalladeva, (Cedi) Señust, 366, gives the form Jejābhuktiha; see EI, Vol. I, p. 35, V. 31.
as modern Tirhut is derived from Tira-bhukti.' Cunningham, who first proposed this identification, further identified this name under its vernacular form with the Chih-chi-t'o of Yuan Chwang. But as the date of Jayaśakti cannot be earlier than about the beginning of the 9th century, and as there is nothing to discredit the epigraphic evidence that he gave his name to the Bhukti, we must give up this identification. Watters may be right when he suggests that the Chih-chi-t'o of Yuan Chwang represents modern Chitor and not Jajhobi. From the fact that his dominion is called only a Bhukti we may infer that Jayaśakti was at best a mere feudatory perhaps of the great Gurjara emperor Bhoja (c. 836-88 A.D.). In the inscriptions he is generally praised vaguely for victories over his enemies. Thus in a Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga we are told that ‘by the unmeasured prowess’ of him and his younger brother ‘adversaries were destroyed, as woods are burnt by a blazing fire.’ But in another Khajraho inscription of the same king, the younger brother Vijaya is said to have, ‘like Rāma, on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India.’ It is not impossible that there may be some historical truth hidden in this reference. But if he really invaded peninsular India he must have done so as the feudatory of some more powerful sovereign. For though the brothers are repeatedly referred to in the inscriptions as having added ‘radiance’ to the family of the Candrātreya


2 Unsusceptibility of this identification of Cunningham was first pointed out to me by Prof. R. C. Majumdar of the University of Dacca.


princes, it is significant that they are seldom given the epithets of sovereign rulers, and are on the contrary often simply called heroes (vīra).[^1] We may therefore conclude with some probability that Vijayāśakti, who succeeded his elder brother as the head of the family, was still a subordinate chief, possibly of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhoja or his son Mahendrapāla (c. 893-907 A.D.). The position of Rānīla, Vijayāśakti’s son and successor, does not appear to have been different from that of his father. He is mentioned only in two of the Chandella inscriptions so far discovered; and in both of them he is merely praised in conventional phrases for his bravery and victories. Thus in the Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga, the royal praśastikāra says: “Thinking of whom (Rāhila) the enemies enjoy little sleep at night. Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation of vāṣat, (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger.”[^2] In another Khajraho epigraph of the same king Rāhila is given credit for favouring his friends and punishing his enemies.[^3] It was not till the reigns of his son Harṣa and his grandson Yaśovarman that circumstances favoured the growth of a strong Chandella state. The continuous struggle between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭraṅgas which had been raging since the days of Vatsa and Dhuvara suddenly took a bad turn for the Gurjara-Pratihāras sometime between 915-18 A.D.[^4] The Rāṣṭraṅgas under Indra III


[^2]: EI, Vol. I, p. 131, V. 17, also p. 135. This idea of comparing battles to sacrifices is probably taken from the Mahābhārata; see Brahmanādi (Calcutta) ed., Udyoga-pārśva, Chap. 111, Vs. 28-31; see also JL, Vol. XIV, 1927, Notes on War in Ancient India, p. 1 ff.


captured Ujjayini and overran Northern India. The imperial
city of Kanauj itself was completely devastated. There is some
evidence to show that the Deccani kings held some portion of
the Ganga-Yamuna Doab even as late as 930 A.D. This severe
blow and the strangle-hold on the very heart of the imperial
power must have greatly weakened the control of the central
government on its provinces. It is true that the Pratihara
emperor was assisted by a number of his feudatories to recover
some of his dominions. A fragmentary Candella inscription at
Khajraho, for instance, says that either Harsha or his son
Yasovarman placed Ksitipaldava again on the throne (Punaryena-sri-Ksitipaladeva-nratip simhhasane sthathapita).
In their official records, also, till the year 954 A.D., in the reign
of Dhauga, the Candellas actually acknowledged the sovereignty
of the Gurjara-Pratiharas. But there is enough evidence to
show that their obedience to the Kanauj power was fast growing
nominal. Harsha, who was possibly reigning when the Rasthrakuta
invasion took place, does not appear to have indulged in any
open acts of hostility to the imperial power. In a fragmentary
stone inscription discovered at Khajraho, he is said to have
“conquered many proud enemies” (dragirnadas). The
Khajraho stone inscription of Dhauga dated in V.S. 1011 tells
us that “that most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend
against the law (dharma) and anxious to worship the feet of
(Vishnu), the enemy of Madhu... (He) married a suitable lady
of equal caste (savauna), named Kanucka, sprung from the
Cahaman family.” In the Nanyaura plate of the same king,
(V.S. 1055) Harsha is said to have inspired terror by his terrific
array of troops, and made tributary to himself other sovereigns.
Dhauga’s Khajraho inscription of (V.S.) 1059 tells us that

Harṣa protected the whole earth after subduing his adversaries. These references to Harṣa do not contain any historical facts, but in spite of their vague character they seem to indicate that his was a more substantial figure than any of his predecessors. If Kielhorn was right in his assumption that the relative yena in line 10 of the fragmentary Khajraho inscription mentioned above refers to Harṣadeva, the latter’s claim to have reinstalled Kṣitipāla, his overlord, on his throne must indicate a considerable degree of power and prestige. He further strengthened his position by forming a matrimonial alliance with the Cālamānas, who were also gradually breaking away from the empire. Another matrimonial alliance of Harṣa seems to be revealed by the Benares grant of Lakṣmi-Karna, the Kalacuri king of Tripuri. If the Citrakūṭa-bhūpāla of this inscription to whom Kokkalla claims to have granted ‘freedom from fear’ is identified with the Candella Harṣa, then it looks likely that the Candella princess Naṭṭā (Naṭṭākhyadevi), the queen of Kokkalla, was a relative of this Candella prince. Without openly defying his overlord, Harṣa thus appears to have slowly consolidated his position at home and abroad. It was left to his son Yaśovarman, alias Lakṣmavaran, to engage in more ambitious projects for increasing the Candella territory by launching into schemes of foreign conquest and aggrandisement. I have already shown that some time before 940 A.D. the Rāstrakūṭas’ attacks on the

1 Ei, Vol. I, p. 142, Va. 25-28. This inscription also mentions his wife Kaṇcāka, but it does not refer to her lineage; see ibid. pp. 142-43, V. 20.

2 Kielhorn suggested that Harṣa first defeated Kṣitipaladeva and subsequently reinstalled him on his throne. But in view of recent discoveries and the identification of Mahipāla and Kṣitipāla, it would be better to accept the view that the vanquisher of the Kasaṇu monarch was the Rāstrakūṭa Indra III and not the Candella chieftain; see Ei, Vol. I, p. 122.

3 Ei, Vol. II, p. 306, V. 7; also p. 301. The acceptance of the suggested identification would show that this Citrakūṭa must be differentiated from the hill of the same name in Rajputana and identified with the hill bearing the same name in Bundelkhand. Cunningham identified a hill situated on the left, or west, bank of the Palsuni river, about 5 miles to the S.W. of Karvi, and 50 miles to the S.E. of Banda, with the Citrakūṭa of the Rāmāyaṇa; ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 10-13. See also DHNI, infra, chapter on the Halhayas.

Gurjara-Pratihāra empire were renewed. The Jura inscription of Krṣṇa III, discovered recently in the Maihar state, shows that his claim to have captured Kālañjara sometime before 940 A.D., from the Gurjaras, may not be entirely baseless. That the Gurjaras referred to in the Karhad and Deoli plates in connection with Kālañjara, were the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj is proved by the Barah copper plate of Bhojadeva, which granted land in Kālañjara-maṇḍala of the Kanyakubja-bhukti.\(^1\) The Khajrāho stone inscription of Dhaṅga, dated in 1011 V.S. (A.D. 954) tells us that Yaśovarman easily conquered the mountain of Kālañjara, ‘the dwelling-place of Siva.’\(^2\) As Yaśovarman therefore appears to have been a contemporary of Krṣṇa III, it is not unlikely that he may have captured the famous hill-fort, not from the Gurjara-Pratiharas, as was so long believed, but from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The sudden emergence of the Canderas as one of the first-class powers in the country south of the Jumna may therefore be due partially to their success against these ruthless marauders of the Deccan, the predecessors of the Marāthā horsemen of a later period. In the Khajrāho inscription, referred to above, the poet gives the following graphic, if somewhat exaggerated, account of the victories and campaigns of Yaśovarman:

"Who was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers (kṛḍālāta), equalled the forces (baḷa) of the Khaśas (and)\(^3\) carried off the treasure of the Kośalas, before whom perished the Kāśmīrī warriors (naśyat-Kāśmīra-vīraḥ); who weakened the Mithilas (sīthilita-Mithilāḥ), (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas (Kālavan Mālavānāṁ), who

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\(^3\) The settlement of the Khaśas during this period extended in a wide semicircle from Kāṭṭe-vār in the south-east to the Vitastā valley in the west. The hill states of Rājapurū and Lōbarā were held by Khaśa families. Stein identified the Khaśas with the 'modern Khaśa tribe, to which most of the petty hill chiefs and gentry in the Vitastā valley below Kasmīr belong.' See Stein’s *Eng. Trans.* of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I, pp. 47-48, footnote on I, 317, and Vol. II, p. 493.
brought distress on the shameful Cedis (Sidat-sāvadya-Cedih), who was to the Kurus what a storm is to the trees (Kuru-taruṇu marut), and a scorching fire to the Gurjaras (Samjvaro Gurjarāṇāṁ)” (V. 23).

“Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi king whose forces were countless......” (V. 23).

“At the conquest of the regions, his soldiers gradually managed to ascend the slopes of the snowy mountains, where plentiful flowers had been gathered by Umā from every tree of paradise, where the troops of horses became unmanageable with fright at the gurgling sound of the torrents of the Ganges......” (V. 30).

“He easily conquered the Kalaṇjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impeded the progress of the sun at midday”’ (V. 31).

“The illustrious Lakṣāvarman in his conquests of the regions made, equal to Indra, the daughter of Kalinda (Yamunā) and the offspring of Jahnu (Ganges) one after another his pleasure-lakes, encamping the forces of his army on either banks unmolested by any adversaries (and rendering) their waters muddy with the bathing of his furious mighty elephants” (V. 39).1

According to these verses, therefore, Yaśovarman dominated the whole region from the Himalayas to Malwa and from Kashmir to Bengal. As I have already pointed out, much of this is no doubt mere prāśasti, and poetic exaggeration. Thus the expression Kośalaḥ Kośalānāṁ seems rather to convey a desire on the poet’s part to show his skill in punning than an historical sense. But there is no inherent impossibility in the assumption, that he really raided a large portion of northern India. His victory over the Cedi king, which is mentioned twice, looks like a genuine fact; and it is likely that one of the earlier Kalacuri princes of Tripuri, possibly Lakṣmānarāja or his predecessor Yuvarāja I, was the Cediñāja whose ‘countless forces,’ were defeated by

Yaśovarman after a fierce contest. The contemporary Gauda king was probably either Rājyapāla or his son Gopāla II. In Kashmir reigned at this period a series of comparatively unimportant princes beginning with Cakravarman (923-37 A.D.), and ending in Parvagupta (949-50 A.D.) while the Khaśa state of Lohara was ruled by one of the predecessors of Siṁhārāja (c. 950 A.D.), possibly Candurāja. The territories of the Mālavas, Kośalas, and Kurus appear to have been still under the Gurjara rulers of Kanauj, while Mithilā at this period may have been recovered by the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar. If there is any basis of fact in these claims of successful invasions and victories it is clear that he soon became a standing menace to the imperial house at Kanauj. The expression Samjvo Garjara-rāṇām suggests that he may have even come into violent conflict with his former overlords. But the Khajraho inscription of Dhanga dated in V.S. 1011 shows that though practically independent, the Candellas still retained in their official documents the fiction of their subservience to the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

The Khajraho inscription referred to above informs us that Yaśovarman erected a 'charming splendid home of (Viṣṇu), the enemy of the Daityas, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow.' We are told that the image of Vaikuṇṭha which he set up in this temple was first obtained by 'the lord of Bhoṭa (Bhoṭanātha) from the Kailāsa, and from him Śahi, the king of Kira received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Herambapāla obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (Yaśovarman himself) received it from the Hayapati Devapāla,

1 In the time of Mahendrapāla, the Gurja-Pratihāra dominions extended from Grāvaṣṭi in U.P. right up to Paharpur in N. Bengal. See DHNI, Vol. I, chapter on the Dynasties of Bengal and Bihar, pp. 569-70. The Asiatic Society's plate of Vināya-kapāla, which was issued from Mahasaya and grants land in Vāraṇasi-Viṣaya, in the Pratihāra-bhakti, in V.S. 988, the Raklietra stone-inscription of the same prince discovered in the Gwalior region dated in V.S. 984-1000, and the Partabgarh stone-inscription of Mahendrapāla (II) dated in V.S. 1000 seem to indicate that the Gurjara-Pratihāras during the period c. 931-66, held a large portion of the irregular quadrilateral formed by Mandu, Gwalior, Kanauj and Benares.

the son of (Herambapāla). The temple mentioned above has been identified by Cunningham with the Vaiśṇava temple at Khajraho variously known as that of Rāmacandra, Lakṣmana or Caturbhujā. The credit for building this temple, together with that for excavating a big tank (taḍāgārnavam), is given to Yaśovarman by verses 38 and 39 of another Khajraho inscription of Dhaṅga dated in V.S. 1059.

Yaśovarman had a son named Dhaṅga by his queen Puppā-devī. The Dudahi stone inscriptions reveal the existence of probably another son of Yaśovarman. These records, six in number, were discovered in a temple of the village of Dudahi in the Lalitpur district of U. P. (Long. 78° 27' E., Lat. 24° 24'N.). We know from these inscriptions that the temple was erected by the illustrious Devalabdi belonging to the Candrellānaya, the son of the illustrious Kṛṣṇapa and Āsarvā and the grandson (naptri) of Mahārajadhirāja Yaśovarman. Cunningham’s identification of this Yaśovarman with Candella Yaśovarman of Khajraho has been generally accepted by scholars.

Yaśovarman was succeeded by Dhaṅga sometimes before V.S. 1011, the earliest known date of the latter’s reign. The inscription which carries this date attempts to give us an idea of the extent of Dhaṅga’s dominions. We are told that he “playfully acquired

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1 "El, Vol. I, pp. 133 and 134, Va. 42-43. For the identification of Herambapāla and Devapāla, see DHNI, Vol. I, chapter on the Latar Gaurjana-Pratīṣṭhās, pp. 571 ff. Bhoja during this period indicated Tibet while the Kiras must be located somewhere near Kashmir. The Bhojaśāsa (XIV. 29) places them with the Kasmiris in the N.E.

2 ASR, Vol. II, pp. 145-57. The temple is 63 ft. 4 inches in length and 44 ft. in breadth. The stone-inscription of Dhaṅga which refers to the building of this temple was originally discovered at the base of the Caturbhujā temple, and is now built into the wall inside its entrance porch. El, Vol. I, p. 144.


4 Ibid, V. 40. Is this the same the Prākṛti form of Puppa-devi?

5 First edited by Cunningham with the photos, micrographs of five of them in ASR, Vol. X, pp. 91-95, and plate XXXII. Nos. 1, 2 and 4-6. They were then re-edited by Rielhorn in 1902 in the IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-237.

6 The undated fragmentary Khajraho stone-inscription discovered near the temple of Vāmana may belong to Yaśovarman or his father Harṣa. See El, Vol. I, pp. 121-22; JAS, 1904, p. 654, fn. 1.
by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālāñjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālava (Mālava-nādi); from here also to the bank of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country (deśa) and even as far as that mountain called Gopa (Gopābhidhāna-girī)."  

As contrasted with the vague claims of victories from Kashmir to Bengal and the Himalayas to Malwa in the case of his father, this comparatively modest specification of the boundaries has the appearance of being based on fact. Though his prāsastikāra tells us that this wide dominion was acquired by Dhaṅga's strong arms alone, he was no doubt greatly aided by the campaigns of his father. The same inscription which mentions these boundaries of his dominions contains in the last line the following statement:

"While the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated."  

This statement undoubtedly shows that up to 954-55 A.D., the Candellas retained in their public documents a formal, if nominal, recognition of the imperial line at Kanauj. But it is significant that the names of the Gurjara-Pratībāra rulers do not occur again in any Candella document after this date, indicating that after 954-55 Dhaṅga became a sovereign ruler de facto and de jure. The expression 'as far as Kālāñjara' which occurs in the quotation cited above shows that up to the date of the inscription the capital of the Candellas was situated not in that hill-fort but in some other

1 EI, Vol. I, p. 129, V. 43. Kielhorn identified Mālavanadī with the river Peta-

vatī or Betwa and Bhāsvat with Bhāilsarain, the mod. Bhilsa. Gopagiri is certain-

ly Gopādirī, identified with mod. Gwalior. Unfortunately no inscriptions of the Candellas

have yet been discovered in Gwalior but it is likely that the family of the Kacchapghatī

Mahārajādhirāja Vajradāman, for whose reign we have the Gwalior image inscription,
dated V.S. 1031 (JASU, Vol. XXXI, p. 393), may have been feudatories of the Candellas.
The Dukkhund inscription (EI, Vol. II, p. 237) dated in V.S. 1145, indicates that the

Kacchapaghata Arjuna was a feudatory of Vidyādhara, the grandson of Dhaṅga.


city. That this city was Khajraho is probably indicated by an epigraph of Dhaṅga which is dated "in (V.) S. 1059 at Śrī-Kharjuravāhaka in the realm of Dhaṅga". This is further supported by the Kāmil of Ibn ul-Athīr, which refers to Dhaṅga's grandson as ruler of Kajurāha. It is also significant that the earliest inscriptions of the Candellas including those of Dhaṅga, came from Khajraho and not from Kālañjara or Mahoba. It should be noted however that as early as (V.) S. 1055 Dhaṅga is given the epithet Kālañjarādhipati. This may indicate that Kālañjara was regarded as a sort of second capital of the kingdom. But it is more probable that the epithet simply indicates the possession of one of the strongest hill-forts of India, which in an age ignorant of artillery, made his position almost impregnable. The strategic importance of this hill was well-known in India at this time, and the Kalacuris, the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas tried in succession to retain their hold on its fortifications. The possession of this fortress, as well as that of Gwaliór must have consolidated the position of the Candellas in Central India and encouraged them to attempt the systematic conquest of portions of the Ganges valley. Yaśo-varman is already said to have encamped his troops on the banks of the Ganges. The Nandyaura plate of Dhaṅga which was issued from Kāśikā (Benares), shows that this was no idle boast, and that in V.S. 1055 the Candellas were certainly on the Ganges. The possession of Prayāga (Allahabad) by Dhaṅga is probably indicated by the fact that he is reported to have 'entered into beatitude' by abandoning his body in the waters of the Jāhmavi,

1 Ibid, p. 147, lines 32-33.
3 The inscriptions of Kālañjara (mod. Kālnjar) mostly belong to a later period, the time of Madanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D.) and Paramardi (c. 1157-1203 A.D.).
5 Nīgasūd-Dīn says of this fort that 'it has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnable,' T.I, Trans., p. 13. Birúnt also refers to Kālanjar as one of the two 'most famous fortresses of India,' see his Indica, trans. by Sachau (Tráhen), Vol. I, p. 202.
6 IA, Vol. XVI, p. 203.
and the Kālindī. It is not unlikely that from these bases Dhaṅga may have penetrated further eastward in the Ganges valley. A Khajuraño epigraph tells us that the wives of the kings of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rādhā, and Aṅga lingered in his prisons.

Another verse of the same inscription says that he was so powerful that the rulers of Kośala, Kratha, Simhala and Kuntala humbly listened to his commands. It is therefore possible that he may have even successfully raided some portions of peninsular India. In any case there is enough evidence to show that Dhaṅga had become one of the most powerful rulers of Central India during this period. One of the Candella inscriptions goes so far as to say that he, having defeated on the battlefield the Kānyakubja-narendra, obtained exalted sovereignty (or empire, Sāmrājya). If true, this statement shows that the hegemony which the rulers of Kanauj so long enjoyed in Northern India was at last taken away from them by the Candellas during the reign of Dhaṅga. But as Uṭī in 409 A.H. (1018 A.D.) describes the Kanauj ruler Rājyapāla as the chief of all princes of India, we must conclude that the halo of imperialism still lingered over the brow of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras for at least sometime after Dhaṅga’s death. The accepted interpretation of another statement about Dhaṅga also appears to me to be doubtful. A fragmentary Candella inscription discovered at Mahoba thus describes his achievements: "...Dhaṅga, who caused the destruction of his enemies, and who by the strength of his arms equalled even the powerful Hāṁvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the

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3 Kratha was a country in the peninsular portion of India, possibly near modern Berar. In the Mahābhārata (Bomb. Ed., II, Chap. 14; V. 21), Kratha-Kansākā are mentioned in connection with the Bhūjar and Pāṇḍyas. Some identify Kratha-Kansāka with Vīdarbha. See GDI, p. 104.
5 fīdd, p. 197, V. 3; also foot-note 62 on p. 993.
The word *Hamwira* is apparently a corruption of the Arabic word *Amîr* (اعمیر, Commander, leader), derived from the root *Amr* (امر, command). The word *Amîr* in this sense is found in Islamic history in the title *Amîr ul-mu’mînîn, i.e., lord of the faithful* which became a regular title of the Caliphs since the days of ‘Umar. The term gradually came to be applied to kings, and later on to any high official of the state. The coins of the Yamins of Ghazni show that they were known by the title of *Amîr*.

Stein has shown that the *Hammîra* of Kalhana, who was a contemporary of Sâhi Trilocanapâla and the Kashmirian king Sâmgraarmarâja (1003-28 A.D.) must be identified with Mahmud of Ghazni. Thus Hammîra appears to be another Indian corruption of the Arabic word *Amîr*. That this is the correct interpretation is proved by the Sanskrit legend on the reverse of some of the gold coins of Muhammad ibn Sâm, which runs as follows: —*Śrimad Hamîra Mahamad Sâm.* From this time onwards up to the reign of Balban the epithet *Śrî-Hamîra* (Śrî-Hamîra or Śrî-Hammîra) occurs as the regular designation of the Ghûrî and Delhi Sultâns in their coins and inscriptions. The epithet also occurs on the coins of some of their provincial satraps. There is no doubt therefore that *Hammîra Hamîra*, or *Hamwira* was to the Indians the accepted title for a Muhammadan prince at least during the period c. 1000-1300 A.D. But this word may have even a longer history. It is not unlikely that it came to acquire this meaning from the middle of the 9th century A.D., when the Arab chiefs of

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8. Thomas, op. cit., pp. 31 and 100-03.
Sind became practically independent and assumed the title of *Amir*.¹

To return to our discussion of the epithet, "equalled even the powerful *Hanúvra.*" The known dates of *Dhanága* (V.S. 1011-1059, c. 954-1002 A.D.) show that he was a contemporary of the Yamini Sultáns Sabuk-tígin (A.D. 976-97), Ismá’íl (A.D. 997) and Mahmúd (A.D. 998-1030). It has been usually assumed by scholars that the *Hanúvra* referred to above must be identified with Sabuk-tígin. They further assume that the Kalinjar ruler who according to Firishta 'supplied troops and money' to the Sáhi ruler Jayapála must have been the Candella ruler *Dhanága*.² I have elsewhere tried to show that there are reasons to suspect the veracity of Firishta on this point.³ The silence of *Utbi*, Ibn ul-Athír, and Nizám ud-Dín appears to me to be rather significant. I have already pointed out that the last known date of *Dhanága* is V. S. 1059, and the earliest known date of his successors is 410 A.H.,⁴ so his death must have occurred sometime between c. 1002 and 1019 A.D.⁵ As he lived for more

¹ See *DHNI*, Vol. I, chapter on Dynasties of *Sind*, pp. 91, fn. 3; Elliot, Vol. I, p. 36.
⁴ The date of his grandson Vidyádhará; see infra, pp. 688 ff.
⁵ Kishorn while editing the Khajrako inscription of *Dhanága* dated in V. S. 1069, renewed by Jayavarmadeva in V. S. 1173 remarked: "The date shows that *Dhanága* died between the Vikrama years 1055, the date of the Bengal Asiatic Society’s copper-plate grant mentioned above (*IA*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202-04) and 1069." (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 139.) This has been accepted by other scholars, see *JA*, 1908, p. 141. But the inscription in question records in lines 32-3, V. 63: *Saññat 1059 Sri-Kharjyaravahaka Dhánagadiva-rñjge deiva-Sri Marakotatosvarasya pradasti siddhá.* This clearly shows that *Dhanága* was alive in V. S. 1069. The fact that in line 29, V. 58 refers to the death of *Dhanága* only proves that the record in question was re-arranged and re-written when it was renewed after more than a hundred years by Jayavarmadeva in V. S. 1173. It is of course strange that the record *should contain no allusions whatever to the successor of *Dhanága*. But this unusual character of the inscription remains unexplained even if we accept the theory of Kishorn. To me it therefore seems that the epigraph does not give us any facts to fix the date of the death of *Dhanága* within very narrow limits of possible error." It is clear that he did not die "a little before 1002 A.D." We only know that he died some time after A.D. 1002.
than a 'hundred autumns' (Saradām satam)\(^1\) it is not unlikely that he may have lived up to 1008 A.D., which date practically saw the downfall of the Śāhis. The defeat of Ānandapāla threw open the Ganges-Jumna valley to the inroads of the Yamini Amir. The shadow of the Hamūvira fell beyond the waters of the Sutlej. The achievements of Maḥmūd only served to heighten the prestige of his arms. Under the circumstances, to compare Dhaṅga's prowess to that of the terrible Hamūvira may have appeared to a late praśastikāra, writing at least a hundred years after that prince's death,\(^2\) to be deserving of the highest reward. If Dhaṅga really fought and was defeated by the Hamūvira, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors.

The above discussion shows that Dhaṅga's reign was a long and distinguished one, probably unmarred by defeats at the hands of the Turuṣkas. The temples of Khajrāho, which are regarded as 'the finest group of Hindu temples in Northern India,' and are usually referred to the 10th and 11th centuries, bear evidence to the splendour of the victories of the Candellas in the domain of peace.\(^3\) Some of these edifices certainly belong to the reign of Dhaṅga. The temple of Jinanātha, which contains an inscription of Dhaṅga's reign of the year 1011 recording a number of gifts by a Jain devotee, was probably built during that ruler's reign. The temple of Vaidyanātha, which contains an inscription of the year 1058 recording the building of a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha by one Kokkala of the Gaha- pati family, also appears to have been built during this reign.\(^4\) Another Khajrāho inscription records the building of 'a magnificent temple for the god Sambhu, Marakateśvara, with two lingas

\(^1\) EI, Vol. I, p. 146, V. 55.
\(^2\) The Mahabha epigraph which contains this passage is unfortunately fragmentary, but in V. 28 it seems to refer to the son of Kritivarma (V. S. 1154). EI, Vol. I, p. 321.
one of emerald and the other of stone. This inscription is dated in the year 1059, and is now built into a wall of the temple of Visvanatha.1

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman supplies us with the name of one of his ministers, named Prabhāsa, who was born in the lineage of Aṅgiras and Gautama Akṣapāda, the reputed founder of the Nyāya philosophy. He was, we are told, ‘highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics (maya-prayoge gahane sudaksah). After being ‘(duly) tried’ (saro-opadhāśuddhi) was appointed ‘chief of all ministers’ by Dhaṅga and king Gaṅga.2

Dhaṅga after living for more than a hundred years at last ‘abandoned the body in the waters of the Ganges and the Yamunā, and entered into beatitude, closing the eyes, fixing his thoughts on Rudra, and muttering holy prayers.’ The following records and dates are known for his reign : 3

(1) Khajraho stone-inscription.—The stone which bears this inscription is said to have been discovered in the ruins at the base of the Lakṣmaṇa-temple at Khajraho. It consists of 28 lines and contains 49 verses in fluent and correct Sanskrit. It opens with adoration to the holy Vāsudeva, and then invokes the god Vaikuṇṭha. Next follows the account of the rise of the Candrātreyas from the Sage Atri. The genealogy is traced from Nannuka to Dhaṅga. The inscription is mainly concerned with the prāṣasti of Yaśovarman, who constructed a splendid home of Viṣṇu and set up in it an image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he received from the Hayapati Devapāla (Vs. 23-43). The last 6 verses give an account of Dhaṅga ; and then comes

1 Ibid, pp. 137 ff.

the date (V.) S. 1011 (A. D. 953-54) and the name of Vināyakapāla ‘protecting the earth.’ It ends with ‘adoration to the holy Vāsudeva! adoration to the sun.’ The inscription was composed by the Kavi Mādhava and written by ‘the Karanika Gauda Jaddha who was Sanskrīta-bhāṣāvidvās.

(2) Khajraho Jain Temple inscription.—It is carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Jinanātha at Khajraho. It consists of 11 lines of Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse. The inscription begins with ‘om’ and then gives the date (V.) S. 1011 (A. D. 1055). It next records ‘a number of gifts made (probably in favour of the temple where the inscription is) by one Pāhilla,’ who was ‘held in honour by Dhāra?ṇga-raṇga’ and was a devotee of the ‘lord of the Jinas.’ The gifts mainly consist of gardens (vātika). Line 10 mentions the name of Maharāja-guru Vāsavacandra.

(3) Nanyaura (now Bengal Asiatic Society) grant.—It contains 15 lines incised on one side of a single copper plate, and was found with another plate of Devavarman (dated in V. S. 1107) in a field at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari-Jaitpur Tahsil of the Hamirpur District, U. P. There are no holes in the plate for rings, nor any seal attached to the plate. The grant opens with the sign Om svasti and then traces the genealogy of the donor from king Harṣadeva. We are told that Pb.-M.-P. Harṣadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P. Yaśovarmanadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Kālakṣaṇarādhapati-Dhāṅga-deva in the (V.) year 1055 (A. D. 998), when there was an eclipse of the moon, granted from Kāśikā (Benares) the village of Yu(Cu?))llī attached to (pratibaddha) Usaravāha to the

1 The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham in ASR (Vol. II, p. 436; Vol. XXI, p. 65), and a very small photolithograph of it was published, ibid., Vol. XXI, plate XVII. It was edited by Kielhorn in EI, Vol. I, pp. 123-135. The stone bearing this record is now built into the wall inside the entrance-porch of the temple of Laksmanā.

Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, an emigrant from Tarkārikā, whose ancestors had been settled at Dūrvāharā. The inscription ends with 'Sri Dhaṅga.'

(4) Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala.—The slab which bears this inscription is said to have been found at the temple of Vaidyanātha at Khajraho. The record contains 22 lines. It is a praśasti of a Grahapati family which originally came from Padmāvatī (mod. Narwar, Gwalior State). The inscription opens with 'Om namah Śivāya,' and then invokes Śiva in several verses under the names Vaidyanātha, Śāṅkara, and Śarva. Then the genealogy of Kokkala is traced from Yaśobala or Atiyaśobala, of Padmāvatī. In lines 19-21 is recorded the erection of a temple of Vaidyanātha and a number of buildings for pious Brāhmans by Kokkala at Khajraho. The date (V.) Samvat 1008 (A.D. 1000-01) is given in the last line.

(5) Khajraho stone inscription.—It was discovered in a temple at Khajraho. It consists of 33 lines. The record opens with 'Om namah Śivāya, and then praises Śiva (Rudra, Digambara, Śūladhara, Maheśvara), Bhāratī, and Gaṇeśa. Next follows the usual story of the origin of the Candrātreya. Then comes the regular genealogy of the family from Nannuka to Dhaṅga. In lines 48-51 we are told that the latter erected a magnificent temple for the god Śambhu. "He also distributed great quantities of gold and established in connection with the temple dwellings for pious Brāhmans to whom donations were made of land, grain, money, and cows." (Vs. 52-54.) The record was composed when the illustrious priest of the royal household Yaśodhara was acting in the office of Dharmādhikāra.

1 The plate was first edited by V. A. Smith in the *JASB*, Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 34, and was re-edited by Kiellhorn in *JASB*, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-04. It is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.


3 This Yaśodhara is most probably to be identified with the donor of the Nanyaura plate, op. cit., No. 3.
Lines 32-33 give the date as follows: "The (V.) year 1059 (A. D. 1001-02); at the glorious Kharjuravāhaka, in the rājya of the illustrious king Dhaṅga, this praśasti of the god Marakatesvara was completed." The record was composed by the poet Rāma, grandson of the kavi Nandana of the Sāvara (Śābara)-vamsa and a resident of Tarkārika. It was written by the Kāyastha Yāshāpāla, and engraved by Sitūha. The temple was built by the Sūtradhāra Chicca.

Dhaṅga was succeeded by his son Gaṅḍa sometime between 1001-02 A. D., Dhaṅga’s last known date, and 1019 A. D., the first recorded date of his grandson Vidyādhara. So far we have not discovered any inscription of this prince. His name is only mentioned in some late records of the Candellas which were composed at least a hundred years after his death. The following statements regarding his reign can be collected from these epigraphs.

A fragmentary Candella inscription which appears to have been composed after the reign of Kīrtivarman (V. S. 1154) refers to Gaṅḍa as "an unrivalled hero who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms." The Mau inscriptions of Madanavarmam (V. S. 1186-1220) tells us that Gaṅḍadeva was "a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride." A rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarmam (V. S. 1345) mentions the name of the Thakkura Jājūka of the Vāstavya Kāyastha-Vamśa to whom was granted by Gaṅḍa, ‘the invincible in battle,’ the

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1 The inscription was first most carelessly edited by Sutherland in JASB, Vol. III, pp. 139-84. It was re-edited by Kielhorn in the NKGW, 1896, pp. 441-62; finally edited by the same scholar, EI, Vol. I, pp. 137-47. The inscription was probably re-arranged and re-written in V. S. 1174, when it was renewed by Jayavarman. This explains the occurrence of the description of Dhaṅga’s death in V. 56, while the date of his record is given in V. 63. The inscription is now built into the wall on the right side of the temple of Viśvanātha.


3 Ibid, pp. 197 and 208, V. 4.
village of Dugauda, and who was appointed 'to superintend at all times all the affairs (of the state).'

The above will show that, apart from the name of this officer of his time, the Candella records contain nothing but vague generalities about the administration of Gandā. This agrees with the fact pointed out elsewhere that he is, perhaps, not to be identified with the powerful Indian prince Nandā whose 'immense army,' according to certain Muḥammadan chroniclers, inspired fear even in the mind of Māḥmūd, the Yaminī king of Ghazni. I have tried to prove that Nandā نندا is a mistake not for Gandā (گندا) but for Bīdā (بیدا) which is approximately the Arabic phonetic equivalent of Vidya, the first part of the name of Vidyādhara, the son of Gandā.

It is not known when Gandā's reign came to an end but he must have been succeeded by his son Vidyādhara some time before 1019 A. D. For Ibn ul-Athīr tells us that in the year A. H. 409 (a mistake for A. H. 410) Māḥmūd of Ghazni marched against India to protect his territories from a threatened attack by Bīdā. This king, we are told, 'was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory; he had the largest armies; and his country was named Kajuraho' جوراهو. We are further told that some time before this date Bīdā, after a 'long quarrel,' had fought and killed 'Rajaypāl,' the ruler of Kanauj for 'his flight and the surrendering of his territories to the Musalmans.'

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1 Ibid., pp. 333 and 336, Va. 8-7.
4 TKA, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-116; see also edition by Tornberg published in 1920, Vol. IX, p. 213. This edition also gives the name as بیدا. But the editor notices a variant in some MSS. as Bandā بندی which may have been mistaken in the earlier Persian chronicles as Nandā. The published edition of KZA (ed. by Muḥammad Nazim, Berlin, 1928, p. 76) gives the name as بندی. This was perhaps the original source of Nīgan ud-Din. The stages of corruption were probably therefore: (1) بندی (2) بندی (3) نندی. On enquiry I find that even now in many parts of Bundelkhand the popular way of pronouncing ی sounds after dental is simply by an ی. Thus they would pronounce pratīkhyāna as prāṭikhyāna, and not pratīkhyāna, as is done in many parts of U. P. That
truth of the last statement of Ibn ul-Athīr is demonstrated by the Dubkund inscription of the Kacchapaghāta Vikramasimha (V.S. 1145), which tells us that one of his predecessors named Arjuna, being anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādharā, had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla. The statement is also supported by a Candella inscription from Mahoba which informs us that Vidyādharā "caused the destruction of the king of Kanauj." These facts show that by the year 1019 A.D., Vidyādharā had come to be regarded as the most powerful ruler of India. The policy of Dhaṅga, who ceased to pay even a nominal homage to the throne of Kanauj, was thus successfully carried to its logical conclusion by his grandson when the latter forcibly uprooted the effete successor of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla.

It is difficult to trace the actual limits of Vidyādharā's dominions. The Dubkund inscription certainly indicates that the Kacchapaghāta rulers of that place were his vassals, and his power probably extended in the west along the east bank of the river Chambal. Another Candella inscription tells us that Bhojadeva, together with Kalacuri-candra worshipped (Vidyādharā) "this master of warfare full of fear, like a pupil." Bhojadeva of this passage has been rightly identified with the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā of that name. It is also likely the prince referred to as Kalacuri-candra is to be identified with the Muslims followed the popular pronunciation of names and not the Sanskritic pronunciation of the Pandits is shown by the fact that Birānt gives the name of the capital of Gangeya as Tīvra, the predecessor of the modern Tevar, and not Tripuri. See KH, Trans., by Sachau, Vol. I, p. 292.

1 *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 297, lines 10, etc.


3 That the ruler of Gwalior was also a vassal of the Candellas is probably shown by the fact that Nisān ud-Dīn when describing the invasion of Nandā's territory by Mahmūd in 413 A. H., says: He invaded the kingdom of Nandā, and when he reached the fort of Gwalior he laid siege to it. At the end of four days the Commandant (or governor ; عیر) of the fort sent envoys, See *TA*, Trans., p. 14. Text (Bibliotheca Indica), p. 15; *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 392 and fn. 2 on that page.

the Cedi ruler Kokalla II. ¹ If these identifications are accepted it seems likely that the weight of Vidyādhara's arms was felt in the S. W. and the S. E. as far as the sources of the Chambal and the Narbada. In the north after the defeat and the death of Rājyapāla his authority possibly extended over the Ganges-Jumna Doāb. There was therefore not much exaggeration in the account of Ibn ul-Athîr when he described Vidyādhara as the most powerful Indian prince of the time. We can also believe Nizām ud-Dīn when he tells us that he mustered an army consisting of 36,000 horsemen, 145,000 foot soldiers and 390 elephants to oppose the advance of Maḥmūd in 410 A. H.² We have elsewhere discussed the reasons that led Maḥmūd to invade India on this occasion.³ We have seen how 'Partū-Jaypāl,' after unsuccessfully trying to resist Maḥmūd’s advance on the Rāhib, started to meet Bīdā. Before however he could effect any junction with the Candella ruler he was surprised and killed by some Indians.⁴ After this incident Maḥmūd plundered Bāri, and 'started in pursuit of Bīdā.' According to Ibn ul-Athîr Maḥmūd overtook him on the bank of a river, and after having diverted the stream into new channels came into touch with the Indian camp. The same author gives the following account of the battle that followed: "Yamīn ud-Daulah sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bīdā also sent out against him a similar number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them."⁵ Nizām ud-Dīn supplies

¹ Ibid. p. 219.
² TA (Bibliotheca Indica), Trans., p. 12. Ibn ni-Athîr gives the number of the army as 50,000 cavalry, 184,000 (?) infantry and 745 elephants; see TKA, p. 216. The KZA, (p. 76) gives the figures as 36,000 cavalry, 145,000 (40,1000,87) infantry and 640 elephants. Firishta gives the number as 36,000 cavalry, 45,000 infantry, and 640 elephants; Briggs's Trans., Vol. I, p. 61. As Firishta generally closely follows Nizām ud-Dīn, 45,000 may be a mistake for 145,000.
⁴ TKA, p. 216.
⁵ Ibid.
a somewhat different account of these incidents. He says:
"When the Sultan encamped in front of Nanda's army, he first sent an envoy to him and invited him to submit, and to accept Islam. Nanda refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of Nanda's army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the giver of all mercies."

Both the accounts bear evidence to the military power of the Candella ruler, on whom had now fallen the task of resisting the encroachments of Islam in the Ganges-Jumna valley. According to Nizam ud-Din there was no fight between the two armies. Nanda, as he lay encamped is said to have become alarmed, and fled at night 'with a few special companions, leaving the army, and all the munitions of war behind.' I am rather disposed to place more credence on the earlier account of the Kamil, and believe that there was a fierce though indecisive battle between the armies before the Candella beat a strategic retreat under cover of the night. This version to me seems to be more consistent with the Muslim account of Bidar's power and prestige. According to Ibn ul-Athir, when Mahmud found 'the land deserted,' each party of the Hindu army 'having gone a different way,' he plundered the Candella camp and went in pursuit of the Hindu army. He is said to have overaken them 'in forests and thickets,' and slain and captured a large number; but 'Bidar escaped single-handed and Yamin ud-Daulah returned victorious to Ghazna.' An instance of the exaggerations of later historians is afforded by Nizam ud-Din's account of the spoils that fell into the hands of

1 T4, Trans., p. 12. A similar account is also found in KZA, p. 76.
2 On account of the diversion of the stream, the strategic importance of the field chosen by Vidyadhara to resist Mahmud must have considerably diminished.
Mahmūd after this victory. According to the Kāmil Mahmūd found 'treasures and weapons,' in the Hindu camp. According to the Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī 'immense quantities of booty,' including 580 elephants, fell into the hands of the army of Islām.

According to Nigām ud-Dīn and Firishtha, Mahmūd again invaded Nandā's territory in the year 413 A. H. (1022 A. D.). The campaign in 410 A. H. did not bear any decisive results and Mahmūd apparently wanted to force a conclusion. We are told that the Ghazni ruler advanced into the territory of Nandā and besieged the fortress of Gwalior. At the end of four days the commandant (حکم) of the fort submitted and paid a tribute of 35 elephants. The Sultan is then said to have invested the fort of Kālanjara, 'which has no equal in the whole country of Hindustan for strength and impregnability.' The siege lasted for a considerable time, when Nandā, the ruler of the fort offered 300 elephants as a tribute and begged for safety. When these elephants were let loose from inside the fort, without any drivers, the Sultan ordered that the Turks should catch hold of them and mount them. The troops in the fort were astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks. Nandā then sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue (زبان هندی), in praise of the Sultan. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets who were in attendance on him.

1 Briggs's Trans. of the TP, Vol. I, p. 66, gives the date as A. H. 414 but the Lucknow Text (Vol. I, p. 31) gives the date as 413 A. H.; so it is likely that there is a mistake in the translation.

2 The title حکم which usually means a Commandant or a Governor, shows that the Gwalior ruler was a feudatory of the Candellas. The KFA (p. 79) gives بَلَّار (بلار); commandant. Firishtha who is later in time, has رَاجُم (راجوم) which is more ambiguous.

3 KZA (p. 80) has لعاقب-هندی. (لغت هندی).

4 Firishtha has 'learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia.' Briggs's Trans., Vol. I, p. 67. This is perhaps the earliest reference to Hindi poetry. As Muslim writers like Biruni or Amir Khusraw refer to Sanskrit as Sanskrit, it is not likely that Hindi is here an adjective of the word Hind (India) meaning Sanskrit, the language par excellence of Hind. Another fact which makes it probable that Hindi here means Hindustāni is the date of the earliest of the Hindi poets so far known, viz., Masʿud ibn Saʿd, who lived in
They all praised them. The Sultan sent his congratulations, and a mandate conferring the command of 15 fortresses and other presents in return for them. Nandā also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultan. From that place the Sultan returned (to Ghazna) with victory and triumph."

It is clear from the account of these Musalman writers that Mahmūd could not repeat the success which he obtained against the effete Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers when he captured the 7 forts of Kanauj in a single day. Even after 'a considerable time,' he evidently could not capture the fort of Kalaṅjara, and the campaign ended in mutual gifts and compliments which appear to have been euphemistically represented by his historians as 'tribute.'² The friendly relations thus established between Mahmūd and the Candellas may have continued till at least 1029 A.D., when the former seized one of Seljuq's sons and is reported to have sent him as a prisoner to the fort of 'Kalanjar' in India.³

the court of Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Māḥmūd, and died c. 515 or 525 A.H. (1121 or 1130 A.D.). Nasūd's family were immigrants from Hamdan in Persia and his Diwan of Arabic, Persian, and Hindi verses are referred to by Amir Khusrow. It is thus clear that at the beginning of the 12th century Hindi as a literature was so well known that even foreigners composed verses in it. It is not unlikely that a 100 years before this the beginnings of Hindi may be traced to the courts of the Indian princes, who had to carry on intercourse with the Muslim rulers on the frontier. I am indebted for the name and date of Nasūd to Dr. M. W. Mirza of Lucknow University.

¹ TA, Trans., p. 14. EZA, pp. 79-86. This authority mentions in addition the payment of Ḫuṣra by Nandā as one of the conditions of peace. TF, Briggs Trans., Vol. I, pp. 66-67. Thu al-Athir does not mention any Indian invasions under the year 413 A.H. But under A.H. 414 he refers to Māḥmūd's conquest of a strong Indian fort situated on the top of a high mountain containing sufficient water and provisions and 500 elephants. I am disposed to identify this fort with Kalaṅjara. But in that case we shall have to correct the Kāmil's date by one year: see Vol. IX, p. 124.

² It would certainly be an exaggeration to represent him as a 'coward,' who 'capitulated without fighting.' IA, 1909, p. 112. In using these later historians one has always to guard against a tendency to exaggerate Māḥmūd's achievements.

³ Browne, Literary History of Persia, 1915, p. 170; Ṣuhail uṣūdūr, Ed. by Muhammad Iqbal, 1921, p. 103. But it seems more likely that this Kalaṅjar is to be identified with the Kalīṅjara of Kāḷīṅjara of Kalaṅga and Kāḷīṅjar of Fīrishta, situated on the frontiers of Kashmir. See DHNI, Vol. I, p. 153, fn. 2.
The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman gives us the name of an officer of Vidyādharas court, the "virtuous Sivanāga" son of Prabhāsa, the chief Mantri of Dhaṅga and Ganda. We are told that Sivanāga 'as soon as he had assumed the post of minister (Sacīva-pada), alone, by his excellent conduct made the government of the king Vidyādharas one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth.¹

Vidyādharas was succeeded sometime after A. H. 413 (A. D. 1022) and before V. S. 1107 the first known date of his grandson Devavarman, by his son Vijayapāla. The latter's name and position in the dynastic table are known from a number of Candella inscriptions.² But these documents supply practically no information about the political incidents of his reign. One epigraph tells us that he was a nrpendra, while another praises his virtuous conduct and bravery and tells us that his reign 'put an end to the Kali age.' The only piece of information of any importance is the name of his minister (Sacīva) Mahipāla, supplied by the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman.³ We are told that Mahipāla sustained 'to its full extent, the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapāla' and, uniting valour with blameless policy 'became the standard of comparison among good ministers.'

Vijayapāla was succeeded sometime before V. S. 1107 by Devavarman his son by his queen Bhuvanadevi. The existence of this prince is known from his grant, which was discovered at the village of Nanyaura, in the Panwari Jaitpur Tahsīl of the Hamirpur District of U. P. along with a grant of Dhaṅgadeva.⁴ The plate which is written on one side only, contains 19 lines of writing. The inscription opens with Om svasti,

and then traces the genealogy of the donor as follows: Pb.-M.-P. Vidyādhara-deva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.P.-Vijaya-pāla-deva-pādānu-dhyāta-Pb.-M.P.-Paramamāheśvara-Kālamjarādhipati Devavarma-deva. This prince in (V.)S.1107 (A.D. 1051), from his residence at Suhaavāsa, on the occasion of the anniversary (Sānants-sarike) of his mother the vījñā Bhuvanadevi, granted the village of Kāthahau (?) situated in Raṇamaua in the Rājapura-avasthā, to the Brāhman Abhimanyu, an emigrant from the Bhatta-grāma named Dhakārī. The grant ends with the name of the donor 'Srimad-Devavarma-devah.' 1 The Candella records refer to no political incidents of his reign. In some of these he is altogether omitted. The Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, for instance, mentions Kṛttivarman after Vijayapāla. 2 The same thing is done in the Deogarh rock-inscription of Kṛttivarman and a fragmentary Candella stone inscription from Mahoba. 3 All these inscriptions however describe Kṛttivarman as son of Vijayapāla. It is therefore likely that Devavarma was succeeded by his younger brother Kṛttivarman. Though it is not unusual for the compilers of royal genealogies to omit a brother from the family tree, there are reasons to suspect that this omission may have been more than casual. The Prabodha-candrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra, which allegorically represents in the form of a drama the eternal struggle between Viveka and Mahā-mōha, supplies the following interesting information on the point. 4 We are told in the introductory portion of the play that the 'glorious Gopāla has ordered it to be produced before king Kṛttivarman.' This Gopāla is called Sakala sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmanī, who like Paraśurāma extirpated the race of tyrannical kings: "His merciless battle axe spared neither

1 The grant was first published by V. A. Smith in the JASB, Vol. XLVII. Part I, p. 61. It was then properly edited by Kainborn in the IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-02 and 201-07. The plate is now in the Bengal Asiatic Society.
4 The text has been printed at The Nṛṣeṣa-Nāgara Press, Bombay. There is an imperfect translation by J. Taylor, London, 1812.
women, child, nor old age: it cleft the broad shoulders of the enemy, and its stroke was followed by a dreadful sound.  

In other passages Gopāla is compared with the Man-lion incarnation (Nṛsimha-rūpa) and with the primeval boar (Mahā-varāha) who 'raised up the earth when it had sunk in the waters of destruction, poured down upon its sovereigns.' These passages indicate that Gopāla acted as the saviour in a time of great crisis. Several passages tell us that his services were undertaken in the interest of Kṛtivarman. One passage runs as follows: "Gopāla, whose glory fills the universe, who, aided by his sword as his friend conquered the lords of men and has invested with the sovereignty of the earth (Sāmrājya) Kṛtivarman, the chief of princes (narapati-tīlaka)." Elsewhere we are told that Gopāla when engaged in the digvijaya-vyāpāra of Kṛtivarmanadeva became viśaya-rasāśvāda-dūśita. Thus it is clear that Gopāla must have acted as a saviour to the fortune of the Candellas when she was overwhelmed by the attack of enemies. The name of these enemies is contained in the following statement of the Sūtrakritāna: "His anger was roused to re-establish the sovereigns of the race of the Moon, who had been dethroned by the lord of Cedi, the Rudra and Fire of destruction of all royal families of the earth (sakala-bhūpā-la-kula-pralaya-kalāgni-rudra)." The Naṭi also refers to the victory of Gopāla over the armies of the confederacy of kings (sakala-rāja-mandala) and of Karna, and compares him with the Madhumathana who obtained Lakṣmi by churning the ocean. In another place Gopāla, having overcome the strong Karna is said to have caused the rise of the illustrious king Kṛtivarman just as discrimination having overcome strong delusion gave rise to knowledge.  

1 I, 3; I, 67.  
2 I, 4.  
3 I, 6.  
to above are also supported by epigraphic evidence. Thus verse 26 of a Candella inscription at Mahoba records that Kirtivarman conquered Lakṣmī-Karna: **“Just as Purusottama (Viṣṇu), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain Mandara) the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakṣmī together with the elephants (of the eight regions),—he (viz., Kirtivarman), having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakṣmī-Karna, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants.”**

These victories are also referred to in V. 3 of the stone inscription of the Candella Viravarman. The verse runs as follows:

“In that (race) there was a ruler over the earth whose fame was sung by the Vidyādharaś, (who was) the pitcherc-born (Agastya) in swallowing that ocean—Karna, (and) the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom (Prajeśvaro nātana-rāja-sṛṣṭau...),—the illustrious Kirtivarman.”

Though there is some difference in the epigraphic and literary evidence, the former giving all the credit of the victory to Kirtivarman and the latter to his chief Sāmenta Gopāla, yet there is fundamental agreement in the statement that the Candella power was for sometime completely eclipsed by the victories of Lakṣmī-Karna, the Kālacuri king of Dāhala (c. 1042–70). The Prabodha-candrodaja distinctly says that ‘the race of the moon’ (the Candellas) was dethroned by the lord of Cedi, while one inscription gives to Kirtivarman the credit of recreating

1 El., Vol. I, pp. 219–20 and 222. Hultzsch has noticed the ‘curious coincidence’ of this verse and the Prakrit passage in the Prabodha-candrodaja, where Gopāla is compared with Madhumathana and the army of Karna with the milk-ocean; see ibid.

2 Ibid., pp. 327 and 329. Compare also lines 5–9 of the fragmentary Kālaśajra Candellas inscription in JALS, Vol. XVII, p. 317, which appear to refer to the same incident in similar verse.

3 I am disposed to think that the victories were really gained by the Sāmenta, for otherwise a drama in which that claim was so forcibly expressed could not have been staged before the reigning king.

II—5
like the Creator the kingdom (of the Candellas). The destruction of the Candella kingdom is also referred to by Bilhaṇa, who describes Karṇa, the lord of Dāhala, as 'the death to the lord of Kālaṇjara mountain' (Kālaṇa Kālaṇjara-giri-puter yah). It is therefore certain that Karṇa, whose contact with the kings of Northern India from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal is established on authentic documents, and who is said to have dominated India from the borders of Kashmir to the southernmost point of the Indian peninsula, must have held in subjection the Candella territory for some period before his defeat at the hands of Gopāla, the Brāhman general of Kīrtivarman. It is not unlikely, as the statement of Bilhaṇa seems to indicate, that one of the predecessors of Kīrtivarman may have even lost his life in the wars with the Kalacuris.

The curious silence of the prakāṣṭikāras regarding the achievements of Vijayapāla and the omission of Devavarman from the family tree may therefore be explained to some extent by the fact that their reigns represented one of the darkest chapters in the dynastic history of the Candellas. We have traced how step by step their power increased till in the reign of Vidyādhera they were regarded by the Muslim writers as the most powerful kings in India. But the defeats which they inflicted on their Kalacuri neighbours since the days of Yaśovarman were at last reversed with disastrous results. In spite of Kīrtivarman's claims to have regained his dominions, the Candella power never really recovered from the blow inflicted upon it by Lakṣmī-Karṇa. Though it lingered long before it fell a prey to the Muslims, it could never again gain a predominant position in the chequered history of Northern India.

It is difficult to fix the time of these alleged victories of Kīrtivarman. His only date so far known is V, S, 1154 (A.D. 1098). The approximate dates of the other princes of

1 Vikramāṅka-deva-carita. Ed. by Bühler, XVIII, 93.
2 See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, my chapter on the Haïhayas (Kalacuria).
India who also claim to have defeated Lakṣmi-Karna (c. 1042-1070 A.D.), are as follow:  

(a) Cālukya Someśvara of Kalyāṇī—c. 1040-69 A.D.  
(b) Caulukya Bhīma of Anahilapattana,—c. 1021-64 A.D.  
(c) Vigrahapāla of Bengal and Bihar—c. 1055-81 A.D.  
(d) Udayāditya of Mālava—c. 1059 A.D.  

These however do not help us to arrive at any definite conclusions. But if the Basahi plate of the Gṛhaḍavāla Govindaacandra can be trusted, Lakṣmi-Karna must have sustained his defeat sometime before c. 1090-1104 A.D. For it tells us that ‘when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karna, the world became troubled, Candradeva (c. 1090-1104) came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyākubja.’ An earlier date than 1090 A.D. is supplied by the Kahirha grant of Yaśāhkarna, dated in (K.) Svamvat 829, which indicates that Karna abdicated his throne in favour of his son some time before 1073 A.D.  

An interesting piece of evidence of Kalacuri occupation of the Candella territories is probably supplied by the series of Candella coins which start from the reign of Kṛttivarman. The coins of Kṛttivarman so far discovered are of gold only, and, with the exception of the legend, are almost exact copies of the coins of the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of Lakṣmi-Karna. It is therefore likely that the Candellas retained the Kalacuri type of coinage, which probably became extensively current in Jejā-bhukti during the period of occupation by Karna.  

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2 IA, Vol. XIV, pp. 102-03, lines 3-5. For the earliest date of Candradeva, see his Candavasti grant dated in 1090 A.D.; EI, Vol. IX, p. 302.  
3 See CMF, pp. 77-79, and No. 12 on plate XIII; ASR, Vol. II, pp. 459-59; Vol. X, pp. 25-26, plate X, No. 8. CCIM, pp. 251 and 253, No. 1. According to Cunningham the seated :nimbutie four-armed goddess on the obverse side is Pārvatī, but according to others it is Lakṣmi; see IA, 1908, p. 147. The coins are of two denominations, dramma (approximately 63 grains), and ḍramma (approximately 81 grains).  
4 It is however curious that we have not so far discovered any coins of so powerful a king as Lakṣmi-Karna.
Besides these gold coins the only other important record of Kirtivarman is his Deogarh Rock Inscription:

'This inscription is on a rock near the river-gate of the fort of the town of Deogarh, situated at the western end of the tableland of the Lalitpur range of hills, immediately overhanging the river Betwa.' It contains 8 lines; opening with *Oṃ om namah Śiva-ya*, it traces the genealogy of the illustrious prince Kirtivarman, son of king Vijayapāla and grandson of the renowned prince Viśyādhara, of the *Candella-canda*. V. 5 introduces us to this king's 'chief counsellor among his ministers' (*Aṃṭīya-mantra-indra*), Vatsarāja, who had gone forth (*vi-nirgata*) from Ramanāpurā. This officer, we are told, 'quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (*mandala*) by his counsel and valour,' and made 'this fort Kṛti-giri.'

The immediate object of this inscription was to record the building of a flight of steps named after him *Vatsarāja-ghaṭa*. The date, (V.) *Somcat 1154* (A.D.1008), comes at the end.

The Prabodha-candrodaya gives us the name of Gopāla, who was one of the prominent *Śaṃantas* in the court of Kirtivarman. The record mentioned above supplies us with the name of another official, *viz.*, Vatsa who appears to have conquered the Betwa valley for his master. Besides these two, the Candella records mention the names of two more officers of this king. One of these was Ananta, son of Mahīpāla, who served as a minister of Vijayapāla. The Maṇ inscription of the time of Madanavarman tells us that Ananta combined in himself 'spotless sacred knowledge,' bravery and efficiency in 'the very high office of counselling,' and was the approved minister of the

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1 Cunningham suggested that a temple of Śiva, the remains of which he discovered at Mahoba, 'was probably built in the time of Kirtivarman,' see *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 441. V. A. Smith suggested that the lakes named Kiraś Sagar at Mahoba and Chanderi (in Lalitpur) were also the work of this king. Kirtivarman's name is also connected with buildings at Kalaṅjar and Ajaigard. See *I.A*., 1908, p. 111.

2 A transcript of the inscription accompanied by a photograph, was first published by Cunningham; see his *ASR*, Vol. X, p. 103, and plate XXXIII. It was then edited by Hultzsch in the *IA*, Vol. XI, pp. 311-12; finally edited by Kielhorn in *ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237-39.
king Kirtivarman.¹ The Ajigarh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavaran mentions the name of another officer, the Vastavya-Kayastha Maheśvara. We are told that he received the title of Viśiṣa of Kālanjara, accompanied by the grant of Pipalāhikā, from Kirtivarman, 'the crest-jewel of the princes of the yellow mountain districts (pitasaila-viṣayaśu).²

Kirtivarman was succeeded by his son Sallakṣaṇa-varman or Hallakṣaṇavarman. The latter name is found on his coins.³ His gold drammas and quarter-drammas belong to the same type as those of his father; but his copper drammas on the obverse substitute the figure of the Hanumān under a canopy in the place of the four-handed seated goddess. Unfortunately no inscription of this king has so far been discovered.⁴ But the records of his successors contain some information about his reign. Thus the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, after praising him in vague terms for his prowess, victory and liberality, seems to hint at his success against some unknown enemies in the Dub between the Ganges and the Jumna (Antarvedi-viṣaya).⁵ One of his officers is said to have utterly defeated his foes 'by excess of his heroism,' and 'dissipated the fears of the subjects by clearing the country of thorns.'

¹ EJ, Vol. I, pp. 200 and 205. Vs. 21-31. Ananta claims to have served at different times as mantri mantrādhikāre, bāṣy-āvā-nātā, pura-balā-thukṣa and abhūmanas of the king.
² Ibid., pp. 333 and 339, V, 9, 10. The name pita-saila-viṣaya has not yet been mist with elsewhere and has not been identified. The word Viṣiṣa of this record needs explanation. It was certainly an administrative post.
³ CMI, p. 70, Nos. 14-16, plate VIII. ASR, Vol. II, pp. 438-39. Vol. X, p. 98, plate X, No. 6 g, 7 g, and 8 g. The change of a sound into h is quite common in some N. Indian vernaculars, e.g., hind for adā; he for ae in some forms of spoken Bengali.
⁴ A fragmentary stone inscription, written in Nagari characters of about the 11th or the 12th century, was discovered on the walls of the ruined fort of Jhanai. Lane 2 of this inscription refers to the Ganges as the resting-place of Kānya-kubja. It also appears to mention the (Candella) Kirtivarman and (the Malwa rulers) Udayaditya. The record belongs to the illustrious Sallakṣaṇa-sinhā. Kielhorn did not see 'any cogent reason' for identifying him 'with the Candella Sallakṣaṇavarman or for assigning this inscription to the Candella ruler.' See EJ, Vol. I, pp. 214-17. The inscription is now in the Lucknow Museum.
The Ajajigarah rock-inscription of Bhojavaranman tells us that Sallakṣaṇa’s ‘sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Čedis.’¹ We have seen that in the previous reign the revived Candella power was extending its influence on the Betwa. It is not unlikely therefore that Sallakṣaṇa may have carried out successful raids in the Paramāra territory in Malwa from the Kirtti-giri-dūga. The contemporary Malwa king was most probably Naravarman (c. 1104 A.D.), the grandson of Udayāditya. The Čedi contemporary of Sallakṣaṇa was most probably Yaśāh-Karna (c. 1073-1125 A.D.), the son of Lakṣmī-Karna. It is difficult to decide who may have been the enemies of the Candella king in the Antarvedi. But if Sallakṣaṇa’s objective in invading the Ganges-Jumna Doāb was to capture Kanauj he may have come into conflict with the Rāśtrakūṭa prince Gopāla or one of his predecessors who ruled over the city about this period.² As the Gahaḍavāla Candradeva claims to have conquered Kanauj between c 1094-1104, it seems probable that the attempt of the Candellas to control the Doāb proved abortive.

As to the names of the officers who served under this king, the Manu stone-inscription of Madanavarman informs us that the Brāhmaṇ Ananta, who held various responsible posts under Kirtivarman, continued to serve under his son.³ The same inscription tells us that Vatsa, Gadaḥara, Vāmana and Pradyumna, the four sons of the abovementioned officer after ‘being properly tried,’ were all appointed to suitable posts by

¹ Iṣṭ. p. 327, V. 4.
² Iṣṭ. Vol. XVII, pp. 61-64. Kielhorn read the date as V.S.1276. It was corrected by W. Hoey in JASB, 1893, Vol. LXI, Extra No., pp. 57-64, and the correction, V.S. 1176, was accepted by Kielhorn in Iṣṭ. Vol. XXIV, p. 176; Eṣṭ. Vol. 1, p. 61-66; see also JASB, 1925, pp. 103-06. It is possible that the lunar line of Kanyakubja, who appear to trace their descent to one Jayanta, and who are referred to in the Jñāni fragmentary stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇasaṁhitā, may have been the predecessors of the Rāśtrakūṭas in Kanauj. It is interesting to notice that the line of Jayanta seems to have been connected with the Čalukyas, the traditional enemies of the Rāśtrakūṭas; see Eṣṭ. Vol. 1, pp. 214-17.
king Sallakṣaṇavarma. Of these, Gādādhara appears to have been the officer responsible for the success of the king in the Antarvedi.

Sallakṣaṇavarma was succeeded by his son Jayavarman. Though some of the inscriptions omit him and his father from the dynastic lists, his existence is established by epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Thus the Ajaygarh inscription of the time of Vītravarman distinctly tells us that ‘after him (Sallakṣaṇa), the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom.’ The close proximity of the succession of these two princes is also proved by the Mau stone-inscription of the time of Madanavarman, which informs us that when Ananta, who had served under the successive reigns of Kirtivarman and Sallakṣaṇa, ‘abandoned his body in the waters of (the river of) the gods and the daughter of the Sun’ (i.e., at the confluences of the Ganges and the Yamuna), his son Gādādhara ‘was eagerly appointed by king Jayavarman, near his own person, in the office of Pratihāra.’

The only epigraphic record of this king so far known is the Khajraha stone-inscription dated in (V.)S. 1173 (c. A.D. 1117), which contains a renewed document of king Dhaṅga. It is curious that this inscription does not contain any names of the princes who ruled between Dhaṅga and Jayavarman. In the two concluding verses (Vs. 63-64) we are simply told that the above record was ‘caused to be (re-)written in clear letters by Jayavarmadeva-nṛpatī.’ It was re-written by the learned Gauḍa Jayapāla, the Kāyastha of the above prince.

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., p. 206, Vs. 38-39 and Fn. 75. The fragmentary Candella inscription which Cunningham discovered at Mahoba in 1863 refers to a son of Kirtivarman in V. 39 (Āśī tadiya-tanayogabhūte). But as 46 syllables of this verse, as well as the remainder of this inscription are lost, we cannot say definitely to whose time this inscription really belongs. For the inscription which is now in the Lucknow Museum, see Cunningham ASR, XXI, pp. 71-72, plate XXI, EI, Vol. I, pp. 217-22.
5 Ibid., p. 206, V. 40.
6 Ibid, p. 147, lines 33-34.
is known about the political incidents of this king's reign. His copper *drammas* (grains 60) are close imitations of those of his father.¹ Cunningham noticed a solitary silver coin in the collection of the British Museum; but it cannot be traced now.²

According to the Ajnigah rock-inscription of Viravarman, Jayavarman was succeeded by Prthivavarman. The Angasi plate of Madanavarman tells us that the *Pb.-M.-P.* Prthivarmadeva meditated on the feet of (Pādanudhyāta) *Pb.-M.-P.* Kirtivarman. The suspicion that the former was therefore a son of the latter is confirmed by verse 12 of the Mau inscription of Madanavarman, which describes Prthivivarman as 'the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallakṣana-varman.'³ It is therefore clear that the uncle succeeded his nephew. The suggestion that 'Jayavarman left no capable issue'⁴ though unsupported by any evidence, is not impossible. Lines 10 and 11 of an imperfectly edited Kalinjar inscription however seem to indicate that Jayavarman 'being wearied of government,' abdicated his throne in favour of his successor.⁵ Prthivivarman's copper coins of the usual type with the figure of the 'monkey-god' on the obverse were known to Cunningham.⁶ The Mau inscription referred to above supplies us with the name of an officer of this reign. It tells us that Gadādhara, who had served the last king in the office of Pratīhāra, and who was well-versed, in science, military exercises, and secret counsel, was 'subsequently appointed chief of the ministers (Mantri-mukhya) by Prthivivarman.'⁷

² *IA*, 1898, p. 147.
⁴ *IA*, 1908, p. 192.
If from the silence of the official praśastikārās we conclude that the last two reigns were not a particularly brilliant period of the Candellas' history, there is evidence to show that the reign of the next king, Madanavarman, the son of Prthvirarman, marks a successful epoch in their annals. This is evident from the following list of the number and distribution of his inscriptions (c. 1129-63 A. D.) and coins:

(1) Kalinjar pillar-inscription.—It is incised on a pillar in the temple of Nilakanṭha, inside the fort of Kalinjar. The record opens with 'adoration to Śrī-Nilakanṭha,' and then gives the date, (V.) Samvat 1186 (A. D. 1129), with the name of Mahārāja-Śrī-Madanavarmanadeva. Next come the names of Mahāpratikāra Saṃgrāmasimha and Mahānacanī Padmāvatī. The inscription ends with lāmsuḥ Auji (which according to Cunningham means written by Auji). The inscription is fragmentary, but it evidently recorded some benefactions by the two persons mentioned above. Cunningham took them to be 'two of the permanent attendants attached to the Nilakanṭha shrine, one being the chief doorkeeper and the other the chief of the dancing girls.' But it is probable that Saṃgrāmasimha was an official of the state, while Padmāvatī may have occupied the post of the chief court danseuse.¹

(2) Kalinjar broken pillar-inscription.—It is said to have been found originally in the temple of Nilakanṭha within the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with Om, and then gives the date (V.) Samvat 1187 (A. D. 1130) with the name Śrīmad-Madanavarmanadeva. Next occur the words Kālanjarādri Śrī-Trisalka........ The inscription is incomplete; but it evidently described some benefaction by the person mentioned last.²

(3) Kalinjar rock-inscription.—It contains nine lines, and is incised 'on the rock to the left, or north, side of the temple of Nilakanṭha in the fort of Kalinjar. It opens with Om

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¹ ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 34, plate X, A.
² Ibid., p. 34, plate X, B. In 1884-85 the piece of broken pillar which contained the inscription was lying at the police-station at Kalinjar.
svasti, and then gives the name, Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-
Śrī-Kālaṇjarādhipati-Śrī-Madanavarmadeva. During his reign
the following worshippers of-his lotus feet, viz., 'Mahārājputra-
Śrī-Solhana-suta-maha(ā?)-Sahankika maha(ā?)-Selaita-Kuma
(ā?)ra-Kulakumalenu Mahārājputra-Śrī-Vacha (Vatsa?)-vāja-
deva-Śrī-Kavidyaṁka-Achoda-Rāuta-Śrī-Udaya,' set up an
image (mūrti) of Nilakantha. The image was the work of the
Rūpakāra Lahada, son of the Śatrudhāra Rāma and the Rūpa-
kāra Lakṣmīdharā. The inscription ends with the date (V.)
Saṃvat 1188 (A. D. 1131).^1

(4) Augasi grant.—The plate was found in the Augasi
Pargana in the Barberu Tahsil of the Banda district, U. P.
The inscription contains 19 lines, and is incised on one side of
a single copper plate. There is a ring-hole at the lower
part of the plate; but 'the ring with the seal attached
to it' is lost. In the upper-middle part of the plate
however there is engraved the figure of the goddess Lakṣmī
sitting in the Padmāsana with an elephant at each side
'standing on what looks like an expanded water lily,^2
pouring water over her head.' The inscription opens with Om svasti
and a verse praising the princes of the Candrātreya-vamśa. In
that family lustrous because of the appearance of Jayaśakti and
Vijayaśakti, arose Pb.-M.-P.-Kirtivarmadeva pādāṇudhyāta-Pb.
-M.-P.-Prthvivarma-deva-pādāṇudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamā-
heśvara-Kālaṇjarādhipati-Madanavarmadeva. Then follows some
vague praise of the last ruler, after which we are told that
this king, from his residence near Bhailasvāmin (mod. Bhilsa)
granted a piece of land measuring 10 ploughs (hala) of the village

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1 The inscription was first edited in JASB, 1848 Vol. XVII. Part I, pp. 321-29,
No. 4, as an appendix to Majma's 'account of the antiquities of Kalinjar.' Cunningham
re-edited it in his JAR, Vol. XXI. pp. 34-35, plate X. C. Rāuta is an abbreviation of
Rājaputra; see EI, Vol. IV, p. 154.

2 This is the view of Kielhorn. To me a comparison with the Lakṣmī on Somra plates,
EI, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 166, seems to indicate that what that scholar took to be expanded
water lilies is really an imperfect representation of the two other arms of the Gaja-
Lakṣmī.
Vambaraḍā in the Sudali-visaya to a Brāhman who was an emigrant from the village of Dhakāri, in the (V.) Sanevat 1190 (A. D. 1134). The inscription was written by the Dharmalekhi (law-writer?) Thāsisudha, and engraved by the Vijñānika Jhalana.¹

(5) Khajraho Jain image-inscription.—This inscription consists of a single line. It does not contain the name of the reigning king; but it refers to the sons of the Śreṣṭhin Pāni-dhara of the Grahapati family (anvaya which is well-known from the Khajraho stone inscription of Kokkala of the (V.) S. 1058. The inscription is dated in (V.) Sanevat 1205 (1147-48).²

(6) Ajaiagarh stone-inscription.—This epigraph consists of 18 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate in the fort of Ajaigarh (which is situated about 20 miles by road to the S. W. of Kalinjar). The inscription opens with Om, and then gives the date (V.) Sanevat 1208 (A. D. 1155). It next records that during the reign of Madanavarman a certain Rāuta Veda of the village of Korta, who was a Kṣatriya by caste (jāti), built something in Sirotha (?) in the Jayapura-durga for the use of all people. The record ends with the name of the Śūtra dhāra ThāŚrī-Suprata.³

(7) Mahoba Jaina image-inscription.—This consists of two

¹ This plate is now in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was first edited by Dr. B. L. Mitra in JASB. Vol. XLVII, Part I, p. 73, Revised by Kilburn in 1887 in the IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 202 and 207-10. The village Dhakāri is also mentioned in the plate of Devavarman; see DHNI, Vol. II, p. 696.
² EI, Vol. I, pp. 122-33. For other inscriptions which do not mention the king's name but whose dates fall within the reign of Madanavarman, see (1) ASB, Vol. XXI, p. 35, plate X, E. Kalinjar rock inscription; dedication of an image of Nrisinha in (V.) Sanevat 1192 by Thakura Nrisinha; (2) ibid, p. 35, plate X, E. Kalinjar cell (Ketri) Saiva inscription, containing a record of 2 Brāhmans, dated in (V.) S. 1194; (3) ibid, Vol. X, p. 7; Chandpur (half-way between Duda and Deogarh) pillar inscription, dated in V. S. 1207. This record is of an unknown person who belonged to Vaccha-gotra and Mahāpratihārānīyau; (4) JRAS, 1898, pp. 101-02; Harimani Jain image inscription; dedication of the image by the śreṣṭhin Muni of the Grahapati family of Manjilapura, in V. S. 1208. (5) and (6) ASB, Vol. II, pp. 449, Nos. 22 and 23; Khajraho (V. S. 1212) and Mahoba (V. S. 1225) inscriptions.
³ ASB, Vol. XXI, p. 49, plate XII, A.
lines, incised on the pedestal of an image of Neminatha. The second line contains the date (V.) Samh 1211 (A.D. 1155) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva. The inscription records the dedication of the image which was made by the rupakara Lakhana.

(8) Khajraho Jaina image-inscription.—This consists of a single line 'divided into two parts by a boss.' It opens with Om, and then gives the date (V.) Samvat 1215 (A.D. 1157-58) in the pravardhamana-vijaya rajas of Madanavarma-deva. On this date the image bearing the inscription was caused to be set up by the Sadhu Salleh, the son of Pahilla, who was the son of the Sresthin Dedu, of the Grahapati family. This inscription adds that the sons of Salleh Mahagana and others, 'always bow down to Sambhavanatha.' It ends with the name of the rupakara Ramadeva.

(9) Varidurga grant.—The Semra plates of Paramardi refer to a grant of his grandfather (pitamaha) which was issued when the latter was resident at Varidurga (mod. Barigar, N. 25°14', E. 80°6'), in the year (V.) S. 1219 (A.D. 1162). Among the villages granted is Madanapura, which has been identified with the modern village of the same name in the Jhansi district. Another village, Vadavari, is probably Berwara (N. 24°30', E. 78°41') while Dudhai may be the place of the same name (N. 24°26', E. 78°27') in the South of Lalitpur.

(10) Mahoba Jaina image-inscription.—This records the dedication of the image in the (V.) S. 1220 (A.D. 1163) in the reign of Madanavarmadeva.

(11) Mau stone-inscription.—This was discovered 'at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, in the Jhansi district' in the U. P. It consists of 29 lines; but a considerable portion of it is greatly damaged. There is no date

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1 Ibid, p. 73, plate XXII, D.
2 First edited by Cunningham, ASR, XXI, p. 61, D. It was re-edited by Kielland from an impression taken by Burgess in the El, Vol. I, p. 151.
3 El, Vol. IV, p. 158. For other place names which have been generally identified with places between 78°-79° E. and 24°-25° N., see ibid, p. 156.
in the preserved portion. The inscription is throughout in verse. Its proper object is to record the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu, the building of a tank near the village of Deddu and the execution of some other work of piety, by one of the king's ministers whose name appears to have been Gadādhara (verses 46-48); by way of introduction the inscription (in verses 3-16) gives a list of the Candella kings from Dhaṅga to Madana-varman and (in verses 17-45) an account of the family of the ministers of these kings to which Gadādhara belonged.1

(13) Coins.—Cunningham in 1862-65 noticed 4 gold (one large and 3 small) and two copper coins of this king.2 In his report on his tours in 1874-77 he noticed again one gold dramma (61 grains), three gold quarter-drammas (15 grains), and a copper quarter-dramma (15 grains).3 In 1894 the same scholar described and illustrated these three types of coins of Madana-varman in his Coins of Mediaeval India.4 In 1906 V. A. Smith in his Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, described one gold dramma and two gold quarter-
drammas of the same king.5 So far no silver coins had been noticed. In 1910 however a find consisting of 48 silver coins was found in a village named Panwar of the Teonthar Tahsil of the Rewah State. It consisted of 8 large (about 60 to 62½ grains) and 40 small (about 14½ to 16½ grains) silver coins of Madana-varman. They are 'exact copies' of the larger and smaller gold coins with the seated goddess on the reverse (or obverse, according to Cunningham).6 8

4 CMJ, p. 79, plate VIII, Nos. 19-21.
5 CCM, p. 293.
The above list certainly indicates a revival of the Cândella power. Inscriptions 1-3 and 5-7 show that he was the master of the four famous places, Kâlinjâr, Khâjraho, Ajaigarh and Mahoba, which are traditionally connected with the history of the Cândellas. The Augâsi and Mau inscriptions show his possession of the Banda and Jhânsi districts and the neighbouring regions. As the former inscription was issued from Bhilsa and the Vâridurgâ grant records gifts of places within 50 miles of that place, it may be gathered that the Cândella power had crossed the Betwa in the S.W. and advanced into the Paramârâ territory in Malwa. This inference is confirmed by Verse 15 of the inscription No. 11, which tells us that ‘the ruler of Mâlava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated’ by Mâdanavarman. It is difficult to identify the Mâlaveśa referred to in the verse. But he must have been one of the three Paramâra kings, Yâśovarman (A.D. 1134), Jayavarman, and Laksmîvarman (A.D. 1143), who seem to have ruled during the reign of Mâdanavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D.). The success of the Cândellas in this direction seems to have brought them into contact of the Caukukyas of Anâhilâpâtaka. The Gujarât chronicles refer to wars between Mâdanavarman and Siddharâja Jayasimha. We know from the Dyâśram-kâvyâ that Siddharâja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) conquered Ujjaïn. According to the Kirtikaumudi, Siddharâja went from Dhârâ to Kâlañjâra. The account in the Kumârapâlacakârita suggests that Siddharâja was compelled to come to terms and make peace. This agrees with the statement of a Kâlañjâra stone-inscription that Mâdanavarman ‘in an instant defeated the king of Gurjâra, as Krûpa in former times defeated Kamâsa.’ The identification of the Gurjârâsha of this passage with the Gurjârt king Siddharâja is

4 JASB, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 318, line 11. The tradition that Mâdanavarman defeated the king of Gurjâra is also recorded by the Hindu poet Chand, see IA, 1908, p. 144.
generally accepted. In the west the discovery of the Panwar hoard of his coins may indicate the possession of that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. Expansion on this side again brought him into conflict with the Kalacuris. This is proved by the claim made by the Mau stone-inscription that before his very name 'ever quickly flees the Cedi king, vanquished in fierce fight.' The defeated Cedi king may possibly be identified with Gaya-Karna (c. 1.51 A.D.), the son of Yasāṅkarna (c. 1073-1125 A.D.). In the north his relationship with the Gāhaḍavālas is indicated by the statement of the Mau inscription that through dread of him the king of Kāśi always passes his time in friendly behaviour. The Kāśirāja referred to in this passage is certainly the powerful king Govindacandra (c. 1114-68 A.D.). In the south, though there is no reliable evidence to indicate the extent of Candella power, tradition seems to connect their power with territory as far south as the Bhaner Range. It would therefore appear that the territories of Madanavarman were probably included more or less in the triangle of which the base was formed by the Vindhya, Bhaner and Kaimur ranges and the two sides by the rivers Betwa and Jumna and the northern boundary line of Baghelkhand. Madanavarman had a long reign. The dates on his records show that he ruled at least for 34 years.

A Kalinjar inscription mentions the name of Pratāpavarman as that of his younger brother. According to the Baghari stone-inscription of Paramardi, one Lāhada, born in the gotra of Vasiṣṭha, was placed at the head of all his Mantris by Madanavarman. The Brähman Gadādhara, who claims to have

3 Ibid.
4 IA, 1908, p. 144.
5 JASB, 1848, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 318, line 15. Though the inscription distinctly refers to Pratāpavarman as kṛṣṇa karnī, Vaidya wrongly represents him as 'his elder son;' see his Downfall of Hindu India, 1936, p. 183.
served as the Mantrimukhya of Prthvívarman, appears to have continued in office under his son. The Mau inscription of the latter tells us that, "having gradually reduced all princes to the state of dependence by applying the six expedients and so forth, each in due season, he made (the king's) sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella."  

In the Candella grants the name of Paramardi is usually placed after that of Madanavarman, with the epithet tatpádánudhyāta. In some of the stone-inscriptions the names are so placed with the remark athābhanat (then came). From this it has been generally supposed that Madanavarman was immediately succeeded by Paramardi. But the introductory portion of the Baghari stone-inscription of the latter's reign mentions the name of Yaśovarman between Madanavarman and Paramardi. It is clear from this record that Yaśovarman was the son of the former and the father of the latter. It has been assumed that Yaśovarman predeceased his father. But this inscription seems to describe him as having reigned. We are told:

"As the moon, the crest-jewel of Maheśvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him Yaśovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers (Maheśvara-śīromani), causing joy to the people.

"Whose fame, spreading in the three worlds with the loveliness of the jasmine and the moon, made the hair (of men) appear white, and thus caused the unprecedented notion that people, before they had attained to old age, had, alas! turned grey."  

It is however significant that in the account of the ministers in the same inscription, the name of Yaśovarman is omitted. It would therefore seem that Yaśovarman may have had a very short tenure of power, after which he was succeeded by his son Paramardi. A hint of his untimely end is possibly contained in the second of the two verses quoted above. The absence

1 Ibid, p. 206, V. 42.
2 Id., 1906, p. 206, fn. 4; ibid, 1908, p. 139.
of Yaśovarman’s name from his son’s grants may probably indicate that the son’s accession to the throne was not entirely peaceful. Instances in history are not rare where a grandson has tried to supersede his father. If Khusrau failed in the 17th century, Paramardi may have succeeded in the 12th.

Yaśovarman, if he reigned at all, must have been succeeded by his son Paramardi some time before V. S. 1223, the earliest recorded date of the latter. The following dates and records are known for the reign of Paramardi:

(1) Semra grant.—This was discovered at Semra, a village in the Bijawar state, Bundelkhand Agency, C.I., and 9 miles west of Shahgarh, a police station in the Sagar district of the C.P. It consists of 124 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The middle plate alone is written on both sides. The plates are joined by a plain ring; but at the top of the first plate there is a representation of Lakṣmī with four arms, seated on a lotus; above her shoulders stand two elephants with raised trunks. The language is mainly Sanskrit prose; but there are a good many Prākrit or hybrid forms in the names of the donees and the villages. The inscription begins with Oṃ svasti, and then traces the genealogy of the donor from the family of the Candrātreya princes, radiant through the appearance of such heroes as Jayāśakti and Vijayaśakti. In that family was Pb.-M.-P.-Prithvivarmadeva-pādānudhyāla-Pb.-M.-P.-Madanavarmadeva-pādānudhyāla-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Kālaṇjarādhipati-Paramardideva. Then follows a verse vaguely praising the donor’s various good qualities. Next comes the main portion of the grant. We are told that the king when in the camp of Sonasara in (V.) Saṁvat 1223 (A.D. 1165) confirmed a grant made by his grandfather (pitāmaha) in (V.) Saṁvat 1219 (A.D. 1162) to 309 Brāhmans who had emigrated from various bhaṭṭāgrahāras and belonged to various gotras and pravaras and were students of various

Vedic Sākhūs. The following villages were granted to the donees:

(I) In the Viṣaya of Vikaura (mod. Beekore, 4-5 miles S. W. of Madanapura): (a) Khaṭauṇḍā-dvādaśaka (mod. Khutoorea, S.E. of Beekore); (b) Taṅta (?)-dvādaśaka; (c) Ḥūṭāṭḍādaśaka; (d) Sesayi-grama (mod. Sajee, S.E. of Khutoorea).

(II) In the Viṣaya of Dudhail (mod. place of the same name, N. Lat. 24°26' and E. Long. 78°27'): (a) Piliṅkhipi-paṅcela; (b) Iṭāva-paṅcela (mod. Etawa, N. Lat. 24°12' and E. Long. 78°16').

(III) In the Viṣaya of Vāḍavari (mod. Bervara, N. Lat. 24°30' and E. Long. 78°41'): (a) Isarahara-paṅcela; (b) Uladana (mod. Ooldana, 7 miles N. E. of Madanpur); (c) Kakaradaha.

Line 123 contains the king's signature. Then come the names of the writer, Dharmaṅkār Prthvīḍhara of the Vāstavya vamsa, and of the pitalahāra (brass-worker) Pālhaṇa, who incised it.¹

(2) Mahoba image-inscription.—This is incised on the pedestal of a broken Jaina statue at Mahoba. The epigraph consists of 'one long line,' and is incomplete. It records the dedications of the image in (V.) Samvat 1224 (A.D. 1168), in the pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarāja of Paramardi-deva.²

(3) Ichhawar grant.—This was found near the village of Ichhawar, in the Pailani Tahsil of Banda district, U.P. It consists of 35 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. It opens with the same genealogical details as in the Semra grant (No. 1), and records a gift by the king, from his residence

¹ Edited by Cartellieri in EI, Vol. IV, pp. 163-70. The editor in two appendices has given a list of the names of the donees and their gotras; see ibid, pp. 170-74. The names are preceded by abbreviations of titles, such as 'Dei'—deviśrin. 'Tr' or 'Tri'—Trivedin. Some of the titles, such as Thakkara, are still found amongst Brāhmaṇas; but Rā or Rāsā—Rājapur as a title of the Brāhmaṇas appears to be rare. The identifications of the places given above have been proposed by the editor. The grant is now in the Lucknow Museum.

² ASB, Vol. XXI, p. 74, plate XXIII, G.
at Vilāsapura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V.) Samvat 1228 (1171 A.D.). The village granted was named Nandini (mod. Nandandeo or Nundodeo, some 10 miles S.W. of Icchawar?), and was situated in the Nandāvāna-viṣaya. The donee was the Brāhman Senāpati Madanapāla Sarman, son of the Thakkura Mahēśvara and grandson of the Thakkura Bhonapāla, an immigrant from the bhattāgrahāra Naugavā. The writer of the Śāsana was the Kāyastha Prthvīdhara, probably the same person who wrote the Semra grant. The engraver was also the same as in No. (1) but in this plate he calls himself a Silpi.¹

(4) Mahoba grant.—This was discovered in the town of Mahoba (Hamirpur district, U.P.), in a stone chest about 30' below the surface. It contains 33 lines incised on one side of two plates of copper. The plates were strung together by a ring having a seal, which is now broken. On the top of the first plate there is the usual figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī. The introductory portion of the grant is exactly the same as in Nos. (1) and (3). It records the grant of some 1 land measuring 60 square vāḍhas cultivable by five ploughs in the village of Dhanaura (mod. Dhanaura, 11 miles from Erich on the Betwa) in the Viṣaya of Eracha (mod. Erich on the Betwa, 60 miles from Mahoba) to the Brāhman Ratna Sarman, an immigrant from Phaudiva(?)-bhattāgrahāra, by the Candrātreya king Paramardi, when he was resident at the village of Gahilā (mod. Gahuli, about 10 miles north of Dhanaura). The writer and engraver of the plate were the same as in Nos. (1) and (3). Pālhaṇa describes himself here as a Viṇṇānin (skillful artist). The date of the grant is (V.) Samvat 1230 (A. D. 1173).²

(5) Pachar grant.—This is said to have been dug up in the village of Pachar, 12 miles N. E. of the city of Jhansi. The

¹ V. A. Smith and Hoey first gave an account of the contents of the grant with a photolithograph in the JASB, 1895, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 159-58; properly edited by Kielhorn from the photolithograph in IA, Vol. XXV, pp. 205-08. The plates were the property of Dr. Hoey in 1896.
inscription consists of 22 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a ring-hole at the bottom of the plate, and at the top a 4-handed squatting figure of Gaja-Lakṣmi. The introductory portion of the grant is nearly the same as in Nos. (1), (3) and (4). It records a gift of some land in the village of Lauvā (mod. Lewa, 3 miles west of Pachar) in the Viṣaya of Karigavā (perhaps mod. Kargawan, 9 miles N. E. of Pachar) to the pañcita Keśava Sarman, an immigrant from Mutāuṣa bhāttāgrahāra. The grant was made by the king when he was resident in Vilāsapura (probably mod. village of Pachar) in (V.) Saṃvat 1233 (A. D. 1176). The writer of the inscription was Subhānanda of the Vāstavya-vamśa. It was engraved by the same as in (3). He describes himself as Vaidagdhi-Viveka karmanā (a master of art and craft), as in No. (3).3

(6) Madanpur stone-inscriptions of Cāhamāna Prthvirāja.—These were discovered by Cunningham on the pillars of a mandapa of an old temple in the village of Madanpur, ‘situated at the mouth of the best and easiest pass leading from Sāgar to the north.’ The village ‘is 24 miles to the S. E. of Dudahi, 35 miles to the S. S. E. of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north of Sāgar (Saugor).’ The inscription informs us that Jejākha-bhukti, the country belonging to Paramardi, was devastated and plundered by Prthvirāja in (V.) Saṃvat 1239 (A. D. 1182-83).4

(7) Kalinjar rock-inscription.—From rubbings of the inscription Kielhorn gives us only one line, containing the date, in his ‘List of Northern Inscriptions,’ ‘Srīmat-Paramarddi-[deva]-vijayarājye (V.) Saṃvat 1240 (A. D. 1184).’

(8) Mahoba stone-inscription.—This was found in 1843 ‘in the fort wall placed upside down as a common building

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1 See above, inscription No. 3, p. 715.
2 Edited by A. Vanier, ibid, 1909-10, Vol. X. pp. 44-49. The plate is now in the Lucknow Museum.
4 EI, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 96, No. 178. To my knowledge it has not yet been edited.
stone. It is broken at top and at both ends.' The original inscription consisted of 16 lines; but it is so much damaged that it is not till we reach the 11th that the first complete verse is found. The record refers to Suhila, born in the Vāstavya family, and probably mentions the building of a temple (prāśāda). The sculptor was Devarāja, son of Somarāja. The inscription is dated in (V.) S. 1240 (A. D. 1184), but in the preserved portion there is no mention of the king’s name. It is reported that the epigraph contains the name ‘of Nānika the founder of the Candel dynasty.’

9. Ajāigarh stone-inscription.—This contains 8 lines, incised on the jamb of the upper gate of the fort. It records that in (V.) Samvat 1243 (A. D. 1187) Rāuṭ Śrī-Sthada, son of Rāuṭ Sāntana of the Kṣatriya caste (jāti) belonging to the village of Kotia, established a Cautra in the Jayapura-durga for all people. There is no king’s name in the inscription.

10. Baghari stone-inscription.—This was originally found in Singhanapur-Baghari, near Mahoba. The stone on which it is incised ‘is broken right through from top to bottom.’ It consists of 24 lines, and is in Sanskrit verse throughout. The inscription begins with Om om anum bhagavate Vāsudevaya. Then follow two verses invoking Sauri (Viṣṇu). Next comes the usual genealogy of the Candrātrya kings beginning from Atri and the Moon down to Paramardi. The only interesting point is that this portion of the inscription alone mentioned Paramardi’s father Jayavarman, and describes him as an ‘ornament of great rulers.’ Then we are given the genealogy of a


2 *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 50, plate XII, C. There is another inscription in the same place dated in (V.) Samvat 1227 (A. D. 1171), which records the building of a bauli (well) on the road during a famine for (the use of) all people in the Jayapura-durga by Ranta Vera, a Kṣatriya (by caste). This inscription also does not mention the name of any king. Cunningham read the date of this epigraph as 1237, see his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 49-50; Kailborn corrected it to 1227 in *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 23, No. 157 and fn. 1. The letter q on the plate XII, A, however seems to support Cunningham’s reading.
family of Brāhmans of the Vasiṣṭha gotra who served as officers of the Candella kings. The real founder of the line was Lākṣmīdharā, "a swan sporting in the lake of all sciences." His son was "the chief of the twice-born" dvijendra Vatsarāja. His son Lāhaḍa served as a mantri of king Madana. By his wife Prabhā he had a son named Sallakṣāna, "through whom Paramardi-deva has become a lord of the earth with three eyes." His son was Puruṣottama, who when still a youth was appointed by the same king to be chief of his ministers (sacieṣu mukhyabhāvam). The object of the inscription is to record that Sallakṣāna built a temple of Viṣṇu and another of Śiva. The second was left unfinished by him and was completed by his son Puruṣottama. The inscription was composed by the Kavindra Devadhara, son of Kavicakravarti Gādādhara, the Samidhāna-vigraha-mahā-sacica of Paramardi, and grandson of Gaudāncayakutilaka Lākṣmīdharā. It is not impossible that this Lākṣmīdharā is identical with Lākṣmīdharā of the ministerial family. It was written by the Bāla-kavi Dharmadharā, younger brother of Devadhara, and engraved by Mahārāja ("), who rouses the admiration of all Śilpis (artisans?). The inscription is dated in the last verse in the year of Vikrama counted by the wings (2), the faces of the three-eyed (Pañcānana), (5) and the Ādityas (12), i.e., 1252 (A.D. 1196).

(11) Kalinjar stone-inscription.—This is incised on a large black stone, inside the temple of Nilakanta at Kalinjar. It consists of 32 lines and opens with Namaḥ Śivāya. The first 24 lines "contain only an eulogistic and glowing address to Śiva and Pārvatī." The remaining portions are devoted to the

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1 First noticed by Cunningham, ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 82, No. 52. It was then published by Hultzsch in ZDMG, Vol. XI, pp. 81-84. Next Kielhorn edited it in EI, Vol. I, pp. 207-14, under the name Bāteṣvar stone inscription. But in fn. 2, p. 207, he expressed the opinion that this inscription was possibly the same as the one noticed above by Cunningham as found on the bank of a lake at Bhagari. In a note (fn. 1, p. 158, JASS, 1895, Vol. XLIV, Part I), V. A. Smith and Hoey confirmed this suspicion that the lake... attributing the stone to Bāteṣvar in the Agra district is wrong, and that there can be no doubt that it was really found at Bhagari.
vague praise of Paramardi. In line 27 this prince is described as Daśāruṇādhinātha. In line 28 he is called 'a guide in the mysteries of amorous and heroic sentiments' (Śṛgāra-vīra- 
valācārya). Next we are told that king Paramardi himself composed with his innate faith this eulogy of Purāṇi (Śiva). It was written and inscribed by Padma, a favourite of king Paramardi, and his younger brother Deoka. The date of the 
inscription is Monday, the 10th Kārtika Sudi of (V.) Sāvat 1258 (i.e., Monday, 8th October, A.D. 1201). 1

(12) Coins.—Only one dramma (61.4 grains) of base gold has so far been discovered for his reign. It is of the usual Candraṇa type, and is reported to have been discovered in Khajurahā. 2

The distribution of these records shows that Paramardi's dominions extended over nearly the whole of the triangle which roughly indicated the territories of his father. The Candraṇa inscriptions mention no political incidents in his reign. Tradition recorded in the Prthvirāj-Rāso of Cand Bardāi 3 however informs us that he was on hostile terms with the famous Cāhamāna ruler Prthvirāja. The Mahoṣa-Khaṇḍa 4 gives a detailed account of these struggles between the Cāhamānas and the Candraṇas. Though ably assisted by two famous heroes of the Banāphar clan, the brothers Alha and Udal, and by Jayavendrā (Jaicand), the Gāḥdvāla ruler, Paramardi (Pararmāl, Parimā-
ladeva), we are told, was severely defeated in a series of engagements by the Cāhamāna prince. The first battle was fought near

1 The record was first published in JASB, 1848, Vol. XVII, pp. 319-17, as an append-
dix to Maisey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. In 1854-55, Cunningham noticed it in his JASB, Vol. XXI, pp. 37-38. He corrected the reading of the date which was given in the above account as Sāvat 1298. Kishorn gave the accurate date in the IA, Vol. XIX, p. 854, No. 192. I think Daśāruṇa of this inscription should be taken as Western Daśāruṇa, which is identified with Eastern Malwa (capital Bhilās); GID, p. 54. It was from this city that the Anga grant of his father was issued. His Serru grant shows that he held territory close to Eastern Malwa.


3 Edited by Mohan Lal Vishnu Lal Pandia and Syam Sundar Das, Benares, 1918.

4 Pp. 2507-2515.
Siṣargadh on the banks of the Pahuj, a tributary of the Sind. According to Cand, Prthvīraja (Prithviraj) then captured Mahoba, plundered Kālaṅjara, and left for Delhi, after placing the former place in charge of Pajjunraja.

In its present state, the work of Cand certainly contains much unhistorical matter. But the authenticity of his account of the hostility between Prthvīraja and Paramardi is borne out by the two Madanpur inscriptions referred to above (No. 6), which distinctly refer to the devastation of the territories of the latter by the former in about 1182-83 A.D. It is also not unlikely that Jaycandra may have really assisted the Candellas in their struggles, for the Mau inscription indicates friendly relations between Paramardi’s grandfather and the Gāhaḍavālas. There is at present no definite means to find out how long the Cāhmānas retained their hold on the western portion of the Candella territory; but if the title Daśārnādhīpati given to Paramardi in one of his Kālinjar inscriptions is not a mere boast, he may have recovered a substantial portion of his territories some time before A.D. 1201. But before he could consolidate his position, his territories were again invaded by a more formidable foe. The Tāj ul-Ma’āthir of Ḥasan Nīzami (1205-17 A.D.) gives the following account of the conflict of Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak with ‘the accursed Parmār the Rai of Kālinjar.’

"In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutub ud-Dīn proceeded to the investment of Kālinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by Sāhib-Kirān, Shamsu-d-dīn Altamash...... ‘The accursed Parmār,’ the Rāi of Kālinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and ‘placed the collar of subjection,’ round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestors had experienced from Māhmūd Subuktigīn, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements.

ments. His Dīwān, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate in consequence of a severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. ‘On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction came out of the fort and by compulsion left their native place empty,’ ‘and the fort of Kālinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being so strong as the wall of Alexander,’ was taken. ‘The temples were converted into mosques, and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculation of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated.’ ‘Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery and the plain became as pitch with Hindus.’ Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors. ‘The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahoba, and the government of Kālinjar was conferred on Hazabbārū-d-din Hasan Arnal.’

The account of Firishta agrees in essentials with that of Ḥasan Nigāmī, and only differs in the manner of the Hindu prince’s death. According to Firishta, when the Raja, being hard pressed, offered to submit to the Delhi Sultan, his minister ‘who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing.’ But as the contemporary Tāj ul-Ma’āthir distinctly says that Parmār (Paramardi) died a natural death, we are perhaps justified in rejecting the testimony of Firishta as a later fabrication. According to both Ḥasan Nigāmī and Firishta, after the

1 Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 231-32. In the MS. of the work in the London School of Oriental Studies (W. 18067) the name of the king is not mentioned. It says “but during the negotiations by the heavenly decrees and the conjunction of the stars, the soul bird of that accrued fell into the snare of death.” The Dīwān’s office is spelt as مختصر (in Elliot مختصر) and his name as (in Elliot مختصر)


3 According to the Prthvirāj-Rāsa ‘Parmal after his defeat by Rāja Pythirāj, retired to Gaya, and died there;’ see JASS, 1881, Part I, p. 29.
fall of Kalinjar Quṭb ud-Dīn marched to Mahoba and 'subdued' it. From the fact that the latter authority describes Mahoba as 'the capital of the principality of Kālpī (کالپی), it may probably be concluded that that city and the surrounding regions were no longer a part of the Candella dominions.

According to the Prthvīrāj-Rāse, Samarjit, a son of Parmāl, with the help of Narsimha, an officer of Rāja Jaicand of Kanauj captured Mahoba from Pajjum Rāy, the Thānāpati of Prthvīrāja, and ruled over the whole territory between Kalinjar and Gaya. He was ultimately killed by Binae ud-Dīn, a Musalmān. It has been suggested that the name Binae ud-Dīn may be a mistake for Bahā-ud-Dīn (Tughrīl) who was placed in charge of Bayana in 1196 A.D. by Muḥammad Ghūrī. According to Raverty, this officer became for some time the head of an independent state in Central India after the death of Quṭb ud-Dīn in 1220 A.D. It is very doubtful whether there is any basis of fact in these exploits of Samarjit. The genealogical lists in the Candella inscriptions do not contain the name of this son of Paramardi. On the contrary, they seem to mention Trailokyavarman as his immediate successor. The recently discovered Garra grant describes Trailokyavarman as meditating on the feet of Paramardi; and as its date (V. S. 1261 = A.D. 1205) is only removed from the death of Paramardi (599 A.H. = A.D. 1202) by a short period of 3 years, it is likely that he directly succeeded his father. The distribution of the find-spots of his inscriptions also appears to support this conclusion. The following dates and records are referred to his reign:

(1) Garra grant (a).—This was 'found in a tank near the village of Garra, to the south-east of Chattapur, capital of the Indian state of the same name in Bundelkhund. It consists of 16 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. There is a small

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1 JASB, 1881, Part I, pp. 29-31. Binae ud-Dīn is probably بین (Binae ud-Dīn).
3 NA, p. 572.
ring-hole at the top of the plate and below this is engraved 'a seated figure of the goddess Lakṣmī with four arms, the upper two holding lotuses.' The inscription begins with Oṁ svasti, and then follows the genealogy of the donor from the lineage of the Candrātreya sovereigns, 'resplendent with the birth of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.' In that family was Pb.-M.-P.-Madanavarmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramārdidevapādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara Kālañjarādhipati-Trailokyavarmadeva. In lines 7-11 the grant records the gift by way of maintenance for death (mṛtyuka-vṛttau...) of Kādohā-grama (mod. Kadoa in N. Lat. 24°48' and E. Long. 79°52' just south of Garra, in Chhatarpur State), in the Viṣaya of Paniuli (possibly mod. Panna, in N. Lat. 24°43' and E. Long. 80°16', capital of the Indian State of the same name) in (V.) Samvat 1261 (A. D. 1205) to Rāṣṭṭa Sāmanta (or Sāvana) of the Bhāradvāja gotra, son of Rāṣṭṭa Pāpe, who was killed at Kakañjādaha,¹ in a battle with the Turuṣkas (Turks). The grant was made by the king when he was encamped at the village of Vajavāḍa (mod. Bedwara in N. Lat. 24°30' and E. Long. 78°41' in Lalitpur subdivision of Jhansi district).²

(2) Garra grant (b).—This inscription was found with (1). It contains 17 lines and is 'almost identical' with the above. It grants to the same donee the village of Lohasihāṇi (may be mod. Lohāni in the Bijawar State, in N. Lat. 24°23' and E. Long. 79°12'), in the Viṣaya of Vikraunī(?). The donor, year of the grant and the object of the gift are the same.³

¹ Mod. Kakañjwa in N. Lat. 24°39' and E. Long. 75°42', a little to the S. E. of Bedwara.
² Edited by K. N. Dikshit in BI, 1921-22, Vol. XVI, pp. 272-77. The grant is now in Lucknow Museum. Is the donee of the grant the same Sāvana who acquired the Hewah grant (a)? See infra, p. 725, inscription No. (4). Kakañjadhāha of our plate again seems to be the same as Kakaradhāha of the Senna grant of Paramaril. Dr. Barnett suggests that Mṛtyuka-vṛtta is a grant to maintain the heirs of one who has sacrificed his life, which in Kannada is styled matti-goḍa, 'blood-gift.'
³ Ibid., now in the Lucknow Museum.
(3) Ajajgarh stone-inscription.—This was found near the tank of Patal-sar at Ajajgarh. It consists of 6 lines, and gives the date (V.) Samvat 1269 (A.D. 1212), in the reign of Raja-Sri Trailokyavarman-deva.¹

(4) Rewa grant (a).—This was found in 1884-85 in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. It contains 55 lines, 'on two plates of which the first is inscribed on one side only.' There is no ring-hole or emblem engraved on the plates. The inscription begins with Om siddhiḥ, followed by 3 verses in honour of Brahman, Purusottama (Viṣṇu) and Tryambaka (Śiva) of which the last is taken from the introduction to Bāṇa’s Kādambari. In lines 4-7 we have: Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Vāmadeva pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Paramamāheśvara-Trkalingādhipati-nijabhujopārjita-Aśvapati-gajapati-narakapati-rājatrayādhipati-Trailokyavarmadeva-kalyāna-vijaya-rājya. In lines 7-28 we are given the following genealogy of the Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla of the town of Kakaredikā² of the Kaurava-vamsa.

In the abovementioned town and family:

(i) Paramamāheśvara-Mahārāṇaka-Dākila,
(ii) Rājyapāla Durjaya
(iii) Mahārāṇaka Shojavarman³
(iv) Śivapadiānurakta...Jayavarman
(v) ...Vatsarāja
(vi) ...Salasarṇavatman (i.e. Sallakṣaṇa)
(vii) ...Harirāja
(viii) ...Kumārapāla.

In lines 28-36 Kumārapāla who 'it may be assumed, owed allegiance to Trailokyavarman,' grants the village of Rehi in the

¹ Noted by Cunningham in his ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 30, and plate XII, D. It has not yet been edited.
² Mod. Kakavi in N. Lat. 24°36' and E. Long. 81°17' at the head of the Mani Ghat leading westwards towards Banda, Kalinjar and Mahoba.
³ Dr. Barnett suggests Shojavarman.
Vadharā-Pattalā to Rāūta Sānge and 5 other Rāūtas (names given). The date of the grant is (V.) Saṃvat 1237 (A.D.1240). The tāmraka was drawn up by the Kāyastha Muktasimha, 'by whom the reign of the child-prince was made a prosperous one and his fame spotless.' It was written by Mālādhara, engraved by the Śilpis Jayasimha and Pratāpasimha, and acquired (upārjitām) by Rāūta Sāvanta.¹

(5) Rewa grant (b).—This was found with the inscription No. (4) in the possession of the Rewa Durbar. The number and arrangement of the plates are the same. It contains 48 lines, and begins with the same verses in honour of the same gods. In lines 45 it refers itself to the victorious reign of Paramabhaṭṭarāketavyādi-rāja-vali-troy-opeta-mahāraja Śrī-Trelākyamalla (Trailokya-malla). In lines 5-18 the inscription gives the same genealogical list of the Mahāraṇakas of Kakaredikā from Dāhilla to Vatsarāja. Lines 18-29 furnish the following additional details:

(v) Mahāraṇaka-Vatsarāja

(vi) Mahāraṇaka-Kirtivarman

(viii) Mahāraṇaka-Salasana-varman.

(viii) Mahāraṇaka-Vaṅgadavarman

(ix) Mahāraṇaka-Hariśrāja.

In lines 29-36 No. (ix) records the grant of the village of Agaseyi, in the Vadharā-pattalā to the Rāūta Sānge and four other Rāūtas (names given) in (V.) Saṃvat 1298 (A.D.1241). In lines 45-48 we are told that the tāmraka was written by the

¹ This grant, together with 3 other Rewah copper-plates were noticed by Cunningham in his ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-43. They are denoted by him by the letters A, B, C and D. This grant is marked by the letter C. Kielhorn next edited it in the IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 233 and 230-31. Following Cunningham, Kielhorn rightly identified the Trailokyanavarman of this grant with the Cendilla prince of that name. As the name Vāmadeva first occurs in the two Kalacuri grants (A and B) dated in A.D. 1175 and 1195, and has been simply transferred to the Cendilla plate, together with the titles of the Cedi princes, we shall discuss the question of its appearance in our chapter on the Haihayas (Kalacuria), see infra.
Karanika Thakkura Udayasimha, born in the family of Mahâ-thakkura Dhâresvara and engraved by the son of Kûke and the grandson of Dâuge the worker in iron (ayaskara). 1

These inscriptions show that 'the history of the Candel dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India' did not end with the death of Paramardi. 2 The Garra grants show that his son Trailokyavarman was in possession of villages and townships which were scattered all over the region now occupied by the States of Chhatarpur, Bijawar, and Panna in C. I., and the Lalitpur sub-division of Jhansi district, U.P. It is not unlikely that in the battle with the Turuskas at Kakadâdaha, in which the father of the donee of the Garra grants lost his life, Trailokyavarman proved victorious and recovered his 'ancestral stronghold of Kalañjara.' That his assumption of the title of Kalañjaradhipati was not an idle boast like that of the Kalacuris of Kalyani, 3 is perhaps indicated by the Tabaqät-i-Nāširi. We are told by this authority that Malik Nuṣrat ud-Dîn Târ-shî was entrusted with the charge of 'Bhîânah and Sulṭân Koṭ...together with the superintendency (شمعي) of Gwâliyûr' by 'Sulṭân Iyâl-timish.' 'In the year 631 H. (A.D. 1233) he accordingly led an army from Gwâliyûr towards the Kâlinjar country, and the Râe of Kâlinjar fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory, and in a very short period, obtained vast booty in such wise that in the space of fifty days, the Sultan's fifth share was set down

1 This inscription was noticed by Cunningham in his ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 148. C. Kilburn next edited it in the IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 224 and 224-26. As the date of this grant is only one year later than inscription No. (4), he, following Cunningham, rightly identified Trailokyamallâ of these plates with the Trailokyavarman of No. (4). The names of the donees with one exception are the same in both the grants. The names of the patalâ in which the villages granted in the two grants were situated, is also the same.

2 IA, 1900, p. 146. In the CHI, Vol. III, p. 614, Sir W. Halk following V. A. Smith, says: 'After the death of Paramardi, the Candels, as an important dynasty disappeared, and the tribes dispersed, etc....'

at twenty-five lakhs.' There is possibly some exaggeration in this account of Tāl-shī's success against the 'Rāe of Kālinjar,' but the fact remains that that fort and the surrounding country had again passed under the control of the Hindu chiefs. As the dates on the inscriptions of Trailokyavarman range from 1205 to 1241 A.D., it is almost certain that the 'Rāe of Kālinjar' defeated by Tāl-shī was this Candella prince. At present there is no means of knowing the exact date when the fort was lost by the Sultans of Delhi. It must have passed into Hindu possession some time between 1203 and 1233. It is possible that Trailokyavarman may have recovered Kālañjara soon after the battle of Kakaññāha, which was fought some time before 1205 A.D.

In connection with his success in stemming the tide of Musalman invasions in Jejā-bhukti, it is interesting to notice that the Ajaigarh stone-inscription of Viravarman (V. S. 1817-A. D. 1261) compares Trailokyavarman with Viṣṇu, 'in lifting up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of the Turuṣkas.' Both the Musalman and Hindu records are silent about the details of this struggle. But the fact that the above-mentioned inscription calls Trailokyavarman 'a very creator in providing strong places' (durgapiṇḍodhana-vedhāḥ) may possibly contain a hint of the system of warfare followed by the Candella prince.

The Rewa grants (Nos. 4 and 5) show that the Candella power in the west not only held its own in Baghelkhand, but had extended itself at the expense of the Kalacuris. I have already suggested that the discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins of Madanavarman probably indicates an extension of Candella power

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1 Trans. by Raverty, Vol. I, pp. 732-33. The facts contained in this passage were known to Cunningham. (ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 87) but he did not indicate his source of information. On the Turkish title Tāl-shī, which is sometimes written Tāl-Yasa', see ibid, Raverty's note in his 'Additional Notes and Emendations,' P. I.iv, on p. 833.
3 Ibid.
into that portion of Baghelkhand which lies to the north of the Kaimur Range. But the two Rewa grants of the time of Kalacuri Jayasimha and Vijayadeva dated in (Cedi) Samvat 926 (A.D. 1175) and (V.) Samvat 1253 (A.D. 1195) 1 show that some portion of this region had again passed under the control of the Kalacuris. The Mahārāṇakas Kirtivarman and his brother Salaśanavarman of Kakkaredikā appear in the two above grants as feudatories of the Kalacuri princes Jayasimha (c. 1175-77 A.D.) and his son Vijayasimha (c. 1180-95 A.D.). It is not unlikely therefore that during the disastrous reign of Paramardi (c. 1187-1202 A.D.) the Kalacuris wrested the control of the Trans-Kaimur region from the Candellas. If this was so the Rewa grants of the time of Trailokyavarman show that he succeeded in regaining this region some time before 1239.2 There is therefore ample evidence to indicate that Trailokyavarman was not a mere petty local chieftain of Ajaigarh. His rule appears to have extended from the river Betwa, on the west of Lalitpur, to the upper courses of the Son in the east. It is difficult to know how far his authority extended in the north. But the discovery of his copper dramma in the Banda district may possibly supply some indication on the point. Gold drammas of Trailokyavarman are also known, but their find-spots are unfortunately not recorded.3 In the south his territory may have extended up to 24° Latitude. The Garra plates record grants of land some of which are situated not very far from that region.

2. A puzzling fact about the two Rewa grants of Trailokyavarman is that while the inscription of Kumārapāla is dated in 1240, that of his father Harirāja is dated in 1241 A.D. The grant of the son however shows that his father was already a Mahārāṇaka before 1240. The difficulty is probably to be solved by the assumption that Kumārapāla when still a child was made king through the machinations of the Kāpastha Muktasimha, who poses as a king-maker in the grant of Kumārapāla. Harirāja had to abdicate but before long he succeeded in recovering his throne from his child-son. The abdication of the Kashmirian king Ananta in 1083 A.D., through the influence of his wife Sūryamati, in favour of her son Kalākā and the resumption of the regal functions by Ananta shortly after Kalākā’s coronation may serve as a parallel incident in the history of this period. See *DHNI*, Vol. I, *Dynastic History of Kashmir*, pp. 142 ff.
Trailokyavarman ruled for at least 36 years (c. 1205-41 A.D.). But as his earliest date is separated only by 3 years from the death of his father, and as the distribution of his records shows that he ruled practically over the whole of the Candella territories, it is very likely that his reign began from the death of his father in 1202 A.D. In that case Cand’s Samarjit must be regarded as a figment of imagination.

The Ajaigarh rock-inscription of the time of Bhojavarman mention the names of some of the officers of Trailokyavarman. One of these was Vāse or Vāseka, of the Vāstavya Kāyastha family, who was appointed Viśiṣṭa of Jayadurga, and endowed with the village of Varbhari by Trailokyavarman. In V. 19 of this record we are told that ‘the wise Vāseka, being to the armies of the opposing chiefs what a forest-fire is to the brushwood, sent the irresistible Bhojuka, who, seized with frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families.’ V. 22 of the same record tells us that Ānanda, Vāseka’s younger brother, was appointed governor of the fort (of Jayadurga) and ‘reduced to submission the wild tribes of the Bhillas, Śabarās and Pulindas.’ Probably Trailokyavarman owed to these two officers much of his success against internal and external foes.

Trailokyavarman was succeeded by his son Vīravarman, some time after V. S. 1298 (A. D. 1241), and before V. S. 1317 (A.D. 1261), the first recorded date of his son. There is some evidence to show that he may have continued to rule even up to 1247 A.D. The Tabaqāt-i-Nāširi refers to a Rāna (٤) who was called Dalakī wa Malakī (dalekī ro malekī), who ruled in the mountainous tract not far from Kara (Allahabad district, U. P.).

He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. We are told that in 645 A. H. (1247 A.D.)

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1 El, Vol. I, p. 337. 2 Vi+iṣṭ = to distinguish. 3 Ibid, p. 327, V. S.
in the reign of Sultan Nasir ud-Din, Ulugh Khan ravaged all these territories and obtained great booty. According to Firishta, this prince resided at Kalianjar. He had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna and had destroyed the king's garrisons from Malwa to Kasa. It was observed by Briggs that there must be some mistake in the name Dalaki wa Malaki. Cunningham suggested that this name has 'been made out of the one long name, Tilaki Wama Deo (تیلاکی و ملکی) which in Persian characters might easily be mis-read as Tilaki Wa Milaki (تیلاکی و ملکی), and which may be further corrupted into Dalaki Wa Malaki.' The strangeness of the name Dalaki wa Malaki and the fact that he lived in Kalanjar seem to indicate that Cunningham may be right in identifying him with the Candella Trailokyavarman. If his guess is accepted, the reign of Viravarman could not have begun before 1247 A.D. The following dates and records are so far known for the reign of Viravarman:

(1) Ajai-garh rock-inscription.—In 1883-85 Cunningham found this inscription 'engraved on a rock, with a crack dividing it into two portions' at Ajai-garh. It contains 15 lines, and opens with Om om siddhi. Next follows a verse invoking Gangā. Then comes a list of the later Candellas from Krtivarman down to Vira(varman). Next follows the genealogy of Kalayanadevi, who became the chief queen of king Vira.

In the Dadhic-vamū:

 Cádala...‘an object of reverence for the Ksatriya.'
Kṣitipāla Govindarāja Sripāla...‘who was bravest as it were incarnate.'
Vesanadevi (?) = Mahēśvara...‘revered even by the crowned heads...valiant like a bull.'
Kalyānadevi = King Vira.

2 Trans. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 337. Raverty has pointed out that Briggs' Translation is defective here. Firishta 'does not mention anything whatever of two Rājahs, as rendered by Briggs, 'the Rājahs Dulky and Mulky' ; but on the other hand 'a rājah'; see also Elliot Vol. II, p. 348, fn. 1.
The object of the inscription is to record (Vs. 18-20) that this Kalyānadevi built a well with perennial water (nirjara-kāpa) at ‘this spot’ which is ‘guarded by the arms of strong men (?)’, a hall for the supply of its water (?) and a tank at Nāndipura. The prābhati was composed by Ratnapāla, son of Kavi Haripāla, and engraved by Rāma in the Vikrama vatsara ‘measured by the seas (7), the moon (1),’ the fires (3) and the moon (1), i.e. V.S. 1317. In the last line we are told that the inscription was made in (V.) S. 1317 (A.D. 1261), during the office of (vyāpāre) Jetana in the reign of Vitravarman.¹

(3) Jhansi stone-inscription.—Kielhorn noticed this inscription from a rubbing supplied by Burgess. It is dated, in line 19, (V.) Samvat 1318 (A.D. 1262), and belongs to the reign of Candella Vitravarman (?).²

(3) Ajaigarh stone-inscription.—This consists of only 3 lines, incised on the wall of a temple at Ajaigarh. It records the ‘adoration to Īśvara of one Abhayadēva, the son of Ācāravatya Thān Bhojāka in the reign of Vitravarman, in (V.) Samvat 1325 (A.D. 1268).³

(4) Ajaigarh rock-inscription.—This consists of 21 lines incised on a ‘rock near the figure of a Ganes,’ According to Cunningham ‘this inscription gives the genealogy of the Candella Rajas from Kirtti Varmma down to Vira Varmma.’ It is dated both in words [sea (7), fire (3), Veda (3) and moon (1)] and in figures in 1337 (V.) Samvat (A. D. 1281).¹ The

¹ The inscription was first noticed by Cunningham, ASB, Vol. X? I, p. 51, plate XIII. The substance of the inscription as read by a Simla Pandit gives the date wrongly as S. 1312. The record was properly edited by Kielhorn in EI, Vol. I, pp. 323-30. This scholar took Nāndipura of this inscription to be another name of Jayadūrga or Ajaigarh. Cunningham suggested that the Kyāpāla Govindāja, the maternal grandfather of Kalyānadevi may perhaps have been the Raja of Nalapura, or Narwar, the predecessor of the famous Chakrājadeva, the gallant opponent of the Mahomedans.²

² EI, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 33, No. 237. It has not yet been edited. It is now in the Lucknow Museum.

³ ASR, Vol. XXII, p. 51, plate XIV. Kielhorn has suggested the identification of this Bhojkā with the Bhojkā who was killed by Vāsaka in the reign of Trālikyavarmāna, see EI, Vol. I, p. 392; also DHNI, supra, p. 739.
inscription as explained by a Simla Pandit, records the setting up of a statue of Vināyaka (Ganesa) by Ganapati, the minister of Vira Varmma.

(5) Dahi grant.—This copper-plate was discovered in Dahi 4½ miles to the east of Bijawar in Bundelkhand. The grant in its formal portion opens with the usual praise of the family of the Candrātreyas princes rendered illustrious by Jayasakti, Vijayasakti and others. Then it traces the genealogy of the donor from Madanavarman downwards. It next records the gift of the village of Dahi to Mallaya, 'an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery in (V.) Samvat 1237 (A.D. 1281). The donee is said to have conquered the lord of Narwar (Nalapurapatı), Gopāla the ruler of Mathurā (Madhuvanakādhipa ?) and Harirāja of Gwalior (Gopagiri).

(6) Gurha Sati stone-inscription.—This is dated in line 1 in (V.) Samvat 1342 (A.D. 1286) in the reign of Vitravarman-deva.

(7) Kalinjar stone-inscription.—This fragmentary epigraph seems to give the Candella genealogy from Vijayapāla to Vitravarman. In V. 25 it seems to record the construction of various temples, gardens, and ponds by the latter.

1 *Ibid*, p. 53, plate XIV, G. The inscription has not yet been edited properly. In including this record in the list of northern inscriptions, Kielhorn has placed a ? after the name of Vitravarman; see *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 34, No. 239.

2 *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74-76. It has never been properly edited. It was obtained by Col. Ellis in 1848 from Dahi, but now its whereabouts are unknown.

3 Noticed by Kielhorn, *ibid*, p. 35, No. 242. Gurha is probably the capital of the petty State of that name in the C. I. Agency under the Resident at Gwalior.

4 This inscription was first published in 1848, in *JASB*, Vol. XVII, Part 1, pp. 217-20, as an appendix to Massey's account of the antiquities of Kalinjar. It was then noticed by Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 39. It has not yet been properly edited. Kielhorn noticed another Kalinjar inscription from rubbings supplied by Burgess in *EI*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 35, No. 241. In line 3 it gives the date (V.) Samb. 1340 (A.D. 1283); but unfortunately it does not mention the name of the king. Cunningham noticed another stone-inscription at Ajaigarh, which is dated in 1372 V.S. (1315 A.D.) in the reign of Vitravarman. As the earliest inscription of the successor of Vitravarman is dated in V.S. 1345, he assumed the existence of a second king of that name. But it is more likely that there is some mistake in the reading of the date or the name of the king; see *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 54.
The distribution of these records show that Viravarman was still the ruler of a considerable portion of his ancestral territories. The known dates of his records extend over a period of at least 25 years (A.D. 1261-1286), and as the Muhammadan chronicles at this time claim no decisive victories over the chiefs of Bundelkhand, it is likely that he was left in comparatively undisturbed possession of his territories. The Gurha inscription shows his hold over the land between the Sindh and the Betwa, and it is not impossible that he may have even come into conflict with the petty Hindu rulers of Narwar, Gwalior, and Muttra (?). A gold dramma of this king, which is unique, was discovered in Khajrabo.¹

Viravarman was probably succeeded by Bhojavaran in some time before V. S. 1365 (A.D. 1288). The following records and coins are referred to his reign:

(1) Ajaigarh rock inscription.—This consists of 16 lines, incised on a rock near the 'Tarhaoni' or 'Tirhawan' gate of the fort of Ajaigarh. The record opens with Om namah Kedaraya; then follows a verse in adoration of Siva. It then praised the Vastavya Kanyakas of the town of Takkarikā. Various persons of this family served under the Candella kings. One of these, Vāse, was appointed Viśiṣṭa of Jayapura by king Trailokya-varman.² His younger brother Ananda had a son named Rucira. Rucira had 3 sons, viz., Gopati, Mahipāla, and Subhaṭa of whom the last was a Sācita and the Superintendent of treasury (Kośādhikārādhipati) of king Bhojavaran. The immediate object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple (devālaya) by Subhaṭa. 'The inscription closes rather abruptly and it neither contains the names of the composer, writer, and engraver, nor is it dated.'³

(2) Ajaigarh stone-inscription.—This opens with verses

² See DHNI, supra, p. 729.
invoking Viṣṇu under various names, such as Murāri, Hari, Mādhava, Rāma, etc. In V. 24 one Nāna is said to have served as Sācīva of the Candraśeṇa kings. In V. 25 he is mentioned as serving king Bhoja varman. The inscription was composed by Amara, and appears to record that this Nāna, "caused an image of Hari to be placed at the celebrated fort of Jayadurga (Ajaigarh)." The date (V.) S. 1345 (A.D. 1288) is given in V. 37.1

It seems reasonable to conclude from these two inscriptions that Bhoja varman succeeded Vīra varman at least in the territory around the fort of Ajaigarh. There is however some reason to believe that the Candellas continued in possession of Kalinjar till the 16th century. Recently Rai Bahadur Hiralal drew attention to a Sātī record in the village of Bambhī of the Damoh district, C.P. It runs as follows: Paramabhe-tārakaṇādhirājavalitrīputa Kāliṣṭhānādhipati Śrīmad-Ham-māravarma-devaḥ vijayarājye Sāvant 1365 sāmaya Mahāraja-patra Śrī-Vāghadeva bhujyamāne......2 This record shows that about A.D. 1308, portions of Damoh and Jubbulpore districts were governed by a Mahāraja-patra, Vāghadeva, under the sovereignty of Hammiradeva. Two other Sātī records of the time of Vāghadeva are known, dated in (V.) S. 1361 and 1362.3 In the former, which was discovered in Patan, in Jubbulpore district, he is described as a Pratihāra chief. It is quite likely that this Hammiradeva was a Candella and a successor of Bhoja varman. If this is accepted, the Candellas in the beginning of the 14th century were still the rulers of a considerable portion of their former dominions. But the discovery of a Sātī-record at Salaiya, 3 miles from Bambhī, dated in (V.) Sāvant 1366 (A.D. 1309) in the reign of

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1 Edited by Prinsep in JASB, 1837, Vol. VI, Part I, pp. 881-87, plate XLVIII. The record is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and ought to be properly edited.
2 II, Vol. XVI, p. 10, fn. 4. The writer of the inscription Pākurita] Jaipāla apparently was no great Sanskrit scholar.
3 Ibid, p. 11 and fn. 1 and 2.
Ahyadima Sultana (Sultan 'Ala ud-Din)' shows that Vaghadeva's reign probably terminated between 1308 and 1309 A.D. The armies of 'Ala ud-Din were at this time marching to the Deccan, and he may have established a base in Bundelkhand, reducing the power of the Candellas to some of their inaccessible forts. Though the Muslims attacked the fort of Kalinjar several times during the period c. 1240-1540 A.D., there is no decisive evidence to show that the Candellas were permanently driven out of Kalinjar; and there may be some truth in the suggestion that Kirat Singh, the Raja of Kalinjar who opposed Sher Shah in 1544 in A.D., was a Candella. The Candella princess Durgavati, who married Raja Dalpat Saha of Garha-Mandla about the year 1545 A.D. and was killed in 1564 gallantly fighting against Akbar, may have been a daughter of this Kirat Rai of Kalinjar.

1 EI, Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 2.
3 Id., 1906, p. 140.
4 According to tradition she was the daughter of the Candella ruler of Mahoba; but see JASH, 1883, Vol. L, p. 42. Was the full name of Kirat Rai, Kiritsvarman?
GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

(Dates Approximate.)

Nannuka (c. A.D. 831) alias Chandravarman (?)

Vākpati

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Jayaśakti, alias} \\
\text{Jejjaka and Jejā}
\end{array}
\]

Vijayaśakti, alias Vijaya,

Vijā and Vijā

Rāhila

Harsa = Kaścikā

Yaśovarman, alias Lakṣavarman

Dhangā (A.D. 954, 955, 995, 1002)

Krṣṇapa = Asarvā

Devalābdhi

Gāpāda

Vidyādhara (A.D. 1019)

Vijayapāla = Bhubanadevi

Devavarman (A.D. 1051) Kirtivarman (A.D. 1098)

Sallakṣapavarman Prithivivarman

Jayavarman (A.D. 1117)

Madanavarman (A.D. 1129, 1130, 1131, 1134, 1148, 1151, 1155, 1158, 1162, 1163)

Pratāpa

Yaśovarman II

Paramardi (A.D. 1167, 1168, 1171, 1173, 1176, 1183, 1184, 1195, 1201, 1202)

Trailokyavarman (A.D. 1205, 1212, 1240, 1241, 1247 ?)

Viravarman = Kalyāṇadevi (A.D. 1261, 1262, 1268, 1281, 1286)

Bhojavarman (A.D. 1288)

Hammiravarman (A.D. 1308)

Kīrāt Rāj (? Kirtivarman II) (A.D. 1544)

Durgāvati = Dalpat of Garha Mandala (A.D. 1545-64),
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12. Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, by Edward Thomas, 1871.

13. Coins of Mediaeval India, by Cunningham.


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CHAPTER XII

HAIHAYAS OF THE UNITED AND CENTRAL PROVINCES

The Haihayas, according to Epic and Purānic tradition, were descendants of Sahasrajit, a son of Yudh and grandson of Yayāti. The name of the family is derived from Haihaya, the grandson of Sahasrajit. Their capital was situated in Māhismatī (mod. Mandhata on the Narbada, Nimar District, C. P.), named after Mahismant, a descendant of Haihaya. The greatest king of this line was Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is called both a Samrāj and a Cakravartin. The next important king of this race was Tālajāṅgha, who had many sons, called the Tālajāṅghas. The Purānas mention five different groups of Haihayas, viz., the Vītibotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis, and Tundikeras, who were all Tālajāṅghas. The Indian inscriptions reveal the existence of some other branches of this line. Thus the Ārjunāyanas, who did homage to the Gupta king Samudragupta, may have claimed descent from the Haihaya Arjuna.

But the most important line that claimed such descent was certainly the Kalacuris, whose name appear in records from at least the 6th century A.D. down to the 16th century. We have seen that Epic and Purānic tradition connects the Haihayas

1 The inscriptions supply a variant of this name, Abhikya; see EI, Vol. XII, pp. 268 ff.; ibid, Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.
2 Pargiter, IHT, pp. 41, 102, 143, 153, 263, etc.
with the middle Narbada valley. Their capital was at Mandhata while one of their subdivisions is actually named Avanti. This tradition about Mandhata was recently confirmed by the discovery of an inscription at Yewur which introduces us to the Mahāmanḍaleśvara Revarasa of the Ahihaya race with the title Māhiṃmati-puravareśvara. It is again interesting to note that the earliest inscriptions of the Kalacuris so far discovered reveal the Avanti-Mandhata region as the stronghold of the tribe. Thus the Abhona plates of the Kalacuri Śaṅkaragaṇa, the son of Krṣṇarāja, dated in (K.) S. 347 (A. D. 593), were issued from Ujjayinī. As the power of the Kalacuris extended as far south as Nasik district, they soon came into conflict with the rising Calukya power. The Calukya king Mangalesa claims to have defeated in the course of an expedition to the north the Kalacuri king Buddha. This Buddha has been rightly identified as the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa; and it has been calculated that these conflicts took place some time between 597-93 and 602 A. D. In their records the Kalacuris use an era which was founded in 248-49 A. D., probably by the Abhiras and first used in the grants of the Traikūṭaka Mahārāja Dahrasena. But this does not prove that the Abhiras and the Traikūṭakas were identical with the Kalacuris. As the Abhona and the Sarsavni grants show that the Kalacuris’ territory was contiguous to the area where this era had its origin, it is not unlikely that they may have adopted it to date their official records. An interesting point in the Kalacuri history is raised by their title Kalanjarai-putavasādhiśvara. As the title occurs

1 EI, Vol. XII, pp. 263 ff. Yewur is a village in the Shorapur taluq of the Gulbarga district in the Nizam’s Dominions.
5 Catalogue of Indian Coins (Amihra, W. Keatrapas, etc.), by E. J. Rapse, 1908, p. clxxi.
6 EI, Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff.; Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff. The Sarsavni grant was issued from Anandapura, identified with Anand in the Kaira district.
in the inscription of the Kalacuris of Kalyani (c. 1145-1183 A.D.) it is possible that the Kalacuris assumed this title after the victories of the Kalacuri king Lakṣmī-Karna (c. 1041-1098) over the Candellas. But the Kalha grant of the Kalacuri Soḍhadeva, dated in (V.) Sams. 1134 (A. D. 1077),¹ seems to suggest that the Kalacuris were in possession of the hill-fort some time before the rise of the Candellas. In this grant Soḍhadeva traces his descent to one Rājaputra, who has been placed by Kielhorn in the beginning of the 9th century. Rājaputra, we are told, was born in the family of Laksmanarāja, whose elder brother is said to have possessed himself of Kālānjara by conquering Ayomukha and subduing the Krathas.² I have already shown that Kālānjara was in the possession of the Gurjara Pratihāras, Rāṣtrakūtas, and Candellas from c. 836 A.D. down to the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India.³ Therefore the brother of Laksmanarāja must have conquered Kālānjara some time before 836 A.D.⁴ In this connection it is interesting to notice the Karitalai and Khoh grants of the feudatory Mahārājas of Uccakalpa dated in the same era that was used by the Kalacuri kings of Malwa.⁵ Their dates range from the (K.) year 174 to 214, i.e., A.D. 423 to 462. Some of these plates were found in the Nagod state, which is not very far from Kalinjar, while one grant was found in the Jubbulpore district. We have already seen that the Kalacuris' dominions extended in the south at least as far as Nasik. On the west they reached at least up to Anand in the Kaira district of Gujarat; and on the east they may have extended along the whole upper course of the Narbada including a large portion of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand.

² Ibid. p. 80, V. 5.
⁴ Cunningham also held that the Kalacuris "obtained possession of Kālānjara long before Maṅgalesha Chālukya in the 6th century." See his ASR, Vol. XVII, pp. 33-34.
⁵ GI, pp. 117-35; BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 293. Fleet suggested that these princes were possibly the 'feudatories of early Kalacuri kings.'
In the present state of our knowledge no connected history of the Kalacuris of this early period is possible; but it seems probable that they were deprived of most of their southern provinces by the steady pressure of the Calukyas of Badami, while the invasion of the Gurjara-Pratihāras from their bases in the Punjab and Rajputana probably drove them out from Malwa sometime in the 7th and the 8th centuries A.D. Possibly also their power after this was confined to the provinces around the upper waters of the Narbada and Bundelkhand. But the rapid rise of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire probably drove them across the Bhaner and the Kaimur hills into the northern districts of the Central Provinces. The Barah grant of Bhojadeva shows that the Pratihāras were already in possession of the Kālaṇjara-viṣaya in 836 A.D. These repeated misfortunes seem to have caused a dispersal of the tribe. While one section of the line remained in the C.P., other sections appear to have dispersed to various parts of India. Some of them accepted service as condottieri under the Deccani and the Northern Indian kings. It was no doubt from one of these families, settled in the south, that the Kalacuris of Kalyani were descended. In the north also at least one branch appears to have accepted service under the Gurjara-Pratihāras. It is difficult to define the exact relationship of the Kalacuris of C.P. with the great Pratihāra emperors; but it is certain that some of the earlier members at least maintained amicable relations with them. It was only after the gradual decline and downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāras that the Kalacuris once again succeeded in making their power felt in North Indian history.

The account of the various branches of the Kalacuris that ruled in Northern India during this period can be conveniently

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1 Fleet found a possible reference to the Kalacuris in the Ārjanāgana of the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta (c. 340-75 A.D.), C.J., Introduction, pp. 9-10.
4 For their history see BG, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 408-89.
grouped under three heads, viz., (1) Kalacuris of Gorakhpur, (2) Kalacuris of Ṣāhala¹ and (3) Kalacuris of Tumnāṇa.² We shall take them one by one.

(1) Kalacuris of Gorakhpur (U.P.).

The existence of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the Kahla plate of Sodhadeva and a stone inscription from Kasia. The second inscription is unfortunately much damaged, and some writing at the end of it is lost, with the name and possibly the date of the reigning king. But from the preserved portion it is clear that the two records represent two distinct families of the Kalacuris which for convenience again we shall designate as the (a) Kahla and the (b) Kasia Kalacuris. The Kahla grant was discovered by a cultivator in his field at the village of Kahla, in tappa Athaisi, pargana Dhuriapar, Gorakhpur District, U.P. The inscription contains 59 lines, and is written on both sides of a single copper-plate. In the middle of the lower part of the plate there is a ring-hole. The seal (which was probably attached to the ring) is circular, and "contains in high relief the figure of a bull, lying down and facing to the proper right;² below it is the legend Śrīmat Sodhadevasya." The characters resemble those on the copper-plates of the Gāhāvāla Govinda-candra (c. 1114-55 A.D.) and Jayaccandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.) of Benares and Kanauj. The language is Sanskrit, but certain proper names are given 'in their vernacular forms or in forms based on them.' The inscription opens with Om Seasti; then begins the genealogy of the donor, which may be tabulated as follows:

¹ Usually known as Kalacuris of Tripuri. On Ṣāhala, see infra, p. 772, fn. 1.
² Popularly known as ' Kalacuris of Ratnapura.' But the dynasty, even after the foundation of Ratnapura claims to be rulers of Tumāṇa (Tumāṇa-gahalpati); see supra, DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 335, 473 and 478; ibid., infra, Vol. II, pp. 812, 815.
³ The Abhoca and Sarasvati grants of the Kalacuris of Malwa appear to have n seals attached to their rings or plates. But the seal on the grants of the Kalacuris of Kalyani, contain the figure of the bull; see BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 169.
HAIHAYAS OF THE UNITED AND CENTRAL PROVINCES 743

Atri
| Soma
| Budha
| Pururavas
| = Urvashi
| Naghu(hu?)sha

In his family (kula)
Haihaya
In his family (vaṃśa)
Kṛtavirya
Kārtavirya Arjuna.¹
In his family a certain
Kalacuri-tilaka...who by conquering Ayomukha and subduing the
Krathas possessed himself of Kālañjara (V. 5)²

His younger brother
Lakṣmanarāja.......conquered Svetpadam.³ (V. 6)
In his family

(1) Rāja Rājaputra.......captured the Turagapati Vāhali, defeated the
kings of the east (Prāci) and lowered the fame of Kriśtin and other princes (V. 7):  

(2) Sivarāja (I)

(3) Sankuragata (I)

¹ This mythical portion of the genealogy does not agree with the Epic and Purānic tradition. The composer of the inscription has omitted many kings. Thus between Haihaya and Kṛtavirya he has omitted 7 kings, viz., (1) Dharmanetra; (2) Kunti; (3) Sāhañjaya; (4) Mahisant; (5) Bhadraśeṣa; (6) Durdam, and (7) Kanaka. Between Nauṣa and Haihaya he has omitted (1) Yasya; (2) Yatu; (3) Sahnarajit, and (4) Sulaśita. See Rāgiter. IHT, p. 144.

² Ayomukha is the name of a mountain, and also a demon. The location of the mountain or the legend here referred to is unknown. See EI, Vol. VII, p. 86, fn. 2. Kratha is the name of a people probably inhabiting the region of Berar. In Purānic tradition Kratha is the son of a king of Vidurtha; see Rāgiter, op. cit., p. 108. In the Mahābhārata the Kratha-Kausika and the Pāṇḍyas are said to have been conquered by Bhismaka the mighty king of the Bhojas (Sabhā, Chap. XIV). Some identify Kratha-Kausika with Puyoḍi (mod. Purna in Berar), see GDI, p. 104.

³ Identified with the northern part of the modern Nasik District in the Bombay Presidency. This shows that this branch of the Kalacuria must have come from beyond the Narbada. The identification of the conqueror of this place with the Tripuri Kalacuri Lakṣmanarāja (EI, Vol. XIX, p. 76; MASI, No. 23, p. 12) has nothing to support it except the similarity of names. See infes, UHNI, Vol. II, p. 715.
(4) Guţambhodhi," obtained some territories from alias Guṇasāgara (I) Bhojadeva and by a warlike expedi-
Kāñcana đevi = tion took away the fortune of the (First wife) Gauḍa\(^7\) *(V. 9).*
Mādina đevi =
(2nd wife)
(5) Ullabha
= Dehaṭṭadevi
abdicated in favour of (6)
(6) Bhāmāna... distinguished himself in war with the king of Dhāra\(^7\) *(Dhārāvanīśa)*; *(V. 13)*
(7) Saṅkaragāna (II) Mugdhatunga
= Vidyā
(8) Guṇasāgara (II) = Lāvanyavati.
Rājavā =
(9) Sivarāja (II) Bhāmāna
= Sugalladevi
(10) Saṅkaragāna (III)
= Yasołekhyadevi
(11) Bhima..... by the decree of fate lost his
kingdom (or was dethroned).
(12) Vyāsa... raised to the throne when the royal
camp was at Gokula-
ghaṭṭa in *(V.) S.1087
(A.D. 1081)*.
(13) Soḍhadeva..... the life of Sarayūpāra (the
bank of the Sarayū; *(V. 80).*

Then in the prose portion of the grant we are informed that
from his residence at Dhuliaghaṭṭa, after bathing, the Pb.-M.-P.-
Maryādāsāgaradeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-mākeśvara,
Soḍhadeva, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti in
*(V.) Saṃvat 1134 (A. D. 1077)*, granted to 14 Brāhmans (names,
gotras, Vedic śākhās and places of residence or origin given)
various pieces of land situated in a group of 6 villages *(pātakas)*
included in the Guṇakala-vīṣaya of (the district of) Tikarikā.
Towards the end, in line 57, we are told that the tāmrapatta
was written by the Ādesa-naibandhika (recorder of orders) Janaka.
in the (V.) Sanskrit 1135 (A.D. 1079), i.e., about 14 months after the donation. In line 59 the grant ends with the sign-manual of Mahārājādhirāja-Sodhadeva.¹

The real founder of this line of the Kalacuris was king Rājaputra. Commenting on the date of the inscription (A.D. 1031), Kielhorn remarked that "it shows that the founder of this new branch of the Kalacuri family...cannot be placed later than the beginning of the 9th century." As Sodhadeva is the 10th in lineal descent from Rājaputra, they cannot be separated by a period of more than 250 years (1031−250=781 A.D.). This prince is said to have captured the 'lord of horses' Vāhali, defeated the kings of the East, and lowered the fame of Kiritin and other princes. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot with certainty identify any of these. But if he was already ruling in the Gorakhpur region in the last quarter of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th, some of the early Pāla kings may be included amongst the prāci-kṣitīndras defeated by him. Nothing is recorded of the next two princes, Sivarāja and Saṅkaragāna I. But it is possible that the last of these two is to be identified with the rājā of the same name who was 'granted freedom from fear' by Kokkalla (c. 860-900 A. D.), the founder of the Tripuri branch of the Kalacuris.² Gunāmbhodhi who succeeded Saṅkaragāna I. is said to have received some land (bhūmi) from Bhojadeva, and taken away the fortune of the Gauda by a warlike expedition. As he is 4th in lineal descent from Rājaputra (c. 780-800 A.D.), he is probably to be referred to the

¹ The plate was discovered in 1889. Kielhorn edited it from impressions in EI, Vol. VII, pp. 85-93. It is now in the Lucknow Museum. The find-spot of the inscription is about 25 miles from the town of Gorakhpur.

² But see infra, p. 754, fn. 5; also EI, Vol. II, p. 306, V. 7. Kielhorn identified the Saṅkaragāna of the Benares grant of Karpā, with Kokkalla’s own son (also called Raṇavigrha), whose daughter Lakṣmī was married by the Rāṣṭra-kuṭa king Jagattungha II, the father of Indra III (A.D. c. 915-17); see ibid, p. 301, also BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 414. But as this Saṅkaragāna is called rājā, and grouped together with Bhoja and Vallaḥbhrāja, the Gorjara-Pratiharas and Rāṣṭra-kuṭa kings, it is more probable that the third prince was also a separate ruler and ‘not’ a mere crown-prince like Raṇavigrha.
last quarter of the 9th century A.D. This would make him a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Bhoja I (c. 836-
882 A.D.), and it seems likely that he took part in the great offensive of Bhoja against his eastern neighbours, the Pāla rulers of Gauḍa.\textsuperscript{1} It is not improbable that Guṇāmbhodhi received a gift of land after the successful termination of this expedition. It is certain that this Kalacuri prince and his immediate feudatories were subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratihāras; for as I have shown elsewhere,\textsuperscript{2} the Pratihāra empire some time after 836 A.D. gradually spread eastwards till in the reign of Mahendrāpāla I it included large portions of Bihar and Northern Bengal. We may therefore venture the conclusion that the Pratihāra held on the Gorakhpur region remained unshaken till their serious reverses at the hands of the Rāstrakūṭas in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D. Nothing definite is known about the next king, Ullabha, except that he abdicated in favour of his younger brother Bhāmāna. This last prince is credited with having distinguished himself in a war against a king of Dhārā; who the latter was is unknown. There is nothing to indicate that the authority of Bhāmāna extended from U. P. to Malwa. But it may be that this king of Dhārā was one of the earlier Paramāras, possibly (Harṣa) Siyaka II, whose Ahmedabad grants are dated in 949 and 970 A.D.\textsuperscript{3} The Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrāpāla II shows that the Gurjaras in 946 A.D. still held portions of Malwa. It is not unlikely that the struggle which made the Paramāras the masters of Dhārā was already raging. We have shown elsewhere that this was only a side-issue of the continuous struggle between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāstrakūṭas.\textsuperscript{4} The Paramāras fought as feudatories of the latter; and Bhāmānadeva, though holding a fief in U. P., may perhaps have fought on this frontier on behalf of his masters. It was probably in this war that he

\textsuperscript{1} JI, Vol. X, p. 52
\textsuperscript{3} PTOC, Madras, 1924, Madras, 1925, pp. 303-96. RI, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79; 296 ff.
found an opportunity to distinguish himself against the Dhāra-
vanīśa. Nothing is recorded of the next 5 rulers (7-10), viz.,
Śaṅkaragaṇa II, Guṇasāgara II, Sīvarāja II, Śaṅkaragaṇa III,
and Bhima. The last was probably dethroned in favour of Vyāsa,
a son of Guṇasāgara II, the 8th prince. The grant records that
this happened in (V.) S. 1087 (A.D. 1031) when the royal camp
(kaṭaka) was at Gokulaghaṭṭa. Vyāsa’s son was Sodha-
deva, the donor of the grant. It is difficult to determine
the exact limits of Sodhadeva’s dominions, as the numerous
localities mentioned in his inscription have not yet been
identified. But since he is called ‘the life of the bank of
Sarayu’ (Sarayupāra-jīvitam) and he bathed in the Gaṇḍaki
before making the grant, we may infer that his dominions
probably included at least the Gorakhpur division of the
U.P., and the Saran district of Bihar. His royal titles
indicate that he was no longer a feudatory. Possibly the
destruction of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power in the Gaṅgā-
Yamunā valley by the Yaminiś and Candellas may have helped
Vyāsa Maryādāsāgara, the father of Sodhadeva, to carve out an
independent principality on the banks of the Gogra and the
Gandak. From the figure of the bull on his seal as well as his
title Parama-māheśvara, we may infer that Sodhadeva was a
worshipper of Siva. Nothing else is known about his reign or
the reign of any of his possible successors. It is however not
unlikely that Sodhadeva was the last prince of this Kalacuri
line. The rise of the Gāhadavāla power in the 2nd quarter of the
11th century appears to have destroyed the power of the Kalacuris on the Gogra. The Candravati grant of Candradeva, dated in
(V.) S. 1150 (A.D. 1093), shows the extension of the Gāhadavāla dominions from Benares and Kanauj to the Svarā-dvāra
tīrtha at the confluence of the Sarayu and the Ghargharā in
Ayodhiyā (Fyzabad district). As the earliest date (A.D. 1090)

1 But see infra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 754, fn. 5, and supra, 745, fn. 2.
2 Most probably the river Gogra which in Oudh is known by the names of Deoba,
Surjoor or Sarayu as well as Ghogra. See IGII, Vol. XII, 1908, pp. 302-03.
of Candradeva is separated only by a period of 11 years from the latest recorded date (A.D. 1079) of the Kahla plate, the founder of the Gahadavālas may well have been the destroyer of Soḍhadeva.

The existence of another family of the Kalacuris in Gorakhpur was revealed by the discovery of the Kasia stone inscription. The blue stone slab on which this is engraved was found at the Buddhist ruins near Kasia, 'in all probability the ancient site of Kuśanagara,' in the district of Gorakhpur (U. P.). The inscription is much damaged, and 'evidently some writing is lost at the end of it.' The existing portion contains 24 lines, and is written in Nāgari characters of about the 12th century A.D. It is throughout in verse, excepting the opening invocation to Buddha. The first four verses are devoted to the praise of Śaṅkara, Pārvatī, Tārā and Buddha. Then follows the mythical and historical portion of the genealogy which may be presented in tabular form as follows:

Vigu (Bhagavān)...created

Brahman created

Atri: From his eye

Manu Candramā (the Moon)

Ilā = Budha

Purūravas = Urvāśī

Āyus

Nahuṣa

Yavāti

Yadu and four other kings.

Sahasrāda

Haihaya

1 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 802. See also DHI, Vol. I, pp. 508-09.
2 In Purānic tradition the name is spelt Śahasrajit, see IHT, p. 144. The inscription omits Śatajit between Śahasrajit and Haihaya.
3 The inscription omits 8 kings between Haihaya and Kārtavirya (Arjuna). See IHT, op. cit., p. 144.
In his family

Kārtavirya
In his family
(1) Saṅkaragāna
(2) Nannarāja
(3) Lakṣmatā (I)
(4) Sivarāja (I)
(5) Bhimaṭa (I)
(6) Itājayatra Lakṣmatā (I)
(7) Sivarāja (II)
(8) Name lost = Bhūdā
(9) Lakṣmatarāja (III)
? = Kāñcanā
(10) Bhimaṭa (II)

The inscription abruptly comes to an end after this. The name of the king in whose reign this record was engraved, as well as the object of it has been lost. It is likely however that the epigraph "recorded the erection of the brick shrine in which the large black stone image of the Buddha" was originally enshrined and near the doorway of which it was discovered. The preserved portion contains no date.¹

The founder of this branch was Saṅkaragāna, about whom we are told that Purajit (Śiva) being pleased instantly granted him an emblem of his own. His son and successor, Nannarāja, is vaguely praised as one "whose fame spread up to the ocean."

¹ The stone inscription was discovered in 1875-76. Kiellborn published a résumé of the contents of the inscription in *NKOWO*, 1903, pp. 300-03. It was fully edited by D. R. Sahn in 1923. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 121-37. It is not impossible that Kāñcanā was the wife of another king whose name has disappeared; see *ibid*, p. 129.
His son Laksmana is credited with having entered a fort and 'resorted to a mountainous district named Saivaya,' which was the sum-total of the universe and the residence of Sibi Aushinara. Kielhorn identified Saivaya with Seweya situated a few miles south or south-east of Kasia. But as Seweya 'is situated on perfectly level ground and not on a mountainous region,' objection has been taken to Kielhorn's suggestion. It appears however probable that Saivaya (or Saicya) 'must have been situated somewhere in the vicinity of Kasia.' The next person and the first to be called a king (narapati) was his son Sivaraja I, whose prowess resembled the light of the flame created by (the sage) Aurva and 'who was more successful even than Kirti.' This Kirti was no doubt the name of a person, but his identity has not yet been ascertained. Can he be the same as the Candella Kirtivarman (A.D. 1098), who by defeating the mighty Karpa and recovering his dominions appears to have performed one of the most sensational military achievements of the period? Nothing is known about his son and successor the Ksittsa Bhimastra (I). The next in the genealogical list is the Rajaputra, Laksmana II, who was probably the son of Bhimastra. It is said of him that 'the title son of a king, the source of virtues, beffitted him more appropriately than hundreds of (other) princes.'

Next is mentioned Sivaraja (II), who is said to have produced 'confusion in the circle of his enemies.' The son of Sivaraja is called 'the crest-jewel of kings' (Narendra-cudamani) but unfortunately his name is lost. His wife (dharma-patni) Bhuda bore to him the narapati Laksmanaraja III. The latter is vaguely praised for his victories against his enemies. His wife Kauncana bore to him the last prince on the list, Bhimastra II, who 'earned fame by his fierce prowess.'

1 Sahni suggests that this is a mistake for Salvya (= Svi) + the suffix -apa, i.e., the country or city of the Sibs. Vogel identified Shorkot in the Punjab as the ancient Silopura; see EI, Vol. XVI, p. 15.
2 Rajaputra Laksmana probably did not reign. In that case Laksmanaraja III should be Laksmanaraja II. It is not absolutely certain that Kauncana was his wife; see supra, p. 749, fn. 1.
From the account given above, it does not seem that this branch of the Kalacuris ever became very powerful. I have already shown that the Gāhadavālas from c. 1093 gradually extended their territories from Kanauj and Benares to the banks of the Gogra. That the Gāhadavālas retained their power on the banks of the Gogra till the reign of their last ruler, is shown by the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of Jayaccandra, dated in (V.) S. 1234 (A.D. 1177), which grants land on the banks of the Daivahā (mod. Deola, another name of the Gogra). It is therefore likely that this branch of the Kalacuris was suffered to remain as a feudatory line after the main dynasty of Kalha was destroyed by Candradeva. Though there is no apparent connection between the Kalha and the Kasiā branches, the occurrence of many common names at least tends to indicate close connection between the families. If my guess about the identification of Kirti with the Candella Kirtivarman (A.D. 1098) be accepted, some of the last princes, at least Bhimaṭa II, may have to be placed in the first half of the 13th century.

(2) Kalacuris of Ḍāhala² (C.P.).

We have already suggested the probability that one of the branches of the Kalacuris was driven into the C. P. by the pressure of Gurjara-Pratihāra power in Bundelkhand. The Kalacuri dynasty of Ḍāhala may have been descended from this Kalacuri stock. We have epigraphic evidence to show that these Kalacuris ruled in the C.P. for at least 300 years. Like the inscriptions of the Kasiā branch their records also trace their descent to the god Viṣṇu. The mythical portion of their pedigree may be summarised in tabular form as follows:

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1 IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 138 and RL, Vol. VII, p. 88, and fn. 2 on p. 88; see also supra.
2 Usually called Kalacuris of Tripuri.

73897
Vishnu: From his navel
(The god) born from the lotus (Brahma)

\[ \text{Atri} \]
The friend of the ocean *(i.e., Moon)*

\[ \text{Budha (or Bodhana)} \]
son-in-law of the 'friend of the lotuses' *(i.e., Sun)*

Pururavas = Urvasi.

In his family

Bharata... 'whose pure fame is proclaimed by the Yamuna, hemmed in by more than a hundred posts of horse-sacrifices (offered by him)'.

In his family *(ancestors)*

The Hathaya-Cakrawarti Kartavirya Arjuna, who imprisoned Ravana... He begat the Kalacuri-vaṃśa.

It will be observed from this table that the list leaves out some mythical kings who figure in the genealogy of the Gorakhpur branches. With one exception,¹ most of the inscriptions omit to mention Haihaya or the Haihayas before Arjuna, while the Khairha plates of Yaśāṅkarna, make Kārtavirya 'the ancestor of the family of these Haihaya princes.'² But the most serious difference seems to be the inclusion of Bharata in the genealogy of the Haihayas. This Bharata cannot be the Paurava Bharata Dauṣyanti, because he flourished after Arjuna. It is likely that the prasastikāras meant the 'mythical king of that name after whom (it is said) India was called Bhāratavarṣa.'³ In the Epic and Purānic lists of the Yādava Haihayas also, the name of Bharata does not occur.⁴

¹ The Bihari stone inscription mentions the Haihayas before Arjuna; see El, Vol. I, p. 963.
³ Pargiter, JAS, pp. 211 and 146.
⁴ Ibid, p. 144.
The first historical name in the genealogy of the Kalacuris of Đähala is that of Kokkalla. No record of his reign has so far been discovered; but the documents of his successors refer to a number of political incidents of his time. Thus the Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja informs us that Kokkalladeva, having conquered the whole earth, set up two unprecedented columns of his fame,—in the quarter of the pitcher-born (Agastya, i.e. the south) that well-known Krṣṇaraṇa, and in the quarter of Kuvera (i.e. in the north) Bhojadēva, a store of fortuno. The Benares grant of Karnā informs us that the hand of Kokkalla granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, the Citrakutabhāpāla Harṣa, and rājā Saṅkaragana. The same inscription further tells us that Kokkalla married a lady named Naṭṭā or Naṭṭādevi (Naṭṭākhyadevi), who was born in the Candella family. Kielhorn rightly identified Krṣṇaraṇa and Vallabharāja of these two records with the Rāstrakūṭa Krṣṇa-Vallabha of Malkhed (c. 878-912 A.D.), and Harṣa with the Candella Harṣa of Khajrāho (c. 900 A.D.). Krṣṇa II married a daughter of Kokkalla, who is described in the Karda plates as the younger sister of Saṅkuka. This Haihaya princess, we are told, ‘attained the rank of chief queen’ (mahādevi) and became the mother of Jagattuṅga, the father

1 Sometimes the family is said to have arisen in the Ātreya-gotra (IA, 1889, XVIII, p. 219). At other times the family is called Haihaya-kula (IA, Vol. XII, p. 265, line 10), Cēdikula (EI, Vol. I, p. 40), and Saṅkarṣvara-rasa-cūli. (ibid, p. 42; IA, Vol. XII, p. 250, line 16).

2 Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokalla (EI, Vol. I, pp. 24) and Kokkalla (EI, Vol. XIX, p. 78). Kokkalla in the Ghatika plates of Prthvīdeva is probably a mistake of the scribe (IA, 1925, p. 44).


5 Ibid, V. 8.


7 IA, Vol. XII, pp. 250 and 265.

8 Ibid, p. 265, line 17. Saṅkuka is probably an abbreviation of Saṅkaragana.
of the famous Indra III (c. 15-17 A.D.), who raided Ujjayini and Kanauj in the reign of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahīpāla I (c. 914-43 A.D.). Possibly Kokkalla may have assisted his son-in-law when the latter suffered disaster at the hands of the Eastern Calukya Vijayāditya III (c. 844-88 A.D.) Naṭḍā or Naṭṭādevi probably belonged to the family of the Candella king Harṣa. In view of the fact that Indra III, the great-grandson of Kokkalla was contemporary with Mahīpāla, the grandson of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhoja I (c. 836-882 A.D.), Cunningham and Kielhorn were perhaps right in identifying the Bhojadeva of the Bilhari and Benares inscriptions with Bhoja I. But as one of the contemporaries of Kokkalla, the Candella Harsadeva, was possibly a contemporary of Mahīpāla I, the younger brother of Bhoja II (c. 908-14 A.D.), it is just possible that the Gurjara contemporary of Kokkalla may have been Bhoja II, and not Bhoja I. Another identification of Kielhorn is also open to doubt as I have already pointed out, viz., that the rāja Saṅkaragana to whom Kokkalla granted freedom from fear was probably one of the Kalacuri kings of that name who ruled in Gorakhpur, and not the prince of that name who was a son of Kokkalla. Cunningham assigned the reign of Kokkalla with certainty to the period between 860 and 900 A.D. In view of the above discussion however it will probably be safer to allot to him the period 875-925 A.D. During these years he firmly laid the foundation of his family's sovereignty. He formed matrimonial alliances with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Candellas,

4 See on this point MASB, Vol. V, p. 65; also JL, Vol. X, p. 52, fn. 4; MASI, No. 29, p. 4.
5 See JL, p. 59, fn. 1; also p. 8, and fn. 2 on p. 8. If Bhojadeva is identified with Bhoja II, Saṅkaragana of the Benares plate is probably to be identified with the Kajla Kalacuri Saṅkaragana II. See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 745, fn. 2, and p. 747, fn. 1.
6 ASR, Vol. IX, p. 103. Rai Bahadur Hiratal places his reign in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.; see ABOI, 1927-28, p. 269.
and kept up friendly relations with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. After consolidating his position at home he seems to have raided a large area of northern and southern India. In the Amoda plates of the Haihaya Prthvideva of Tūmāna (K. S. 831 = 1079 A.D.) Kokkalla is said to have plundered the treasuries of the Karpata, Vaṅga, Gurjara, Koonaka, and Sākambhari kings and also of those born of the Turuṣka and Raghu families.¹ Much of this is no doubt mere praśasti. As the word Turuṣka in the records of this period generally means the Turks represented by the ruling families of Ghazni and Ghūr, and as the earliest recorded date for a Turkish invasion of India cannot be placed before the middle of the 10th century, when Alp-tigin established himself at Ghazni,² the chances of Kokkalla meeting a Turuṣka opponent were extremely remote. Without, therefore, accepting literally all that the poet claims for him, we can believe that he really raided a wide area around his dominions. There is, however, no means to determine the exact limits of his kingdom. In some records of the Tūmāna Haihayas his dominions seem to be designated as Tritasaurya.³ This place has not yet been identified. But as one of his sons is said to have ascended the ancestral throne at Tripuri (6 miles from Jubbulpore, in the Central Provinces), and another appears to have fixed his residence at Tūmāna (mod. Tumāna, 45 miles north of Ratnapur in the Central Provinces), we may infer that Kokkalla’s power extended from the Bhanrer to the Maikal range, or roughly over the region now known as the Jubbulpore Division.

According to the inscriptions of the Haihaya kings of Ratnapura, Kokkalla had 18 sons, of whom the eldest became king of Tripuri, while the others became mandalapatis or feudatory chiefs in the kingdom. They mention Kalingarāja as

¹ EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 75 and 78, Vs. 4-5.
one of these younger sons, from whom the Kalacuris of Tummäna traced their descent. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants reveal the names of some other sons of Kokkalla. Thus the Karda grant of Kakka II (A.D. 972) gives us the name of Saṅkuka, whose younger sister became the queen of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa II. The Saṅgli grant of Govinda IV (A.D. 933) tells us that Jagattunga married Lakṣmī, a daughter of Raṇavigraha, the son of Kokkala, the ornament of the Sahasrārjuna-vanā. The Karda grant mentioned above also informs us that this Jagattunga married Lakṣmī, the daughter of the Cediśvara Saṅkaragaṇa. As in both the grants the issue of Jagattunga by Lakṣmī is stated to be Indra III, it is clear that Raṇavigraha and Saṅkaragaṇa are one and the same person, the latter appellation being his real name, and the former a biruda. The Karda grant reveals the interesting fact that Jagattunga in the course of an expedition during the reign of his father came to the Cedi country and married Govindāmbā, another daughter of his maternal uncle (mātula) Saṅkaragaṇa. This princess became in course of time the mother of Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c. 933-40 A.D.) and the grandmother of Akālavarsa Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.). The Saṅgli grant of Govinda IV gives us the name of yet another son of Kokkalla, named Arjuna. This Arjuna, we are told, had a son named Ammanadeva, 'of exceedingly great might,' whose daughter Vijambā became the wife of Indra III and mother of Amoghavarṣa II and Govinda IV (c. 918-33 A.D.). The records of the Haihayas of Tripuri however do not mention any of these names of the sons of Kokkalla. The Bilhari stone inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II tells us that Kokkalla was

1 IA, Vol. XII, pp. 230 and 233, line 16.
2 Ibid., pp. 265 and 266, line 13.
4 The Cañkya king Vikramāditya II of Bāṇam (733-46 A.D.) also married Lokamahādevī and Trisākhyamahādevī, who were uterine sisters and came from the same Haihaya stock; see ibid., p. 374.
succeeded by his son Mugdhatunīga, while the Benares grant of Karna relates that he was succeeded by Prasiddhadhavala, his son by Naṭṭādevī. As both these names are given as that of the father of Yuvarāja I, it is clear that these two names belong to one and the same person. Hitherto it has been believed that one of these names is a titular name. But possibly both are birudas of the Cediśvara Śaṅkaragana, whose daughters Lakṣmī and Govindāmbā were married to Jagattunīga, the son of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Krṣṇa II. In view of his epithet 'lord of Cedi,' it is difficult to identify Śaṅkaragana with one of the younger sons of Kokkalla who became mere lords of mandulas. As the genealogical lists of the Haihayas of Tripuri does not mention this 'lord of Cedi' amongst the immediate successors of Kokkalla, and as both the names Mugdhatunīga and Prasiddhadhavala look more like birudas than personal names it is likely that the personal name of the eldest son who succeeded him at Tripuri was Śaṅkaragana. If this is accepted, Ranavigrāha must be another biruda of this king. We have not yet discovered any records of this prince; but the Bilhari stone-inscription of Yuvarāja II contains the following description of his victories:

"On his expeditions the forests by the sea, near which his army encamped, had the number of their coral-sprouts doubled by the tips of the hands of women, stretched forth to gather them.

To Malaya his thoughts wandered, because it is there that the waves of the sea are playing, because there that wind is blowing which causes the Kerala women to sport, because there the serpent is stealing the fragrance of the trees.

Having conquered the lines of the country by the shore of the eastern sea, and having taken Pāli from the lord of Kosala,
having uprooted the dwellings of enemies one after another, he was a most splendid master of the sword."

The references to Malaya and Kerala are so vague that they seem to have no historical basis. Excepting the Bilhari inscription, most of the Kalacuri records are silent about the achievements of Prasiddhadhavala. He does not appear to have been powerful enough to pierce through the heart of the Rāstrakūta territory and reach the Malabar coast. It is however not impossible that he may have been associated with some of the southern campaigns of his Rāstrakūta relatives. The conquest of Pāli from 'the lord of Kosala' looks like a statement of fact. Some scholars show a tendency to identify this Pāli with 'the village of Palia in the Balasore district, six miles from the sea shore,' but it seems more likely that it is to be identified with the village of Pali situated 12 miles to the north-east of Ratapur in the Bilaspur district. Cunningham visited this place in 1873-74 and found here 'a fine large tank and the remains of several temples on its banks' in the style of the Khajraho temples. There can be no doubt therefore that the village marks the site of an important city. It is however difficult to identify the Kosalendra from whom this place was taken by Mudphatunga. It is possible that this prince was a member of the dynasty conveniently designated as 'Sarabhapura kings.' Land-grants of two kings of this line, named Mahājayarāja and Mahāsudevarāja, have been discovered in Raipur, Arang, Khariar and Sarangarh, all situated in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces. The grants contain circular seals with the standing figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī. They are written in the 'boxheaded

4 For these grants see Fleet, GL, pp. 191-200; EI, Vol. IX, pp. 170-74 and 381-95; Hirai, DLI, pp. 96-97. The characters of the grants belong to the southern class of alphabets. For the Birpur stone-inscription of Sivagupāsa Bālārjuna, see EI, Vol. XI, pp. 184-97.
variety of the Central Indian alphabet, and are all issued from Sarabhapura. It has been suggested that these Sarabhapura princes drove away the line of rulers known as 'Sripura kings' from the Raipur region into the middle Mahanadi valley, but were themselves gradually supplanted by the Kalacuris. The records of these 'Sripura kings' were issued from Sripura (mod. Sirpur) and were all found near about the Raipur district. Their seals bear the figure of Garuda, and they claim to belong to the Pându-vamśa and assume the title 'lord of Kosala' (Kosalādhipati). The characters in their inscriptions belong to the northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or the 9th centuries A.D. In spite of overwhelming paleographic evidence, some scholars have tried to link together these 'Sripura kings' with the so-called 'Somavamśi kings of Kaṭak,' who also called themselves 'lords of Kosala,' and had similar names and titles. If this be accepted then the Kośalendra defeated by Prasiddhadhavala may possibly have been some princes of this dynasty, and not of the Sarabhapura line, for the latter, though it ruled in Kosala, never seem to have assumed the title of Kośalendra. After the conquest of Pāli from the king of Kosala, Prasiddhadhavala may have reached the shores of the Bay of Bengal by following the lower courses of the river Mahanadi.

Prasiddhadhavala was succeeded by his son Bālaharṣa. The Bilhari inscription omits him; but the Benares grant of Karna distinctly calls him a nṛpati. So it is certain that he ruled for some time. As that record only praises him in general terms, and most other inscriptions do not mention him at all, he must have had a very short and inglorious reign; and he may have

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1 This place has not yet been identified; but Rāi Bahadur Hiracal thinks that this may be another name of Sirpur, in the district of Raipur, see DLI, p. 90.
2 DLI, p. 90.
been the king of Cedi who was 'impetuously' defeated by the Candella Yāsovarman. His younger brother Yuvarāja who succeeded him, is given in the Bilhari inscription the birudā Keyūravarsa. The same record gives the following account of his victories: "Who fulfilled the ardent wishes of the minds of the women of Gauda, who was a deer to sport on those pleasure-hills—the breasts of the damsels of Karnāṭa, (and) ornamented the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa; who engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kaśmīra, (and) was fond of the charming songs of the women of Kaliṅga. Up to the Kailāsa... and up to the noble eastern mountain over which the sun shines forth, near the bridge of the waters, and as far as the western sea, too, the valour of his armies brought endless anguish on hostile people." In spite of obvious exaggerations, it is possible that the Kalacuris recovered from the effects of their defeat at the hands of the Candellas under Yuvarāja I, who, following the usual practice of successful kings, raided the countries all round his dominions. The conflict with the Karnāṭa sovereigns, who must be identified with the Rāstrakūṭa sovereigns of the Deccan, throws interesting light on the relations of these two dynasties. We have seen how intimate was the bond of union between these two royal families. Since the time of Kokkalla, the Kalacuris of Tripūrī had formed frequent matrimonial alliances with the Rāstrakūṭas of Malkhēd. Even Yuvarāja himself gave his daughter Kundakadevi as a bride to Amoghavarsa III Vaddiga (c. 933-40 A.D.). The Karhad grant of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.), seems to indicate that he also, like his father, married a Saahasārjuna princess. These

1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 132. Kulhorm suggested that the defeated Cedi king was Yuvarāja I; see ibid., Vol. II, p. 301. But chronology and facts seem to point out that the defeat should be referred to the weak reign of his elder brother. See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 675.
matrimonial alliances may be represented by the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kokkalla</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>(1) Krṣṇa II</td>
<td>c. 888-912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Arjuna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saṅkaragana (Saṅkuka ?)</td>
<td>[Mugdhaṭoṅga, Praśiddhavala, Rāṇasvigraha]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ammađeva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuvrāja I</td>
<td>Lakṣmi = Jagoṭṭhuṅga = Govindāmbā</td>
<td>son of (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kundakadevi = (4) Amoghaṭara III Yaddiga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 933-40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>son of (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indra III = Vijāmbā</td>
<td>c. 915-17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>son of (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahasrārjuna = (5) Krṣṇa III (Kalacuri)</td>
<td>princess</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c. 940-56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>son of (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows that in three generations, within a period of less than three-quarters of a century (c. 888-956 A.D.), there were no less than six marriages between the two families. The recent discovery of the Jura inscription of Krṣṇa III in the State of Maihar in Baghelkhand and the references to the possible Rāṣṭrāṅga occupation of Kalinjar contained in the Deoli and Karhad plates of the same king show that the Rāṣṭrāṅgas' dominions during this period probably encircled the Kalacuri kingdom in the north, west, and south. It is not impossible that the Kalacuris may have even assisted the Rāṣṭrāṅgas in their northern campaigns against the Gurjara-Pratihāras and their Candella feudatories. But the references to the conflict of the Kalacuris and the Karnāṭas show that this period of close alliance and cooperation had come to an end. This conclusion is also supported by the Karhad plates of Krṣṇa III, which tell us that during his father's reign (c. 933-40 A.D.) he conquered a Sahasrārjuna.

From the fact that this prince is described as 'an elderly relative of his mother and his wife' it seems very likely that the defeated Kalacuri prince was no other than Yuvarāja I, the father of his mother. This conflict must have happened some time before 940 A.D., when Yuvarāja was already well advanced in years.

The limits of the kingdom of Yuvarāja I cannot be definitely fixed. But the Chandrehe stone-inscription, a seems to indicate that in the north it included a portion of Baghelkhand. This document is written on two slabs of stone 'built into the walls of the front verandah of a Saiva monastery which stands close to the great temple of Siva at Chandrehe,' on the Son river in Rewa. It belongs to the Mattamayūra sect of the Śaiva ascetics. One of these, Prabhāvasīva, we are told, was greatly honoured by Yuvarāja. The identity of this prince is established by another stone-inscription, a said to have been discovered in the ruins of Gurgi some 12 miles to the east of the town of Rewa. The 6th verse of this record tells us that the Mattamayūra ascetic Prabhāvasīva 'was brought to this part of the country by Yuvarāja-deva, son of Mughdatunga, and made to accept a monastery or a temple.' As this last inscription also refers to the building of a high temple at the place by the same king, it is likely that Yuvarāja's power extended across the Son to the north of the Kaimur Range.

The association of Yuvarāja with Śaiva ascetics is also revealed by a number of other records. An unpublished inscription, found at Malakāpuram, in the Madras Presidency, tells us that Yuvarāja gave 3 lakhs of villages as a bhikṣā to the Śaiva

2 The inscription is dated in (K.)S. 734 (A.D. 973) and records the re-excavation and rebuilding of a wall by Prabodhaśīva which was formerly excavated by his guru Prakāntaśīva. The latter was the disciple of Prabhāvasīva. The inscription was composed by the kavi Dvākhaṇḍa. See IA, Vol. XX, p. 83; ASI, WC, 1921, pp. 53-54; MASI, No. 23, pp. 117-22.
3 ASI, WC, 1921, pp. 51-52. MASI, No. 23, pp. 122-29. This is another record of the śaiva ascetic Prabodhaśīva.
teacher Sadbhāvasambhu of the Dāhala-mandala situated between the Bhāgirathī and the Narmadā.\(^1\) The Bilhari stone-inscription tells us that Yuvarāja had as his wife Nohalā, who traced her origin to the Caulukya lineage. She was the daughter of Avanivarman, who was the son of Sadhanva and grandson of Simhavarman.\(^2\) Nohalā is said to have erected near the modern Bilhari a large temple of Siva, which she endowed with the villages Dhaṅgāṭa-pāṭaka, Pōndī, Nāgabala, Khaila-pāṭaka, Viḍā, Sajjāhalī, and Goṣṭhapālī. She is also reported to have given the villages of Nipāniya, and Ambi-pāṭaka to the sage Īśvarāsīva, a disciple of Sabdaśīva, who again was a disciple of Pavanaśīva, \(^3\) as a reward for his learning.\(^4\) The Karitalai stone-inscription of the time of Laksmaṇarāja supplies us with the name of one of the officers of the administration of this king. We are told that the Brāhmaṇa Bhāka Miśra, who flourished in the family of the sage Bhāradvāja, served Yuvarāja as his chief minister (mantri-pradhāna).\(^5\) No records of this king have so far been discovered.

Yuvarāja I was succeeded by Laksmaṇarāja, his son by Nohalā. There appears to have been no weakening of the Kalacuri power under his administration; and if the records can be believed, he considerably increased the prestige of his house by invading the territories of his neighbours. Thus the Bilhari inscription tells us that \(^6\) the powerful Cedi lord (Cedi-nātha)

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1. Mentioned by Hiralal in ABOF, 1927-28, pp. 288-90. Hiralal also suggests that the Golakī Maṭha of this inscription should be identified with the Caunath Jogi temple at Bheraghat. If this is accepted, that temple, which was founded by Sadbhāvasambhu, must be referred to the time of Yuvarāja I; see ibid. For his temples, see MASI, No. 36, pp. 31 ff.

2. An interesting fact about the origin of this Caulukya family is that they trace their descent from the Culaka of Droga Bhāradvāja, while the CaULKyas of Bādami traced their descent from that of Brahman; see BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 180. For the story of origin of the Caulukyas of Amabilapāṭaka (Gujarat), see infra, chapter on the Caulukyas.

3. EI, Vol. I, pp. 269-67 Va. 30-45. Cunningham identified Pōndī with the village of Pondi situated 4 miles to the N. W. of Bilhari. He also suggested that Khaila-pāṭaka was probably represented by Khilwara, 6 miles east-north-east of Bilhari; see ibid, p. 291; also ASE, Vol. IX, p. 104.

marched with all his elephants and horses, (and) accompanied by strong foot-soldiers of tributary chiefs (Sūmanta-patti), to the very pleasant western region, inspiring his adversaries with fear......Having valorously struck down (adversaries) who were humbled in battle, having his commands honoured by presents offered by princes who bowed down (before him).....he made the host of his army sport in the water of the ocean. Having bathed in the sea, the illustrious (prince) then worshipped Someśvara with golden lotuses; but he also presented something else. After defeating the lord of Kosala (Kosala-nātha), he made (the effigy of the serpent) Kāliya wrought of jewels and gold, which was obtained from the prince of Odra (Odra-nrapati), a reverential offering to Someśvara. Having besides presented elephants, horses, splendid dresses, garlands, sandal and other (gifts), the prince to get out of the toils of this life, humbly praised (the god), full of joy." ¹ The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmi-Karna gives him credit for conquering the kings of Vaṅgāla, Pāṇḍya, Lāṭa, Gurjara and Kāśmīrā. ²

These descriptions of Lakṣmanarāja’s victories are of course not free from the usual suspicion attaching to all royal praśastis; but certain statements in them seem to contain some truth. His claim to have advanced as far as Somnath (Patan), in the Kathiawar peninsula, seems to be based on an historical fact. During the second half of the 10th century A.D., which probably saw the reigns of both Lakṣmanarāja and his father Yuvaraja I, great confusion prevailed in the Gurjara and Lāṭa countries. During the first half of the 10th century Southern Gujarat (Lāṭa) was held by the Silāhāra feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakaḥṭaka, while Northern Gujarat was possessed by the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. With the decline of the Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūta powers in

the 2nd half of the 10th century, their hold on those distant provinces also grew weak, and during the last quarter of this century we find the Caulukya Mūlaraja (c. 974-95 A.D.) fighting with Bārappa, the general of the Cālukya Taila II (c. 973-97 A.D.), for the possession of Gujarāt.¹ In this period of uncertainty, therefore, it was not very difficult for a daring king to penetrate into Gujarāt and Kathiawar with a mobile force. It is interesting to remember in this connection the claim of Yuvarāja I to have 'imported with Lāṭa women.' By penetrating to Somnath (Paṭan), therefore, Lakṣmaṇarāja merely carried forward a step further the policy initiated by his illustrious predecessor. The references to the ornamented effigy of the serpent Kāliya seem to indicate that his claim to victory over the lord of Kosala was also genuine. It is however difficult to identify this Kosala-nāṭha or the Odra-nṛpati from whom Yuvarāja obtained the bejewelled Kāliya. The former may have been one of the earlier members of the Somavamśi rulers of Orissa who regularly assumed the title of Kosalendra.² There is again no inherent impossibility in the claim that Lakṣmaṇarāja defeated the king of the Vaṅgalas. For the second half of the 10th century marked a dark patch in the history of the Pālas, which appears to have culminated in the Kamboja rebellion. The references in the records of the Pālas and the Varmans, as well as the Paikor (Birbhum dist., Bengal) pillar inscription of Lakṣmi-Karna, conclusively prove that the Kalacuris in the first half of the 11th century were in intimate contact with the Bengal rulers.³

³ DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 326 ff. King of the Vaṅgalas was probably the Varman prince of E. Bengal. See ibid, pp. 318, 334, 331 ff.
It may well be that Yuvarāja I, and his son Lakṣmanarāja laid the foundation of that eastern policy, which at last culminated in the reign of Lakṣmi-Karṇa (c. 1042-90 A.D.). There is however some difficulty in accepting the claim to victory over Kashmir which is made on behalf of both Yuvarāja I and his son Lakṣmanarāja. It must be admitted that the 2nd half of the 10th century was also one of the most inglorious epochs in the history of Kashmir. From Kṣemagupta (950-58 A.D.) to the end of the reign of Diddā (980-1003 A.D.), she was a constant prey to anarchy and civil war. But the valley of Kashmir is so distant from the borders of the Kalacuri dominions, that we are loth to accept this claim without some confirmatory evidence from an independent source. The same argument applies to Lakṣmanarāja’s claim to victory over the Pāṇḍya king. Though the decay of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa power and the uncertain position of the newly re-established Cālukya dynasty made it comparatively easy for a king of the C.P. to invade the southern portion of the Indian peninsula, yet in view of the great distance separating the two countries it would perhaps be better to reserve our judgment till we discover some evidence stronger than the eulogy of a court poet. The only piece of indirect evidence which may possibly be quoted in favour of this southern campaign of Lakṣmanarāja is his matrimonial alliance with the rising power of the Cālukyas of the Kanarese districts. We know from the records of the latter, that he married his daughter Bonthādevī to Vikramādītya IV, the father of Āhavamalla-Nūrmadī Taila II (c. 973-997 A.D.), who destroyed the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhēd about A.D. 973. It is not impossible that Lakṣmanarāja may have invaded

3 BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 427. Hirala mentions Tailapa II as the daughter’s son of Yuvarāja II. This must be a mistake; see his article in the ABOJ, 1937-38, p. 291.
peninsular India to assist his new allies against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

The Bilhari stone-inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II shows that Lākṣmaṇarāja continued his father’s patronage of the Saiva ascetics. We are told that this line of ascetics emigrated from Kadambaguhā. An object of veneration of these sages was Rudraśambhu. His disciple was Mattamayūranātha, who, ‘became possessed, oh! of the town (?) of the prince of Avanti.’ His disciple’s disciple was Mādhumāteya. His disciple’s disciple was Hṛdayaśiva, who ‘still further increased the renown spread over the illustrious Mādhumāteya lineage (vamśa).’ We are then informed that the Cedi-candra, Lākṣmaṇarāja showed his devotion to this sage, ‘by presents sent by well-conducted messengers.’ He also ‘made over to that great ascetic the monastery of the holy Vaidyanātha.’

The only record so far known of this prince is the Karitalai stone-inscription of his minister (mantri-tālaka) Someśvara, the son of Bhāka Miśra, who served as the chief minister of his father. This record, which was found at Karitalai, a village in the Mudwara subdivision of the Jubbulpore District of the C. P. (Lat. 24°3’N, Long. 80°46’E), is much damaged, and the preserved portion, which contains 34 lines, appears to be ‘only the concluding portion of an apparently much longer inscription, the upper part of which is missing.’ The missing portion probably contained an eulogy of the earlier Cedi rulers of Tripuri, especially Yuvarajadeva I and Lākṣmaṇarāja, who are actually mentioned in the sequel.’ Verses 2-17 of the preserved portion give an account of the family of the Brāhman minister of the king, who belonged to the vamśa of Bharadvāja. He is described in verse 9 as bhatta-Someśvara-dikṣita. The proper object of

the inscription is to record that this Somesvara built a temple of Viṣṇu named after the founder Somasvámideva, in which this inscription was apparently set up. The latter part of the inscription records certain donations, mainly by the royal family. For the maintenance of a Pura for eight Brāhmans, near the temple, the king granted the village of Dṛgghasākhīka (which may be the modern Dīghë of the maps, about 6 miles S.E. of Karitalai). His queen Mahādevī Rāhādā gave to the temple the village of Cakrahṛadi, while the king’s son, the Parana-vaishnava Sāṅkaragāna, made a donation on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. There is no date in the preserved portion of the inscription.

Lakṣmanarāja was succeeded by Sāṅkaragāna, his son by Rāhādā. This prince is omitted by the Goharwa grant of Lakṣmi-Karṇa; but he is mentioned as king in the Benares and the Bilhari inscriptions. Both these records praise him only in vague terms, without any remark of the slightest value. He probably had a rather brief and inglorious reign. The only interesting fact known about him is his devotion to the god Viṣṇu (Vaishnava-parana).

After Lakṣmanarāja came his younger brother Yuvārāja II. The Goharwa plates of Lakṣmi-Karṇa call him a ‘moon among the kings of Cedi’ (Cedindra-candra), who became a ‘supreme ruler’ (Parameśvara). The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasimha tells us that he dedicated the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Someśvara (i.e., Somanātha

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1 An account of the contents of the inscription was first given by Cunningham, ASR, Vol. IX, p. 31. It was then edited from a rubbing by Kielhorn, EI, Vol. II, pp. 174-78.
in Gujarat). It was probably in the course of this western expedition, which he may have undertaken, to emulate the success of his father, that he came into violent conflict with the Paramāras. The Udaipur praśasti of the kings of Malwa informs us that Vākpati II (Muṇja) (c. 974 A.D.) "conquering Yuvarāja and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripuri." This expedition by Vākpati was probably undertaken as a retaliation for the western campaigns of the Kalacuri kings. The remark in the Khairha and the Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ-Kaṇḍa that Yuvarāja "purified the town of Tripuri," may have a veiled reference to the purificatory ceremonies which the Kalacuri king possibly performed after the re-occupation of his capital. In connection with these hostilities between Vākpati and Yuvarāja, it is interesting to remember the struggles between the former and the Cālukya Tāraka II, the nephew (sister's son) of Yuvarāja. The recent discovery of the Ahmedabad grants of the Paramāra Harṣa Styaka II (c. 947-70) has shown that the predecessors of Vākpati were feudatories of the Rāstrakūtas of Mānyakaṭaka. This explains to some extent the nature of the struggle between the Rāstrakūtas, Cālukyas, Kalacuris, and Paramāras of this period. These conflicts, in which the Rāstrakūtas ceased to exist as a great power in the Deccan and in which Tripuri was plundered and Vākpati Muṇja met a tragic end, were possibly not detached incidents, but only episodes of the long drawn duel between the Rāstrakūtas and Paramāras on the one hand and the Cālukyas and Kalacuris on the other. The alliance between the Cālukyas and the Kalacuris however did not long survive these events. The claim put forward in some of the

1 IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215-16, line 7. MASI, No. 23, pp. 14-15, curiously enough, thinks that these "epithets applicable to Yuvarāja I" have been "misapplied" by the inscription to his grandson Yuvarāja II.
3 EI, Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 7.
later Cālukya records that Tālīa, in addition to subverting the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, overcame the king of Cedi, indicates that Yuvarāja II must have subsequently come into conflict with his relatives. Thus the history of Kalacuri-Cālukya relationship forms a close parallel to the earlier Kalacuri-Rāṣṭrakūṭa connections.

The only record which can be referred to the time of Yuvarāja II is the Bilhari stone-inscription of the Saiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect, who originally emigrated from Kadambaguhā. The stone which bears it is said to have been found at Bilhari (the Balīhri of the maps, Lat. 23°48' N., Long. 80°19'E.), described as one of the oldest towns in the Jubbulpore district of the C. P. The record consists of 33 lines, the last 3 lines of which are somewhat damaged. It opens with Om namah Śivāya and then invokes Śiva under various names. Next it traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Atri down to Yuvarāja II. It also contains a list of the various Saiva ascetics who were honoured by or received gifts from these princes. The proper object of the inscription is to record the various gifts and endowments to the temple of Śiva raised by Nohalā, the queen of Yuvarāja I. Towards the end we are told that the inscription was set up in the monastery of Nohaleśvara by the holy preceptor Aghoraśiva, the disciple of the sage Ḫydayaśiva, who was a contemporary of Lakṣmanarāja. Verses 83-84 mention the names of Tripuri (mod. Tewar near Jubbulpore), Saubhāgyapura (mod. Sohagpur in Rewa state), Lavaṇanagara, Durlabhapura and Vimānapura (?), 'the inhabitants of which would seem to have had to contribute towards the support of the temple.' V. 85 informs us that this composition 'would deserve praise (even from the wonder-struck poet (vismīta-kavi) Rājaśekhara.' The praśasti was partly composed by Śrīnivāsa and partly by Sajjana. It was written by Nārī, the son of

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Karaniya Dhira, and engraved by Nanna, son of the Sutradhara Saṅgama. The inscription is not dated; but Kielhorn felt no hesitation in assigning it to about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century.\footnote{1}

Yuvarāja II was succeeded by his son Kokalla II. No record of this prince has so far been discovered and in the inscriptions of his successors he is generally praised in very vague terms. Thus the Jubbulpore and Khaira plates of Yaśanu-Karna call him 'a lion-like prince, the progress of whose four-fold (caturāṅga) armies was checked (only) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.'\footnote{2} The only interesting thing recorded about him in these inscriptions is that he was placed on the throne by the chief ministers (amātyamukhyāḥ) of Yuvarāja II.\footnote{3} This may indicate that he was not the heir-apparent of his father, or when his father died Kokalla was still a minor. The silence of the prāṣastikārās clearly shows that his reign did not form a brilliant chapter in the history of the Kalacuris. It is therefore likely that the Kalacuri-candra who 'worshipped' the great Candella king Vidyādharā 'full of fear like a pupil' is to be identified with this prince.\footnote{4} Kokalladeva, like his predecessors, may have had also something to do with the Mattamayūra Saiva ascetics. His name apparently occurs in the lower part (line 40) of a much damaged stone inscription of these ascetics, discovered at Gurgi (12 miles E. of Rewa).\footnote{5}

\footnote{1} Edited by Kielhorn, EI, Vol. I, pp. 291-70. Just before the last verse (90) occurs 'Kāyaśtha śrī-Śrīkaṇṭa.' It is difficult to construe the genitive with the preceding or the following verse. Kielhorn suggested that Śrīkaṇṭa may have been the writer of a portion of the anology; see ibid., fn. 30 on p. 290. V. 63 of this inscription seems to refer to a real incident in Yuvarāja II's life, viz., the slaughter of a fierce tiger with his bare hands which wielded a knife. The record is now in the Nagpur Museum.

\footnote{2} EI, Vol. II, pp. 3-4; Vol. XII, p. 211, V. 8. This verse also occurs in the Kumbhi grant of Vijayasimha; see JASB, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 489, V. 6.\footnote{3} Ibid.


\footnote{4} ASI, Wh, 1921, p. 51; MASI, No. 20, pp. 122 ff., line 10. The next line (11) mentions water-forts (jala-dhara) in connection with the king of Gajja. At present it is difficult to know whether this king of Gajja had anything to do with Kokalla II. MASI, No. 25, p. 9, seem to be wrong in reading in this a reference to incidents of the reign of Yuvarāja I.
Kokalla II was succeeded by his son Gāṇgeya. The only inscription of this prince so far known, is the Piawan rock-inscription. Piawan is a small valley, 25 miles to the N.N.E. of Rewa. At the western end of the valley, below a waterfall formed by a small stream, there is a rock formed into an Argha for the reception of a linga. The inscription is engraved on this rock. It consists of 6 lines and begins with the name of the king: Śrīmad-Gāṇgeyadeva Māhārājādhirāja Paramesvara... Mahāmandalesvara. The record is damaged, but it contains the date (K.) Samvat 789 (A.D. 1038), and ends with Śrī-Ḍhāhala-mīti. It was certainly a Saiva record, for it contains the word Mahēśvara.¹

This inscription shows that Gāṇgeya had already succeeded his father as king of Dāhala before 1038 A.D., and that at that date his dominions had extended in the north to within 50 miles from Allahabad. An earlier date of his reign is supplied by the Kitābul-Hind of Bīrūnī, composed about 1030 A.D.,² which mentions Dāhala with its capital Tīaurī as one of the countries of India. At the time of the composition of this work the ruler of that country was Gāṇgeya, no doubt the Gāṇgeyadeva of the Piawan rock-inscription. In the records of his successors Gāṇgeya is given credit for extensive conquests. Thus the Goharwa plates of Laksman-Karna tell us that Gāṇgeya imprisoned the king of Kīra and defeated the rulers of Āṅga, Kuntala, and Utkala.³ The Khairha and the Jubbulpure grants of Yaśah-Karna inform us that he became famous under the name Vikramāditya.⁴ The same two grants in a rather obscure verse

¹ Edited by Cunningham, ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 112-13, and plate XXVIII. In his list of northern inscriptions Kielhorn gives the date with a sign of interrogation; see EI, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 56, No. 406. Ḍhāhala is possibly another variation of the name spelt as Dāhala (Gl. p. 118), Dāhala, Dāhala, Dāhala, Dāhala, Dāhala, etc. In Khmerese sometimes Dāhala.
seem to refer to Gāṅgeya's victory over the king of Kuntala. It has been translated as follows: "The crest-jewel of crowned heads, he became famous under the name Vikramāditya, wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again." According to Hirahal, the eulogist evidently seems to convey that Gāṅgeyadeva was so noble that he restored the Kuntala country to its king who was defeated and was running away with dishevelled hair? A Candella inscription from Mahoba tells us that when Gāṅgeyadeva who had conquered the world (jīta-viśva) perceived before him (this) terrible one (Vijayapāla) ... the lotus of his heart closed the knot of pride in battle. It is difficult to separate prāsasti from facts in these claims. But the fact that he is given the credit of having conquered the world in an enemy's record is highly significant. I have already indicated elsewhere that the reign of Vijayapāla probably represented a rather inglorious period of Candella history. The Piawan rock-inscription, as well as the statement in the Kalacuri records that Gāṅgeya took up his residence at the feet of the holy fig-tree at Prayāga, shows the extension of his power up to the Ganges in the north. It suggests also the possibility that the whole of the Baghelkund Agency had passed into his possession. Our inference is further supported by the statement of Baihaqi, who tells us that when Ahmad Nīyāl-tīgīn, the general of the Yamini king Ma'sūd I (c. 1030-40 A.D.), invaded 'Banāras,' (c. 1034 A.D.) that city belonged to the territory of Gang (irāpye गंगा). It is possible that this Gang is to be identified with the Kalacuri king Gāṅgeya. At this time the

Gurjara-Pratihāras had practically disappeared as an effective power in the Ganges-Jumna valley. The death of Vidyādhara had also probably caused a decline of Candella influence in the Doab. Under the circumstances it was not impossible for a daring ruler to advance from his base at Allahabad up the Jumna valley into Kangra, and capture a petty Kira prince ruling in that area. In the east the Ağa king at this time was probably the Pāla ruler Mahipāla I; and an attempt to advance down the Ganges valley from Allahabad may have brought Gāṅgeya into conflict with him also. This would receive confirmation from the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the Rāmāyaṇa if we could accept the identification of the Gauḍa-dveja Gāṅgeyadeva mentioned in it with the Tripuri ruler of that name. The colophon runs as follows: Sāvat 1076 (A.D. 1019) Āsādha vadi 4, Mahāraja dhirāja punyāvaloka Somacāmśodbhava Gauḍa-dveja Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva-bhujyamāna-Tīrabhuktāu Kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye. Similarly it is not impossible that he may have attacked the rulers of Orissa from some base in the Bilaspur district by following the downward course of the Mahanadi. In his hostility to the kings of the Kanarese districts (Kuntala) he was carrying on the policy laid down by his predecessor Yuvarāja II. The defeated Kuntala king was most probably Vikramaditya V Trihubvanamalla (c. 1009-1011 A.D.), the grandson of Taila II. The only recorded instance of the defeat of Gāṅgeyadeva is probably found in the statement of the Pārijātamañjari of Madana which tells us that (the Paramāra king) Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) "had his desires speedily fulfilled for a long time at the festive defeat of Gāṅgeya" (Gāṅgeya-bhang-otsava). Hultzsch rightly identified this prince with the Tripuri Kalacuri Gāṅgeya.

The success of Gāṅgeya as a ruler is probably better

illustrated by the evidence of his coins. He was the first, and, so far as our present knowledge goes, also the last, in his dynasty to strike his own coins. Their design is very simple. The obverse is occupied by the legend containing the king’s name, while the reverse shows the limbate figure of Lakṣmī seated cross-legged. His coins in gold, silver, and copper form, in the opinion of Cunningham, ‘a perfect monetary system,’ which ‘must have been very useful and convenient.’

The only record of the building activity of Gāngeya is probably contained in the Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇādevī, which tells us that he ‘made the earth, though resting below, rise beyond the heavens up to the abode of the gods by raising (on it) a Meru without equal.’

According to the Brhat-Samhitā Meru denotes a particular kind of temple (hexagonal, with twelve stories, variegated windows, and four entrances). It is difficult to determine whether this was dedicated to a Saiva or a Vaiṣṇava deity. It was probably a Saiva temple, for there is some evidence to show that Gāngeya was a devotee of Siva. His only inscription, that of Piawan which mentions the name of Maheśvara seems to have been a Saiva record. But what appears to be conclusive evidence on the point is the statement of his son’s Benares grant, that the latter meditated on the feet of Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahā-rajaḍhirāja-Paramesvara-Sṛi-Vāmadeva. From A.D. 1042, the date of this record, onwards several successors of Lakṣmī Karna also refer to themselves in their records as meditating on the feet of Vāmadeva. The custom was later on adopted from the Kalacuris by some of the later Candellas of Jejāka-bhukti.

As the name of Vāmadeva does not

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1 CMI, p. 72, Plate VIII, Nos. 1-5; CCIM, pp. 251-53, Plate XXVI, No. 7.
3 Ibid., p. 6, ln. 42. Brhat-samhitā, LVI, 20. As Meru is the name of a mythical mountain of enormous height, it is likely that the temples called by that name were also very lofty and big in size.
6 IA, Vol. XVII, p. 292, lines 4-5. Here Vāmadeva is also given the additional title of Parama-maheśvara. See also supra, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 794 and 796, ln. 1.
occur in the genealogical lists of either the Kalacuris or the Candellas, the question of the identification of Vāmadeva appeared to present an insoluble problem.¹ Vāmadeva is of course a well-known name of Śiva; but as he is given the epithets Pbh.-M.-P. and in some even designated Parama māheśvara it is unlikely that Śiva was meant by this name. From the epithets used, there is no doubt that in every case the predecessor of the reigning prince is meant by the name of Vāmadeva. The solution of the difficulty may perhaps be found in the suggestion of Dr. Barnett that these princes who are called Vāmadeva, were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that god that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself. The only instance of such deification of kings hitherto recorded in Indian history is provided by an inscription from Kurugōdu, a village in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. In this record the Sinda Mahāmāndalesvara Rācamalla I, the grandfather of Rācamalla II, a feudatory of the Cālukya Someśvara IV of Kalyani (c. 1183-89 A.D) is said to have reappeared after his death in the form of a linga. The inscription states that

"Even after attaining a place in the world of Śiva he formed a linga for the earth by union therewith.

So having come and stood at the western side of (the temple of) the god Svayambhū of the town of Kurugōdu, and arisen in the form of a linga so as to delight the whole world, he became very famous under the title of 'the god Udbhava-Rācamalleśvara."²

Some time before 1042, the earliest recorded date of his successor, Gāngeya ³ found salvation (mukti) with his 100 wives

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(grhinis) at Prayaga (Allahabad). As his Samvatsara-sraddha was performed in that year, he seems to have died in 1041 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Karna begotten on queen Demati, also called Lakṣmi-Karna. The names of his two immediate successors, Yasah-Karna and Gayā-Karna, perhaps show that Lakṣmi-Karna was his real name. In the records of his own family however he is always known by the shortened form Karna. Such abbreviations of names are by no means an uncommon feature of the records of this period.

According to Indian tradition and epigraphic evidence Lakṣmi-Karna was one of the greatest Indian conquerors. The Rāṣ Mālā gives the following description of this prince:

"At this time the raja, named Kurun, reigned in Dāhul land, the modern Tipāra, and over the sacred city of Kasbee or Benares. He was the son of Queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus feet of Kurun." The same tradition tells us that Karna, in league with the Caulukya Bhima of 'Unhilwārā' (c. 1029-64 A.D.), defeated 'Bhoj the lord of Oojein, (c. 1019-21 A.D.), destroyed 'Dhār,' and 'took possession of the royal treasury' there. King Bhoja is said to have 'attained paradise' during this war. This joint attack of the Gurjara and Cedi kings on Bhoja is also supported by a verse in the

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3 PC, p. 72.
5 Ras, pp. 89-90. Forbes apparently took this account from Merutunga. See PC, p. 72. This authority gives the name of Karna's mother as Demati. See also ibid, pp. 73-75. Merutunga tells us that there were differences about the division of the spoil between Bhima and Karna after the capture of Dhār and death of Bhoja. Dāmara, Bhima's minister, we are told, for some time imprisoned Karna. See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapters on the Paramārī and the Caulukya.

II—15
Prabandhacintāmani. In the east, according to Tibetan tradition, Karna is said to have attacked Magadha and destroyed numerous Buddhist temples and monasteries. This traditional picture of Karna is fully sustained by epigraphic evidence. Thus the Bheraghat inscription of Alhanadevi gives the following account of his victories: "While this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pāṇḍya relinquished violence, the Mūrāla gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kuṅga entered the path of the good, Vāṅga trembled with the Kaliṅga, the Kīra stayed at home like a parrot in the cage, (and) the Huṇa left off being merry."

The Karanbel stone-inscription of Jayasimha tells us that Karna was waited upon by Coḍa, Kuṅga, Huṇa, Gauda, Gurjara, and Kīra princes. These claims of the Kalarci inscriptions are supported by the records of their contemporaries. Thus the Nagpur stone-inscription of the Paramāras tells us that when Bhojadeva had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnaṅtas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy Bour.

The Candella records also admit that their kingdom was for a time completely destroyed by the invasions of Lakṣmī-

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3 EI, Vol. II, pp. 11 and 15; V. 12. Most of these geographical names and their location are well-known. Kīra was probably located in the Kāngra valley, while Kuṅga is taken to correspond to the modern districts of Salem and Coimbatore. Mūrāla is sometimes located in Malabar. See DHNI, Vol. I, 576, fn. 1. See also IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 215. ABOR, 1927-28, p. 292; GDI, p. 134. It is difficult to find out the location of the Huṇas during this period. MASI, No. 13, p. 20, places them in the Punjab.
4 IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215 and 217, lines 11-12. MASI, No. 23, p. 29, suggests that Virāṇjendravarman (c. 1062-67 A.D.) was the Coḍa king defeated by (Lakṣmī)-Karna. See South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, No. 8, pp. 201-04, No. 83, where the Coḍa king claims to have "recovered [Karna]kucci (i.e. Kanyakubja).
5 EI, Vol. II, pp. 155 and 192, V. 32; on this point see also the Udaipur prasasti, ibid., Vol. I, pp. 236 and 238, Vs. 21-22. See also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Paramāras.
Karna. This fact seems to be referred to by Bilhana, the court poet of the Calukya king, Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.) who describes Karna as ‘the death to the lords of Kalañjara mountain.’ The records of the dynasties of Bengal and Bihar also refer to the intimate relationship of Karna with the princes ruling there. Two of his daughters, Yauvanaśrī and Viraśrī, appear to have been married to the Pāla and Varman kings Vigrahapāla III and Jātavarman, respectively. The Rāmacarita refers to conflicts between Karna and Vigrahapāla III. The discovery of a decorative pillar-inscription of Karna at Paikore in the Birbhum district of Bengal seems to substantiate his claim to victory over the kings of Gauda.

It is clear from the above, that for a time Karna occupied a position of marked predominance. The complete destruction of the Paramāras and the Candellas gave him effective control over the whole of the region now known as Central India. When we also take into account the findspots of his inscriptions at Paikore, Benares, and Gobarwa (Allahabad district), his close relationship with the Gurjara, Karnāṭa and Gauda kings, and the significance of his assumption of the title of Trikaliṅgādhipati, we may well believe that for a time at least he dominated the whole region extending from the sources of the Banas and the Mahi rivers in the west to the estuaries of the Hooghly in the east, and from the Ganges-Jumna valley in the north to the upper waters of the Mahanadi, Wainganga, Wardha and Tapti. Thus the mantle of imperialism which had fallen from the shoulders of the Gurjara-Pratihāras upon the Candellas and the Paramāras was at last seized by the Kalaçuris. The achievements of Karna have sometimes been compared to those of Napoleon; but the

1 See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Candellas, pp. 693 ff. The Candella ruler defeated by Karna was Devavarman (1051 A.D.).
3 MASI, No. 23, p. 17, interprets lines 1-5 of the Basahi plate of Govindacandra (IA, XIV, 102-03) to mean that [Laksmi]-Karna ‘ruled over Kanauj.’
4 ABOI, 1927-28, p. 292.
comparision is misleading. Unlike Napoleon, Karna's achievements were not the results of a single generation; on the contrary, they were the culmination of a policy which had been systematically pursued by several predecessors, viz., Yuvarāja I, Lakṣmaṇa-rāja, Yuvarāja II, and Gāṅgeya. The victorious career of the last of these rulers is sufficiently illustrated by his revival of the title of Vikramāditya and the epithet 'world-conqueror' given to him by his own enemies. But if Karna's rise was not Napoleonic, his fall may have been to some extent meteoric, like that of the French emperor. There is evidence that he was overwhelmed by a series of defeats towards the latter part of his career. In the extreme east, the Rāmacarita and the Tibetan tradition tell us that Karna was defeated by Nayapāla and his son Vigrahapāla III. Nearer home the Candella Kirtivarman, under the able guidance of his Brāhman general Gopāla, claims to have recreated the lost kingdom by defeating Karna. In the west Udayāditya appears to have revived the Paramāra kingdom in Malwa by ousting the forces of the Kalacuri emperor. Further westward, the Caulukya king Bhīma I, of Anahilwad is praised by the Jaina monk Hemacandra for having conquered Karna in battle.\(^1\) In the South Bilhana records the defeat of the Kalacuri monarch by Someśvara I, the Cālukya king of Kalyani.\(^2\)

This war with the Karnaṭas, who had allied themselves with Karna in their attack on the Paramarās, may have been occasioned by the alliance which Someśvara I subsequently formed with the defeated Malwa rulers. Bilhana refers to the assistance, which in his reign his son prince Vikramāditya rendered to the Mālavendra who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom.\(^3\) The Sitabaldi stone inscription dated in 1108 S. (A.D. 1087) seems to show that the hostilities between the two

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\(^2\) _Vikramādityadeva-carita_, Ed. by Bühler, I, 102-03.

\(^3\) _Ibid_, III, 67.
dynasties continued during the reign of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1055-1126 A.D.). As the Mahāsāmantā Dhādibharmādaka of the Mahārāṣṭrakūta lineage, who ruled round the present Nagpur, owed allegiance to the Cālukya king, it is certain that the Kalacuri power in A.D. 1087 had been driven out from the headwaters of the Wainganga, Warda, and Tapti into the Mahadeo hills. It was probably during these northern expeditions of the Cālukyas that the Nāgavarmśī rulers of Bastar were established in the C.P. These rulers claim to belong to the Nāgavanaśa and the Kāśyapa gotra, to have a tiger and a calf as their crest, and to be the lords of Bhogavatī the best of the cities (Nāgavarnśoddhava-Bhogavatī-pura-varesvara-sa-vatsa-vyāghra-lāchana-Kāśyapa-gotra). At the end of some of their inscriptions occur the figures of the sun, the moon, a cow and a calf, a dagger and shield, and a linga in its socket 'exactly of the shape in which Lingāyats wear them.' The dates on their records run from c. Saka 1033 to 1147 (c. A.D. 1111 to 1324). They are evidently connected with the Nāgavaṃśī Sindas of Belgutti (Belgavatī = Bhogavati in Honnali Taluq of the Shimoga District, Mysore), who appear as feudalatories of the Cālukyas of Kalyani, at the end of the 10th and the first half of the 12th century A.D.

2 For the history and inscriptions of these Nāgavaṃśī of Bastar and the various branches of the Sindas see the following :—

(5) IGI, 1908, Vol. VII, p. 144, the article on Belgutti.
(6) Dr. L. D. Barnett's note on the Sindas in El, Vol. XIV, pp. 368-70. He notices the following branches of the family: Sindas of (1) Bāgadage (mod. Bāgalkot), (2) Erambarage (mod. Yelburga), (3) Bijapur, (4) Karbhāsa (Bastara District), (5) Bellary District, and (6) Bastar.
(7) Prīthvīraj Rāṣṭra, (I. 54); Chindaś (= Sindas) one of the 36 Aṅgikula Rājputa.

It appears likely that these Nāgavaṃśī (Sinda) princes of Bastar were supplanted about
I have elsewhere calculated from the data contained in the Basahi plate of the Gāhadavāla Govindacandra that Karna must have suffered defeats sometimes before c. 1090-1104. This conclusion is confirmed by the discovery of the Khairha grant of his son Yaśāṅkarna dated in (K.) S. 823 (A.D. 1073). It is therefore certain that Karna’s reign came to an end about the beginning of the third decade of the second half of the 11th century A.D.

Karna, like his father, was a worshipper of Śiva. He is also reported to have built a temple of the Meru type at Kāśi, which came to be known as Karnaneru. The only other recorded instance of his building activity was his foundation of the city of Karnāvati (mod. Karanbel), on a site about a mile from Tripuri.

The following inscriptions have so far been discovered for his reign:

(1) Benares grant.—This was found at the bottom of a well in the old fort of Benares. It consists of 48 lines and is engraved on two brass plates, joined by a ring, to which is affixed the royal seal containing the figure of the four-armed Gaja-lakṣmī sitting cross-legged. Below the goddess the seal contains the legend—Śrī-Karna-deva and below the legend was engraved the figure of a bull. Excepting a verse in line 13 which is in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit, it is written as usual in Sanskrit verse the beginning of the 13th century by the Kākatiyas of Warangal when the latter were driven to the north by the Muslims. The Dantewar stone inscription of Dikpāladeva (1702 A.D.) gives us the genealogy of the Kākatiyas of Bastar for 10 generations beginning from Annamarāja who is stated to have first settled in Bastar from “Oranāl.” Annamarāja is said to have been the brother of Pratāprarudra of the lunar race. Hiruṣal is probably right when he suggests that this Pratāprarudra is not the earlier prince of that name who ascended the Warangal throne in c. 1294 A.D., but the prince of the same name who was defeated by Ayūdha Śivā Bahadura in 1423 A.D. See El, Vol. XII, pp. 242-50.

and prose. The inscription opens with *Oṃ namah Śivāya* and a verse in honour of Śiva. It then traces the genealogy of the Haihayas from Kārtavirya down to Karna. In the prose part of the inscription (lines 33-41) we are told that *Pb.-M.-P.-Vāmadeva-pādanudhyāta - Pb. - M. - P.-Paramamāheśvara-Trikalīṅgādhipati-Karnadeva* from his *Vijaya-skandhāvāra*, situated at Svasāga (?), after having bathed in the river Venī, worshipped the god Trilocana (Śiva), and performed the annual funeral ceremony in honour of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, granted Kāsi-(bhūmy)-anta(vga)ta Susi-grāma, to the learned Viśvarūpa, whose ancestors had come from the village of Vesāla. The date, (K.) *Samvat 793* (A.D. 1042), comes at the end of the inscription.¹

(2) *Goharwa grant.*—It was found in a field in the old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur Tahsil of the Allahabad district (U.P.). The inscription consists of 49 lines written on two copper plates which were originally held together by a ring. The seal, which was found detached from the plates, bears in relief in its upper part, the seated figure of the goddess Gaja-Lakṣmī. At the bottom is a bull couchant. Across the centre is engraved—*Śrimat Karnadevaḥ*. The inscription opens with *Oṃ Brahmaṇe namah* and a verse in praise of Śiva. Then in 30 verses the

¹ The inscription was first noticed by Captain Wilford in the *Aristic Researcher*, Vol, XI, p. 108. Cunningham in his *ASR*, Vol. IX, pp. 82 ff., also gave an account of the grant. It was fully edited by Kielhorn in *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 297-310. For the date of the grant see also ibid, Vol. XII, p. 206, fn. Kielhorn suggested the identification of Venī with Wen-Gāṅgā of the C.P. This seems to be wrong. It should be identified with the river Venī, which flowed near Allahabad. In his *Kamauli grant* dated in V. S. 1225 (A.D. 1172 A.D.) the Gāhajavāla Jayacandra is found bathing in the Venī at Prayāga; see *EI*, Vol. IV, p. 122. In *EI*, Vol. V, *Appendix*, p. 83, fn. 4, Kielhorn suggested the reading Prayāga for Svasāga. On the significance of the word *Trikalīṅga*, see G. Ramdas in *QIAHS*, Vol. I, Part I, July 1926, pp. 16 ff. He tried to prove that the affix means not three, but high; so according to him Trikalīṅga means high or hilly Kalīṅga, i.e., the highland intervening between Kalīṅga proper and Dakṣīṇa-Kōśala or Chattisgarh (the tract now occupied by the Kallahandi State, Sambalpur district and Goonsur). But see the foot-note of the editor on p. 19, where he points out that *Tiru* (or *Tri*) is taken to be a corruption from Sanskrit *Ṣri* and cannot signify *high.* Pliny mentions *Macco-Calīṅgas*, *Ganjaridas*
genealogy of the dynasty is traced from the moon and the 'thousand-armed Haihaya emperor.' The historical part of the genealogy begins with Lakṣmaṇarāja, and ends with Karna. In the prose part we are told that Pb.-M.-P. Vāmadeva-pāñānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgādhipati-nija-bhujopārjita-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati Karna-deva, while (residing) at the Jaya-skandhāvāra situated in Karnapitrtha, after having bathed in the Ganga and the holy Arghatirtha and worshipped the divine lord Siva, granted the village of Candapahā in the Kosamba-pattalā to the pandita Santi Sarman. It is dated in the 7th year of the administration of Karna (Śrīmat-Karna-prakāše Vyavahārane),¹ 'on the full-moon tithi coupled with a Thursday, of the month of Kārttiika.' (This date perfectly agrees with Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047.) It was written by the Karanika Sarvānanda, and engraved by Vidyānanda. It ends with mangalam-mahāśri.²

(3) Paikore decorative pillar-inscription.—It was discovered at Paikore in the district of Birbhum, Bengal. It is incised 'on a small decorative pillar,' and records that 'the image of a goddess was made by an order of the king himself.'³

(4) Sarnath stone-inscription.—It was found at Sarnath 'in the trench to the north of the Jain enclosure, west of the Dhamekh.'

Calinga and Calingae. Macao may signify the Mehees who lived near the Maikal range. As the Parońska state that the Narbada drains the western half of Kalinaga (Amaraṇjaka in the Maikal range). Kalinaga may have in its wider sense extended from the estuaries of the Ganges to the hills of Amarāṇjaka in the west and possibly to Godavari in the South. But can Macao be the Dravidian Muku-three? See Barnett, J.R.A.S., 1926, p. 157, fn. 1. See also DHNI, Vol. I, p. 392 fn. 1.

¹ Dr. Barnett suggests: "Can this mean administration under the immediate eye of Karna?"


³ Noticed in ASI, 1922-23, p. 1.15. Paikore is sometimes spelt Paikor.
It is 'broken and fragmentary' and contains 14 lines written in 'corrupt Sanskrit.' It is dated in the victorious reign of P.M.P.-Sri-Vāmadeva-padānudhyāta-P. M. Paramamāheśvara-Ṭrī (Ṭrī)kalingādhipati-nīja-bhujopārjit-Āścapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati-Śrīmat-Karnađevas in the (K.) Sāvat 810 (1058 A.D.). It records that the Mahājān-anujāna-Paramopāsikā Māmaka, wife of one Dhaneśvara caused 'a copy of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrika to be written in the Saddharmacakrapravarttana Mahāvihāra. It ends with the 'usual imprecations.'

(5) Rewa stone-inscription.—This inscription is now 'in the store of the office of the Home Member of the Council of Regency,' Rewa State. Its find-spot is at present unknown. 'The record is incised on a smooth plain slab of sandstone, the left half of which is missing.' It is dated in the (K.) S. 812 (A.D. 1060-61), in the 9th year of the reign of Karna. The inscription begins with a verse containing an invocation to Śiva. The record is so mutilated that it is very difficult to follow the details mentioned in it. But it seems to refer to a line of chiefs who were servants of the Kalacuri kings. It mentions two battles, a battle of the horses (ghoṭaka-cīrgbaha) and a battle in the valley of the Yellow mountain (pīta-parvata-tala), in which Vapullaka (also called Vapula), one of these chiefs, seem to have shown his valour. In the second conflict (samara) be defeated the forces of one Trilocana and a holy person (muni) named Vijjala. The proper object of the inscription is to record some donation of land to (Śiva) Vapuleśvara, who was named after Vapula, 'a devoted worshipper of the feet' of Karnadeva. The praśasti was composed by one Viruka. Line 19 contains 'a supplementary record which mentions the donation of an image of Mahēścari by a lady named Pravarā, alias Nayanāvalī, who was apparently the wife of Vapula.'

1 ASI, 1906-07, pp. 100-01. 2 One of these is called Rāgaka, see line 7. 3 Noticed in ASI, WC, 1921. pp. 92-93. MASI, No. 23, pp. 130-33; Trilocana is
The term used here in connection with the regnal year is: "Śrīmat-Karna-prakāśa-Vyavaharanāya," which probably means "according to law or according to custom or practice regulating the public appearance of Karna." As we know from his Benares grant that he was ruling in 1042 A.D., this record shows that either he was crowned a second time as an universal ruler (Cakravartin) or that his formal coronation was deferred for about 11 years. But unfortunately the acceptance of this involves a conflict with the date of the Goharwa grant, which is dated exactly as in this inscription, in the 7th year, and which was calculated by Fleet to be in perfect agreement with 1047 A.D. Unless it can be shown that the date of the Goharwa grant also agrees with 1058-59 A.D., we must conclude that the reading of the date in one of the inscriptions (Nos. 2 and 5) is wrong.

Lakṣmi-Karna was succeeded some time before 1073 A.D. by his son Yaśah-Karna, begotten on queen Āvalladevi of the Hūṇa stock (Hūṇāneṇaya). The Jubbulpore and Khaira grants of Yaśah-Karna seem to indicate that he was crowned as king while his father was still living. The verse which describes his coronation runs as follows:

"Of this law-abiding (son), the father, whose acts were purified by the respect which he paid to the family priests, performed the great inauguration ceremony (mahābhīṣekam) in the midst of the four great oceans, made resplendent, as by a full jar, by the king of mountains, and illumined by the moon and the sun."  

As the verse quoted above distinctly says that Karna himself took part in his son’s coronation we may perhaps conclude
that after his serious defeats, like the Śahi king Jayapāla,¹ he abdicated his throne in favour of his son. This event, as we have seen, must have occurred some time before 1073 A.D., the date of the Khairha grant.

In the Kalacuri records, Yaśah-Karna is generally praised vaguely for his victories. In his own grants he is called the Jambudēpa-ratna-pradīpa who had 'erected high pillars of victory near the ends of the earth.'² The only definite statement about his victories in his own grants is contained in the following verse:

"'Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra, (even though) the play of (that king's) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy Bhimeśvara with many ornaments. The Godāvari, with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.'³

The Bhimeśvara of the above passage has been identified with some probability with 'the rather handsome two-storeyed shrine of the god Bhimeśvara-svāmin at Drākshārāma' (Godavari District). This temple is reported to contain 'a particularly big lingam, some fourteen or fifteen feet high' and also inscriptions, dated from A. D. 1055.⁴ The Andhra king is probably to be identified with the Calukya Vijayāditya, who ruled in Vengi from about 1064 to 1074 A. D.⁵ The only other reference to his victory is contained in the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Alhaṇadevi. V. 14 of this record tells us that Yaśah-Karna became famous by devastating Campāranya."⁶ Kielhorn suggested

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⁵ BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 451. Vijayāditya was a son of Śomaśvara I (c. 1014-68) and a brother of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1070-1125). He was probably a feudatory of these two rulers.
that this place should denote a tract of country near the Godavari river; but it is more likely that the place is to be identified with the modern Champaran district of Bihar. We have already seen that there is some evidence to show that Gāṅgeya, one of the predecessors of Yaśah-Karna, ruled in Tīra-bhukti which included Champaran.² This area may have been lost to the Kalacuris after the defeats which overwhelmed Karna during the latter part of his reign. Yaśah-Karna may have therefore undertaken an expedition into that province to punish its rebellious tribes. That he succeeded in making no permanent impression in Tīra-bhukti is clear from the inscription of Alhaṇadevi. It was only a raid. At present we do not know the last date of Yaśah-Karna, but as the first recorded date of his successor, so far known, is (K.) S. 902 (A. D. 1151), it is not impossible that his reign may have extended well into the beginning of the 3rd decade of the 11th century. In that case the rise of the Gāhaḍavālas in c. 1090 A.D. and their occupation of the whole area from Benares to Kanauj must have robbed Yaśah-Karna of some of his fairest provinces in the Ganges-Jumna valley. This conclusion is supported by a grant of the Gāhaḍavāla Govindacandra, which in V. S. 1177 (A. D. 1122) sanctions the transfer of some land which was previously granted by the (Kalacuri) king Yaśah-Karna.³ As the reign of Lakṣmī-Karna ended before 1073 A.D., we can safely conclude that the Ganges-Jumna Doab was conquered by Candradeva (c. 1090-1104) from the Kalacuris in the reign of Yaśah-Karna.⁴ Another serious defeat that Yaśah-Karna appears to have suffered came from the revived Paramāra dynasty of Malwa. The Nagpur praśasti of Naravarman tells us that the illustrious Lakṣmadeva (c. 1070-1100 A. D.) attacked Tripuri and annihilating his warlike spirited adversaries encamped on

¹ For the area indicated by Tīra-bhukti, consult Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford, 1872, p. 376.
the banks of the Revā. Yaśah-Karna probably also suffered defeats in the hands of the Candella Sallakaśanavarman and the Cāluksya Vikramādiya VI. There are reasons to believe that the hold of Tripuri on Tuśmāṇa also grew precarious during this period.

The following records have so far been discovered for the reign of Yaśah-Karna.

(1) Khairha grant—This was found in a large stone chest at Khairha (N. Lat. 23°12', Long. 81°30' E), a village in the Rewah state about 14 miles S. E. of Sohagpur, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name. The inscription consists of 44 lines, and is incised on two plates. The bell-shaped seal which is attached with a heavy ring has the usual figure of Gaja-lakṣāṁi, and the bull, and between them, the legend Śrīmad-Yaśah-Karaṇadevaḥ. It opens with Om nama Brahmaṇe, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalacuris from the mythical Viṣṇu down to Yaśah-Karna. In the prose part of the inscription we are told that Pb.-M.-P.-Vamadeva-pādāṇudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikaliṅgadhikāri-nīja-bhujopārjita-Aśvapatī-Gajapati-Narapatī-raja-trāyādhipati Yaśah-Karaṇadeva granted the village of Deulā-pāncela in the Devagrama-pattalā to a Brahmān named Gaṅgādhara Sarman. The inscription is dated in (K.) Sāṃvat 823 (1073 A.D.). It was written by Dharmalekhiṇi Vacchūka.

(2) The Jubbulpore grant.—This was found deposited in the Nagpur Museum. Its find-spot is unknown. It was

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5. Edited by Hiralal, EI, Vol. XII, pp. 395-17. The date of the inscription appears to be irregular; see ibid, p. 206. The editor is inclined to think that the Devagrama-pattalā is to be identified with mod. Deogāvān, close to Khairha.
originally inscribed on two plates; but the second is now lost. The preserved plate contains the historical portion of the grant, which opens with Om namo Brahmaṇe, and then gives the usual genealogy of the Kalacuris from the Moon down to Yaśaḥ-Karna. In the Nagpur Museum transcript of the inscription, which was made before the second plate was lost, the date is given as 'Monday, the 10th of the dark-fortnight of Māgha 829, at the time of the Uttarayana Samkranti,' the details worked out for 'Monday the 31st December, 1078 A.D.' The preserved portion of the grant ends with Pb.-M.-P.-Śrī-Vāmadeva.¹

Yaśaḥ-Karna was succeeded by his son Gayā-Karna. The only record so far known of this king is the Tewar stone-inscription. It was found on a light green stone which appears to have been found at Tewar (Tri purī), a village about 6 miles to the west of Jubulpore (C.P.). The inscription contains 22 lines. It opens with Om namah Śivayā; then follows the genealogy of the princes of the Ātreya-gotra from (Lakṣmi)-Karna to Gayā-Karna. In lines 4-5 the wish is expressed that this last prince together with his son, the Yuvarāja Narasimha, may rule the earth for ever. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Śiva by a Paśupata (or Paṇḍarīthika) ascetic named Bhāvabrahman, a disciple of the ascetic Bhāvatejas, of the Ananta gotra. It is dated in line 21 in the Cedi year 902 (Nava-Sata-Yugalābdādhikya-ge Cedi-diṣṭe), corresponding to A.D. 1151.²

¹ I call this plate the Jubulpore grant because it is so called by Cunningham and Kielhorn. It has been edited by Kielhorn in EI, Vol. II, pp. 1-7. He did not know that the Nagpur Museum transcript contains the year—Suṣraṣa 820. This is given by Hiralal in EI, Vol. XII, p. 207. Kielhorn, on the data available to him, fixed upon A.D. 1122 as the date of the grant. The first plate of the grant is now in the Nagpur Museum.

² Edited by Kielhorn in IA, XVIII, pp. 299-11. The editor has pointed out that the word diṣṭe means kāla; Cedi-diṣṭe therefore means Cedi-kāla (cf. Mālasa-kāla). The local name of Śiva appears to have been Gāhuṇa (line 16). A naked colossal Jain image dedicated in the reign of Gayā-Karna was discovered at Bahuriband in the Jubulpore District (C. P.). It mentions the Mahāsāmanta-dipati the Bāṣṭrakūṭa 'Golhana.' See ASR, Vol. IX, p. 40.
Gayā-Karna married the Guhila princess Alhanadevi. The Bheraghat stone-inscription of this queen gives us the following genealogy of her ancestors:1

In the Gohhilaputra-gotra²

Nṛpāli Haṁśapāla

King Vairāśinbha Mālava-mandalarādhanātha Udayālitya

Vijayāśinbha = Syāmaladevi

Ḍahala Kalacuri

Gayā-Karna = Alhanadevi

Narasīnha

Alhanadevi was therefore a relative of the Paramāra kings of Malwa. We have seen that Yaśah-Karna was severely defeated by the Paramāra Lakṣmadeva. But during the first half of the 12th century the Paramāras appear to have been driven westward across the Betwa by a revival of the Candella power under Madanaavarman (c. 1129-63 A.D).³ In the Mau inscription of the Candellas we are told that before Madanaavarman the Cedi king always led vanquished in fierce fight.⁴ I have pointed out elsewhere that this Cedi king was probably Gayā-Karna.⁵ The discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins⁶ of Madanaavarman seems to indicate that Baghelkhand, to the North of the Kaimur range, was probably annexed by the Candellas. The Kalacuris had already lost some of their fairest provinces in the Ganges valley to the Gāda ḍavālas in the reign of Yaśah-Karna. During this reign they fully lost their

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2 This branch ruled in Madaṁpaṭa (Mewar). Politically they were not an important power at this period. See *infra*, chapters on the Guhila-patrās, Paramāras, and the Canakṣayas.
hold on South Kosala, the Tumāṇa branch of the family having become completely independent. The victories of the Cândellas must have made their condition still worse. Common danger and the instinct of self-preservation may have therefore compelled the Paramāras and Kalacuris to forget their old hatred. The marriage of Gaya-Karna with the grand-daughter of Udayāditya may in that case be regarded as a tangible symbol of friendship between the Paramāras and the Kalacuris.

The Prabandhacintāmani of Merutūṅga seems to contain a story of an attack on Gujarat by Gaya-Karna. We are told that once when the Caulukya Kumārapāla of Anahilapatāka had started on a pilgrimage he was informed by a couple of posts (Yugalika), who came from a foreign country that Karna, king of Dāhala was marching against him. His forehead was beaded with drops of perspiration, and he abandoned, out of fear, his desire of being head of the congregation, and came with the minister Vāgbhaṭa, and blamed himself at the feet of Hemacandra. The story runs that the Jain sage assured his disciple that in the 12th watch from this time your mind will be relieved." At the appointed time Kumārapāla was informed that Karna had gone to heaven. 'Karna," we are told, "was making a march at night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, and allowed his eyes to close in sleep, and while he was in this state, a gold chain, that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan tree, and hanged him, and so he died." It is difficult to say whether this story has any foundation in fact. But the date of Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), makes it almost certain that by 'Karna,' king of Dāhala' Merutūṅga meant Gaya-Karna (c. 1151 A.D.).

Gaya-Karna was succeeded by his son Narasimha, who had been already associated in government with his father for some

1 See infra, DHIN, Vol. II, section on the Tumāṇa branch, p. 808.
2 PG, p. 146.
3 See supra, DHIN, Vol. II, p. 777, n. 4. Lohāni-Karna was also called Karna.
time before 1151 A.D., the date of the Tewar inscription. The following inscriptions have so far been found for his reign:

(1) Bheraghat stone-inscription.—The block of green stone which bears this was found at Bheraghat on the Narbada, in the Jubbulpore district of the C.P. It contains 29 lines and opens with Om namah Sivaya and 6 verses invoking the blessings of Siva, Ganesa, and Sarasvati. Then follows a pedigree of the Kalacuris from Arjuna (SahasrArjuna, V. 7) to Gayatharpa, who married the Gobhita princess AlhanaDevi. The latter bore him Narasimha, and Jayasimha. The former of these two princes was reigning when the inscription was set up. The proper object of the inscription is to record the foundation of a temple of Siva (Indu-mauli), with a matha, a hall of study and gardens attached to it, by the widowed queen AlhanaDevi. For the maintenance of these institutions and the temple, the queen assigned the two villages of Namaundi, in the Jauhi-pattala, and of Makarapataka, on the right bank of the Narmada in the land adjoining the hills. The management of the whole establishment, thus founded by the queen, was entrusted in the first instance to a Pashupata ascetic of Lata lineage. All the aforesaid buildings were planned by the Sutradhara Pitha, who knew the rules of Visvakarman. The prakasti was composed by Sashidhara of the Mauna gotra, and written by his elder brother Prthvividhara. It was engraved on stone by the Sutradhara Bahasinma. The date (K.) Saumvat 907 (A.D. 1155) comes at the end.1

(2) Lal-Pahad rock-inscription.—This is rudely engraved on a piece of rock on the top of a hill called Lal-Pahad, near Bharhut in the Nagod State, C.I. (Lat. 24°27'N., Long. 80°55'E.) It contains 8 lines. It begins with Sausti Sri; then follows Ph.-

1 First edited by Dr. P. E. Hall in JAOS, Vol. VI, 1891, pp. 330-333. The text of Dr. Hall was then printed with a photolithograph in ASWI, Memoranda, No. 11 (Inscriptions from the Caves Temples of Western India), pp. 100-04. Finally edited by Kiichara, Ef., Vol. II, pp. 7-17.
M.-P. Vamaševa-pândūnudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikalingādhipati-nīja-bhujopārjīt-Āśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati-Srimān-Narasimhadeva-caranāh. In lines 5-6 the inscription seems to record the construction of a vahā or water-channel by the Rāuta Ballāladevaka, son of Keśavāditya, the Mahārājaputra of Vadyavā-grama. The date, (K.) Samvat 909 (A.D. 1158) is given in line 5.1

(3) Alha-Ghat stone-inscription.—“" This inscription together with two others, is on a block of stone which is about a hundred yards from a large cave, somewhere near the foot of Alha-Ghāt, ‘one of the natural passes of the Vindhya hills by which the Tons river finds its way from the tableland of Rewah to the plain of the Ganges’” (Lat. 24°55’N., Long. 81°27’E.). It contains 7 lines, and opens with the date (V.) Samvat 1216 (A.D. 1159), in the victorious reign of the Pāhāliya-mahārājā-dhirāja Narasimhadeva. The object is to record (lines 2-5) that the Rānaka Chthula, son Jalhaṇa, the Mahārānaka of Pipal-ou? durga, performed some meritorious deed in connection with or near Saṭaśaḍikā Ghāṭ. Line 6 seems to mention some person from Kauśāmbī who had something to do with the Rānaka’s orders. The record was written by Thakura Kamalādhara. It ends with the name of Sūtradhāra Kamalasihha and 4 others, who were probably artisans engaged in the work mentioned above.2

Nothing definite is recorded of this king’s reign; but the find-spots of the Lal-Pahad and Alha-Ghat inscriptions seem to indicate that in the course of it the Kalacuris may have recovered some portions of Baghelkhand from the Candellas.

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1 It was first noticed by Cunningham, who also published a photocinograph of the record in ASR, Vol. IX, pp. 1 and 94 and plate II. It was next edited by Kielhorn in IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 211-19. For the words Rājaputra and Mahārājaputra as titles of officials see ibid. In. 3 on p. 212.

2 A transcript of the text together with a photolithograph of the inscription was published by Cunningham in his ASR, Vol. XXI, p. 115 and plate XXVIII. It was then edited by Kielhorn in IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 213-14.
Narasimha was succeeded by his younger uterine brother Jayasimha. The following records are known for his reign:

(1) Rewah grant.—This is reported to have been discovered in Rewah. It contains 19 lines, incised on a single plate. It opens with Om svasti and a verse in honour of Helamba (Heramba, i.e., Ganesa ?). It then refers itself to the victorious reign of Pb.-M.-P.-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikalingād hipati-nija-bhuj-opārjītāśvapati-Gajapati Narapati-rāja-trayādhip ati Jayasimhadeva. Then in line 4 begins the genealogy of the feudatory Mahārāṇakas of Kakkaredikā (mod. Kakreri, Long. 81°17' E., Lat. 24°56' N.). It is as follows:

In the Kakkaredikā-nagari
in the Kaurava-vanśa
(i) Mahārāṇaka Jayavarman

(ii) Vatsarāja

(iii) Mahā-māheśvara Kirtivarman.

In line 14 we are told that this last chief in (K.) Sāmved 926 (A.D. 1175), on the occasion of making the funeral oblations in honour of his deceased father (No. ii), granted the village of Ahāḍāpāḍa, situated in the Khandagahā-pattalā, to two Brāhmans, the Thakura Gayādhara and the Thakura Caturbhujā. In lines 18-19 we are told that the inscription was written, with the consent of the Thakura Ratnapāla, by the Thakura Vidyādhara, and engraved by the Lohakāras Kūke and Kikaka.¹

(2) Nagpur Museum Inscription.—Kielhorn notices this in a footnote of his List of Northern Inscriptions. It is 'much effaced' and is 'apparently' dated in the (K.) Sām. 926 in the reign of Jayasimha. It was composed by the same Śaśidhara who composed the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Alhanadevi.²

¹ The grant was noticed by Cunningham in his ASR, Vol. XXI, pp. 146-46. Edited by Kielhorn in the IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 224-27.
(3) **Tewar stone-inscription.**—The stone which bears this was procured from the village of Tewar (Tripuri), in the district of Jubulpore (C.P.). The inscription consists of 9 lines and opens with a verse in honour of Mahādeva. Then comes the names of the king Gayā-Karna and his two sons Narasimha and Jayasimha. It records the erection of a temple of Siva (Īśvara) by the Nāyaka Keśava in (K.) Sāmeal 928 (A.D. 1177). Keśava was a resident of the village of Sikhā in Mā(la)vaka or Mālava.

(4) **Karanbel stone-inscription.**—The stone which bears this inscription was found at Karanbel, now a heap of ruins, a few miles from Bheraghat near Jubulpore in the C. P. Though the stone was found broken, hardly a single akṣara has been lost. The inscription contains 25 lines; but it appears to have been left incomplete. For there is nothing in it to show why it was engraved, and we miss at the end the names of the author and the engraver which in a carefully executed inscription like the present one, had it been finished, would hardly have been omitted. In consequence the inscription is also left undated. The record opens with Om namaḥ Śivāya and 6 verses invoking the blessings of Siva, Gajanana, and Sarasvati. The contents of the genealogical portion are almost identical with those of the introductory portion of the Bheraghat inscription of Alkapadevi. Among the differences may be mentioned the following: (i) the (Gobhila) Hamsapāla is here called Praṇātevanipāla; (ii) the (Paramāra) Udayāditya is called Dharadhiśa, (iii) the genealogy is here traced from Yuvarāja II. The inscription probably was intended to record the erection of a temple of Siva.

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2 Edited by Kielhorn, IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 214-15. Kohga of the Bheraghat inscription is spelt here Koṅga, 'clearly the Koṅgu-desa of Southern India.'
These inscriptions of Jayasimha do not supply us with any definite information about his reign. But it is perhaps significant that he is designated a Samrāt in his Tewar inscription (line 4). This may indicate some measure of military success. His Rewah grant shows that the fortune which apparently attended his brother in his struggle against the Candellas was continued in his reign. He must at any rate have ruled over the whole of Baghelkhand. Our inference regarding Jayasimha's success in war seems to be confirmed by his son's Kumbhi grant, which tells us that on hearing his coronation 'the king of Gurjara deserted his weak kingdom, so also the Turuska; while the chieftain of Kuntala neglected amorous dalliance; other kings too, dashing the world aside, fled beyond the ocean.' The Gopalpur stone-inscription of his son Vijayasimha gives us the name of one of his queens, Gosaladevi.²

Vijayasimha succeeded his father some time before 1180 A. D. The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

Kumbhi grant.—This was dug up at Kumbhi, on the right bank of the Herun river, 35 miles N. E. of Jubbulpore. The inscription is incised on two plates of copper. The seal on the ring has the usual figures of Gaja-Lakṣmī and the bull. Between the two figures is the legend Śrīmad-Vijayāsimhādeva. The inscription opens with Om namo Brahmāne, and then gives the genealogy of the dynasty from Brahmā down to Vijayasimha. In the prose part of the inscription we are told that with the permission of Ph.-M.-P.-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Ph.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikālingudhipati-niṣa - bhujopārjita-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Naratpati-rāja-trayādhipati Vijayāsimhādeva, his mother Gosaladevi granted in (K.) Sambeut 932 (A. D. 1180) the village of Coralaya, in the Samvala-pattalā, to the Brahmān Śitāha

¹ JASB, Vol. VIII, pp. 480 and 491, V. 23.
² See also the Kumbhi plates, JASB, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 481, 93, and the Bheraghat stone-inscription of Vijayasimha, MASI, No. 23, p. 142.
Sarman. The inscription was written by Vatsarāja and engraved by Śrutadhara Lema.

(2) Rewah stone-inscription.—The thin slab of Kaimur sandstone on which this is incised was discovered in one of the small guard-rooms to the left of the main entrance to the citadel or palace enclosure of Rewah town. The inscription consists of 27 lines. It opens with an invocation to Mañjughoṣa, ‘the Buddhist god of learning,’ and then gives the following genealogy of a line of chiefs who served under the Kalacuris of Tripuri:

Sīr-Jāta.............defeated the enemies of Karṇa-deva and was appointed by that prince to the charge of the Viṣaya.

Yasāhpāla...........a devout worshipper of Gayā-Karna.

Candrāsīṁha

Padmāsīṁha

Malayāsīṁha

The inscription then gives the genealogy of an officer of Malayāsīṁha, whose name appears to be Harisīṁha. Its proper object is to record the excavation of a tank, by Malayāsīṁha under the superintendence of Harisīṁha, ‘at a cost of 1,500 tankakas stamped with the figure of Buddha (Bhaṭaat).’ The inscription is dated in (K.) Śamaṭa 944 (A. D. 1192), in the reign of Vijayaśīṁha.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) JASB, 1880, Vol. VIII, Part 1, pp. 481-95. Through a mistake Gosaladeviz was taken by the editors as the wife of Vijayaśīṁha; see ibid., p. 481; but see page 486. She is distinctly termed (\.\.\.\. in the text of the inscription on p. 492 (\.\.\.\. Gosaladevizā pádaṭṭaḥ). (\.\.\.\. see also the Guppiṣpur stone-inscription, in the IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 310, and the Bheraghat (Vaidyanāth temple) inscription in MASI, No. 23, p. 142. In this latter inscription the name of the queen seems to be Gosalā-devi. The name of the village granted is wrongly given as ‘Corulaga,’ on page 486 (JASB, Vol. VIII, Part 1).

\(^2\) ASI, WC., 1921, p. 33: also MASI, No. 23, pp. 133-41.
(3) **Rewah grant.**—This is reported to have been found in Rewah. It is a single plate, containing 20 lines of writing. There is a ringhole in the upper part, but all trace of the ring and the seal which may have been attached to it has been lost. The inscription opens with *Om svasti* and two verses in honour of Brahma and of Bharati. In lines 2-4 it refers itself to the reign of *Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara-Trikalingādhipati-nīja-bhuj-opārijīt-Aścapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati Vījaya-deva.* It then gives the following genealogy of Sallaksana-varman, the feudatory chief of Kakaredi:

In the capital of Kakaredi a person named

(i) Dāhilla, after him came
(ii) Vājūka
(iii) Dandūka
(iv) Khojūka
(v) Jayavarman. His son was

| Vatsaraja |

(vi) Sāmanta-śiromaṇi Kirti-varman.

(vii) Sāmanta-śiromaṇi-Samadhigata-paścamahāśabha Sallaksana-varman.

In lines 7-14 is recorded the grant of the village of Chhidandā in the Kūṭisavapāli-pattala to certain Brāhmans, descendants of Thakura Mādhava. The inscription is dated in line 13 in (V.) *Sāvat 1258* (A.D.1195). It appears to have been engraved by Kūkē.¹

(4) **Gopalpur stone-inscription.**—This inscription was discovered at the village of Gopalpur, about two miles to the south of Bheraghat, where it is said to have been brought from Karanbel. The stone which bears it is broken, and the record has been much

damaged in consequence. It contains 21 lines, and opens with \textit{Om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya}. The proper object is to record (lines 16-21) the erection of a temple of Viṣṇu by a member of the Kāśyapa family. By way of introduction it gives the genealogy of the Kalacuri kings of Tripuri from (Lakṣmi-Karna) down to Vijayasimha. The preserved portion does not contain any date.\footnote{\textsuperscript{1}}

(5) \textit{Bheraghat stone-inscription}.—It was found on the lintel of a doorway of the temple of Vaidyanātha at Bheraghat in the Jubbulpore district. It contains four lines and records that the Mahārājā Śrī-mad-Gosalādevi, Mahārāja Vijayasimhadeva and Śrīmad-Ajayasimhadeva daily saluted the feet of the god Vaidyanātha.\footnote{\textsuperscript{2}}

We know nothing of the political incidents of Vijayasimha’s reign. The dates of his extant inscriptions extend from 1180 to 1195 A.D. It is not known definitely how long he ruled after 1193, or who succeeded him. The Kumbhi inscription mentions as one of his sons Mahākumāra Ajayasimha,\footnote{\textsuperscript{3}} who possibly succeeded his father after the latter’s death. No records of Ajayasimha or any of his successors have so far been discovered. The Rewah grants of Trailokyavarman dated in 1240 and 1241 A.D.\footnote{\textsuperscript{4}} however, show that the northern portion of Baghelkhand at least had passed under the control of the Candellas in the first half of the 13th century. In the S.E., from the last quarter of the 11th century, the Chhattisgarh division had formed an independent state under the Tumāna branch of the Haihayas.\footnote{\textsuperscript{5}} North of the Bhaner range the Muslim power gradually advanced into Sangor and the Damoh districts in the 13th century. This is shown by the \textit{Batihagarh stone-inscription} dated in (V.)

\footnote{\textsuperscript{1}} Edited by Kielhorn, \textit{IA}, Vol. XVIII, pp. 218-19. First noticed by Dr. P. E. Hall in \textit{JASB}, Vol. XXXI, p. 113, and then by Cunningham in \textit{ASR}, Vol. IX, p. 69, No. XV.
\footnote{\textsuperscript{2}} \textit{MASI}, No. 23, p. 142.
\footnote{\textsuperscript{3}} \textit{JASB}, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 492. See also Bheraghat stone-inscription. \textit{MASI} No. 23, p. 142, lines 2-3.
\footnote{\textsuperscript{5}} \textit{EI}, Vol. XIX, pp. 75-81; see also \textit{supra}, \textit{DHNI}, Vol. II, pp. 789, 791-92 and infra pp. 803-06.
Samvat 1385 (A.D. 1328). This inscription was originally found at Batihargarh, a village 21 miles N.W. of Damoh. It is written in Sanskrit and records the construction of a yonathā, a garden and a well in the town of Batihādīṁ by the order of a local Muḥammadan ruler Jalāl Shoja (Jalāl Khwājah), son of Isāka (Isḥāq)-rāja. This Jalālāla is stated to have been appointed as his representative by Hisām ud-Dīnī (Hisām ud-Dīn) also called Chipaka, son of Malik Julaeī, who was made commander of the Kharpura armies and lord of Cedi (Cedi-desādhīpa) by the Sakhna Suratrāṇa (Sultān) Mahāmūda (Mahmūd) of Yoqinipura (Delhi). The inscription further states that Jalālāla appointed his servant Dhanau as manager of the institutions mentioned above. The principal architects (Sūtrakhaṇā) were Bhojāka, Kāmadeva and Hāla of the Silapaṭṭa-vaṁṣā. The composer of the record was the Mādhurānvaṣa-Kāyastha Baijāka.¹

Rai Bahadur Hirala has identified the Delhi SultānMahmūda with Nāsīr ud-Dīn Mahmūd (1246-66 A.D.), who is reported to have subdued Bundelkhand region and appointed a governor about 1251 A.D.² The name of the governor is not mentioned by the Muslim writers. Hirala may be right in thinking that he was apparently Malik Julaeī of the Batihargarh inscription. Between the conquest of Mahmūd and the record of our inscription there is an interval of 77 years spread over three governors, the Malik, his son Hisām ud-Dīn, and Jalāl ud-Dīn, giving a fair normal average duration of administration for each.³

We may conclude from this inscription as well as the Bāmhnī Satī record of the reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn, dated in A.D.1309 that

¹ Edited by Hirala, BI, Vol. XII, pp. 44-47. Dr. Barnett suggests that 'Chipaka' is probably an Indian name. The editor's suggestion that it stands for 'Safīq' is according to him wrong.
² Ibid., p. 45. The regions subdued were Gwalior, Chamberi, and Malwa; see Elliot, Vol. II, p. 351; TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 239.
³ BI, Vol. XII, p. 45.
⁴ Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 11, fn. 2. I have already mentioned this inscription; see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 734-35.
the Muslims had extended their power in the second half of the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries as far as the Bhanrer Range. It is difficult to say how far their dominions extended south of that range. But it is likely that the Kalacuris of Tripuri may have lingered on as a minor power in the Jubulpore division for a considerable time. The Muslims never succeeded in effectively subjugating this region, known in later history as Gondwana. Possibly this dynasty was ousted finally by the extension of the power of the Gonds into Jubulpore about the beginning of the 15th century.1

(3) Kalacuris of Tummaṇa 2 (C. P.)

The Kalacuris of Tummaṇa claim to be descended from Kokkala I, the founder of the Tripuri branch of the family. They trace their pedigree to one Kaliṅgarāja, who claimed descent from one of the 17 younger sons of Kokkala I. We are told that 'in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya he abandoned the ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of Dakṣiṇa-Kośala. Since Tummaṇa had been made a royal residence by his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies.' 2 Though Tritasaurya has not yet been identified, there is no doubt that it was the name of a portion of the original territories of the Kalacuris round about Tripuri. 3 Dakṣiṇa-Kośala is generally taken to represent roughly the

1 IGI, Vol. XIV, 1906, p. 208. Bishop Chatterson records a tradition that Jaḍurāl, the founder of the Gond kingdom of Garhā (mod. village about 3 or 4 miles from Tewar) was at first a servant of the last Kalacuri Rājaḥ, but later on overthrew his family and usurped the royal power; see his Story of Gondcana, pp. 15 ff. Dulpat, who married Durgāvatī, was the son of Sangrām Shāh, a descendant of Jaḍurāl. Durgāvatī was killed by Akbar’s (1556-1605 A.D.) general Kaf Khan.

2 Usually called Kalacuris of Ratnapura; but see supra, p. 742, fn. 2.

3 El, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff., Vs. 6:7. Tummaṇa is sometimes spelt Tummaṇa (El, I, P. 41, V. 12.)

4 Kielhorn took it to be the name of the ‘residence or country’ of Kokalla. See El, Vol. I, p. 83. For a guess by Hiralal see IA, 1924, pp. 269-70. He tries to show that it was a tribal name and identical with the Vedic tribal name Trteu (?).
modern division of Chhattisgarh of the C. P., while Tuṃmāṇa has been identified with the modern village of Tumana in the Lapha Zamindari of Bilaspur District.\(^1\) As the earliest certain date of Prthvīdeva I, the great-grandson of Kaliṅgaraṇa, is 1070 A. D., we may fix upon the first quarter of the 11th century as the approximate date of the latter. It is likely that he was a contemporary of Vikramādiṃga Gaṅgeyadeva, and may have acted as his viceroy in the Dakṣina-Kośala. The Kalacuris of Tripuri had already crossed over the Maikal Range into Chhattisgarh before the time of Kaliṅgaraṇa, for a Ratnapura stone-inscription tells us that Tuṃmāṇa 'had been made a royal residence by his ancestors' before he left Tritasaurya and came to reside there. It seems likely that the family of Kaliṅgaraṇa remained feudatories to the Dāhala branch till about the seventh decade of the 11th century, which probably saw the defeat and death of Ṛṣṇa.\(^2\)

Kaliṅgaraṇa was succeeded by his son Kamalarāṇa. According to the Amoda plates of his grandson Prthvīdeva I, he is said to have defeated the Utkal-nṛpa, and endeavoured to equal Gaṅgeyadeva in prosperity.\(^3\) It is interesting to find that Gaṅgeya himself is also credited with victory over the ruler of Utkala,\(^4\) and it is not unlikely that his relatives in Tuṃmāṇa may have substantially helped him in his South-Eastern campaign. Kamalarāṇa in that case must have been a younger contemporary of Gaṅgeya.

Kamalarāṇa was succeeded by his son Ratnarāṇa, also called Ratnesvara.\(^5\) This prince is said to have 'ornamented

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Turmāna with the temples of the gods Vaṅkeśa, Ratneśvara and other gods and also with gardens of flowers, and fruits, palatial dwellings and a charming high mango grove. We are also told that he founded the 'extensive' city of Ratnapura, which became 'like the city of (Kuvera) the lord of riches,' and decorated it with many temples. The only other interesting event of this reign appears to have been his marriage with Nonallā. She was the daughter of Vajuvarman or Vajjūka, the prince of Kōmō-mañjāla, which has been identified with the Pendra Zamindari in Bilaspur district, where there is still a village named Komo. The existence of a separate principality so close to the capital of Ratnarāja shows that as yet his power was extremely limited. As this marriage alliance is mentioned with pride by almost all the records of his successors, we may conclude that it marked a definite stage in the evolution of the Turmāna Haihayas as an independent power.

Ratnarāja was succeeded by his son Prthvīdeva, also called Prthvīsa. Recently a land-grant of this king was discovered in the Bilaspur district of the C. P. This was the Amoda grant. It was dug out of a field in the village of Amoda, which is 'about 10 miles from Jāñjir, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name in Bilaspur.' The inscription contains:

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1 Ibid. The god Vaṅkeśa 'the lord of vagabonds' is taken by some to be an aboriginal local deity; but it was probably a name of Śiva who was always accompanied by an army of vagabonds; see ibid. Vol. XIX, p. 77.
2 Ibid, V. 11-12.
3 Ibid. V. 13. In Vol. XIX, p. 79, V. 12, the name is spelt Nonallā. But the former name is given in IHQ, September, 1933, p. 110, V. 8; p. 433, V. 8. Also in IA, 1935, p. 44. The name of the queen may be an inflation of Nōni, which in the Chhattisgarh dialect of Hindi means a maiden. Hiralal suggests that the termination allā was added to the names of ladies of rank; cf. Āvallā, Lāchallā, Bājallā, Rambhallā, etc. See EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78.
4 EI, Vol. XIX, p. 77. Note the name Vaju. As the Turmāna region of Bilaspur is still largely inhabited by aboriginal tribes, it is not unlikely that Vaju was a powerful non-Aryan chief.
41 lines and is incised on two plates. Each of the plates has a hole, 'the first at the bottom and the second at the top,' but the ring and the seal are lost. The grant opens with Om namo Brahmane. In the introductory portion the genealogy is traced from Kārtavīrya, Kokkala, and Kaliṅgarāja to Prthvīdeva. The prose part of the inscription records the grant of the village of Vasahā (mod. place of the same name in Bilaspur tahsīl), in the Yayapora-māndala (the region round mod. village of Jaijaipur, 10 miles from Amoda) to a Brāhman named Keśava, son of Čaṭṭa and grandson of Thīrāca, on the occasion of the dedication of a four-pillared hall (Gatuśkikā) to the god Vaṅkeśvara at Tumāṇaka. The donor was Samadhigata-paṅca-mahāśabda-Vaṅkeśvara-vara-labdha-prasāda Eka-nimṣati-sahasraikanātha-Mahā-pracandha-Sakala - Kosalādhīpati-Parama-māheśvara - Kalacademicādhībhava-Samasta-rājāvalivirājamāna-Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Prthvīdeva. The grant is dated Cetiṣasya Saṃ. 831 (A. D. 1079). ¹

(2) Lāpha (spurious) grant.—This grant is in possession of a Zamindar at Lapha in Bilaspur district. It consists of 9 lines, incised on a single rectangular plate. The style of writing is Oriya. The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes. The grant opens with 'Sri Kṛṣṇacandra.' In the first verse it mentions Mahārajādhārīja Prthvīdeva. In verses 3-4 it records a gift of 120 villages with the Lāmphā-durga to a person named Luṅgā, who had come from Delhi. The grant ends with the date Samvatsare 806 (which if referred to the Kalacuri era would approximately correspond to 1054 A. D.). ²

The titles of Prthvīdeva shows that he was still a feudatory of their relatives of Dāhala. But it is significant that the issue

¹ Edited by Hiralal, EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 75-81. The editor has argued from the word Ceditasya that the name 'Chhattisgarh' was derived from Cedita-gaṭha, meaning 'forts of the lord of Cedi,' and not from Chhattisgaṭha (36 forts), which on philological grounds is unacceptable.

² Edited by Hiralal, EI, Vol. IX, pp. 292-95. Hiralal shows good reasons to prove that this grant is a forgery. But there is no difficulty about the date which is only removed by a period of 25 years from the Amoda grant. It is not impossible that Prthvīdeva may have ruled for about that period.
of this grant synchronises with the period of confusion which followed the death of Karna. It is not impossible that he may have co-operated with Yasah-Karna when the latter invaded the banks of the Godavari. But the serious reverses which Yasah-Karna suffered during his reign from his western and northern neighbours probably made his hold on Kosala precarious, and allowed the Tuṃmāṇa branch to become virtually independent.1

Prthvīdeva built temples for the god Prthvīdevesvara and others at Tuṃmāṇa and a 'tank like the sea,' at Ratnapura.2 He married Rājalladēva3 and had by her a son named Jājalladēva, who succeeded him. So far only one record has been discovered for the reign of this prince. This is his Ratnapur stone-inscription. The reddish brown stone which bears this inscription was found at Ratnapur in the C. P. It consists of 31 lines and opens with a verse in praise of Śiva. Then follows the usual genealogy (as in No. 1 above). Prthvīdeva's son was Jājalla. The proper object of the inscription appears to be to record the establishment of a monastery for ascetics (ṭāpasa-maṭha), the making of a garden and a lake and probably also the foundation of a temple at Jājallapura and the grant of the villages of Sirūli and Arjunkonāsaraṇa (?) etc., by king Jājalladēva. The inscription ends with the date (K.) Saṃvat 866 (1114 A. D.).4

There is reason to believe that this Kalacuri branch became completely independent during the reign of this king. We are told in the inscription mentioned above that he was 'allied with the ruler of Cedi (Cedīśa) and honoured by the princes of Kanyakubja and Jejā-bhuktika.5 He defeated and captured in battle one Someśvara and he had either annual tribute paid or presents given to him by the chiefs of the mandalas of (Dakṣi)ṇa-Kosala, Andhra Khimdi, Vairāgara, Lañjikā, Bhānāra, Talahāri, Dandakapura,

2 EJ, vol. I, p. 35, v. 17. Ratnapura was probably at times used as a second capital.
3 IHQ, September, 1925, p. 413, line 13, and p. 410, line 14. She is sometimes simply called Rājalla, see EJ, vol. I, p. 35.
Nandāvalī and Kukkuṭa. A Kharod stone-inscription further tells us that Jájalladeva defeated the lord of Suvarnapura. Kielhorn appears to have been right in suggesting the identification of the rulers of Kanyakubja, Jejā-bhūktika, and Čedi with the Gāhāda-vāla Govindaś:candra (c. 1114-1154 A. D.), the Candella Kirtivarman (c. A. D. 1098) and the Kalacuri Yaśaḥ-Karna (c. A. D. 1073-1125), respectively. But he could not identify Someśvara. This prince, however, seems to me to be the same as the Nāgavarman Ś: (Sinda) prince Someśvara, the father of Kanharadeva (Saka 1033= A. D. 1111). I have elsewhere suggested how these Nāgavarman rulers came to hold that portion of the C. P. which is now occupied by the state of Bastar. It appears that the Tuḥmaṇa and the Bastar kings carried on that policy of hostility which they inherited from their former masters, viz., the Haihayas of Dāhala and the Cālukyas of Kalyani. The identification suggested above seems to be confirmed by the Kuruspal stone-inscription of the Nāgavarman king Someśvara which refers to the chiefs of Laṅji and Ratnapura as his rivals or contemporaries. It is certain that this Laṅji, which has been identified with a well-known tract of that name in the district of Balaghat (C. P.) is the same as the Laṅjika-panicula of the Ratanpur inscription of Jájalladeva, Vairāgara was identified by Kielhorn with Waragarh in the Chanda district. The same scholar also suggested that we may possibly have to read Andra-khimidhi in the Ratanpur inscription and Jájalladeva and not Andra and Khimiditi. If this is accepted then this place may possibly be the same as Kimedi, or Khimidile situated in the Ganjam district (Madras). Talahārī is probably the same as the Talahārī-bhumī which was

1 Ibid., pp. 33 and 33-36, Vs. 21-23.
2 IA, Vol. XXII, pp. 82-83.
4 See supra, DHINII, Vol. II, p. 781 and fn. 2 on the same page.
6 IA, Vol. XVI, p. 131.
acquired by a minister of Ratnadeva II, the son of Jājalladeva. Suvarnapura appears to be the same place from which the Orissa Somavamsīs issued some of their grants and which has been identified with Sonpur, the capital of the Sonpur State. The other places whose chiefs Jājalladeva claims to have defeated cannot at present be identified. But it looks certain that the power of the Kalacuris of Tuṁmāṇa, which was gradually increasing since the days of Ratnarāja, had at last reached its acme in the reign of his grandson. Jājalla was no longer a feudatory of Tripuri, but an ally of the lord of Cedi.

According to a Rajim stone-inscription, Jājalla was materially assisted in his victories by his minister Jagapāla alias Jagasimha. We are told that he helped Jājalladeva in conquering a country (?) and was afraid of him the Mandaleśvaras of Māyurika and the Sāvantas betook themselves to the mountains. The same inscription gives us the name of Devarāja who appears to have served Jājalla as his chief minister (pradhāna).

Jājalla was succeeded by his son Ratnadeva II. In the grants of his son he is called the lord of the whole Kosala country (Sakala-Kosala-mandanaśrī). In the Malhar stone-inscription of Jājalladeva II he is described as 'a fierce cloud to extinguish the continuously raging flames of the spreading mighty fire of the prowess of prince Coḍagaṇga' (c. A.D. 1078-1135). This fact is also mentioned by a Kharod inscription of the time of Ratnadeva III. The Rajim inscription of the time of Prthvideva II tells us that Jagapāla and Devarāja, the ministers of Jājalladeva, continued to serve under his son. The former of these two claims to have acquired the Talahāri-bhumi

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1 Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 135 ff. This minister was Jagapalla who also served under Jājalla. Talahāri-mandaleśa is also mentioned in a Ratnapur inscription of the (K.) S. 915. See E1, Vol. I, p. 33.
4 Ibid., p. 137, lines 15-16.
6 IA, Vol. XXII, pp. 82-83.
and another district for his second master. No grant of this king has so far been discovered but the Malhar inscription referred to above records grant of the village of Kosambi to a Brähman named Gaṅgādhara.¹ The context of the passage wherein this grant is mentioned seems to indicate that the village was situated in the Tummāṇa-deśa.

Ratnadeva II was succeeded by his son Prthvideva II. The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) Kugda stone-inscription.—It is said to have been found at Kugda near Bachhlandgadh, 5 miles to the west of Baloda in the district of Bilaspur. The inscription is much damaged and fragmentary and seems to have contained 25 lines. In line 2 it mentions Mahiṣī Lācalladevi; in line 3 we can read the name Śri-Rā(ynadeva)?; and in line 7 the name Vallabharāja. It is dated in Kalacuri-Saṃvatsare 893 (A.D.1141-42) in the reign of Prthvideva.²

(2) Rajim stone-inscription.—The stone which bears this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Rāmacandra at Rājim, in the Raipur district, near the junction of the Mahanadi and the Pairi. The inscription contains 19 lines and opens with Om nama Nārāyanāya. It then gives the genealogy of Jagapāla who served as an officer under Prthvideva II, and his two immediate predecessors. His ancestor Thakkura Śri-Sāhilla, the spotless ornament of the Rājamāla race, which gave delight to the Paṅca(hā)ṃsa race, is stated to have come from the Vaḍahara-deśa and as gladdened by the attainment of the Paṅca-mahāṣabda. One of his sons named Svāmin is said to have conquered the Bhāṭṭavila and Vihāra countries. Svāmin had two sons named Jayadeva and Devasimha. The former is said to have acquired the district of Dāṇḍora while the latter took the Komo-mandala.³ A wife of one of the latter was probably the Thakkurājñī Udayā. The son appears to have been

² Noticed by Kelhorn, IA, Vol. XX, p. 84.
³ See supra DHNI, Vol. II, p. 804
Jagapāla also called Jagasirāna. The eulogy was composed by Ṭhakkura Jasānanda, son of Ṭhakkura Jasodhara of the Ayodhyā-puriya family and written and engraved by the rūpakāra Śrī-Ratnapāla. The inscription is dated in lines 18-19 in K(u)lacuri Śaṁvatsare 896 (A.D. 1145).¹

(3) Amoda grant (i).—It was discovered in the village of Amoda, 40 miles S.E. of Bilaspur (C.P.). The inscription contains 32 lines and is engraved on two plates. The seal attached to the ring contains the figure of the goddess Gaja-Lakṣmī and the legend Rājā-Śrīmat-Pṛthvídevaḥ. The grant opens with Om om namo Brahmaṇe. The introductory portion then gives the usual genealogy of the dynasty from Kārtavirya, Kokkala and Kalingarāja down to Pṛthvídeva. "In the formal part of the inscription we are told that this last king granted to the Brāhman Śilāna, who had emigrated from Takārī, the village of Āvalā in the Madhya-mandala, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The inscription was written by Śrī-Vatsarāja of the Vāstavya family and engraved by Lakṣmidhara. It ends with the date (K.) Saṁvat 900 (A.D. 1149).²

Amoda grant (ii).—Found with No. 3. Contains 35 lines engraved on two plates. Same seal. In this grant Pṛthvídeva grants the village of Budubudā in the Madhya-mandala to the donee of No. 3 and his two brothers Pithana and Lakhnū. It was written by the same as in (No. 3) and engraved by one Cādārka. The date (K.) Saṁvat 905 (A.D. 1154) completes the grant.³

¹ A transcript and a kind of translation of the inscription was published by Prof. H. H. Wilson in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, pp. xviii. It was then noticed by Cunningham in his ASR, Vol. XVII, p. 18. Finally edited by Kiernan in the IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 135-40. Cunningham traced the name of the town of Rājju to the tribal name Rājanāla.

² Edited by Hiralal, IHQ, September, 1925, pp. 409-11. The Editor identifies Madhya-mandala or the 'Central circle,' with the division which contained the capital of the kingdom. Āvalā according to him in Aurākhāṭā in the Laphā Zamindari in which "Tumānakā," the old capital of the Hailayas is situated.

³ Edited by the same. ibid, pp. 413-14. The village granted is identified by the editor with Burbur in the Laphā Zamindari.
(5) Ratanpur inscription.—The inscription is dated in Kalacuri Samvatsara 910 (c. A.D. 1158) in the victorious reign of King Śrīmat-Prthvīdeva.¹

The only record of the incidents of this king's reign is contained in the Rajim inscription of his officer Jagapāla. Lines 15-16 of this inscription seem to indicate that 'this chief and his two brothers Gājala and Jayatasiśīha together with the prime-minister Devarāja, subdued the earth.' In lines 10-11 we are told that Jagapāla 'not only took the forts of Sarahāgadh and Mahakāśiha(vā), and conquered the Bhramaravadra country, but also took Kāntāra, Kusumabhoga, Kandāsa(hva)ra and the district of Kākayara.'² Most of these places have not yet been properly identified. But Kielhorn accepted Cunningham's identification of Kākayara-deśa with modern state of Kanker in the C.P. The same scholar was also disposed to regard Kandāsa(hva)ra 'with Sehāwā or Sihoa situated to the east of Kanker, Brahmāvadra with Barma and Sarahāgadh with Sarangarh to the east of Raipur.'³ The identification of Kākayara with Kanker makes it possible that the Somavahāṅi princes of Kanker, for whom we have inscriptions dated from 1191 to 1320 A.D., may have been originally feudatories, of the Kalaciris of Tuṃmāṇa. Rai Bahadur Hiralal has approximately fixed 'the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th' as the date of Śimharāja the founder of the Somavahāṅs of Kanker.⁴

¹ Noticed by Cunningham, ASR, Vol. XVII, plate X; No. 417 in Kielhorn's List of Northern Inscriptions (EL, Vol. V, Appendix). The Ratanpur inscription dated in (K.) S. 915 which mentions Taḥārī-marjula may also belong to this reign. This inscription was first noticed by Sir R. Jenkins in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 504, and then by Kielhorn in EL, Vol. I, p. 39. Hiralal notices in the IA (1925, pp. 44-45), a grant of Prthvīdeva (II) dated in Saka 1000, which he believes to be spurious.

² IA, Vol. XVII, pp. 137 and 140.

³ Ibid, p. 137.

⁴ For the inscriptions of the Somavahāṅs of Kanker, see
   (a) Śimha stone inscription of Kavarija, Saka year 1114, EL, Vol. IX, pp. 182-87.
   (b) Kanker plate of Pāmpurāja, (K.) year 965 and 966. Ibid, pp. 166-70.
   (c) Kanker inscription of the time of Bhānudeva, Saka (?) year 1242. Ibid, pp. 129-30.
   (d) Gurur stone-pillar-inscription of Vagharāja, IA, 1926, p. 44.
Prthvídeva II was succeeded by his son Jájalladeva II. The following two records are known for his reign:

(1) *Amoda* grant.—It was found in the village of Amoda, in the district of Bilaspur (C.P.). The inscription contains 37 lines incised on two massive plates. The ring and the seal are lost. The inscription opens with *Om om nama Brahmaṇe*. In the introductory portion the donor’s genealogy is traced from Kārtavirya, Kokalla, and Kalingarāja. In the formal part it records the grant of a village named Bunderā to the astrologer Rāghava and the royal priest Nāmadeva. It was written by the Vāstavya Kāyastha Citrabhāṅna in (K.) *Samvat* 91(2) which is equivalent to A.D. 1161.¹

(2) *Malhar* stone-inscription.—It is reported to have been brought from Malhār in the C.P. It consists of 28 lines and is incised on a piece of black stone. It opens with *Om om namah Śivāya* and two verses invoking the god Sambhū and Gaṇapati. Then comes the genealogy of Jájalladeva (II), ‘the ruler of Tummāṇa,’ traced from Ratnadeva (II) of the lunar race. The proper object of the inscription is to record the erection, at the town of Mallāla (probably mod. Malhar or Malar), of a temple of the god Kedāra (Siva) by the Brāhmaṇa Somarāja, the son of Gaṅgādhara who settled in Tummāṇadeśa from the village of Kumbhaṭi in Madhyadeśa. The inscription was composed by Ratnasmitha, son of Māme of the Vāstavya race. The date (K.) *Samvat* 919 (A.D. 1167-68) comes at the end.²

Nothing definite was so long known of the reign of this prince. But his recently discovered Amoda grant supplies us with a piece of important information for his reign. This grant we are told was made by way of thanksgiving on an

² Edited by Kislohn, *St*, Vol. I, pp. 39-48. The inscription is now in the Nagpur Museum. The donor of the inscription is described as ‘the eye of the teaching of Akṣapād and the Cārnākṣa-sidhā-malama.’ He is also reported to have delighted the pitcher-born (Agasvāya) by drinking the difficult to be restrained Bandha Ocean and appeared as the god of death to the Digambaras. Note the spelling Tummāṇa a variant of Tūṁmāṇa (l. 14).
escape from a great calamity, when the donor had almost lost his kingdom in a battle with one Dhīrū who is described as a huge alligator clutching his victim. According to Hiralal Dhīrū is a non-Aryan name. If this is accepted then it appears that there was a serious rebellion of the aboriginal tribes under the leadership of Dhīrū which was only suppressed with difficulty by Jájalla deva II.

Jájalla II was succeeded by Ratnadeva III, his son by his queen Somalladevi. Only one record has so far been discovered for his reign. This is his Kharod stone-inscription. This inscription is inside a Saiva temple at the small village of Kharod, 3 miles north of Seori Narayan (on the northern bank of the Mahanadi in the Bilaspur district, C.P.). The inscription contains 28 lines and gives a complete list of the Tummāna princes down to Ratnadeva III. It is dated in line 28 in Cedi-Samvat 933 (A.D. 1181-82).

It is difficult to say definitely who succeeded Ratnadeva III. From a Ratanpur stone-inscription dated in (V.) Sam. 1247 (?) which refers itself to the reign of king Prthvīdeva, it is generally assumed that this prince was the successor of Ratnadeva III. This inscription was discovered within the fort of Ratanpur in the C.P. It consists of 24 lines and is incised on a black stone. The record opens with Om namah Śivāya and two verses invoking the gods Rudra and Gaṇapati. Then follows the usual genealogy. In the lunar race Jájalla deva: His son Ratnadeva who was 'a submarine fire of the unique ocean of the array of the difficult to be subdued armies of the Cedi princes;' and who defeated the champions of Coḍagaṅga (V. 5). His son Prthvīdeva. The rest of the inscription gives the genealogy of the Vastavya Devagana who originally came into the Tummāna

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1 EI, Vol. XIX, p. 21. Can Dhīrū be an śraddhāna of a Sanskritic name like Dhbrendra? We still use such abbreviations in modern Bengal.
2 AI, Vol. XXII, p. 83. A mutilated Amarkantak inscription also mentions the name of Somalladevi, see ibid., p. 83, fn. 14.
country from Cedi-\textit{mandala}. This person erected a Saiva temple at the village of Sambā. The inscription which was composed by Devagaṇa himself is dated at the end in (\textit{V.}) \textit{Samvat} 1247 (?) (A.D. 1189-90).\textsuperscript{1} The date agrees with the ascription of the inscription to Prthvīdeva III. Another fact also supports this conclusion. The father of the Vāstavya Devagaṇa of this inscription is named Ratnasimha, son of Māme. This Ratnasimha seems to be identical with the person of the same name who composed the Malhar stone-inscription of Jājalladeva II (1167-68 A.D.). But there are unfortunately also some difficulties in accepting this conclusion. The ascription of victory over Coḍagaṇga to Ratnadeva of this inscription reminds us of a similar victory credited to Ratnadeva II by the Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II. Coḍagaṇga must be taken to be the same as the great Orissa king Anantavarma Coḍagaṇga (c. 1078-1135 A.D.), who must have been dead long before the accession of Ratnadeva III (A.D. 1181-82) but was certainly a contemporary of Ratnadeva II (c. 1120-35). Thus if Ratnadeva of this inscription really fought with Coḍagaṇga then he must be Ratnadeva II. This inscription in that case has to be referred to the reign of Prthvīdeva II. Kiellhorn noticed that the date of the inscription 'has not been written by the writer of the inscription who forms his numeral figures differently. He suspected that the inscription was originally dated in a year of the Cedi year.'\textsuperscript{2} But the following table inclines me to think that the inscription really belongs to Prthvīdeva III:

\begin{tabular}{|c|}
\hline
Vāstavya Māme \\
\hline
Ratnasimha \ldots composed Malhar inscription of Jājalladeva II (1167-68 A.D.) \\
\hline
Devagaṇa \ldots composed Ratnapur inscription dated in 1189-90 in the reign of Prthvīdeva. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{1} Edited by Kiellhorn, \textit{EI}, Vol. I, pp. 45-52. See also Errata and Corrigenda at the end of the volume under page 47.

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Ibid}, p. 40, fn. 41.
HAIHAYAS OF THE UNITED AND CENTRAL PROVINCES 815

Thus it is possible that Devagāna was wrong in making Ratnadeva III the father of his patron Prthvīdeva III a contemporary of the Orissa king Coḍagaṅga.

It is difficult to trace the genealogy of the Tuṁmāna Kalacuris after Prthvīdeva III. A Bhuvaneswar inscription gives us the name of king Paramardī or Paramādi of the Haihaya-vamsa who married Candrikā, the daughter of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anaṅga Bhūma II (c. 1211-38 A.D.). The Cāteśvar stone inscription of this Gaṅga prince tells us that his Brāhma minister fought with the lord of Tuṁmāna. It is not unlikely that the Haihaya king Paramardī was the ruler of Tuṁmāna who was first the enemy and then the son-in-law of Anaṅga Bhūma. In the present state of our knowledge however it is impossible to connect him with the main line of the Kalacuris at Tuṁmāna.

The details of the history of this portion of the C. P. during this period is unknown. It is certain that the Muslims never succeeded in establishing their power in the Chhattisgarh division and there is evidence to show that the Kalacuris continued to figure as chiefs of Chhattisgarh right up to the 18th century. The Khalari stone-inscription of the Kalacuri king Haribrahmadeva is dated in 1415 A.D. while the Arang plate of the Haihaya king Amarasiṁhadeva is dated as late as 1735 A.D. The latter appears to have been ousted by the Bhonslas of Nagpur in c. 1750 A.D.

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2 JASB, 1898, pp. 317 ff.; ibid, 1903, p. 119; also DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 77-78.
3 EI, Vol. II, pp. 238-31. Haribrahma traces his descent to the Kalacuri prince (1) Sūdhana of the Aḥihaya-vamsa. Then came his son king (2) Rāmadeva. His son was Haribrahmadeva, a devotee of Candracāda (Śiva). The village of Khalari is 45 miles east of Raipur.
4 DLI, p. 100; Raipur District Gazetteer, p. 50.
I. Kalacuria of Gorakhpur:

(a) Kūhla branch.

Lakṣmaṇarāja

Rājaputra

Sivarāja

Śaṅkaragāna

Gumāmbhodhideva (c. 850 A.D.)

Kāncanadevī = alias Gumārāga

= Madanadevī

Ullabha.

Bhāmānadevī = Dehaṭtadevī

Śaṅkaragāna II. Mūgḍhatūṅga

= Vidyā

Gumārāga II. = Lavanyavati

Rājāvī =

Sivarāja II Bhāmāna

= Sugalladevī

Śaṅkaragāna III

= Yāsoplekhyadevī

Vyāsa (A.D. 1081)

Bhima

Soḍhadevā.
(b) Kausia branch (c. 1025-1225 A.D.):

Sāṅkaragaṇa

Nannarāja

Lakṣmaṇa I

Sivarāja I

Bhimaṭa I

Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa II

Sivarāja II

(Name lost) X = Bhūdā

Lakṣmanarājadēva III

?= Kāñcanā

Bhimaṭa II
II. Kalacuris of Dāhala:

Kokkalla (c. A.D. 875-925) A.D.
(also Kokkala and Kokalla)

Mugdhatunga
[Prasiddhavala, Rānavigraha,
Saṅkaragana, Saṅkuka?]

Bālaharṣa

Yuvarāja I Keyuravara

= Nohalā
Lakṣmanarāja
= Rāhadā

Saṅkaragana (II ?) Yuvarāja II

Kokkala II

Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c. 1030-41 A.D.)
= Demati
Lakṣmi-Karṇa (also called Karṇa) (c. A.D. 1041-70)
= Avalladevi.
Yāśāb-Karṇa (c. A.D. 1073-1125)

Gayā-Karṇa (A.D. 1151)
= Alhanadevi

Narasiṃha
(c. A.D. 1155-70)

Jayasimha
(A.D. 1175) = Gosaladevi

Vijayasiṃha
(A.D. 1180-95)

Mahākumāra Ajayasiṃha

1 Usually known as Kalacuris of Tripuri.
III. Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa:

Kokkala of the Dāhala branch

A younger son, lord of a Maṇḍala

Kalingarāja

Kamalarāja

Nonsallā = Ratnarāja I or Ratnesa
(or Nonnalā)

Prthvideva or Prthviśa (A.D. 1070)

=Rajalla.

Jājalladeva I (A.D. 1114)

Ratnadeva II (c. 1120-35)

Prthvideva II (c. A.D. 1141-58)

Jājalladeva II (c. A.D. 1160-66)

Ratnadeva III (c. A.D. 1181-82)

Prthvideva III (1189-90 ?)

IV. Kalacuris of Raipur:

(a) Sunhana

Rāmādeva

Haribrahmsadeva (1415 A.D.)

(b) Amarasimhadeva (c. 1735-50 A.D.)

1 Popularity known as Kalacuris of Rathapura.
Bibliography


7. *Archaeological Survey Reports* by Cunningham, Vols. IX and XVII.


CHAPTER XIII

THE KACCHAPAGHATAS (KACHWÁHAS) OF RAJPUTANA AND CENTRAL INDIA

The modern Rajput tribe which is known as Kachwáha claim to be the descendants of Kuša, son of Ráma, the epic king of North Kośala. According to bardic tradition, after leaving their parental abode, they erected the famous castle of Rohtas on the Son and thence a section of the tribe in company of Raja Nal, 'migrated westward, and founded the kingdom and city of Narwar,' classically styled Naiṣadha, in (V.) S. 351 (A.D. 295). The inscriptions of the tribe totally ignore this story, which was probably a later fabrication. Their earliest epigraphic records, unlike those of some other tribes of this period, contain no story of the family's mythical origin, but abruptly introduce the founders of the various branches as Kacchapaghatá-vamša-tilaka or Kacchapaghatánçaya-saraç-kumala-máranda. It is moreover impossible to derive the word Kacchapaghatá or the modern Kachwáha from Kuša. The statement that a section of the tribe settled in Narwar is however supported by the Narwar grant of Virasimha, which was actually issued from Nala-pura-mahádúrga in V. S. 1177 (A.D. 1120). Moreover, there are other epigraphic records which show that in the 10th and 11th centuries at least three families of Kacchapaghátas ruled in and around Eastern Rajputana and the region now known as Gwalior Residency. They may be conveniently designated as (1) The Kacchapaghátas of Gwalior, (2) The Kacchappaghátas of Dubkund, and (3) The Kacchapaghátas of Narwar.

3 JAOS, Vol. VI, p. 543, lines 3-4 from the top. In one inscription the last person in the pedigree is called Kacchapára-hukha-bhúṣaṇa, IA, Vol. XV, p. 59, V. 57.
4 Ibid, p. 542, line 2, text.
As the area over which they ruled was certainly included within the dominions of the imperial Gujara-Pratihāras, we may fairly assume that they were at first feudatories of these rulers of Kanauj. Definite evidence shows that a member of one of these families made himself master of the fort of Gwalior by defeating the ruler of Kanauj. As we have a record of this Kacchapaghata prince dated in A.D. 977, this king of Kanauj may almost certainly be identified with one of the successors of Mahipāla I (c. 914-43). In the following pages I shall give a short account of the three branches of the Kacchapaghātas mentioned above.

(1) The Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior.

The existence of this branch is known from a number of records, the most important of which is the Sasbahu temple-inscription of Mahipāla dated in V. S. 1150. According to this inscription, the first prince of this line was Lakṣmana. He is described as *Kacchapaghāta-ratna-tilaka* and *Kṣanipati* and an "object of reverence for all princes." Nothing definite is known about his reign. We are simply told that "Wielding his bow (and) promoting the welfare of his subjects, he unaided, like Prthu, made the earth obedient to his will, after he had by force extirpated even mighty princes (as Prthu had uprooted the mountains)." The next prince in this line was his son Vajradāman. We are told that "When by honest means he had put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara, his proclamation-drum, which fulfilled his vow of heroism, resounded in the fort of Gopādri, conquered in battle by his

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3 *Id.*, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 41, V. 5.
5 See *Catalogue of Indian Coins (Andhras, W. Kṣatrapas, etc.*)* by Rapson, London, 1908, *Introduction*, p. ciii. The names of many of the W. Kṣatrapas end in *dāman*. Rapson suggested that *dāman* 'may well be a Sanskritised form of a Persian word (cf. Spalaga-dama); *ibid.*, p. cvi.
irresistible strong arm." Vajradāman has been generally identified with the Mahārājādhirāja Vajradāman of a fragmentary Jain image-inscription of Gwalior dated in (V.) Sam. 1034 (A.D. 977). It is difficult to identify exactly the prince of Gāḍhinagarā who was defeated by this Kacchapaghāta and from whom apparently he captured the fort of Gwalior. His date, A.D. 977, however indicates, as I have already suggested, that this ruler of Kanauj must have been one of the weak successors of Mahāpāla I (c. 914-43 A.D.), possibly Vijayapāla, for whom we have the date 960 A.D. It is likely that Vajradāman at first enjoyed some measure of sovereignty. But the rising power of the Candellas, which in Dhaṅga's reign (c. 954-1002 A.D.) reached 'the mountain called Gopagiri' seems to indicate that he may have soon after acknowledged the hegemony of his more powerful eastern neighbour. That the title of Mahārājādhirāja, in this period, was not inconsistent with feudatory rank, is shown by the Rajor stone-inscription of Mathanadeva dated in V. S. 1016 (A.D. 960).

The next prince mentioned by the Sasbahu inscription is Maṅgalarāja, who is said to have "scattered his enemies as the thousand-rayed (sun) does the darkness. As he for ever paid worship to the lord (Īśvara), so he was worshipped by thousands of great lords." Maṅgalarāja is probably to be identified with the prince of that name who is mentioned in an 'Ukha-Mandar' stone-inscription at Biana, 'the chief town of the tahsil of the same name in the Bharatpur State in Rajputana.'

1 IA, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 41, V. 6.
2 JASB, Vol. XXXI, p. 393, plate VI and pp. 399-400. It contains a single line and is incised on the pedestal of the image.
6 Tata - 'then came.'
7 IA, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 41, V. 7.
inscription is incised at the foot of a pillar in the 'Ukha-Mandar,' an old Hindu temple, now used by the Muslims as a Masjid. Unfortunately, a portion of the stone being permanently built in below the bottom of the pillar, only the first 27 or so letters of each of the 23 lines of which it consists are visible. The script of the record is older than the Biana inscription of Adhirāja Vijaya dated in (V.) Samvat 1100 (c. A.D. 1043).

The inscription is a Vaiṣṇava prasasti, and shows that the temple was originally one of the god Viṣṇu. In line 12 it mentions Māṅgalarāja, to whose reign it apparently belongs.

The next Kacchapaghāta ruler was Kṛttirāja. We are told that he conquered in battle the countless hosts of the prince of Mālava. When that (Mālava prince) had met with defeat, the villagers surrounded their houses with the multitude of spears, which through fear had fallen from the hands (of his soldiers) in every direction." As Mahiṣāla of the Sasbahu inscription (A.D. 1093) is the fourth in lineal descent from Kṛttirāja, we can approximately assign the latter to the period c. 1015-35 A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Mahmūd of Ghaznī (998-1030 A.D.), the Candella Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.), and the Paramāra Bhoja (1021 A.D.). These synchronisms lead us to conclude that the Mālava-bhāmipa who was defeated by the Kacchapaghāta prince was probably Bhoja. They also indicate that Kṛttirāja was possibly a feudatory of the Candellas, whose power during this period had reached its height. The Dubkund inscription shows that Arjuna, the local Kacchapaghāta prince, was a contemporary of the Paramāra Bhoja, and a vassal of Vidyādhara. The synchronisms mentioned above also indicate

1 According to Fleet it is "probably a century, or perhaps two centuries, older than the inscription of Adhirāja Vijaya." IA, Vol. XIV, p. 9.

2 The record was first noticed by Carleyle in ASR, Vol. VI, pp. 50 ff. He also gives a description of the temple, ibid., pp. 51-51. It was then noticed by Fleet, IA, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

3 Taka = "then came."


that it was probably Kīrttirāja who commanded the fort of Gwalior when Maḥmūd besieged it in 1022 A.D. I have already mentioned elsewhere that the reference by Niṣām ud-Dīn to this prince of Gwalior at the time of Maḥmūd’s invasion as ḥākim (حاكم), coupled with the statement that the Yamini invader reached the fort of Gwalior after invading the territories of ‘Nandā,’ indicate the subordination of the Gwalior ruler to the prince of Kalinjar. As a Candella inscription tells us that the (Paramāra) Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara ‘full of fear, like a pupil,’ we may infer that Kīrttirāja’s success against the powerful Mālava prince was attained not without the moral and material assistance of the mighty Candella king.

The only other recorded achievement of Kīrttirāja is his building of ‘a wonderful temple of the lord of Pārvati, which shines like a column of fame’ at the town of Simhāpāṇi. He was succeeded by his son Mūladeva, also known as Bhuvaṇapāla and Trailokyamalla. Nothing definite is known about this prince. But his sudden assumption of two additional names and the statement in the Sasbahu epigraph that ‘his body was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a universal sovereign’ may indicate his freedom from the hegemony of the Candellas. I have already shown that the period between the reigns of Vidyādhara (1019 A.D.) and Kīrttivarma (1098 A.D.) is one of the darkest chapters in the history of the Candellas. If our suggestion for Kīrttirāja’s date (c. 1015-35) be correct, his son’s reign must have fallen in c. 1035-55 A.D. It is thus likely that Mūladeva, taking advantage of the disastrous defeats of the Candellas by the Kalacuri Lakṣāmi-Karṇa, asserted his complete independence.

1 See supra, my chapter on the Candellas, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 609 fn. 2; also Tā, Trans. p. 14 and text p. 15. Al-Birūnī (KH, Vol. I, p. 202) says that between Kaṣurāha and Kanjō there are two of the most famous fortresses in India, Gwāḷiar (Gwalior) and Kāḷinjar. This occurs in the passage where al-Birūnī describes Jaḥāḥut and its capital Kaṣurāha. The fort of Gwalior is called ‘the pearl of the necklace of Hind’ by Tāj ul-Maṣūḥir, Elliot, Vol. II, p. 227.


3 IA, Vol. XV, pp. 36 and 43, V. 11. This town has not yet been identified.


Another interesting point in this reign seems to be raised by the king’s name Trailokyamalla. It may not be without significance that these names in *malla* occur in the family of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. In fact, Āhavamalla Someśvara I (A.D. 1044-68), during whose reign his son Vikramāditya is said to have carried on extensive raids in Northern India, had actually the same *malla* name as Mūladeva. At present we have no evidence to form any conclusion; but we may point out that both the Kacchapaghāta and Cālukya princes were contemporaries.

A fragmentary Gwalior inscription dated in V. S. 1161 (A.D. 1104) gives us the name of one of Mūladeva’s officers: Stanzas 11-13 tell us that Manoratha of Mathurā, who belonged to the Kāyastha-*vaṁśa*, served as the ‘Secretary’ of Bhuvanapāla.

Mūladeva was succeeded by Devapāla, his son by the queen Devavratā. Devapāla appears to have been also known as Aparājita. The Sasbahu inscription tells us that this prince ‘surpassed Karūa by his generosity, the son of Prthū by his knowledge of the bow, and Dharmarāja by his truthfulness.’

His son was Padmapāla, who was like Māndhātr, ‘the ornament of universal sovereigns.’ He is said to have invaded the various quarters of the globe, and after subduing them, marched to the southernmost point of India. During his reign he is reported to have built a temple of Hari (Viṣṇu), who was named after him *Padma-nātha*. Padmapāla when ‘still a youth, through the adversity of fortune, obtained a seat on the lap of Saṅkrandana (Indra).’

Then his ‘brother’ Mahīpāla, also styled Bhuvanaikamalla, son of Suryapāla, became king at Gopādri.

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2 See *IA*, Vol. XV, p. 42, V. 17, where Mūladeva’s grandson is said to have marched to the southern region. See also *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 329.
8 The temple where the Sasbahu inscription was put up, *ibid.*, p. 35.
The relationship between Mahīpāla and his predecessor is not clear. In some passages his father Sūryapāla is referred to as nṛpa. But as he is called a brother of Padmapāla, we may infer that his father Sūryapāla was a son of Mūladeva and uncle of Padmapāla. In that case Mahīpāla was the first cousin of his immediate predecessor.

For the reign of this prince we have the long and interesting Sāsbahu inscription. This is incised on a slab inside the larger of the two temples, near the middle of the eastern wall of the fortress of Gwalior, which the people call Sās bahū kā dehrā. It contains 42 lines of writing and 112 Sanskrit verses. It opens with ‘Om namaḥ Padmanāthaya’ and 4 verses invoking Aniruddha, the lord of Uṣā. Then comes the genealogy of the Kacchapaghātās from Lakṣmīna down to Mahīpāla. Next follow verses praising the last in fulsome terms familiar to the Indian praśastikāras. The main fact recorded is that Mahīpāla soon after his coronation promised to complete the half-finished temple of Hari which was begun by his predecessors, and kept his vow (V. 70). A detailed list of the charitable institutions connected with the temple, the portions of his revenue devoted by him to the erection of the temple buildings, the idols that he gave to the shrine, the ornaments he presented to them, the arrangements he made and the implements he furnished for their worship, are fully stated in verses 71-102. V. 75 tells us that the income of the village of Paśānapallī was divided into 30 shares, of which a few were allotted to the god, and by far the greater number to Brāhmans. The letters of the inscription were written by Yaśodeva Digambarāraka, 'a poet in all languages,' and engraved by the Śūlapis Padma, Māhula, and Simharāja. The praśasti was composed by Manikantha by order of the king in (F.S.) 1150 (A.D. 1093), when the wise Gaura was serving as his (minister)."
Nothing more definite is known about Mahipāla's reign. The only noteworthy feature about him is his name Bhuvanākamalla, which was also the biruda of Someśvara II (1069-76 A.D.), the son of the Cālukya Someśvara I (1044-68 A.D.). According to Dr. Barnett 'the two Cālukya birudas in this family strongly suggests alliance' between the rulers of Gwalior and the Deccan. The date of Mahipāla's death is approximately settled by a fragmentary inscription discovered in the fortress of Gwalior. This record mentions the Kacchapaghāta princes from Bhuvanapāla to Mahipāla, who is referred to as the adhipati of Gopālikera, probably the original form and the immediate source of the modern name Gwalior. Stanzas 7-9 seem to refer to the death of Mahipāla, and must have recorded the name of his successor; but unfortunately the preserved portion does not contain this name. The inscription appears to have recorded the setting up of a linga when 1161 years had elapsed from the reign of Vikramārka (A.D. 1104). The record was composed by the Nigrantha-nātha Yaśodeva. It is thus clear that Mahipāla was dead some time before 1104.

According to Rajput tradition, the last Kachwāha king of Gwalior was Tej Karan, otherwise known as Dulha Rai (the bridegroom prince), who left his capital about 1128 A.D. "There are different stories as to the cause of his departure. Some say that he was expelled by his uncle, and others that he left in order to marry Maroni, the daughter of the Bargūjar Rajput chief of Daosa, leaving Gwalior in charge of his sister's son, who was either a Parihār or a Paramāra Rajput, and who repaid the confidence thus placed in him by usurping the principality. Both accounts, however, agree that Dulha Rai received from his father-in-law (who had no sons) the district of Daosa; and the Kachwāha dynasty in Eastern Rajputana may be said to date from about 1128, with the town of Daosa

aa its first capital.......About 1150 A.D., one of Dulha Rai’s successors wrested Amber from the Susāwat Minās and made it his capital......Pajūn, fourth (or, as some say, fifth) in descent from Dulha Rai, is said to have married the sister of Pṛthṿtī Raj Chauhān, the last Hindu king of Delhi, and was killed with the latter in 1192 in a battle with Muhammad Ghori.”

(2) The Kacchapaghātās of Dubkund.

The existence of this branch is known mainly from one record, the Dubkund inscription of Vikramasimha dated in V. S. 1145 (A.D. 1088). The genealogical portion of this record introduces the first two names of this line as follows:

“"There was an ornament of the Kacchapaghāta family, and a son of the illustrious Yuvarāja, who was white with fame that spread abroad in the three worlds, the illustrious prince (bhūpatī) Arjuna, a leader of a formidable army of unparalleled splendour, a prince whom even the ocean did not equal in depth, and a Bowman who by his skill in archery had completely vanquished the earth.

Having, anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādhara-deva (Vidyādharadeva-kārya-nirataḥ), fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neckbones, he unceasingly filled all the three worlds with his imperishable fame, brilliant like pearl strings and like the orb of the moon and the foam of the sea.”

1 IGI, Vol. XIII, pp. 384-85; ASR, Vol. II, pp. 370 ff. Parmāl Deo (Paramardi-deva) according to some chroniclers, was the nephew of Tāj Karna, who founded the Parihār dynasty of Gwalior, which ruled for 108 years, until the capture of the fortress by Ilutmish in A.D. 1333, from Sārang Deo, the 7th and the last prince of the line. According to the Tāj-ul-Ma‘āthir, Rāj Solankh Pāl was the ruler of Gwalior, who submitted to Qutb ud-Dīn in 692 H. (A.D. 1196). Cunningham identifies him with the Parihār Lohang Deo of the bardas. See Elliott, Vol. II, pp. 227-28, and ASR, Vol. II, pp. 378-79, and fn. on p. 379. For a list of Parihār kings of Gwalior from the chronicles of the bardas, see ibid., p. 378.


The identification of Rājyapāla and Vidyādhara of this passage with the Gurjara-Pratihāra (A.D. 1018) and Candella (A.D. 1019) princes of the same name is generally accepted.¹ It is clear that the Kacchapaghāta Arjuna was a feudatory of Vidyādhara, described by Ibn ul-Athīr as the most powerful Indian prince of his time. I have already referred to the Candella inscription which extends the limit of the dominions of Dhanga (c. 954-1002 A.D.) in the west to the hill of Gwalior.² It seems likely that the Dubkund branch first grew into importance in the service of the great Candella Vidyādhara. The fact that the family prasastikāra failed to give Yuvarāja any other honorific than Śrī is probably a sufficient indication that he was a man of no importance. The fame and prestige acquired by Arjuna as a successful military leader, specially his destruction of Rājyapāla, must have laid the foundations of his family’s fortunes. As he is called bhūpati, he may have even carved out a small principality round about the present Dubkund (Long. 77° 5½' E., Lat. 25° 43½' N.) on the river Kunu.

Arjuna was succeeded by his son Abhimanyu, of whom the Dubkund inscription gives the following description:

"Having powerfully vanquished in battle even the victorious, (he) valued other princes as lightly as a straw.

Since the highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja, has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince, who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella? "³

The Bhoja mentioned in the above passage is generally identified with the Paramāra of that name (c. 1010-55 A.D.). It is however difficult to know what relation existed between the Paramāra prince and Abhimanyu. It is well known that the relations between the Candellas and the Paramāras were not very friendly during this period. A Candella inscription describes Bhoja as worshipping Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil.'\(^1\) We know for certain that Vidyādhara died sometime before 1051 A.D., the only known date of his grandson Devavarman.\(^2\) As the earliest known date of Bhoja's successor is 1055 A.D.\(^3\) it is probable that Bhoja survived Vidyādhara at least by some years. It is therefore possible that, taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors, Bhoja may have extended his influence in the north up to Dubkund; and the statement of the prāṣastikāra possibly contains a veiled reference to Abhimanyu's subservience to the great Paramāra.

Abhimanyu was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla. Nothing definite is recorded of him in the Dubkund inscription. Some evidence of his military success may however be gathered if we accept his identification\(^4\) with the Ādhirāja Vijaya of the Biana stone-inscription. This record was discovered on a pilaster of a Jaina temple, now used by Muslims as a mosque, in the town of Biana (Lat. 26° 55' N., Long. 77° 21' E.), on the river Gambhir, in the State of Bharatpur in Rajputana. It contains 18 lines, opening with Om om namah Siddhebhyyah. It then records that in the kingdom of king Ādhirāja Vijaya (line 5), at the city of Śrīpatha,\(^5\) there was a Jain teacher (Śūri) named Maheśvara, a leader of the Śvetāmbaras belonging to the Kāmyaka-gaccha (or sect), who occupied the seat of Viṣṇu Śūri. In lines 6-11, it records that Maheśvara Śūri died when the (V.) year one thousand one hundred was drawing to its close. In

\(^1\) EI, Vol. II, pp. 219 and 222, V. 22; see also DHNI, Vol. II, p. 689.
\(^2\) LA, Vol. XVI, pp. 201-02 and 204-07; see also DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 694-95.
\(^3\) EI, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff.
\(^5\) According to P. Fleet the ancient name of Biana, IA, Vol. XIV, p. 10.
lines 17-18 we are told that the *prāsaṭṭi* was incised by the Sādhu Sarvadeva in V. Saṁ. 1100 (A.D. 1043).  

The acceptance of this identification, first suggested by Kielhorn, would indicate that the Biana region was conquered by this branch some time before 1044 A.D. from the Gwalior branch, one of whose inscriptions, dated in the reign of Maṅgalarāja (c. 995-1015 A.D.), was discovered in the 'Ukha Mandar' at Biana. Vijaypāla was succeeded by his son Vikramasimha, for whose reign we have the *Dubkund stone inscription* dated in V.S. 1145. It was discovered in the ruins of a temple at Dubkund in a dense forest on the left bank of the river Kunu, 76 miles to the S. W. of Gwalior. It contains 61 lines of writing, opening with *Om om namo Vitarāgāya* and 6 verses invoking the Jaina Tirthakāras Ṛṣabha-svāmin, Śāntinātha, Candraprabha, the Jina (Mahāvīra), the sage Gotama, and the goddess of Scripture (*Śrutadevalī*) 'famous in the world under the name of Pañkajavāsini.' Then follows the genealogy of the Kacchapaghātas from Yuvarāja to prince Vikramasimha. The third part of the record gives the genealogy of Rśi and Dāhada, two Jain traders, on whom Vikramasimha had conferred the rank of Sreṣṭhin in the town Cadobha. The Sreṣṭhin Jasūka, their grandfather, 'is described as the head of a family or guild of merchants which had come from Jāyasapura.' Lines 39-48 contain an account of some Jain sages belonging to the Lāṭavāgata-gāna, the last of whom, Vijayakīrti, not only composed this inscription, but also induced the people to build the temple at which the inscription was afterwards engraved. One of these sages, the guru Śāntiśena, father of Vijayakīrti, is said to have held a sabhā before the king Bhojadeva and defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasena and other learned men. The prose passage, commencing

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in line 54, records that the Mahārājādhirājā Vikramasimha "for the building of the temple and for keeping it in good repair, as well as for purposes of worship, assigned (a tax of) one Vaiṣṇopaka on each goṣṭi (of grain?), and gave a piece of land in the village of Mahācakra, capable of being sown with four goṣṭis of wheat, and a garden with a well to the east of Rajakadraha; and that he moreover provided a certain amount of oil for lamps and for anointing the bodies of holy men." The praśasti was written on stone by Udayārāja, and engraved by the Śilākāṭa Tilhana. The date (V.) Saṃvat 1145 (A.D. 1088) comes in the last line.¹

Vikramasimha is the last known prince of this branch. The details of the political incidents of his reign and those of his possible successors are at present unknown.

(3) The Kacchaphaghātas of Narwar.

The existence of this line is known from the Narwar grant of Vīrasimha, dated in V.S. 1177. This inscription opens with Om namo Vārāyanāya and then in the introductory portion gives the following genealogy of the donor:

In the Kacchaphaghāta lineage

The inscription was issued in the (V.) Saṃvat 1177 (A.D. 1120) from the Nala-pura² mahādurga. It records the grant of the village of Babāda to the Brahmān Govinda and others (names given). The grant was written by the Pāṇḍita Salaksana. It ends with M. Śrīmad-Vīrasimhasya vijayināḥ sahastrah.³

¹ A small photolithograph of the record was given by Cunningham in ASI, Vol. XX, Plates XXI and XXII. Kielhorn edited it in EI, Vol. II, pp. 232-40.
² Mod. Narwar, on the bank of the Sindh in the Gwalior Residency.
³ Edited by P. E. Hall, JAOS, Vol. VI, pp. 344-47. The find-spot of the grant is not mentioned. The epithets of No. 3 are taken from lines 2-3 on p. 542.
Of all the three Kacchapyaghāta families, it is only this branch which assumes imperial titles. As we have the date A.D. 1120 for the third of this line, we may with probability assign the three princes to the period c. 1075-1125 A.D. It is not unlikely that, taking advantage of the weakness of the three neighbouring dynasties, viz., the Candellas of Jejā-bhukti, the Kalachuris of Dāhala, and the Paramāras of Mālava, this branch may have established a sovereign power in the valley of Sindh. Nothing is however known about the political incidents of the reigns of these Kacchapyaghātas or any of their possible successors.1

1 On the subsequent history of Nālapura see: (1) Sarwāi inscription of Gauḍapāti, V.S. 1348 (A.D. 1292), IA, Vol. XXII, p. 83. (2) ASR, Vol. II, pp. 313 ff. Cunningham thought that Tejākaran, the last Kacchawāha king of the Gwalior region, was a son of Virāmihira of Narwar (ibid, pp. 313-14). According to him, Narwar then fell into the hands of the Parāhāra of Gwalior. The last Parāhāra prince, after the capture of Gwalior by Blinmish in 1233 A.D., took shelter in Narwar. The Parāhāra, according to Cunningham, were dispossessed by Malayavarman, for whom we have the dates from A.D. 1233-1239. He was probably succeeded or ousted by Cāhāja (A.D. 1246-54), the 'Jahir Deo' of Firista, who submitted to Sultan Nāṣir ud-Dīn of Delhi in A.D. 1250. (TF, Brigg, Trans., Vol. I, p. 223.) The dates of his son Āsalla on his coins range from A.D. 1254 to 1279. A Narwar fort inscription dated in A.D. 1288, gives the names of Gopāla and Gauḍapāti, the son and grandson of Āsalla. As no coins of these two last princes have yet been found, it is likely that they were feudatories of the Khalji rulers of Delhi. The tribal name of this family was probably Cāhāmanas, see infra, chapter on the Cāhāmanas (of Banastrambhupura).
Genealogical Tables.

(Dates approximate)

(1) The Gwalior Branch (c. 950-1100 A.D.):

Lakṣmana (c. 950-75).
Vajradāman (c. 975-95).
Maṅgalarāja (c. 995-1015).
Kirttiāja (c. 1015-35).
Mūladeva, alias Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla (c. 1085-65).

= Devavrata.
Devapāla (c. 1055-75).
Padmapāla (c. 1075-80).
Mahipāla, alias Bhuvanakamalla (c. 1080-1100).

(2) The Dubhund Branch (c. 1000-1100 A.D.)

Yuvarāja (c. 1000).

Arjuna (c. 1015-85 A.D.).
Abhimanyu (1035-44 A.D.).
Vijayaṇāla (c. 1044-70).
Vikramasimha (1070-1100).

(3) The Narwar Branch (c. 1075-1125 A.D.)

Gaganasimha (c. 1075-1090).
Saradasimha (c. 1090-1105).

= Lakṣmidevi.
Virasimha (c. 1105-1125).
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5. Ta’rikh-i-Firishta, translated by Brigg, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XIV

The Paramāras (Pāvaras) of Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana

The history of Gujarat, Malwa and Southern Rajputana, over which at different periods the Paramāras\(^1\) claimed sway, were in the 9th and the first half of the 10th centuries intimately connected with the annals of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj (c. 836-1037 A.D.) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed (c. 754-973 A.D.). From the time of Vatsa (c. 783-84 A.D.) and Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815-33 A.D.) and Dhruva and Govinda III (c. 783-815 A.D.), the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, with brief intervals, continued to fight almost incessantly for a dominant position in Indian politics; and there is reliable evidence to show that the region indicated above was one of the zones in which the fight was most bitter. Allying themselves with all the hostile forces against the Pratihāras, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas maintained a constant pressure against their northern rivals on this frontier for about a hundred and fifty years. On more than one occasion the mobile forces of these predecessors of the Marathas, swarmed into the Pratihāra dominions through Malwa and the Baroda gap with disastrous consequences for the northern power. It is not impossible, though at present there is no definite evidence, that besides the glamour of an imperial city, the proximity and frequency of Rāṣṭrakūṭa attacks may have been one of the chief factors that led the Pratihāras to transfer their capital from Ujjayinī to Kanauj. It is well known that even this step did not save the Pratihāra capital from spoliation. Before the second decade of the 10th century was over the fury of the Deccanis

\(^1\) In inscriptions the name is sometimes spelt Pramāra, see EI, Vol. IX, pp. 10 ff.; also Annual Report, Hyderabad Archaeological Survey, 1337 F. (1927-28 A.C.), pp. 23-24.
pursued them across the 'unfathomable Yamuna' and 'completely uprooted' their imperial city. In this unceasing struggle both the Northern and the Deccani powers realised the strategic importance of Gujarat and Malwa. These two areas, together with portions of Rajputana, had been the chief strongholds of the Gurjara-Pratihāras power from the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. The three principalities of Mandor, Broach and Ujjayini had withstood the vicissitudes of war and peace for a long time, till at last the rulers of the last seized the imperial crown of Northern India. But this success and the subsequent transference of their capital to Kanauj did not make the Gurjara-Pratihāras forgetful of the importance of Gujarat and Malwa. The Hālidāla grants of Mahāpāla and the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II seem to show that they tried to maintain their hold over the provinces till about the first half of the 10th century.\(^1\) I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere,\(^2\) that the Deccani powers from the time of the Sātavāhanas onwards always realised the strategic importance of Gujarat. As soon as Dantidurgā (A.D. 754) overthrew the Calukyas of Badami, he seems to have invaded Southern and Central Gujarat and established Kakkarāja (747 A.D.), possibly his paternal cousin's son, in the Surat region as his feudatory. It would seem from the proximity of the dates of the last Broach Gurjara and Kakka that Lāta, roughly the region between the Mahi and the Narbada, was conquered by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from Jayabhaṭa III (c. 706-36 A.D.).\(^3\) But the Hūnsot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhrātrvadāḍha II, dated in V. S. 813 (c. 756 A.D.), shows that the Gurjara Jayabhaṭa III must have been followed at Broach by this Cāhamāna feudatory of Gurjara-Pratihāra Nāgabhata I.\(^4\) It was probably from Bhrātrvadāḍha II or one of his successors

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\(^4\) *MI*, Vol. XII, pp. 197 ff.
that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas conquered Lāṭa. In the time of Niruṣama-Dhruva Lāṭa appears to have been placed in charge of his distinguished son Govinda III. The latter after his accession to the throne made extensive raids into the Pratihāra dominions in Northern India, and then appointed his younger brother Indra-rāja as his viceroy in the Lāṭesvara-mandala. The grants of Indra’s successors show that they not only held the territory between the Tapti and Mahi, but that their power also sometimes extended from the river Ambika to the Sabarmati. Many of their grants were made from places in the modern Kaira district. The unfortunate attempt of Dhruva I (c. 835-67), the grandson of Indra, to shake off the yoke of Malkhed, which involved the two branches in civil war, appears to have served as a check on the further expansion of Rāṣṭrakūṭa power on this frontier for more than half a century. In the reign of Akāla-varṣa Krṣṇa II (c. 888-912 A.D.) the main line of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas seems to have re-established their control over Southern Gujarat. The Karda grant of Amoghavarṣa Kakka II informs us that Krṣṇa II’s enemies, frightened by his exploits, abandoned Kheṭaka (mod. Kaira) ‘with its mandala and its forepart,’ i.e., the surrounding territory.¹ The identity of one of the chief enemies to which the Karda grant refers seems to be established by the Navsari plates of Indra III, ‘which mention his grandfather Krṣṇa fighting with the roaring Gurjara’ (garjad-Gurjara). It is likely that this Gurjara power is to be identified not with the Lāṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as Bhagwanlal Indraji suggests, but with the mighty Gurjara-Pratihāra empire, which now extended from the Kathiawar peninsula to Northern Bengal. It is also possible that the attempt of the Lāṭa Rāṣṭrakūṭas to throw off the yoke of their kinsmen at Malkhed may have been undertaken with the active support of the northern Empire. But unfortunately for the Pratihāras, the death of Mahendrapāla almost synchronised with the accession of Indra III, one of the most

successful military leaders amongst the Rāstrakūṭa kings. Soon after his accession, about 915 A.D., the Rāstrakūṭa monarch undertook his famous expedition against Kanauj. I have shown elsewhere that in this northern campaign Indra appears to have passed through Ujjain in Malwa and it is not unlikely that he may have followed the reverse of the route pursued by the Muslims, which passed along the Betwa Valley through Chanderi and Bhilāsa. The success of the Rāstrakūṭas thus initiated by Indra's brilliant victories seems to have continued for some time. The Cambay plates of Govinda IV, as I have already suggested, may indicate that the Rāstrakūṭas retained some hold over the Ganges-Jumna valley till c. 930 A.D. Though the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 845-46) shows that the Pratihāras had recovered possession of Malwa, including Mandu and Ujjain, yet there is evidence to show that they could not effectively checkmate the northern campaigns of their southern rivals. The claim of the Karhal plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.) that during his father Amogha-varṣa-Vaddiga's reign, his angry glance caused the hopes about Kālaṇjara and Citrakūṭa to vanish from the heart of the Gurjara, has been confirmed by the recent discovery of his inscriptions in the Ahmedabad district of Gujarat and the Maihar State in Baghelkhand Agency (C.I.).

I have already referred to the success of Kṛṣṇa II (c. 888-912 A.D.) and his son Indra III (c. 915-17 A.D.) against the local branch of the Rāstrakūṭas in Lāṭa. Akālavarṣa-Kṛṣṇarāja (A.D. 888) appears to have been the last Rāstrakūṭa chief of Southern Gujarat in the line of Indrarāja. When Bhagwanlal Indraji and Jackson wrote on the 'Early History of Gujarat' in 1896, they were unaware of any other feudatories of the Rāstrakūṭas of Malkhed in Gujarat. But according to the traditional policy of the Deccani rulers it was naturally to be expected that

2 Ibid., p. 381.
3 Ibid., pp. 388-390.
after the success of Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III, they should appoint
a new viceroy to govern their possessions in Gujarat. The
recent discovery of the Harsola plates of Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 949)
has thrown welcome light on the Gujarat policy of the later
Rāṣṭrakūṭas by revealing the existence of a family of feudatories,
who appear to have supplanted the line of Indra.¹ The Mahā-
mandalika-cūḍāmani-M. Styaka, his father Vairisimha, and his
grandfather Bappairāja, of this inscription have been rightly
identified with the well-known Paramāra rulers Vākpati I, Vai-
risimha II, and Harṣa-Siyaka II.²

Bardic and epigraphic traditions agree in tracing the origin
of the Paramāras³ from a fire-pit on Mt. Abu. European and
Indian scholars have interpreted this myth to mean that the
Paramāras belonged to the Hāṇa-Gurjara stock.⁴ But the dis-
covey of the Harsola plates seems to cast grave doubts on the
reliability of this theory. The earliest reference to the fire-pit
origin of the Paramāras is contained in records which belong to
about the middle of the 11th century A.D.⁵ The Harsola plates,
which are nearly a century older, does not refer to this origin, but
on the contrary seem to state that Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja) I was
descended from the family (kūla) of the (Rāṣṭ-akūṭa) Akālavārṣa
(Kṛṣṇa III). Messrs. Dikshit and Diskalkar, who have edited
them, have suggested that 'the Paramāras may have been
descended from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Amoghavarṣa and
Akālavārṣa, through a Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess.'⁶ But unless it is
proved that 'a portion of the original draft is missing' 'through
the engravers' oversight,' the clear statement that Bappairāja was

¹ PTOC, Madras, 1934, pp. 303-08 ; EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.
³ In bardic tradition and vernacular the name is spelt as Pāṣar, Pamar, etc.
⁴ I reserve the question of the origin of the Rajputa for the third volume. For the
śākka-carita, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. L III, 1895, XI, 64 ff.
born in the family of Akālavarsa, together with the assumption of the distinctive titles Varsa and Vallabha by some of the Paramāras would seem to indicate direct descent from the Rāstrakūṭa stock. It is however more difficult to explain why the Paramāras later on omit to mention their descent from such an illustrious stock. It has been pointed out by an Indian scholar that it is an undoubted fact that sometimes Indian dynasties neglected to mention the stock from which they sprang. Thus the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj never mention their Gurjara origin (?), and it was only the chance discovery of the inscription of a feudatory family which helped to establish the true origin of that imperial family. But it may be pointed out that in the case of the Pratihāras, the motive for hiding their Gurjara origin was obvious. In the case of the Paramāras we can only suggest that the subsequent attempt of the Paramāras to establish their independence and the consequent hostility between the two families may have something to do with this suppression of fact. But even if this explanation is accepted, this case must remain unique. For the Rāstrakūṭa feudatories of Lāṭa belonging to the family of Indrarāja, though they also endeavoured to become independent, did not try to suppress their relationship with the line of Malkhed.

The main line of the Paramāras was divided into several minor branches which can be conveniently grouped under the following heads, viz., (1) Paramāras of Lāṭa and Mālava, (2) Paramāras of Candravatī and Arbuda, (3) Paramāras of Banswara (Vāguḍa), (4) Paramāras of Jalor (Jāvalipura) and (5) Paramāras of Kiradu (Kirātakūpa).

1 Note also the presence of the figure of the Garuda symbol on both Rāstrakūṭa and Paramāra grants.
2 Dr. D. C. Ganguly; I read a paper by him on the origin of the Paramāras before the Seventeenth Oriental Congress at Oxford, and so far as is known to me he was the first to call attention to this interpretation of the genealogical information of the Harsola plates.
3 The capital of this branch is at present unknown. I have supplied the name Kiradu (ancient Kirātakūpa) from the inscription of Somesvara of this branch. Recently Dr. Ganguly (IBORS, 1929, March, pp. 40 ff.) has suggested that Bhinmal (ancient Srimāla)
(1) Paramāras of Lāṭa and Mālava.

We have seen that the Paramāras appear in Gujarat as feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas about the middle of the tenth century A.D. I have already suggested that they probably succeeded the feudatory line of Indra, whose latest date so far known is 888 A.D. A period of about 60 years intervenes between this date of Akālavāra-Kṛṣṇa, the last Lāṭa Rāṣṭrakūta, and the earliest of Siyaka, 949 A.D. This space of time approximately equals two generations, and it is not impossible that the first connection of the Paramāras with Gujarat may have begun in the time of Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja I) under the sovereignty of Kṛṣṇa II of Malkhed, whose reign saw the destruction of his rebellious Lāṭa kinsmen.

According to the Harsola plates the first name in the Paramāra genealogy is that of Bappairāja, rightly identified with Vākpatirāja I of other records. But the inscriptions of a later period trace their pedigree to the eponymous Paramāra. The earliest reference to him is probably found in the Nava-śāhasāṅka-carita of Padmāgupta (alias Parimala),¹ which was composed in the first quarter of the 11th century. There too we first become acquainted with the mythical origin of this personage from the firepit of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Arbuda. The story runs that when Viśvāmitra ² forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha his cow³ the latter created from his fire-altar this hero, and

was the headquarters of this family. But as I have not yet seen any facsimile of the much damaged Kiradu inscription and as known facts rather tend to include Bhūmna in the sphere of influence of the Paramāras of Abu, I have tentatively retained Kiradu as the name of one of the important centres of influence of the princes of this branch. The transcript of the Kiradu inscription of Someśvara published by Nahar (Jaina Inscriptions, Part I, 1918, pp. 251-53), the summary of Bhandarkar from his own transcript (EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 47, No. 319) and Dr. Ganguly’s version of the inscription seem to differ considerably from one another.

¹ XI, pp. 94-72.
³ Her name Nandīśa is given in the Nagpur prākāti, EI, Vol. 11, p. 186, V. 12.
when he had slain his enemies and brought back the cow that sage spoke 'thou wilt become a lord of kings called Paramâra.' In a later period we are sometimes told that he 'received the appellation of Paramâra from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (Parâ-mâra).'. Sometimes the line of Paramâra is described as Vahni-vaîmika. The first historical person in the line of Paramâra appears to have been Upendra. This name is given by Padmagupta and the Udaipur prâsasti. But the land-grants of the family often trace the genealogy to one Krsnapâha. The identification of these two princes is generally accepted. As Bühler rightly pointed out, the fact that Vairisimha II, the fifth prince of the line, is said in the grants to have meditated on Krsna's feet, need not cause any difficulty, for the phrase tatpâdanunadhyaâta does not always necessarily imply immediate descent. Padmagupta mentions Upendra as the first king of the line, and tells us that he performed numerous Vedic sacrifices. The same author related that a poetess named Sîtâ wrote a prâsasti on his exploits. Bühler has pointed out that Merutunga actually mentions a poetess named Sîta and her daughter Vijayâ, though the Jain author through an evident mistake places her in the reign of Bhoja. The Udaipur prâsasti, the only other record which mentions Upendra, confirms Padmagupta's statements.

2 EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 201 and 310, V. 32.
3 EI, Vol. II, p. 182, V. 4; see also ibid, p. 189, fn. 61.
4 EI, Vol. I, p. 235. F. W. Hall, Cunningham and Bühler accepted this identification; but Messrs. Dikshit and Dinkalkar suggest that Krsna may be another name of Vâkapati (I), see EI, Vol. XIX, p. 239.
5 Ibid, p. 295.
6 Hema-yâpâtika-mahâ, XI, 78.
7 Sâdâ-gati-pravrttana Sitocchanta-betuna, Hanumatesa yâlaka gasyalakyata sâgrah,—XI, 77.
8 "Whose fame that was ever moving on and the cause of [or 'caused by'] Sîta's song crossed the ocean just as Hanumata, who was ever nimbly moving and whose motive (for jumping across the ocean) was to console Sîta." Bühler, EI, Vol. I, p. 224.
The composer of this eulogy tells us that the fame of this prince "was proclaimed by the immortals, satisfied by the multitude of all sacrifices,—who was a jewel among the twice-born (dvija-varga-ratna) and gained high honour of kingship ¹ (twanga-nrupatva-mānah) by his valour." From these statements Bühler concluded that Upendra conquered Mālava, and he placed him shortly after 800 A.D. As Upendra is the 6th in lineal ascent from Siyaka II (949 A.D.) we can safely accept the date proposed as the nearest approximation of the time of Upendra; but the further suggestion that he conquered Mālava, which was at this time under the strong grip of the Pratihāras, cannot be admitted without stronger evidence. About the next three princes, Vairisitihā (I), Siyaka (I) and Vākpati (I), nothing definite is known. It is only the Udaipur prāsasti which mentions all the three names; Padmagupta omits the first two. After Upendrarāja, he introduces Vākpati (I) with the statement "tasmīn gate narendreṣu tad-anyesu gateṣu ca."² The Bappiparājā³ of the Harsola plates has been rightly accepted as the Prakrit equivalent of Vākpatirāja and identified with this Vākpati.⁴ The Udaipur prāsasti ⁵ tells us that Vairisitihā "composed his own eulogy by (erecting) pillars of victory on the earth that is bounded by the four oceans. From him sprang the illustrious Siyaka, a prince (standing) in the first rank of conquerors, whose footstool was resplendent and coloured by the rays of the jewels in the diadems of kings,—(he) the crowd of whose enemies was submerged in the waves of the water of the blade in his hand. From him sprang the illustrious Vākpati, a sun for those water lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti, who resembled Satamakha (Indra) and whose armies

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¹ According to Bühler 'knighthood'.
² 'After him and after another (king) came.'—XI, 80.
³ Dr. Barnett suggests that 'Bappai' is the regular Prakrit equivalent of Vākpati; but the syllable pa after it is inexplicable, and seems to be a mistake (perhaps for ka).
⁴ Ei, Vol. XIX, p. 239.
⁵ Ei, Vol. I, pp. 234 and 237, Vs. 8-10.
drank the waters of Gaṅgā and of the ocean." Most of the above eulogy is so thoroughly conventional that to one familiar with the compositions of the Indian praśastikāras it would not mean anything. But the last statement about Vākpati that he was "a sun for (those) water lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti," deserves more than a passing notice. Bühler has placed these three rulers within the period c. 840-920 A.D.¹ If this is accepted, Vākpati would belong to about 895-920 A.D. This would make him a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahipalā (c. 914-43 A.D.) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (c. 915-17). I have already suggested that Indra III, when he proceeded on his northern expedition, perhaps advanced by way of Ujjain.² It is not unlikely therefore that Vākpati's association with Avanti began during this campaign; and possibly he may have been left in charge of that region when the southern emperor advanced further northwards. This fits in well with the suggestion, already made that Bapparāja (Vākpatirāja I) was probably the first Rāṣṭrakūṭa governor of Lāṭēśvara-mandala after the extinction of the local feudatory family in the reign of Indra's predecessor Kṛṣṇa II (c. 888-912). That Vākpatirāja was a more substantial figure than his two immediate predecessors is shown by the fact already pointed out that Padmāgupta omits Vairisimha and Siyaka, but mentions him as the first name after Upendrarāja. It is also not without significance that the Harsola plates, the earliest records of the Paramāras, so far discovered, trace the donor's descent to Bappairāja (Vākpatirāja I). I am therefore disposed to regard this prince as the real founder of the importance of the family.³

¹ Ibid., p. 325.
³ See SI, Vol. XIX, p. 289, where Dikahit and Diskalkar contend that Vākpati must be identified with Kṛṣṇa, who is placed immediately before Vairisimha II with the epithet padānadikūta in the grants of Vākpati II. The identification of this Kṛṣṇa with Upendra of the Udaipur prāṣasti and Padmāgupta, accepted by Hall, Cunningham and Bühler rests mainly on the sameness of the significance of the two names. If Dikahit and Diskalkar are right in their identification, it would strengthen my contention about Vākpatirāja. For in the grants of Vākpati II, Kṛṣṇa is given the imperial titles Pb.-M.-P.
Vākpatirāja was succeeded by his son Vairisimha II. Padmagupta has only vague praise for this prince; but the Udaipur prāṣasti tells us that people called him by another name, Vajraṭasvāmin and that by him ‘famous Dhārā was indicated when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the sharp edge (dhārā) of his sword.’ Bühler understood by the last passage that smiting the foe with the edge (dhārā) of his sword the king indicated that Dhārā belonged to him. This passage evidently shows that Dhārā and portions of Mālava continued to be in his possession for some time. The enemies whom he claims to have slain to prove his claim to Dhārā appear to have been the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, who, it may be presumed, had somewhat recovered from the blow inflicted by Indra III. Since we have referred the three predecessors of this prince to the period c. 840-920, we can approximately assign Vairisimha to c. 920-45 A.D. This makes him a contemporary of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla whose Partabgarh inscription is dated in 945-46 A. D. As this record shows that the Pratiharas had recovered possession of Mandu, Ujjain, and the region round Partabgarh and Mandasor we are led to conclude that Vairisimha in the latter part of his reign was driven out of Mālwa into Gujarat by the pressure of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj.

Vairisimha II was succeeded by his son Hārsa, alias Siyaka II, who according to Bühler was also known as Simhabhaṭa in Merutunga’s Prabandhacintāmaṇi. He accordingly made the plausible suggestion that ‘the complete name probably was Hārsa-simha (Harakhsingh), both parts of which were used as abbreviations, instead of the whole. The form Siyaka is a half Prakṛṭic corruption of Simbaka. For in modern Gujarāti and other dialects the termination of Simha

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1 El., Vol. I, pp. 235 and 237, V. II
2 El., Vo, I, p. 237, fn. 86.
becomes in names not only Singh or Saugh, but very commonly Sī, which is immediately derived from the Prākrit Sīha. Thus we find Padamsī instead of Padmasimha, Narsi for Narasimha, Arrī for Arisimha, Amarsi for Amarasimha. As against this view it must be pointed out that the name given by Merutunga is not Simhabhata, but Śimhadantabhata. Bühler rejected this reading of the name given by Pandit Rāmchandra but Tawney in his translation of Merutunga’s work, published in 1901, retains it.

The following published records are known for his reign.

(1) Harsola grant (a).—Found in the possession of a Brāhman in the village of Harsola in the Parantij taluka of Ahmedabad District, Gujarat. It contains 27 lines, incised on two copper plates. At the left-hand bottom of the second plate is incised the figure of a flying Garuḍa holding a snake in his right hand. The grant opens with an invocation to Nṛsiṁha (Viṣṇu); then follow the names: Pb.-M-P. Amoghavarṣa—pāda nuditya—Pb.-M-P. Akālavarṣa Prthvīvallabha—Śrīvallabha—narendra—pādanām. Then follows: tasmin kule was king Bappaiparāja, whose son was Vairisiṁha: his son was king Śiyaka. In the formal part of the grant we are told that on his return from a successful expedition against Yogrāja, the Mahāmandalika-cūdāmani-Mahārajādhirāja Śiyaka was encamped on the banks of the Mahī, where after worshipping Śivanātha, at the instance of the ruler of the Khetaka-mandala, in (V.) Saṅvat

3 PC, p. 30.
4 Rājārāja Kṛṣṇa III of Malkhed (c. 940-96 A.D.). The editors of the grant point out that the identical expressions are used to denote Kṛṣṇa III in his Karhad grant (Saka 880: EI, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.) and with the addition of Paramamāheśvar in the Deuli plates of the same king (Saka 882: EI, Vol. V, p. 186 ff.).
5 Dr. Barnett cannot reconcile these two discrepant titles. But I beg to point out that the second title during this period also signified a feudatory rank; see DHNI, Vol. I, p. 593.
6 According to the editors most probably the shrine of Sharnāl.
7 Roughly the mod. Kaira District.
1005 (949 A.D.), he gave away the village of Kumbhārotaka in the Mohadavāsaka-visaya to the Nagar (Brāhmaṇa) Lallōpādhyāya of Ānandapura. The Dāpaka 1 was the Ṭhakkura Viṣṇu. It was written by the Kāyastha Guṇadhāra. The last line contains the sign-manual of Siyaka. 2

(2) Harsola grant (b).—Found as in No. 1 above. The inscription contains 29 lines. There is no figure of Garuḍa on the plates. It records the grant of the village of Sihākā in the Mohadavāsaka-visaya to Ninā Diksita (son of the donee of No. 1). Everything else, including the date and circumstances governing the grant, as in No. 1. 3

(3) Ahmedabad Grant.—Obtained from a coppersmith of Ahmedabad. It is only an odd plate, being the second half of the grant. The first portion of the record is missing. In the left-hand corner of the plate is engraved the figure of a flying Garuḍa, holding a snake in his left hand and raising the right to strike it. The plate contains ten lines of writing of which eight are taken up by imprecatory verses. The ninth line contains the date (V.) S. 1026 (c. 970 A.D.) and the name of the Dāpaka Kaṅhapaika. The tenth line contains the sign-manual Śrī-Siyakasya svahasto'yaṁ. 4

These three grants, which are the earliest inscriptions so far discovered for the Paramāras, show that Harṣa-Siyaka II ruled at least for 21 years. There is reason to believe, as we shall see, that Siyaka ruled at least up to V.S. 1029. The title Mahāmandalika certainly shows that Siyaka acknowledged the sovereignty of the Rastrakūta Kṛṣṇa III, though the simultaneous assumption of the title Mahārajaḍhirāja, may perhaps

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1 Probably corresponding to the Dūtaka of other grants. The editors suggest "person who caused the grants to be given." See EI, Vol. XIX, p. 478, fn. 2.
4 Edited by Dikshitar, EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 177-79.
indicate his semi-independent position. The fact that all his three grants come from Gujarat and that the lands granted are presumably to be located in the same tract, confirms our suggestion that sometime before 945-46 A.D. the Paramāras were hurled back by a temporary revival of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power into Lāṭa. According to the Navasāhasāṅka-carita Siyaka conquered the Raḍupāti-pati and a Hūṇa chief. The Harsola grants inform us that Siyaka was encamped on the Mahi after a successful expedition against one Yogarāja. It is uncertain whether this Yogarāja can be identified with either of the chiefs who were reported by Padmagupta to have been defeated by Siyaka. Messrs. Dikshit and Diskalkar have suggested that possibly this Yogarāja may be one of the rulers of the Čāpoṭkaṭas or Čāvjas of ‘Anahilavāda-Pātan.’ Though there is not much to support this guess, yet the possibility of a conflict of Siyaka with the Čāpas is shown by the Haddala grant (A.D. 914) of the Gurjara-Pratihāra Mahīpāla, which reveal the existence of a Čāpa principality, immediately to the west of the Mahi, in Eastern Kathiawar. In addition to these conflicts the Udaipur-prāṣasti supplies us with information about another military achievement of Siyaka. This record tells us that Harṣa, “equalling the snake-eater (Garuda) in fierceness, took in battle the wealth of king Khoṭṭiga.” Bühler has rightly identified this Khoṭṭiga with the Malkhed Rāṣṭrakūṭa of the same name (c. 956-71 A.D.), the younger brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.). The same scholar also pointed out that Dhanapāla, the author of the Prakrit dictionary Pāju-lačhi, who composed his work for his sister Sundarā in V.S. 1029 (972-73 A.D.), when Mānyakheṭa was looted by the people of

2 Hūṇa-carodham-vaidhargadikṣa-dānam. The Hūṇa prince was probably killed.
4 The conclusion of the Paramāras.
5 EI., pp. 295 and 297, V. 12.
Mālava, must have been referring to this expedition of Siyaka.\(^1\) The Arthuna inscription of the Banswara Paramāra Cāmunda-rāja\(^2\) reveals that one of his ancestors, Kaṃka-deva (Kakkadeva?), died a hero's death on the banks of the Narmadā after overthrowing the army of the king of Kaṇṭā. We are informed by the same record that he was fighting on the side of Harṣa of Mālava, no doubt the Harṣa-Siyaka II of the main line. The place of the battle and the name of the Southern king are supplied by the Panhera inscription of Maṇḍalika\(^3\) which tells us that Caeca died fighting against Khoṭṭika-deva at a place called Khalighatṭa on the Revā on behalf of Siyaka, the great-grandfather of Jayasimha (V.S. 1116). There is no doubt that both the inscriptions are referring to one and the same campaign, which was connected with the great offensive of Harṣa-Siyaka II against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed. It is possible that Kaṃka (Kakka?) of the Arthuna inscription is the same as Caeca of the Panhera inscription?

This conflict with his sovereign shows that Harṣa Siyaka II was also following in the footsteps of his predecessors the Lāṭa-Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But he was more fortunate. The rapid decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed soon after the death of Kṛṣṇa III gave him ample opportunities to consolidate his power, and even to strike deadly blows against the inglorious successors of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa. But the destruction of his sovereign's family, to which Siyaka appears to have materially contributed, indirectly brought him face to face with one of the greatest crises in the history of his family. The Cālukya Taila II, who overthrew the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kakka II in 973 A.D., following the traditional policy of the Deccani emperors, at once attacked Lāṭa and established Bārappa as his feudatory there. The Surat grant of the Mahāmanḍaleśvāra Kirtirāja, Bārappa's grandson, is dated

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\(^3\) *ASI*, 1916-17, pp. 19-20.
in Saka 940 (c. 1018 A.D.). In the north, Mularaja (c. 961-96 A.D.), who had established the Caulukya principality at Anahilapataka in c. 961 A.D., became engaged in hostilities with the Calukya feudatory of Latha. The newly founded Paramara principality of Siyaka II was therefore placed between two milestones. Fortunately for him, the Gurjara-Pratihara power also rapidly declined during this period, and thus afforded him an outlet for escaping from a difficult position. He devoted his energies towards expansion in Malwa, from which his father Vairisimha II had been driven out by Mahendrapala II (945-46 A.D.). The almost exclusive association of his successors with Malwa shows the wisdom and success of his policy.

Padmagupta supplies us with the name of Siyaka's queen, Vagaja-devi. As the earliest known date of Siyaka's successor, Vakpati II, is V.S. 1031, it is not improbable that the former's reign may have extended from c. 948 to 974 A.D. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Vakpati II, the son and successor of Siyaka II.

(1) Dharampuri (now Indore) grant.—The editor got this record 'from the archives of the Central India Agency.' It contains 34 lines incised on two plates. In the left corner of the second plate is incised the figure of a Garuda holding a snake, as in No. 3 of Siyaka II. The inscription opens with two invocations of Srikantha (Mahadeva) and Murari (Visnu). Then comes the following account of the donor and his family:

(1) Pb.-M.-P. Krsnarajadeva-padanudhyata
(2) ,, ,, .. Vairisimha-deva ,, 
(3) ,, ,, .. Siyaka-deva ,, 
(4) ,, ,, .. Amoghavarsa-devaparabhidhana Vakpatiraja-deva-Prthivillabha Srivallabha-narendradevah.

This last prince, while residing at Ujjayini, in (V.) Samvat 1031 (c. 975 A.D.), after worshipping Bhavant-pati, granted the

1 See infra, DHNI, Vol. II. chapter on the Caulukyas.
named Pipparika, situated on the banks of the Narmadā (Gardābhāpānyiya-bhoge Gardābhāpāniya-sambaddhī), uttarasyām diṣṭi, to the jñāna-vijñāna-sampanna Vasanta Ācārya, the son of Dhanika Paṇḍita, an emigrant from Ahicchatra. The Dāpaka of the grant was Kāhnapaika. It ends with the sign-manual of Vākpatirāja-deva.

(2) Ujjain grant.—Found while digging in a ruin in the vicinity of Ujjain. It contains 30 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion is very similar to No. 1. In the formal part we are told that Vākpatirāja, while residing at Bhagavatpura, at the request of Āsīni, the wife of the Mahāsādhana Mahāika, granted the village of Sembalapuraka, belonging to Tinisapadra-dvādāsaka, to the Bhaṭṭārikā Bhaṭṭesvari-devi at Ujjayint. The grant was issued in (V.) Samvat 1036 (A.D. 980), by the Dāpaka Rudrāditya, while residing at the Mahāvijaya-skandhāvāra at Guṇapura (lines 28-29). It ends with the sign-manual of Vākpatirāja-deva.

(3 and 4) Narwar grants.—Found 'at Narwar, a village near Ujjain in Gwalior State' (C.I.). They 'record grants of villages to certain Brāhmans by Śrī-Vākpatirāja.' The inscriptions are reported to be dated in V.S. 1038 and V.S. 1047.

The Dharampuri and Ujjain inscriptions noticed above give us a number of birudas of Vākpati II, viz., Amoghavarṣa, Prthvīvallabha, and Śrīvallabha. These were all exclusively Rāstrakūta titles, and their assumption by Vākpati so
in Saka 940 (c. 1018 A.D.). In the north, Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.), who had established the Caulukya principality at Aqahilapāṭaka in c. 961 A.D., became engaged in hostilities with the Caulukya feudatory of Lāṭa. The newly founded Paramāra principality of Siyaka II was therefore placed between two milestones. Fortunately for him, the Gurjara-Pratihāra power also rapidly declined during this period, and thus afforded him an outlet for escaping from a difficult position. He devoted his energies towards expansion in Malwa, from which his father Vairisimha II had been driven out by Mahendrapāla II (945-46 A.D.). The almost exclusive association of his successors with Malwa shows the wisdom and success of his policy.

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(1) Pb.-M.-P. Kṛṣṇarājadeva-pādāṇudhyāta
(2) " " " Vairisimha-deva "
(3) " " " Siyaka-deva "
(4) " " " Amoghavarṣa-devāparāhāhāna
Vākpārājadeva-Prthivīvallabha
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The introductory portion is very similar to No. 1. In the
formal part we are told that Vākpātirāja, while residing at
Bhagavatpura, at the request of Āsini, the wife of the Mahāśā-
dhanika Mahāika, grunted the village of Sembalapuraka, belong-
ing to Tīnispadra-dvādāsaka, to the Bhattārikā Bhattāṣvarī-devī
at Ujjayini. The grant was issued in (V.) Saṁvat 1036 (A.D.
980), by the Dāpaka Rudrāditya, while residing at the Mahā-
vijaya-skandhācāra at Guṇapura (lines 28-29). It ends with the
sign-manual of Vākpātirāja-deva.

(3 and 4) Narwar grants.—Found at Narwar, a village
near Ujjain in Gwalior State (C.I.). They record grants of
villages to certain Brāhmans by Śrī-Vākpātirāja. The inscrip-
tions are reported to be dated in V.S. 1038 and V.S. 1047.

The Dharampuri and Ujjain inscriptions noticed above
give us a number of birudas of Vākpatī II, viz., Amogha-
varṣa, Prthvīvallabha, and Śrīvallabha. These were all exclu-
sively Rāṣṭrakūṭa titles, and their assumption by Vākpatī so

1 Hall reads Vedar.
2 In the description of the boundaries occur the names: Agāravāhalī; Cikhilīkā (mod.
   talukha Chikhaldā, in Holkar's State); Gardabha-nadī (mod. Kharjā); andatitude: (remains to this day). The identifications are proposed by Kirtane, IA, Vol. VI, p. 50.
3 Kirtane reads dāgāhī; but see grant No. 3 of Sivasak
4 Same as in No. 3 of Sivasak II.
5 Edited by Kirtane, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 49-53 first noticed by Hall in JASB, Vol. XXX,
7 Noticed in the Statesman, 19th May, 1933.
soon after the extinction of the Malkhed branch not only seems to confirm the suspicion of the descent of the Paramāras from the Rastrakūtas, but also perhaps indicates that Vākpati now considered himself to be the legal successor of Amoghavarsa-Nṛpatunga-Kakkala (Kakka II). This explains to some extent his persistent and bitter hostility to the Cālkīyas of Kalyani and his repeated irruptions into the Deccan to oust the usurper Tailapa from the possessions of his ancestors. Besides these names Vākpati appears to have been known to his contemporaries by at least two others. One of these, Utpala-rāja, is supplied by the Navasahasākha-carita. The other name, Muṇjarāja is found in the Nagpur prasasti of Naravarman. Bühler pointed out that in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarūpa the same verse is attributed at one place to "the illustrious king Vākpati-rāja" and in another to "the illustrious Muṇja." The Prabandha-cintāmani contains a story that Vākpati was known as Muṇja because he was picked up as a foundling by Sūrabhandabhaṭa (Styaka) from the midst of a thicket of Muṇja reeds. Though Bühler rejected this story as unhistorical, it may be pointed out that it has found a place in Abu'l Fazl's A'in-i-Akbari.

According to both literary and epigraphic tradition Vākpati II was a great warrior. The Udaipur prasasti tells us that "his lotus feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karnāṭakas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Colas." He also "conquered Yuvarāja, and, slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripuri." Scholars are agreed that this Yuvarāja is the identified with the second prince of that name in the family

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1 XI, 92 ff.
4 P.C., p. 39.
5 A.A.K., Vol. II, p. 215, but the name of Muṇja's foster-father is given as "Bijainaud."
7 Ibid., V, 15.
of the Kalacuris of Dhāhala. The attack on Lāṭa, which was now in the possession of the successors of Bārappa, was probably undertaken to recover his ancestral possessions on the western side. Bühler has expressed his doubts about the truth of the report of Vākpati's fight with the Kersas and Colas. "It is difficult to understand," says he, "how he could have come into contact with the latter two, whose countries lay at such a great distance from Mālvā." He may however have fought with these chiefs when he was engaged in his struggle with Tailapa, the Karnaṭa king. Merutunaga tells us that Muṇja had conquered Tailapa six times. In the north and in the west Muṇja's armies fought with the Caulukyas of Anahilwad, the Cāhamānas of Nadol, the Guhilas of Mewar and the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Hathundi. The Sundha hill-inscription of the Marwar Cāhamāna Cāciga tells us that one of his predecessors, Baliraja, 'defeated an army of Muṇjarāja.' In his Bijapur stone-inscription dated in V. S. 1053 (A. D. 997), the Rāṣṭrakūta Dhavala claims that he gave 'shelter to the armies of (a king whose name is lost) and of the lord of the Gūrjaras, when Muṇjarāja had destroyed Āghaṭa, the pride of Medapaṭa (Mewār) and caused them to flee.' The Gūrjara king was probably the Caulukya Mūlārāja (c. 961-96 A. D.) while the other defeated prince whose name is lost may well have been one of the earlier Guhila princes of Mewar, possibly Saktikumāra (977 A. D.), the son of Sālivāhana.

Tradition also records that Vākpati II was not only a successful military leader but also a poet and a generous patron of

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1 See DHNI, Vol. II, p. 769.
4 E1, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.
6 Med. Ahar near the present Udaipur station from which the Guhilot clan Ahadiya derives its name.
7 Or his successor Cāmānjarāja (c. 990-1010).
letters. The Udaipur praśasti tells us that ‘cultivating elo-
queness, high poetry and the art of reasoning,’ he ‘completely
mastered the lore of the Śāstras’. Padmagupta calls him the
‘root of (that) creeper of Paradise, Sarasvati’; he adds that
‘after Vikramāditya departed, after Sātavāhana went, divine
Sarasvati found rest with this friend of poets.’ Apart from the
verses ascribed to this king in the Prabandha-cintāmani and the
Bhaja-prabandha, which Bühler regards as ‘suspicious,’ the
anthologies and works on Alamkāra occasionally quote verses of
this prince, ‘which show that he possessed some talent.’ Padma-
gupta, alias Parimala, the author of the Navasāhasārika-carita,
Dhanañjaya, the author of Daśarūpa, his brother Dhanika, the
author of Daśarūpāvaloka, Halāyudha, the commentator on Piṅ-
gala’s work on metrics, and probably also Dhanapāla, the author
of the Pāīya-lacchī, were among the ornaments that adorned the
court of Vākpati-Muñja.

According to Merutunga, the brilliant reign of Vākpati met
with a tragic end. He tells us that ‘as the king of the Telinga
country, named Tailapadeva, harassed Muñja, by sending raiders
into his country, he determined to march against him, though
his prime minister (Mahāmātya) Rudrāditya, who was seized
with illness, endeavoured to dissuade him. The minister
conjured him to make the river Godāvari the utmost limit
of his expedition, and not to advance beyond it; but he
looked upon Tailapa with contempt, as he had conquered
him six times before; so in his overweening confidence he
crossed the river and pitched his camp on the other side.’

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2 Ibid, pp. 227-28. After Vikramāditya gate‘ stak Sātavāhana,
Kaci-mitra vidātāma yasmin devi Sarasvati. (XI, 93.)
Ibid.

3 That the Paramāra dominions sometimes really extended beyond the Godavari in the
south is proved by the recent discovery, near Adilabad in the Nizam’s dominions, of the
Jainad inscription of the Paramāra feudatory Arjuna. See Annual Report, Hyderabad
Rudrāditya heard what the king had done, he augured that some mischief would result from his headstrong conduct and he himself entered the flames of a funeral pile. Then Tailapa by force and fraud cut Muñja’s army to pieces and took king Muñja prisoner, binding him with a rope of reed (muñja). He was put in prison and confined in a cage of wood and waited upon by Tailapa’s sister Mrñālavati, with whom he formed a marriage-union. His ministers, who had arrived subsequently, dug a tunnel to the place where he was, and made an appointment with him. The story next proceeds to relate that Muñja urged by his love to Mrñālavati, revealed his plans to her, and the latter betrayed him to her brother. As a result of this Tailapa ‘had him bound with cords and taken about to beg from house to house’ for his food. Then the king had Muñja put to death and his head fixed on a stake in the courtyard of the palace, and by keeping it continually covered with thick sour milk, he gratified his anger. Though this story reads like a romance and its details are probably worthless as sources of history, yet there is no doubt that the main fact recorded in it is true. That Vākpati had really a minister named Rudrāditya is proved by his Ujjain grant, where a person of that name is mentioned as the Dāpaka residing at the Mahāviyāya-skandhācāra at Guna-pura in A.D. 980. The fact that Vākpati lost his life in a war against the Cālukya Tailapa is attested by the records of the Kalyani dynasty. Two inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI (c. 1055-1126) tell us that Taila II killed the valiant Muñja. The A’in-i-Akbari also records the tradition that Muñja ‘ended his life in the wars of the Deccan.’ The date of this event has been fixed with tolerable certainty by Bühler. As the colophon of Amitagati’s Subhasita-ratna-saundoha states that it was composed during the reign of Muñja in V. S. 1050 (A. D. 993-94), and as

1. PC, pp. 33-36.
2. IA, Vol. XXI, pp. 167-68.
Tailapa II himself died in Śaka 919 (A.D. 997-98), it is certain that Muñja's death must have occurred between c. 993-94 and 997-98 A. D. The same scholar also suggested that the beginning of Vākpati's reign is probably not far distant from A. D. 974, the date of his first land grant."

Padmagupta tells us that 'Vākpati placed the earth in Sindhurāja's arms when he started for Ambikā's town.' Considering the manner of Vākpati's death, this may indicate that Sindhurāja had become anointed as Yuvarāja some time before Vākpati's fatal expedition to the Godavari valley. The Jain Prabandhas however assert that Muñja was succeeded not by Sindhurāja but by the latter's younger son Bhoja. Thus Merutunga tells us that Muñja's younger brother named 'Sindhala' out of high spirit, disobeyed the orders of Muñja; accordingly he banished him from his kingdom, and so ruled for a long time.

That Sindhala came to Gujarāt, and established his settlement (pāli) in the neighbourhood of Kāṣahrrada.' While living there he was told by a ghost that king Muñja's destruction was drawing near and that the sceptre should descend into his line. He was therefore hidden by the ghost to return to Mālava. 'Being thus sent by the ghost he went there, and received from king Muñja a certain district, which brought him in revenue, but again displaying haughtiness, he had his eyes put out by Muñja and was confined in a wooden cage. He begat a son named Bhoja.' When Bhoja grew up, Muñja became apprehensive owing to the forecast of astrologers that his nephew was destined to rule 'Dakṣināpatha with Gaudā' for fifty-five years and three days; and fearing that if Bhoja lived, his own son would not inherit the kingdom, he ordered him to be put to death. But before the execution could take place, a verse from his nephew

1 XI, 96.
2 A Prakrit hypocoristic form of the name Sindhurāja, sometimes also Sindhula; see El. Vol. I, p. 298.
3 Forbes suggested 'probably Kāsindra Pālaree about 14 miles from Ahmedabad.' Ras, Vol. II, p. 35.
induced Muñja to change his decision and honour him "with the dignity of crown prince." When the news of Muñja's death reached Mālava the ministers placed Bhoja on the throne. Though Bühlcr has doubted it, it is not impossible that these stories may have been based on possible differences between Muñja and Sindhurāja, a phenomenon not at all unusual in Indian history. But the further statement of Merutuṅga that Sindhala was blinded and was passed over in the succession by his son Bhoja is certainly untrue, for it is contradicted not only by Padmagupta but also by epigraphic evidence. The Udaipur praśasti distinctly states that Vākpati was succeeded by his younger brother (anuja) Sindhurāja. The same inscription gives him credit for having conquered a Hūṇa king (rāja) and gained glory by other victories. But naturally a fuller account of his career is supplied by the Navasāhasāṅka-carita. According to the author of this Kāvya, Sindhurāja was also known as Navasāhasāṅka1 and Kumāranārāyanā. He had a minister (sacīva) named Yaśobhaṭa, alias Rāmāṅgada. The poem opens with a description of the city of Ujjayinī. The author devotes his main attention to the description of the incidents which led to his hero's marriage with Saśiprabhā, daughter of the Nāga king Saūkhapāla. To obtain his object he had to kill the Asura Vairāṅkuśa, whose capital we are told was situated "fifty gavyātis from the Narmadā." In his struggle against the demon prince the king

1 PC, pp. 31-33 and 96.
2 His doubts were mainly based on Padmagupta's silence and his statement: "When his Majesty Vākpati was about to ascend to heaven, he placed a seal (mudrā) on my song. Sindhurāja, the younger brother of that brother of poets, now breaks it." "Had the brothers been deadly enemies," says he, "Padmagupta would certainly have been left in obscurity after his first patron's death" (EI, Vol. I, p. 230). But I do not see any reason why Sindhurāja, even if he was inimical to Vākpati, should have refused to patronise his brother's court poet when the latter was willing to write the eulogy of the new king by composing a Navasāhasāṅka-carita, in which Vākpati's victories are passed over in silence while those of Sindhurāja are exaggerated.
4 Sometimes Narasindharaṅkade, VI, 11.
5 The city of Dhārā is also mentioned in the poem as aparā puri.
had the Vidyadharas as his allies. The story is mainly mythical; but Bühler long ago perceived that it may have a historical basis. The Nāgas were a well-known ruling tribe who held principalities in Rajputana and Central India. The minute description of the distance of Vajrāṅkuśa's capital also leads us to suspect that he was probably a historical figure. But in the present state of our knowledge it is hopeless to try to identify the family or locate the principality of the enemies and allies of Sindhuṛāja. The passages which are of real historical importance occur in the tenth sarga. Here we are told that Sindhuṛāja gained victories over the Hūṇa king (urpati) and the rulers of Vāgada, Murala, Lāṭa, and Kosala. Of these the first, as we have seen, is also mentioned by the Udaipur prāṣasti, and can therefore be accepted as a fact. It is however impossible to locate the area over which the Hūṇa chief ruled. Vāgada, as Bühler pointed out, roughly correspond to modern Dungarpur State in Southern Rajputana. As the region round about Dungarpur was the stronghold of a branch of the Paramāra stock, it is not unlikely that Parimala was referring to a conflict with some representative of the Banswara branch of that family. The Surat grant of Kirtirāja, dated in Saka 940 (c. 1018), shows that Sindhuṛāja's opponent in Lāṭa was probably this grandson of Bārappa. In fighting against Kosala Sindhuṛāja was carrying on the policy of Vākpati II. The Kosala king against whom Sindhuṛāja made war was most probably the Kalacuri Kokalla II, the son of Yuvarāja II, the contemporary and rival of Vākpati II. Sindhuṛāja's struggle with the Muralas, if the latter are located near Kerala, looks rather improbable. But,
as Bühler long ago suggested, this statement probably vaguely refers to a continuation of the conflicts with the Cālukyās of Kalyani. 1

No inscriptions have so far been discovered for the reign of Sindhurāja. As the exact date of his successor's accession is also unknown, it is difficult to fix his reign period. From the number of victories ascribed to Sindhurāja in the Navasāhasāṅka-carita, Bühler guessed that the Paramāra prince must have reigned at least seven or eight years before the poem was composed. As Vakpati II died between 994 and 997 A.D., he assumed that the poem was composed about the middle of the first decade of the 11th century. "How much longer Sindhurāja may have reigned, cannot be determined at present." 2

Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son Bhojadeva. 3 The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) Banswara grant.—Originally found in the possession of the widow of a thatherā (coppersmith) living at Banswara, in Southern Rajputana. The exact find-spot is not known. It contains thirty-two lines incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. At the end of the grant, at the left-hand side of the second plate, in a rectangular border, there is the usual flying figure of Garuḍa, holding a snake in his left hand. The inscription opens with two verses invoking the god Śiva (Vyomakesa, Smarārāti), and then traces the genealogy of the Paramāras from Pb.-M.-P.-Siyakadeva (II) to Pb.-M.-P.-Bhojadeva. It then records that the last prince, 'at the anniversary 4 of the conquest of Koṅkana' (Koṅkana-vijaya-parvani), having worshipped Bhavānīpati (Siva), granted 100 nivartanās of land at

1 El., Vol. I, p. 299. Dr. Barnett doubts the correctness of this suggestion of Bühler.
3 He appears to have had the hitada Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa. Bhoja built a temple of Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa in Citrakūṭa-čurga (Chitor in Udaipur State): see the Chirwa inscription of Guhilā Samarasāthī (V. 5, 1360). WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.
4 Parasu may also be translated as 'on the festival day,' 14, 1912, p. 201.
had the Vidyādharas as his allies. The story is mainly mythical; but Bühler long ago perceived that it may have a historical basis. The Nāgas were a well-known ruling tribe who held principalities in Rajputana and Central India. The minute description of the distance of Vajrāṅkuśa's capital also leads us to suspect that he was probably a historical figure. But in the present state of our knowledge it is hopeless to try to identify the family or locate the principality of the enemies and allies of Sindhurāja. The passages which are of real historical importance occur in the tenth sarga. Here we are told that Sindhurāja gained victories over the Hūna king (nṛpati) and the rulers of Vāgāda, Murala, Lāṭa, and Kosala. Of these the first, as we have seen, is also mentioned by the Udaipur praśasti, and can therefore be accepted as a fact. It is however impossible to locate the area over which the Hūna chief ruled. Vāgāda, as Bühler pointed out, roughly correspond to modern Dungarpur State in Southern Rajputana. As the region round about Dungarpur was the stronghold of a branch of the Paramāra stock, it is not unlikely that Parimala was referring to a conflict with some representative of the Banswara branch of that family. The Surat grant of Kīrtirāja, dated in Śaka 940 (c. 1018), shows that Sindhurāja's opponent in Lāṭa was probably this grandson of Bārappa. In fighting against Kosala Sindhurāja was carrying on the policy of Vākpati II. The Kosala king against whom Sindhurāja made war was most probably the Kalacuri Kokalla II, the son of Yuvarāja II, the contemporary and rival of Vākpati II. Sindhurāja's struggle with the Muralas, if the latter are located near Kerala, looks rather improbable. But,

1 X, 14-20.
2 Ojha however holds that the whole area now occupied by Dungarpur and Banswara is known as Vāgāda; see HR, II, 455.
3 WZKM, 1893, Band VII, pp. 88-89. See also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Gaṅgākapura.
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4 Pranaśī may also be translated as ‘on the festive day,’ *IA*, 1912, p. 201.
Vatapadraka, included in the Ghāghradora-bhoga of Sthalimandala, to the Brāhman Bhālla, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chiṅchā-nagara. The date is given in line 31 as (V.) Śaṃvat 1076 Māgha Sudi 5 (3rd January, A.D. 1020). The writing in both the plates end with the sign-manual of Bhojadeva.

(2) Betma grant.—Found buried in a field at the village of Betmā, 16 miles to the west of Indore in Central India. It contains 27 lines, incised on two copper plates, held together by a ring. The second plate contains, like No. 1, a flying figure of Garuda holding a snake. The introductory portion is as in No. 1. In the formal part of the grant we are told that Bhojadeva, on the occasion of the festival day of the victorious occupation of Köṭkana (Komkana-grahaṇa-vijaya-parvani), granted the village of Nālataḍāga, included in Nyāyapadra-saptadaśaka, to the Brāhman Paudīṭa Delha, who came from Sthāṇvīśvara. It is dated in (V.) Śaṃvat 1076, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada (September, 1020 A.D.).

(3) Ujjain grant.—Discovered by a farmer while digging in his field, which adjoins a small stream called Nāgajhari at Ujjain. It contains 31 lines, incised on two plates. Figure of Garuda as in No. 1. The introductory portion as in the two grants mentioned above. It records that when Bhojadeva was residing at Dhūrā, he granted the village of Vīraṇaka, situated in the Nāgadraha-pāscima-puthaka, to the Brāhman Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa of the Karnāṭa (country), an emigrant from Bādāvi attached to Belluvalla. The date is given in lines 30-31 as (V.) Śaṃvat 1078 (c. 1022 A.D.).

1 Identified by some with mod. Baroda.
3 According to some 'subjugation,' EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 334.
4 May be mod. Nār (Nāl) in the Kaira District, EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 323.
5 May be mod. town of Nāpād, in the Kaira District, to the S.W. of Indore, ibid.
6 Edited by Drikalkar, EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 320-25.
7 The editor wrongly translated the passage as 'Who being an inhabitant of Bāđā Subsanga Karnāṭa.' But see Fles, IA, 902, p. 385. Belluvalla was situated close to Bādāmi.
8 Edited by Kirtana (N. J.), IA, Vol. VI, pp. 53-55.
(4) **Depalpur grant.**—Found at Depalpur. 24 miles to the north-west of Indore (C. I.). It contains 30 lines incised on two copper plates held together by two copper rings. Flying figure of Garuḍa and the introductory portion as in No. 1 above. It records that the last prince after taking his bath in the expiation-fee (in the form of a river) for the slaughter of animals and having worshipped the Bhārāṇipati (Śiva) while residing at Dhārā, granted 34 amāśas of level land (prasthān), furnished with 4 ploughs (kalacatuṣṭayaśaṃvrītam) at Kirikalka in the western Pathaka of Ujjayini to the Brāhman Vaccumha, who had migrated from Mānyakheṭa. The grant is dated in (V.) Samvat 1079 on Caitra Sudi 14 (19th March, 1022 A.D.). The writing on both the plates end (as in No. 1 above) with the sign-manual of Bhojadēva.

(5) **Kalvan plates of Yaśovarman.**—Discovered in the village near Kalvan, in the N. W. of Nasik District, Bombay Presidency. It contains 45 lines, incised on three plates of copper. The grant opens with an eulogy of the Paramāra Bhojadēva of Dhārā and his ancestry from Stryakadeva (II). We are then told that through Bhoja’s favour the illustrious Yaśovarman had obtained the town (nagara) of Selluka and was enjoying 1,500 villages. The inscription then records that in the (village) Muktāpalī in the Audrāhādi-viṣaya, the Sāmanta, the illustrious Rāṇaka Amma of the Gaṅga family, being convinced of the excellence of the Jina-dharma from the teachings of the Svetāmbara acārya Ammadēva, gave some land at Mahiśabuddhikā.

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1. The editor pleasibly suggests that this must indirectly refer to the river Čarmāṇvati (mod. Chambal). See in this connection the story of king Sāntideva, Mahābhārata, Droṇaparva, 67. IHQ, 1932, pp. 306-09.
2. Modern Dhar, capital of the Dhar State, C. I.
3. I am not sure that prasthāna here does not mean a measure of land.
4. Modern village of Kirki, in the Depalpur Pargana on the Chambal, about 6 miles from Depalpur.
5. Modern Malkheda.
7. In the original plate Praśādrā, probably a mistake for Pramāṇa.
at the holy tirtha of Kālakāleśvara.¹ The grant was made
by Amma on the occasion of a solar eclipse and the anārāṣya
day of the month of Caitra, after having washed the feet of
(the ācārya ?) with water thrown from the hands of his wife
rājī Caccāi of the Cāluṣka family. This land measured 40
nivartanas. A second piece of land measuring 25 nivartanas
was given by Rāja Kakkapāi. A third piece of land measuring
35 nivartanas, a flower-garden measuring 2 nivartanas, 2 oil-
mills (taila-ghanaka), 14 shops (Vanik-hattāḥ), and 14 drammas
were given by the commercial community consisting of Vakaai-
gala and others.² The donee apparently was the temple of the
Jina in the Svetapada³ (country), which was thoroughly repaired
and dedicated (nivedita) to the illustrious Muni Suvaratadeva.
The grant was written by Sāndhivigrāhika Jogeśvara. It is
not dated in any era.⁴

(6) British Museum image-inscription.—Ani image of
Sarasvatī, dated in (V.) Samvat 1091 (A.D. 1034–35) n the reign
of Bhoja.⁵

(7) Tilakwada grant.—Found at Tilakwada, in the bed of
the river Narbada, the headquarters of a mahāl contiguous to that
of Sankheda in the Baroda Prānt, Baroda State. The grant
originally consisted of 3 plates, of which the first, containing the
greater part of the introductory portion, is missing. The
present portion of the grant practically begins with: 'From
him (Sindurāja ?) was born Bhojadeva.' We are then introduced

¹ Identified with the temple of Kālakāleśvara, which still exists about 10 miles from Kalvan, EI, Vol. XIX, p. 70.
² The editor translates Vakaai gala prabārī-nagorensa as 'Vakaai gala and others of the
town.' But Dr. Barnett points out that nagara is a regular term in the south for a 'commercial
community.'
³ Identified with the northern portion of Nasik district, ibid.
⁴ Edited by B. D. Banerji, EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 69–75. The editor's arguments that the
grant must be referred to the period of confusion after the death of Bhoja do not appear to
me to be convincing. I agree with Hirananda Sastri that Yashovarman was a feudatory of
Bhoja (ibid, p. 79, fn. 1) at the time of the grant. See also Dikshitar, EI, Vol. XVIII,
320, fn. 3.
⁵ Noticed in EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 320, fn. 3. Transcribed by Dikshitar, Rājput, 1934, p. 2.
to the *Narottama* (prince?) *Surāditya* (*Sūrāditya*) of the *Śravanabhadraraṁśa*, who came from *Kanyakubja* and was a devotee of the lotus-like feet of Bhoja. His son *Jasorāja* (*Yasorāja*), who resided in *Saṅgamakhetā-manḍula*, having bathed in the *Narmādā* in V. S. 1103 (c. 1047 A.D.), in the temple of *Siva Mahēśvara*, situated at the confluence of the (river) *Maṇā*, granted to the god *Gaṇesha*, the village of *Viluhaja* and also a hundred (measures) of land in the village of *Gaṇapalli*. The sage *Dinakara* was appointed a trustee for the administration of the endowment. The grant was written by the *Kāyastha* *Solika*.

The dates in the inscriptions noticed above range from V. S. 1076 to 1103, i.e., from about 1020 to 1047 A.D. Two more dates for Bhoja’s reign within these limits are supplied by literary tradition. One of these is supplied by al-Biruni, who records that in c. 1030 A.D., when he composed his *Indica*, the king of *Dhārā, the capital of Mālava*, was Bhojiadeva. Another date, Saka 964 (A.D. 1042-43), is supplied by the *Rājamṛgāṅaka-karana*. Bühler, chiefly relying on the statement of *Billhana* that on his journey from Kashmir to various places in Northern India, Dhārā cried out to him “Bhoja is my king,” placed the death of Bhoja sometime after the year 1062 A.D. But the Mandhata grant of his successor *Jayasimha* shows that he must have died in or before V. S. 1112 (A.D. 1055-56). The upper limit is more difficult to settle. The fact that his Banswara plates show that he had already conquered Konkan in 1020 A.D. certainly indicates that he ascended the throne some time before that date. Bühler has pointed out from the Ālukya records that Bhoja fought with

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1. He is said to have fought with *Sahāraṅga* (?), and others and made the royal glory of *Bhojaravas* stable. *EI*, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 21, No. 128.
the Cālikya Jayasimha some time between Saka 933 (1011-12 A.D.) and Saka 941 (A.D. 1019-20). As Padmagupta, who probably composed his work in c. 1005, does not refer to Bhoja, Bühlcr thought that Bhoja at that time had not reached the age of 16, the Indian age of majority. He therefore concluded that Bhoja’s accession must fall c. 1010 A.D., or even somewhat later.1 With this conclusion most scholars agree.

The Paramāra inscriptions are unanimous in praising Bhoja’s great military talents. Thus the Udaipur prāṣasti tells us that he resembled king Prithu and “possessed the earth up to Kailāsa, up to the Malaya hills, and up to the two mountains of the setting and the rising sun; he scattered in all directions the weighty crowd of earth-supporters (urviṃbha), easily uprooting them with the shaft of his bow. Seeing the Karnāṭas, the lords of Lāṭa, the king of Gūrjara, the Turaṅkūs, chief among whom were the lord of Cedi, Indraratha,2 Togṛgala3 (?) and Bhima, conquered by his mercenaries (bhṛtya)4 alone, his hereditary warriors (maula)5 thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the numbers of their fighters.”6 The Dhar prāṣasti of Arjunavarman designates Bhoja as a Sāracabhauma, and gives him credit for having defeated Gāngeya, the Kalacuri king of Tripuri7 (c. 1030-41 A.D.). It is true there is much exaggeration in these statements of the prāṣasti-writers. But epigraphic evidence shows that there is a substantial basis for ascribing to Bhoja many of these conquests. The war with the Karnāṭas was only another episode in the struggle which had taken so disastrous a turn

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2 Kulshad identifies him with the prince of the same name who was defeated by Rajañira Cola I. in his northern expedition (El, IX, 220 ff.); ibid, p. 290; see List of Southern Inscriptions, p. 120, note 3; also MASI, No. 22, p. 18.
3 Not identified.
4 On this word see my Notes on War in Ancient India, JI, 1927, Vol. XIV, pp. 247ff.
5 Ibid.
7 The Pāriṇāma-māṭā of Vijaya-ji of Madana; see El, Vol. VIII, p. 101, line 2, V. 8, p. 102, line 7; also p. 98. See also supra, DHN, Vol. II, p. 774.
in the reign of Vākpati II, and which was to prove in the end equally disastrous to Bhoja. But in the beginning of his reign Bhoja appears to have retaliated with success, and may have even avenged the death of Muñja. Merutunga refers to a story in which Bhoja, while attending a dramatic performance in which Tailapa II, was represented as imprisoned, was so stung by the sarcasm \(^1\) of Dāmara, an emissary of the Caulukya king Bhima I, that he at once \(^2\) proceeded to march to the country of Telinga. \(^2\) The same story, with additions, is found in the Bhoja-carīta, which tells us that Bhoja \(^3\) captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected, and finally executed him. \(^4\) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar suggests that, as Tailapa was dead before Bhoja ascended the throne, his name is probably a mistake for Vikramāditya I, \(^5\) of whom we know so little and put him to death. \(^6\) Several scholars have recently agreed with this conclusion of Bhandarkar. \(^6\) Whatever may be the value of this guess, it is certain that Bhoja gained some substantial successes against the Caulukyas of Kalyani before the Śaka year 941 (A.D. 1019). For the Balagamve stone-inscription of that date of the time of Jayasimha (c. 1018-42 A.D.) claims that he was 'a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja,' i.e., he 'took away the glory of Bhoja just as the moon causes the water-lilies

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\(^1\) He reminded Bhoja that Tailapa 'is recognised by having the head of king Muñja fixed on a stake'; \(FC\), p. 45.
\(^4\) Vikramāditya V (c. 1009-11 A.D.) according to Ede's list, see *ibid.*, table facing p. 436.
\(^6\) See *IA*, 1919, pp. 117-18; *RI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 321. Ojha however, relying on a verse (I, 86) of Vikramāditya-carīta which states that Jayasimha 'received a garland, called from the Paṁijita tree, from Indra's own hand,' concludes that it was this prince who was killed by Bhoja. But see Vankirtana Ayyar, in *IA*, 1919, p. 138, fn. 54, where he argues that since in Hindu mythology it is usually the Āpsaras and not Indra that are said to garland those who die on the battlefield, Jayasimha could not have died on the field of battle. But note *RI*, Vol. II, p. 192, where Bhoja, who possibly died fighting, is referred to as having become Indra's companion.
that bloom in the daytime to close their flowers at night.¹ The same inscription also claims that Jayasimha² searched out and beset and pursued and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Malava.³ There is no evidence to show who were the princes that were included in this 'confederacy of Malava.' The claim that the Calukya king completely destroyed the power of Bhoja is most probably mere praśasti. That his success could not have been substantial is shown by the first three grants of the time of Bhoja. The first records the celebration of the festival-day of the conquest of Konkan in January 1020 A.D., which shows that the actual conquest must have taken place either in January 1019, or even earlier. The second grant, about 8 months later, again records gifts on the festival day of the victorious occupation of Konkan. That these are not mere vain boasts is shown by the Kalvan plates of his feudatory Yasovarman, who appears to have held sway in the Nasik district, bordering on Konkan.⁴ Unfortunately this inscription is not dated in any era.⁵ But that the struggle continued unabated on this frontier till at least Saka 946 (A.D. 1024) is indicated by the Miraj plates of Jayasimha where he claims to have taken away everything belonging to the rulers of the seven Konkanas (Sapta-koṅkana- dhīvarāṇāṁ sarvasam gṛhitā).⁶ Bhoja’s success however was not permanent. The Vikramāṇhadeva-carita tells us that Khavamalla (Someśvara I, c. 1044–68 A.D.) ‘stormed Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras in Malava, from which Bhoja had to flee.’⁷ The Nagpur praśasti of Naravarman (V.S. 1161)

² Id., Vol. V, p. 17.
⁵ 1, 91–96.
makes it clear that the success of the Karnāṭakas was due to their alliance with the powerful Kalacuri king Karna. The mention of Karna in this Nagpur inscription as one of the forces that brought about Bhoja's downfall shows that the Udaipur praśasti was right in mentioning the Cediśvara as one of the adversaries of the Paramāra king. The same inscription also refers to the Gurjara-rāj as another enemy of Bhoja. There is little doubt that this Gurjara prince is to be identified with Bhima I, who is mentioned in the same verse as one of the chief enemies of Bhoja, the other being the 'lord of Cedi.' Merutuṅga records stories of many conflicts between Bhima and Bhoja. On one occasion, we are told, Bhoja's general, the Digambara Kulacandra, taking advantage of Bhima's absence in Sindh, 'sacked the city of Anahilla, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory.'

On another occasion when worshipping his family goddess in a temple in the suburbs of Dharā, Bhoja was surprised and nearly captured by a party of Gujarati cavalry. The Jain chronicles are agreed that Bhoja died during a joint attack on Dharā by the Caulukya Bhima I, and Karna, king of Dāhala. Thus it seems that as an answer to the 'confederacy of Mālava,' the enemies of the Paramāras succeeded in forming another league, in which the Caulukya Bhima, the Kalacuri Lakṣhmī Karna, and the Cālukya Someśvara were the chief partners. This league may have also included the Lāṭa prince Trilocanapāla, for whom we have the date Saka 972 (c. 1051 A.D.). In the struggle that followed Bhoja was overwhelmed and lost his life when Karna's armies stormed the gates of Dharā. Bhoja's military activities were however not confined only to fighting with these adversaries. Before the Kalacuris of Tripuri could raise

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1 BL, Vol. II, pp. 185 and 192, V. 32.
2 PC, p. 46.
3 PC, pp. 70-71.
4 See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapters on the Hāshyapar and the Caulukyār.
themselves into a position of importance on his eastern frontier and bring about his downfall, Bhoja had been maintaining contact with the Candelas of Bundelkhand and their allies the Kacchapaghātās of the Gwalior Residency. The statement in the Candella inscriptions that Bhoja worshipped Vidyādhara 'full of fear like a pupil,' shows that the relation between the two princes were probably not very friendly.\(^1\) The victory claimed by Kirtirāja, one of the Gwalior Kacchapaghātās (c. 1015-35 A.D.) of whom the Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahipāla records that he conquered the countless hosts of Mālava, was probably gained with the assistance of his sovereign, the Candella Vidyādhara. I have elsewhere suggested that the defeated Mālava prince was possibly the Paramārā Bhoja.\(^2\) The statement of the Dubkund inscription of the Kaccapaghātā Vikramasimha that the "highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhoja" had widely celebrated the skill shown in the management of horses and chariots of Abhimanyu (c. 1035-44 A.D.), one of his predecessors, may, as I have already suggested, contain a veiled hint of his subservience to the great Paramārā.\(^3\) Bhoja possibly succeeded in extending his influence in the Kuru valley by taking advantage of the weakness of Vidyādhara's successors. It was probably in this region that Bhoja met and defeated some detachment of the Turuṣka prince Māhmūd of Ghazni, when the latter invaded Gwalior and Bundelkhand. In the N. W. Bhoja, following the policy of Muñja, maintained his pressure on the Cāhamānas of Nādol and the Guhilas of Medapātā. This is proved by the statement of the Sundha hill-inscription, which informs us that Anahilla slew Sādhā, a general (dandaśīka) of the Mālava king Bhoja.\(^4\) The Chirwa inscription of the Guhila Samarasimha (V. S. 1330) indicates that Bhoja was in possession of the fort of Citrakūṭa (Chitor) and built there a

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1 See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 689.
4 Cf, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.
temple to Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa. It was probably for his assistance during these campaigns that the Banswara Paramāra Satyarāja received a fortune from Bhoja.

Apart from all these military campaigns Bhoja is probably best remembered by his achievements in the domain of art and letters. The Udaipur prakāsti calls him a king among poets (kaviśāgga), and states that he made the world worthy of its name by covering it all round with temples, dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Sunḍira (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra. Bühler has pointed out that his claim to literary merit is amply corroborated by the discovery of numerous works in poetics, astronomy, philosophy, architecture, and poetry which all bear the name of Mahārājādhirāja Bhoja and are said to have been written by him, no doubt with the assistance of the numerous scholars who flourished under his patronage. An analysis of the list of publications ascribed to Bhoja in Aufrecht’s Catalogus Catalogorum shows that besides the above subjects there are other works on medicine, grammar,

1 WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff. ; see also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Guhila-patrās.
2 RMB, 1917, pp. 2–3.
4 Ibid., pp. 236 and 283, V. 20.
5 Ibid., pp. 281–282.
6 Aufrecht’s Catalogus Catalogorum, Part I, p. 418, and Part II, p. 95. As a medical writer Bhoja is quoted in the Bhāva-prokāsa and Mādhava’s Tattva-vimicaya. As a grammarian and lexicographer he is noticed by Kṛṣṇa-svāmin, Śāyaṇa, and Mahipa. The following list of Bhoja’s work are mentioned by Aufrecht and Bühler:


To these must be added the Kūrma-Satāka, two Prakrit poems, each of 109 stanzas addressed to the tortoise-incarnation of Visṇu. They were discovered at Dhār, written with great care on a stone slab. Edited by Fischel, EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 261–60. No. 18 above has now been edited by Ganspati Sastri in GOS.
and lexicography which are attributed to the pen of the Paramāra king. It is true that all these works were probably largely written by the literary men living in his court; but a prince who had such wide sympathies and could inspire scholarship in so many varied fields of knowledge must ever remain a remarkable personality in the records of time. There is little evidence available to corroborate the extensive building operations which are ascribed to Bhoja in the Udaipur prāñasti; but as Bühler has remarked 'it is very probable that a prince so fond of display as he was adorned his capital and perhaps even foreign sacred places with architectural monuments.' But of these, thanks no doubt largely to the iconoclastic zeal of the early Turkish conquerors, very few specimens have survived to our times.

I have already referred to Bhoja's tragic end. The Udaipur prāñasti states that 'when that devotee of Bharga (Śiva) whose brilliancy resembled the sun (i.e., Bhoja), had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness, his foes (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayāditya another sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour.'¹ The Nagpur prāñasti in referring to the same incident states that when 'he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion and when the realm was overrun by floods, in which the sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna,² who, joined by the Karnātās, was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the holy boar.'² According to both these inscriptions Udayāditya was the successor of Bhoja. But the Mandhata

² Dr. Ganguly identifies this prince with the Cauḷukya Karpa (c. 1064-91 A.D.) because the Prthvīrāja-sītāra (V. 78-79) states that Udayāditya obtained the crown of Mālava by defeating the Gurjara Karpa. Without accepting this identification it is possible to agree that Udayāditya had to fight with the successor of the Cauḷukya Bhulma, the enemy of Bhoja, before he could securely grasp the sceptre of the Paramārās.
and Panahera inscriptions of Jayasimha conclusively prove that during the period V.S. 1112-1116 the ruler of Malava was not Udayaditya but Jayasimha. As the earliest date of Udayaditya is V.S. 1116, there is no difficulty in fitting in the reign of Jayasimha between those of Bhoja and Udayaditya. Kielhorn has pointed out instances where predecessors are sometimes omitted in the genealogical lists of Indian inscriptions. But in this particular case, a strong motive for omission may have been the fact that Udayaditya usurped the Malava crown by ousting the lawful successor of Bhoja. As to the relationship of Bhoja with Jayasimha we have only to depend upon the expression ‘padānudhyāta’, which separates the latter’s name from that of his predecessor. Though this word does not necessarily indicate the relationship of father and son, yet in this particular case, in view of the fact that Bhoja died at an advanced age, it is quite likely that he may have left Jayasimha as his son and successor. The two following records are known for the reign of Jayasimha.

(1) Mandhata grant.—Found at Mandhata, an island in the Narbada, attached to the Nimar District of the C.P. It contains 30 lines, incised on two plates. At the end of the grant, on the left-hand corner of the second plate, is the usual figure of the flying Garuda holding a snake. The inscription opens with two verses praising Śiva (Vyoṃakeśa, Smarārīti); then follows the genealogy of the donor, which is traced from Vākapatirajadeva (II). It then records that Pb.-M.-P. Jayasimhadeva, while residing at Dhārā, granted the village of Bhīma, included in the Muktulā-grāma-dvicatvārīkṣa of Purnapathaka-mandala, to the Brāhmans of the Paṭṭasaḷā at the holy Amareśvara, for food and other purposes. The date V.S. 1112

2 The PO (p. 41) supplies the name of the poetess Arundhati as one of the queens of Bhoja. But it is unknown whether she or some other lady was the mother of Jayasimha.
3 Same as Amareśvara-tīrtha of the Bhojal grant of Arjunavarman (V.S. 1073). It
(c. 1055-56), is given in line 29. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor.¹

(2) Panahera stone-inscription.—Engraved on a slabbuilt into a wall of the temple of Mandaleśvara (Mahādeva) at Panahera in the Banswara State, South Rajputana. The record is damaged. It belongs to the feudatory Paramāra branch of Banswara. But in the beginning, after 5 verses in praise of Śiva, it mentions the Paramāras of Malwa from Siyaka II to Jayasimha. Then it traces the genealogy of the feudatory line from Dhanika to Manḍalika.² The latter was a contemporary of Jayasimha. The record is dated in V.S. 1116 (c. 1059-60 A.D.).³

Nothing is definitely known about Jayasimha’s achievements. But if the Nagpur praśasti is to be believed, Jayasimha may have been compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Kalacuri Lakṣmī-Karna. The country was unprotected, and became the happy hunting ground of the Karna and other enemies. At least these were the pretexts which Udayāditya appears to have urged to support his apparent act of usurpation. Is it likely that Udayāditya succeeded in ousting his rival with the assistance of the Cālukyas of Kalyani? The statement of Bilhana that Āhavamalla ‘utterly destroyed the power of Karna, the king of Dāhala,’⁴ probably shows that the alliance between the Karna and the Kalacuris did not long survive the fall of Bhoja. Indeed Merutunga’s reference to a struggle between the Cālukya Bhima I and Karna over the spoils of Dhārā,⁵ may indicate the outbreak of a general war amongst the allies after the destruction of the Paramāra king. In this connection Bilhana’s statement that

is situated: *near the island of Mandhata on the southern bank of the Narmadas*. EJ, Vol. III, p. 47.

³ ASI, 1916-17, pp. 19-20. SMR, 1917, pp. 2.3.
⁴ Vikramādiṭa-carita, I, 102-103.
⁵ PC, pp. 74-75.
during the reign of Áhavamalla his son Vikramáditya lent his assistance to the king of Málava, who came to him for protection, to regain his kingdom may be significant. The assistance was possibly given either to Udayáditya or more probably to his ousted rival Jayasimha.

For the reign of Udayáditya we have the following dates and records:

(1) A 'modern inscription' in vernacular at Udayapur, in Gwalior, gives the dates V. S. 1116 and Śaka 981 (corresponding to A.D. 1059-60), for the reign of Udayáditya and speaks of him as having built a temple of Siva.

(2) Udayapur stone-inscription.— An apparently well preserved inscription inside the east entrance of the great temple of Udayapur in Gwalior. It contains 6 lines. The inscription mentions king Udayáditya and gives the date (V.) Samvat 1137 (c. 1080-81 A.D.). It was composed probably by Pandita Mahipāla.

(3) Jhalrapatan stone-inscription.—Found at Jhalrapatan in the Jalawar State, Rajputana. It records the erection of a temple of Sambhu by the Patțakila (i.e., Pațil), Jānā, belonging to the tailika (oilman's) family. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1143 (c. 1086-87 A.D.) in the reign of Udayáditya.  

1 Vikramáditya-kadána-carita, III, 67.
2 Noticed by Captain Burt in JASS, Vol. VII, p. 1099; then edited in ibid, Vol. IX, pp. 543-50. Also noticed in ASI, WC, 1903, p. 37. Bühlér was disposed to reject the date as spurious (EI, Vol. I, p. 233); but see Kielhorn, EI, Vol. III, p. 48, fn. 1. The date of the inscription is V.S. 1562 = S. 1429 = c. 1560 A.D.
3 Noticed by Kielhorn, IA, Vol. XX, p. 83.
4 Noticed in ASI, WC, 1906, p. 56. Edited by B. N. Shastri, Journal and PASB, Vol. X, pp. 241 ff., and Plate XXII. The Udayapur Prasasti of the Paramáras of Malwa, which is incised on a stone-slab, at present lying in the courtyard of the great temple at Udayapur (Gwalior) may also belong to this prince. The record opens with verses in praise of Siva, Párvati, and Gaṇapáta, and may have recorded the erection of a Siva temple by Udayáditya. But unfortunately it is fragmentary; and though the last name in the preserved portion is that of Udayáditya we cannot be sure that the lost portion did not contain the name of one of his immediate successors. The record was first noticed by Dr. Hall in JASS, Vol. XXXI, p. 114, note, and was edited with a valuable introduction by Bühlér in EI, Vol. I, pp. 222-33. It is one of the most important records for Paramára history.
The inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V. S. 1116 to 1143 (c. 1158-60 to 1187 A.D.). Udayāditya was probably closely related to the family of Jayasimha. In the Nagpur prāṣasti he is referred to as the relation (bandhu) \(^1\) of Bhoja. In the recently discovered Jainad inscription the Paramāra prince Jagaddeva is described as the son of Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhoja. \(^2\) Udayāditya therefore appears to have been probably a younger brother of Bhoja \(^3\) and possibly an uncle of Jayasimha.

Besides his victory over Lākṣmī-Karṇa and his re-establishment of peace and prosperity in the land of Malwa, the only other definitely known incident of Udayāditya’s reign was the marriage of his daughter Śyāmaladevi to the Gohila-putra Vijayasiṃha. Alhanadevi, the daughter of Śyāmaladevi, was again married to the Dāhala Kalacuri Gaya-Karṇa \(^4\) (1151 A.D.). The Jainad inscription contains the name of one of his officers, Lalārka alīs Arjuna, belonging to the family of Dāhimas. He had a powerful army and was a celebrated warrior and a great favourite of Udayāditya. Tradition as recorded in the Rasmala seems to contain a few more facts about Udayāditya. Thus it refers to a ‘Raja of Mandoogurh, whose service Oodayāditya performed ’ and on whom when summoned, he was in the habit of offering ‘speedy attendance.’ ‘Mandoogurh’ is certainly modern Mandu, situated about 14 miles to the south of Dhar, and it is not unlikely that the chief of Mandu was an officer of the great Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI (c. 1055-1120 A.D.), who in his father’s reign may have been instrumental in placing Udayāditya on the throne of Dhārā. According to the

\(^1\) Also means a brother. In an unpublished Kumbhalinga Inscription (V. 148) of the Gohila, the term bandhu is actually used in the sense of a uterine brother, see Udappur Śāṣṭikā Itihās (Hindi) by G. H. Ojha, p. 142, fn. 3. Prof. B. Dutta drew my attention to this inscription.


\(^3\) Pitṛgaḥ means a ‘father’s brother ’ but it can also mean any ‘elderly male relation.’ Was Udayāditya a cousin or a more distant relation (JAS, Vol. VII, p. 32) of Bhoja? See Modern Review, 1932, pp. 96 and 171-72.

Rasmala, Udayāditya by his two queens, of whom one was of the Vāghela clan, and the other of the Solanki, had two sons. The Vaghela queen’s son Rindhuwul (i.e., Raṇadhavaḷa), was the elder and the heir-apparent. The son of the Solanki queen was Jug-Dev (Jagaddeva), who was dark and handsome. On account of a palace-intrigue the latter left Malwa and entered the service of the Caulukya Siddharāja in Gujarat. He served him for 18 years, but when the Caulukya king 'advanced to attack Dhāra,' Jug-Dev quitted his service and returned to his father, who soon after invested him with 'the royal authority,' and died. He reigned for 52 years and 'went to Dev-lok' at the age of 85, after placing his son Jug Dhuwul (Jagaddhavaḷa) on the throne. Much of this bardic tale must be pure myth. For the date of Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144) makes it rather improbable that he could be a contemporary of Udayāditya (c. 1059-87) at all, much less for a period of 18 years. But the historicity of Jagaddeva is established by an inscription which has been recently discovered in the N.E. of the Nizam’s dominions. This is the Jainad (or Jainath) inscription found some six miles to the south-east of Adilabad. It contains 28 lines and opens with (ōṁ) namaḥ Suryāya. The first two verses are devoted to the invocation of the Sun and Siva (Sthānu, Tripuradāhana) respectively. It next refers to the birth of Pramāra (Paramāra) through the meditations of Vasiṣṭha, for the destruction of Viśvāmitra’s valour. In his family (tad-anvaye) was born king (kṣitīsa) Jagaddeva. He was the son of king Udayāditya and paternal nephew of Bhōja. He conquered the Andhra king (Andhrā-dhiṣa) and subdued the king of Cakradurga (Cakradurga-npati), entered the city of Dorasamudra and struck terror in the heart of Malabara (Malahara-kṣonīśa). The record

1 Raz., Vol. I, pp. 117-149.
2 This prince may be identified with the Eastern Caulukya Rājendra Cōla II (1070-1108 A.D.).
3 Probably the same as Cakradhīśa, Cakradhīśa or Sakkārahūṭṭam in C.P. See DHNI, Vol. I, Pp. 470, 470 fn. 3, and 470, fn. 4; see also HI, Vol. X, pp. 28-81 and 31-34.
4 The capital of the Hoyasalas; mod. Halebid in Mysore.
also refers to the victory of Jayasimha over the Gurjaras, whose wives are stated to have sought refuge in the caves of the mountain Arbuda. The record then passes on to speak of Lalarka alias Arjuna, a great favourite of Udayaditya. He belonged to the family of Dahimas and was the son of Gunaraja and grandson of Mahendra. The inscription next records that his wife Padmavati founded a temple of Nimvaditya in an agrahara. It was composed by the Kavi Asvatthvama.1

Jagaddeva therefore must have ruled for some time at least over a portion of the Paremara territory. He seems to have been a vigorous ruler who claims to have raided the territories beyond the Tungabhadra and the limits of whose kingdom extended over the territories between the Penganga and the Godavari. It is significant that though he fought with the Eastern Calukyas and the Hoysalas there is no reference to his conflict with the successors of the Kalyana Calukya Taila II. It is interesting to note that some of his enemies were also the traditional foes of the Karnata king Vikramaditya VI (c. 1076-1127 A.D.). It is therefore not impossible that he, like his father, may have been an ally of the great Calukya emperor.

According to the Nagpur prasasti, however, the two immediate successors of Udayaditya were his sons Laksmadeva and Naravarman. It does not mention Jagaddeva. Is it likely that this name was a biruda of Laksmadeva. While this is possible we cannot rule out the possibility that Jagaddeva was a brother or half-brother of the more powerful Laksmadeva, who paid the penalty of deposition for his subservience to the Karnata overlord.

As many as twenty verses are devoted in his brother’s Nagpur prasasti to describing the various military campaigns of Laksmadeva.2 We are told that, “desirous of capturing matchless elephants, he proceeded to Hari’s quarter (i.e., the East),” and then, “just as dread entered the town of the lord of Gauda” (V. 38). 1 In the course of (another?) unchecked

expedition.....he had attacked Tripuri, and annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries '; he (then) "encamped on the banks of the Revä, where his tents were shaded by the creeping-plants of pleasure-gardens, gently set in motion by the breeze from the torrents of the Vindhya mountains. The bathing of his elephants, which allayed the fatigue of battle, produced in the stream of the Revä a succession of waves, bent upon undermining the steep river banks. Often and often the elephants of his army, thickly covered with streams of rutting-juice, demolished even the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains." (Vs. 39-41)..."He traversed the hills at the foot of the Vindhya mountains, which were frequently trodden by the squadrons of his fleet horses, the quick sharp hoofs of which acted like chisels in cutting up the extensive, bamboo-clad, massive table-land." (V. 42)...... "Even the troops of elephants of Aëga and Kaliüga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain clouds, dark like herds of hogs, kept for pastime, —even they had to sue for mercy." (V. 43)......His praise was proclaimed by clever men near the eastern ocean, while he, pleased, looked on bashfully" (V. 44)......"When like the pitcheralborn Agastya, he directed his steps towards the south, the Colas and other tribes, bowing low before him, acted the part of the Vindhya mountain. The water of the Tamraparni, which is famed all the earth over for pearls which the wives of the feudatories in his army, while they mirthfully bathed in the stream, dropped into it from the breaking girdles of their hips, behold, even to this day the water affords a livelihood to the Pandyya chief." (Vs. 46-47)......"Informed by the people, that the dam before him...was the bridge of holy Rama...he scornfully crossed over to the opposite island simply on the elephants of his army." (V. 48)......"Afterwards when, impatient that there should be another king of kings (rajarajam-anyam), he was marching towards the quarter of the lord of the Yakṣas (i.e., North), the princes opposed to him got rid of fear when, terror-stricken, they
abandoned not merely their wealth of riches, but also the quarter of the Kuveça (i.e., North).” (V. 52)......‘Encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu,’” he was presented with ‘teams of frisky horses’ by the Turuṣka, ‘whom he had eradicated with ease’; he also ‘taught the Kira chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvati was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage.’ (V. 54.) Of this laudatory account Bühler accepted as ‘tangible and probably true facts’ the expedition undertaken against Tripurī, the well-known capital of the Dāhala kingdom, and perhaps some fights with the Turuṣkas or Muslim invaders, when the king was encamped on the bank of the river Vaṅkṣu.” I have suggested elsewhere that the Dāhala king defeated by Lakṣmadeva was the Kalacuri Yaśāḥ-Karna (c. 1073-1125 A.D.). It is possible that Lakṣmadeva’s victory over the Colas may contain a reference to his conflict with Rajendra Cola II Kulottunga (c. 1010-1118 A.D.) The Turuṣkas who came into conflict with the Paramāra were probably the successors of the Yamini Mahmūd who, as we know, made frequent raids into the Ganges-Jumna valley from their strongholds in the Punjab. But besides these two conflicts, I think there may be some historical basis for the other victories which are claimed for the Paramāra king. Though it is clear that much of these statements is mere praṣasti, yet the references to the king’s campaigns in all the directions of the compass may indicate a desperate attempt to revive the lost glory of the Paramāras. But unfortunately for the ‘fire-born race’ their attempts were, as we shall presently see, doomed to failure.

No inscription of Lakṣmadeva have yet been discovered; but the Nagpur praṣasti records that on the occasion of a solar

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1 A small arm or branch of the Ganges; EI, Vol. II, p. 194, fn. 80.
4 MASI, No. 23, p. 25.
eclipse, he gave with due rites two villages in the Vyāpura-
mandala. The inscription tells us that Lakṣmadeva was suc-
cceeded by his brother Naravarman. Of the latter’s reign we
have the following published records:—

(1) Nagpur prāṣasti.—Incised on a stone slab in the Nagpur
Museum. It contains 41 lines. The inscription opens with
Om on namo Bhāratyai; then follow seven benedictory verses
addressed to the “goddess of speech,” Durgā, Viṣṇu, Siva, Brahma,
and “that form of the husbands of Umā and Lakṣmī” (i.e.,
Viṣṇu-Siva or Hari-Hara). Then follows the genealogy of the
family from Paramāra, sprung from the fire-pit of Vasistha on
Mountain Arbuda, to Naravarman. In V. 55 we are told that
Lakṣmadeva granted two villages in the Vyāpura-mandala on the
occasion of a solar eclipse; “afterwards his brother the king
Naravarmadeva, has instead assigned the village of Mokhala-
pāṭaka, at the request of the three places.” (V. 55.) The name
of the donee is not specified but it was probably the temple
which the king ordered (the architect) Lakṣmidhara to build,
and in which this inscription was put up. The record is dated
in (V.) Sāh. 1161 (c. 1104-05 A.D.). The prāṣasti appears
to have been composed by the king himself.3

(2) Madhukargadh (Harouta, Rajputana) stone-inscrip-
tion.—This opens with an invocation to Nīlakaṇṭha (Siva), and
then traces Paramāra genealogy from Sindhula (= Sindhurāja)
to Naravarman, omitting both Jayasiṃha and Lakṣmadeva.
It seems to record the construction of a Saiva temple by Hara,
the son of Mahādeva and grandson of the minister Rudrāditya.4
It is dated in (V.) Sāmvat 1164 (c. 1108 A.D.).4

1 EI, Vol. II, pp. 188 and 194, V. 55.
2 Edited by Kielhorn, EI, Vol. II, pp. 180-95. It had been previously twice edited by
3 Perhaps the grandson of the person bearing the same name in No. 2 of Vākpati II,
see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 693.
4 Substance given by Tod in TRāś, Vol. I, p. 296. Also called Madhūvara-ghar
(3) Bombay grant.—29 lines incised on two plates. The introductory verses are devoted to praise of Siva. Then follows the genealogy of the Paramāras from Sindhrāja to Naravarman (as in No. 2). The inscription records the grant of several pieces of land situated in the village of Kadambapadraka, which was being enjoyed by the Mahāmandalika Rājyadeva, in the Pratijāgaranaṇaka of Mandaraka in the Upendra-pura-ṇaṇḍa, to the Brāhmān Āśādhara. The date is V. S. 1167 (c. 1110-11 A.D.). But it also contains two more dates, V. S. 1154 (c. 1097-98 A.D.) and V. S. 1159 (c. 1102-03 A.D.), when some other pieces of land were granted by the king's wife Mahādevī and the king respectively.¹

The above inscriptions give us dates from V. S. 1154 to 1167 (c. 1097-1111 A.D.) for Naravarman. Naravarman was apparently succeeded by his son Yaśovarman some time before V. S. 1191 (c. 1134 A.D.). For an Ujjain grant records that Yaśovarman performed the funeral ceremony (Sāṁvatsarīka) in honour of Mahārāja Naravarman 'on the 8th lunar day of the bright half of Kārttika' of that year.² Another Ujjain copper-plate, which records some grants made by Yaśovarman in V. S. 1192, on the occasion of the funeral ceremony (Sāṁvatsarīka) of Māmaladevi,³ probably indicates that the latter was the mother of the new king. The following dates and records are so far known for his reign:

(1) An Ujjain grant of Mahākumāra Lākṣativarman records that in V. S. 1191, on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies in honour of Mahārāja Naravarman, the M.-P.-Yaśovarman at Dhārā granted the village of Vadaūda, belonging (sambuddha) to Surāsant, and the village of Uṭhavaṇaka, belonging to

Suvarnaprasadika—both situated in Rajasayana-bhoga in the Mahādvādasaka-mandala to the Karnāṭa Brāhman Dhanapāla.1

(2) Ujjain grant.—Obtained from the city of Ujjain: 'The plate which holds this fragmentary inscription is one of apparently two plates, the first of which has never been discovered.' The inscription records that the Mahārāja Yaśovarman granted the village of Laghuvaṅganapadra and part of the village of Thikkarkā to two persons (names lost), probably instead of some other land connected with Devapāṭaka, which had been granted to the donees on the occasion of the funeral ceremonies of Momaladevi. Lines 12-13 gives the date (V.) Samvat 1192 (A.D. 1135). Line 15 gives the sign-manual of the donor.2

(3) Jalrapatan stone-inscription.—Found in Jalrapatan, in the Jhalawar State, Rajputana. It is highly weather-worn. 'In the body of the inscription can be read the names of the Paramāra kings Naravarmedeva and Yaśovarmadeva. An account of their ministers is apparently given.' Ends with the date V. S. 1199 (c. 1142 A.D.)3

The inscriptions noticed above give us the dates V. S. 1191 to 1199 (c. 1134-42 A.D.) for the reign of Yaśovarman. The Paramāra records say nothing about any incidents of the reign of these two princes. The reason for their silence is probably to be found in the statements of the Caulukya records. The Kumārapāla-carita tells us that Jayasimha destroyed Dhāra and killed Naravarman.4 According to the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, the Māśava king Yaśovarman once invaded and overran Gujrat, while Jayasimha was absent from his capital. It was with great

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2 Or. Thikkarka (line 3).
4 Noticed in ASI, W.C., 1923, p. 16, No. 297. On account of the damaged condition of the record, we cannot be absolutely sure whether the record really belongs to this reign.

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difficulty and humiliation that the Gujarat minister, after washing the Mālaya king’s feet and throwing into the hollow of his hand a handful of water, as a sign of the transference of merit gained by his master by his pilgrimages, succeeded in persuading Yaśovarman to turn back. The chronicler then proceeds to state that as a result of this a war of 12 years’ duration took place between the two kingdoms, at the end of which Jayasimha stormed Dhārā, captured Yaśovarman, and led him in triumph to Anahillapura. The Dnyāsraya and the Vasanta-vilāsa substantially corroborate the statement of Merutūṅga. I have shown elsewhere that the statements of the chroniclers are supported by epigraphic evidence. Jayasimha’s assumption of the title of Avantinātha, which first appears in his Gala grant shows that the Caulukya king must have achieved substantial success in his protracted campaign before V. S. 1193 (A.D. 1137). His Ujjain inscription shows that one of the capitals of the Paramāras was already in the hands of Jayasimha before V. S. 1195 (A.D. 1139). The Jhalrapatan fragmentary inscription of Yaśovarman possibly indicated that the Paramāra king had been forced to withdraw down the valley of Kali Sindhu, but succeeded in maintaining a precarious existence in the lower valley of that river up to V. S. 1199 (A.D. 1142). The Dohad and Udayapur inscriptions of Jayasimha unquestionably prove Caulukya occupation of the whole territory from the Panch Mahals to the Betwa. These repeated disasters to the fortunes of the Paramāras must have shaken the foundations of their power in Malwa. There is reason to believe that the Paramāras never fully recovered from the blow which destroyed Bhoja and his

1 PC, pp. 85-88. In early Caulukya grants Anahillapura is called Anahillapāthaka, see IA, Vol. VI, pp. 191-93; EI, Vol. X, pp. 75-79, etc. In the records of the Caulukyas of Vyaghrapalli the name of the city is given as Anahillapāthaka; see IA, Vol. VI, pp. 210-13; Vol. XI, pp. 241-45, etc.


3 III, 22-23.

4 See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.

empire. This is shown by the Ingnoda stone-inscription of Vijayapāla. This was found 'engraved on a slab of stone... which is now let into the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda, in the territory of the junior Rāja of Dewas.' It contains 15 lines, opening with Om namaḥ, after which follows the date (V.) Sāsavat 1190 (c. 1133 A.D.). It then records that (here) in Ingnopāṭa, M.-P.-Prthvipāla-pādānudhyāta-Pb.-M.-P.-Tubhipāla-deva-pādānudhyāta-M.-P.-Vijayapāla-deva, after worshipping Bhavāni-pati (Siva), granted the village of Agāsiyaka to the god Gohādeva. It was written by the Vālābhānaya-Kāyattha Kełhaṇa, and engraved by the Sūtradāra Sājaṇa. This inscription reveals the presence of a kingdom within about 50 miles North-east of Ujjain, the princes of which, to judge from their titles, seem to have claimed an independent position. As the record supplies the date, V. S. 1190 for Vijayapāla, it may be concluded that his grand-father carved out this principality on the lower course of the Sipra not long after V. S. 1111-12 (c. 1054-55 A.D.), when Bhoja apparently met his doom at the hands of Karna and his allies. The presence of this independent kingdom shows the limitations of the jurisdiction of Udayāditya and his successors, and explains the reason why Jayasimha, apparently unaided by any powerful ally, was able single-handed to deal such heavy blows against his western neighbours. Jayasimha's victories had so paralysed the energies of the Paramāras that even when death relaxed the grip of the Caulukya king on Mālava, they apparently did not succeed in recovering their ancestral possessions in Avanti. On the evidence of the Dohad inscription of the Mahāmanḍalesvara Vāpanadeva, I have suggested

1 i.e. Ingnopāṭa; identified with mod. village of Ingnoda, in western Malwa.
2 About 7 miles from Ingnoda there are to be seen on the banks of the Kehipira, the ruins of a Śiva temple of large dimensions. I think this must have been the temple of Gohādeva named in the grant." IA. Vol. VII, p. 80.
3 Edited by Kirtane. IA. Vol. VI, pp. 49-50 and 58-59. I think the editor is wrong in taking Kādhara as the writer of the grant. Some accept this family (I think without sufficient reason), to be a Kacchapaghāta family; see SI, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 86, No. 299.
elsewhere† that some time between 1140 and 1146 the Caulukyas may have lost their hold on the Panch Mahals, which commanded one of the important strategic routes to Malwa. The intrigue and dissensions which became rampant in the Caulukya court towards the later years of Jayasimha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) and the difficulties which at first beset the path of his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) may have produced a ‘troubled state’ in the distant provinces ‘apt to rouse the ambitions of a conqueror or a usurper.’ The significant omission of the name of Dhārā in the Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman, dated V.S. 1200 (A.D. 1244),* as his place of residence, while in the same grant it is mentioned as the place of residence of his father Yasovarman in V.S. 1191 (c. 1134 A.D.), seems to indicate that the city, which had been lost some time before V.S. 1193 (A.D. 1137), had not yet been recovered by the Paramāras in V.S. 1200. The occurrence of the name of one Ballāla as ruler of Avanti Mālava, and Dhārā during this period in Jain chronicles and Caulukya inscriptions therefore shows, as Lüders long ago supposed,† that these territories had been conquered by this usurper of unknown lineage. I have shown elsewhere‡ how this Ballāla formed an alliance with the Sākambhari Cāhamāna Arṇorāja to attack Kumārapāla. But unfortunately for the enemies of the Caulukyas, the scheme failed. Arṇorāja was defeated, and Ballāla himself lost his life in the struggle that followed the submission of the Cāhamāna prince. An Abu inscription tells us that the Paramāra Yasodhavala of Candrāvatī ‘quickly killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when he had learned that he had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla.’§ The evident identity of this ‘lord of Mālava’ whose

1 See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.
4 See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.
5 BI, Vol. VIII, pp. 211 and 216, V. 35.
head, we are informed by the Vadnagar praśasti (V. S. 1208), Kumārapāla suspended at his gate, with Ballāla shows that the latter must have lost his life between c. 1144 and 1151 A.D. The Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla, dated in V. S. 1220 and 1222, proves that sometime before c. 1163-66 A.D., Kumārapāla, like his predecessor, had re-established his grip on Malwa up to the banks of the Betwa in the west. There is no reason to suspect that this grip was relaxed before the end of his reign (c. 1173 A.D.)

The period between c. 1137 A.D., the date of the Ujjain inscription of the Caulukya Jayasimha, and c. 1173 A.D., the approximate date of Kumārapāla’s death, roughly a period of 36 years, must have been one of very great difficulties for the Paramāras. I have already suggested that after losing Ujjain and his other southern dominions Yaśovarman may have lingered on till about V. S. 1199 (c. 1142 A.D.) as the ruler of a small principality in the lower valley of the Kali Sindhu. The difficulties of the Paramāras seem to have been further accentuated during this period by disunion and differences amongst the sons of Yaśovarman. This was first found out by Kielhorn after a thorough analysis of the genealogical lists of the available grants of the Yaśovarman’s successors. The facts from these grants may be presented in tabular form as follows:

According to

(1) Piplismagar grant of Arjunavarman (V. S. 1267)
(2) Bhopal (i) (ii) (V. S. 1270)
(3) (V. S. 1272)

2 IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-43; ibid., pp. 343-44.
4 For references to these grants see infra, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 891 ff.
(a) Bhojadeva, succeeded by
(b) Udayāditya, succeeded by
(c) Naravarman, his son
(d) Yaśovarman, his son.
(e) Ajayavarman, his son
(f) Vindhyavarman, his son
(g) Subhatavarman, his son
(h) Mahārāja Arjunavarman (V. S. 1267-72)

According to—

(4) Ujjain grant of Lakṣmīvarman (V. S. 1200)

(a) Pb.-M.-P.-Udayāditya, succeeded by
(b) ... ... Naravarman, succeeded by
(c) ... ... Yaśovarman (V. S. 1191), succeeded by,
(d) Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman [apparently son of (c)] V. S. 1200.

According to—

(5) Ujjain grant of Jayavarman (undated)

(a) Pb.-M.-P.-Udayāditya, succeeded by,
(b) ... ... Naravarman ... ...
(c) ... ... Yaśovarman ... ...
(d) ... ... Jayavarman

According to—

(6) Piplianagar grant of Mahākumāra Hariścandra (V. S. 1235 and 1236)

(a) Pb.-M.-P.-Udayāditya, succeeded by
(b) ... ... Naravarman ... ...
(c) ... ... Yaśovarman ... ...
(d) ... ... Jayavarman ... ...
(e) Mahākumāra Hariścandra (V. S. 1235-36), son of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman
According to—

(7) Bhopal grant of Mahākumāra Udayavarman (V. S. 1256)

(a) Pb. M.-P.-Yaśovarman, succeeded by
(b) " " " " Jayavarman, " " "
(c) Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman " " "
(d) " " Hariścandra
(e) " " Udayavarman (V. S. 1256)

A comparison of the above lists will show that the genealogy as far as Yaśovarman is the same in all the grants, but that the two groups entirely differ after him. According to Nos. 1, 2 and 3 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Ajayavarman. Since a lineal descendant of Ajayavarman retained the title Mahārāja which had been borne by Yaśovarman, Kielhorn concluded that the princes e to h of this list represented or pretended to represent the main line of the Paramāra family. According to No. 4 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman on or before V. S. 1200, while No. 5 places Jayavarman next to Yaśovarman. According to No. 6 Yaśovarman was succeeded by Jayavarman and the latter on or before V. S. 1235 by Mahākumāra Hariścandra son of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman, while in No. 7 the line of succession passes from Yaśovarman through Jayavarman, Lakṣmīvarman and Hariścandra to Mahākumāra Udayavarman (V. S. 1256). “Here we naturally ask why the Pb.-M.-P. Jayavarma-deva should have been omitted in grant No. 4 and why Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman similarly should have been omitted in grant No. 6. Some indications of how these questions may have to be answered, would appear to be furnished by certain expressions which occur in grants Nos. 4 and 6. In No. 4, we read—Srīmañ- Jayavarmadeva-rājye nyatite niąka-keta-karavāla-prasādāvāpāntijādhipatya,...Mahākumāra-Srīmal-Lakṣmīvarmadeva,1

1 i.e., “the Mahākumāra, the illustrious Lakṣmīvarmadeva, who had obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the sword which he had taken in his hand, when the rule by the illustrious Jayavarmadeva had passed away.”
and in No. 6, \textit{Sri-Jayavarmadeva ity-etasmat prarthatamaprabho prasād-avāpta-nīj-adhipatyah....Mahākumāra-Sri-Harischandradevaḥ}.\textsuperscript{1} Taking these expressions with what is otherwise known to us from the inscriptions Kielhorn conceived the succession in the family of Yaśovarman to have been as follows:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(a)] Yaśovarman (3 sons)
  \item[(b)] Jayavarm\textsuperscript{2}
  \item[(c)] Ajayavarm\textsuperscript{3}
  \item[(d)] Lakṣmīvarman
\end{itemize}

At first No. (a) was succeeded by No. (b); soon after this succession, and certainly sometime between V.S. 1192 and 1200, No. (b) was dethroned by No. (c), who with his successors became the main branch of the Paramāras in Malwa. But the 3rd brother, No. (d), did not submit to No. (c), but, as stated above in grant No. 4, succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Malwa, which he, his son, and his grandson ruled as \textit{de facto} independent chiefs. At the same time No. (d) and his son and successor looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful ruler of Malwa; and in the opinion of Kielhorn it is for that reason that Harischandra in grant No. 6 professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakṣmīvarman and Harischandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of \textit{Mahākumāra} which was handed down to and adopted by even Lakṣmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman.\textsuperscript{4}

The above suggestions of Kielhorn, though not entirely free from difficulties, are under the present circumstances the best solution of the problem presented by the genealogical lists of the

\textsuperscript{1} i.e., \textit{the Mahākumāra}, the illustrious Harischandradeva, who has obtained sovereignty of his own by the favour of the last ruler, before mentioned, the illustrious Jayavarmadeva.\textsuperscript{1}

\textsuperscript{2} In the inscriptions not actually called son of No. (a).

\textsuperscript{3} Fleet and Ganguly identify him with (b); see IA, Vol., XVI, p. 363; \textit{ibid} Vol. LXI, p. 213.\textsuperscript{1} But Kielhorn rejects their identity; \textit{ibid}, Vol. XIX, p. 347, lines 28-29 (from the top).

For a fresh discussion on the Paramāra Mahākumāras, see IA, Vol. LXI, pp. 102 ff. Ganguly thinks that there were two branches of the \textit{Mahākumāras}, one founded by Lakṣmīvarman and the other by his son Harischandra.
later Paramāras. It is however certain that the Paramāra dominions, already reduced by the Caulukya occupation, were after Yaśovarman's death still further dismembered by division amongst his successors. Of the reign of Jayavarman, who perhaps succeeded Yaśovarman we have only one undated inscription. This is his Ujjain grant, so named because it was obtained from that city in Malwa. Unfortunately one of (probably) two plates has been only discovered. It contains 16 lines, and opens with Om svasti, and two verses in eulogy of Siva (Vyomakesa Smarārāti), followed by the donor's genealogy.¹ It next records that Pb.-M.-P. Yaśovarmadeva-pādāṇudhyāta Pb.-M.-P.-Naravarmadeva, from his residence at Vardhamānapura, informs his officials and the people concerned that while in residence at Candrapuri he has granted the village of Māyamūdaka, belonging to Vatākhetaka-ṣaṭṭrimśat, to a Brāhman living at Rājabrahmapuri (name lost), who had emigrated from Adriyalavidāvari.² The extant portion contains no date; but Kielhorn assigns it 'with certainty to the time between the Vikrama years 1192 and 1200.'³ No grants have yet been discovered of the next prince Ajayavarman. But we have the Ujjain grant for the next brother Lakṣmīvarman. It was so named, because it was also found in the city of Ujjain in Malwa. It contains 20 lines, incised on two plates and opens exactly in the same way as the grant of Jayavarman. Then follows the genealogy of the donor.⁴ Next it mentions the grant made by his father in V.S. 1191 from Dhārā.⁵ We are then told that in V.S. 1200 (c. 1144 A.D.) Pb.-M.-P. Yaśovarmaveda-pādāṇudhyāta-Samadhigata-Paṅca-mahā-śabd-ālakāra - virājamāna-Mahākumāra-Lakṣmīvarman confirmed the grant made

¹ See ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 888, No. 5.
² See ibid., p. 888, fn. 1. According to Kielhorn the donors of the two grants was the same person, JA, Vol. XIX, p. 350.
³ Edited by Kielhorn, JA, Vol. XIX, pp. 349-51. The localities mentioned have not yet been identified.
⁴ See ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 888, No. 4.
⁵ See ibid., pp. 822-83, No. 1.
by his father.¹ Lakṣmīvarman was succeeded by his son Hariścandra for whose reign we have the Piplianagar grant, found in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C.I. It opens with Om Śri-Ganesāya nāmaḥ; then follow two verses in praise of Śiva (Vyoṃkaśa and Smarakātī), and the genealogy of the donor.² The inscription next records that the Samadhigata-Paṇca-mahā-sabd-ālakāra-virājamāna-Mahākumāra-Hariścandra-deva, who obtained sovereignty (ādhipatya) by the favour (prasāda) of Pb.-M.-P.-Jayavarmadeva, in V.S. 1235 (c. 1178 A.D.), after bathing in the Narmāḍ, near the temple of the god Caturmukha Mārkandēśvara granted two shares (aṃśa-dvayaṃ) of the Palasavāḍa-grama, belonging to Madhāpadra-prativāgaramanaka of the Nilagiri-mandāla to the donee Pandita Dāsāratha Sarman. It further records that in V.S. 1236 (c. 1179 A.D.) the same donor made some further grants to the Pandita Mālum Sarman, and ends with the sign-manual of the donor, who describes himself as the son of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman and a sun (kamala-bandha) to the Paramāra-kula-kamala.³

Hariścandra was succeeded by his son Mahākumāra Udayavarman. We have the Bhopal grant for his reign. This was found during survey operations, in a field at the village of Uljaman, in the Shamsagadh Pargana of the Bhopal State, C.I. It contains 41 lines written on two plates. In the lower part of the second plate is engraved the figure of Garuḍa with folded hands. The inscription opens in the same way as the

¹ Edited by Kielland, IA, Vol. XIX, pp. 351-53. The place of residence of the donor is significantly omitted. Kielland pointed out that the donor of this grant is the same as in Jayavarman’s grant; see note. The localities mentioned are not identified.
³ Identified by some with Palasavara, 60 miles north of Mahagam, in Khandesh, IA, Vol. LXI, pp. 213-14.
grant of the donor's father. Then comes the donor's genealogy. We are then told that Udayavarmadeva, son of Pañca-mahā-sabdalamkāra-virāyamāna-Mahākumāra-Hariścandra, having bathed in the Revā at the Guvādaghāṭa, in V.S. 1256 (c. 1200 A.D.) granted the village of Guṇāūra, one of the forty-eight belonging to Vōdasirā, which formed part of the Narmadapura-pratijāgarāṇa in the Vindhya-māndala, to the Brāhman Mūla Sarman. The grant ends with the sign-manual of the donor and that of the Dūtaka, the illustrious Mūndalika Kṣemvarāja.

The inscriptions of Lakṣmīvarman’s successors noticed above range from V.S. 1200 to 1256, corresponding to c. 1144 to 1300 A.D. On account of the difficulties in identifying the places mentioned in the grants of predecessors of Udayavarman, it is impossible to fix the location of the principality, which Lakṣmīvarman claims to have carved out with his own sword. But it is significant that Hariścandra, before he made his grants in V.S. 1235-36 (c. 1178-79 A.D.) bathed in the Narmādā. If the identifications proposed by Fleet of the localities mentioned in the grant of Udayavarman be accepted, they tend to show that in V.S. 1256 (c. 1200 A.D.) he was in possession of a portion of the Bhopal Agency. The occupation of the Bhopal region was no doubt made possible by the death of the Caulukya emperor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), the murder of his

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2 Possibly represented by the modern village of Guvaria, on the left bank of the Narmādā, 2 miles to the west of Hoshangābād: Fleet.
3 Undoubtedly the modern Ganzora of the map, 8 miles S.W. of Hoshangābād: Fleet.
4 Identified with mod. Hoshangābād by Fleet.
5 Derived from pratijāyṛ, to watch beside. Generally taken to mean a district; see I. A., Vol. XVI, p. 223, n. 5.
7 If the identifications proposed by Fleet (I. A., Vol. LXI, pp. 292-56) and Ganguly (I. A., Vol. LXI, pp. 97-14) are accepted, then the territories of the Mahākumāra must have sometimes extended to the south of the Narmādā.
successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.), and the complications that inevitably followed the rule of minors.¹ The rapid succession of so many calamities must have weakened the hold of the Caulukya rulers upon Western Malwa; and it seems likely that this region was gradually recovered for the Paramāras by the successors of Lākṣmīvarman.

The misfortunes of the Caulukyas seems to have also reacted very favourably on the fortunes of the main branch of the Paramāras of Malwa. As I have indicated above, when the conquering legions of the Caulukyas burst through the Panch Mahals and occupied the whole of western, southern, and eastern Malwa as far as Udayapura, Yaśovarman may have been forced down the Kali Sindhu and the Parbati. He may have maintained a precarious existence somewhere round the modern states of Kotah, Tonk and Jhalawar. His two immediate successors, Jayavarman and Ajayavarman, do not seem to have had any great degree of success in retrieving the lost dominions of their ancestors. But Ajayavarman's son and successor, Vindhyaavarman, appears to have come out from his northern retreat and recovered Dhārā, which had been lost to his family since the days of Yaśovarman. This is proved by the statement found in the grants of Arjunavarman and Devapāla, which inform us that Vindhyaavarman's long arm was eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras (Gūrjara-chedā) and that "the sword of this (king) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges (i.e., tridhārā=Ganges), to protect as it were the three worlds."² The recovery of Dhārā must have been completed about V.S. 1249 (c. 1192 A.D.), for Jain tradition records that soon after that year Āśādhara's father Salakṣaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) came to Dhārā, to the court of Vindhyaavarman, alias Vijayavarman.³ According

¹ See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.
to the same tradition Mahākavi Bilhana served as the Sāndhi-vigrāhaka-mantri of Vindhyavārman.\(^1\) An unpublished inscription of this minister, dated in the reign of his master, is reported to have been found at Maṇḍapa-durgā (mod. Mandu).\(^2\)

Vindhyavārman was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavārman, known also as Subhaṭa, corrupted into Sohaḍa, in popular tradition. By the time this prince ascended the throne of Dhārā, the position of the Paramāras had become so well consolidated in their home-kingdom that they were able to undertake expeditions into the territory of their Caulukya rivals. The grants of his successors claim that "the fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters (i.e., Subhaṭavārman) whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest fire (dāvāgni) even to-day blazes in the pattaṇa of the blustering Gūjara (Garijad-Gūjara-pattaṇa)."\(^3\) This claim is supported by the statement of the Jain writer Merutuṅga, who tells us that during the reign of the Caulukya Bhima II, "the Mālava king Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating the country."\(^4\)

Subhaṭavārman was succeeded by his son Arjunavārman. The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) Piplianagar grant.—Found in a field of the village of Piplianagar, in the Shujalpur pargana, Bhopal Agency, C. I., by a cultivator while ploughing. It opens with Om namaḥ puruṣārtha-Cuḍāmanaye Dharmāya. Then follow four verses praising the Moon, the lord of the twice-born (dvijendra), Para-śurāma, Rāma, and Yudhiṣṭhira. Next is given the genealogy of the donor from Bhojadeva.\(^5\) We are then told that king Arjunavārman when he was resident in Maṇḍapa-durgā (mod. Mandu), in (V.) Sanhvat 1267 (c. 1211 A.D.), granted the

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1. Ibid, p. 2.
2. Paramāras of Dhār and Malwa, by Luard and Lale, p. 86.
4. PG, p. 154; see also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.
village of Pidividi in the Sakapura-pratijagaranaka to the Purohita Govinda. The grant was composed by the Rajaguru Madana with the assent (sammata) of Mahapandita Bilhana.¹

(2) Bhopal grant (i).—This and the next grant were found 'deposited in the library of the Begum’s school at Sehore in Bhopal.' Its introductory portion is the same as in No. 1. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1 above, after bathing in the Somavati-tirtha 'on Monday, the 15th day of the moon’s wane, granted to the priest (Purodhas) Govinda a section of buildings belonging to the Danadhipati' (Danadhipati-vasa-vigraha)² in the city of Mahakala (i.e., Ujjain). It further records that while residing at Bhrgukaccha (mod. Broach), on the occasion of a solar eclipse in (V.) S. 1270 (in words) the same donor granted to the Purohita Govinda Sarman (same as Govinda above) the village of Uttaraya, appertaining to (the district of) Savairisole.³ The inscription is again dated towards the end in (V.) Samvat 1270 (A.D. 1213), written in figures. It was composed by the Rajaguru Madana, with the permission of Mahasandhi(vigrahika) Paddita) Bilhana. Then comes the sign-manual of Maharaja Arjuna Varmadeva. Last is given the name of the engraver, Paddita Bapyaideva.⁴

(3) Bhopal grant (ii).—Introductory portion exactly the same as in No. 1 above. In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 1, while resident at the Amaresvara-tirtha, after bathing at the junction of the Revâ and the Kapûla, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in (V.) S. 1272 (A.D. 1215), after worshipping Bhavanipati, Oshako, and Lakshnipati, granted the village of

¹ Edited by Wilkinson, JASB, 1836, Vol. V, pp. 377-82. It ought to be re-edited.
² Hall translated Danadhipati-vasa-vigraha as 'a ground plot for a temple of Danadhipati.' But Dr. Barnett suggests that vigraha here should be taken to mean a vihâra, section, block; and vasa in the sense of a house. The gift consisted apparently of a block of buildings which belonged to (the officer called) Danadhipati.
³ The editor suggests it may mean 'the sixteen villages of Savai, solely closely approximates to the vernacular corruption of goda.' JASB, Vol. VII, p. 47, No. 54.
⁴ Edited by Hall in JAOS, Vol. VII, pp. 32-34.
Hathināvara, on the north bank of Narmadā, in the Pagārapratijāgarana, to the Purohit Pāṇḍita Govinda Sarman. Towards the end the date (V.) S. 1272 is again given in figures. It was composed by the same as No. (2), with the permission of the Mahāśandhī(vigrahika) Rāja Salakhana (Sallakṣanā). The sign-manual and engraver are the same as in No. 2.  

The three inscriptions noticed above give us dates from V. S. 1267 to 1272, corresponding to c. 1211-15 A.D. From these we know that Arjunavarman had the biruda Trividha-vīra, and that his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the dikpālas when in battle which was his childhood’s frolic....Jayasūnaka took to flight. We are also told that, being a treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatī) of the burden of her books and lyre. These references to the king’s victories and literary accomplishments are remarkably confirmed by Jain tradition and the fortunate discovery of a hitherto unknown drama named Pārijāta-mañjari or Vijayaśrī which was composed as a prakāṣṭī to Arjunavarman by the royal preceptor (rāja-guru) Madana, who came from Gauḍa, presumably during the lifetime of his disciple. This work was found incised on a slab of black stone attached to the northern wall of the principal mihrāb in the mosque at Dhar, in C. I. The slab contains 82 lines of writing. The work is a nāṭikā in four acts, and is stated to have been acted for the first time at the spring-festival in a temple of the

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5 Edited by Hultsch in El, Vol. VIII, pp. 96-122; printed separately at Leipzig in 1866 by Otto Harrassowitz.
6 Must be the same as the composer of the three grants of Arjunavarman; see note.
DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 396-97. He was taught by the Jain Āśādhara, El, Vol. VIII, p. 100, fn. 11.
goddess of learning. Unfortunately however the slab contains only the first two acts of the drama, the other two acts, which were incised on a second slab, are still missing. The drama deals with the love-affair of the king with Pārijatamañjari or Vijayaśri, the daughter of the Gūrjara king Jayasimha, who fell into Arjuna's hands after her father's defeat. In the opening verse the Mālava prince is called the incarnation of Bhoja. In line 7 Arjunavarman is said to have defeated the Gūrjara-pati 'Jayasimha 'on the borders of the land at the foot of the mountain called Parva-parvata.' The preserved portion of the drama reveal that the king had another queen named Sarvakalā, who was the daughter of the king of Kuntala. As in the Ratanāvali, the whole interest of the drama consists in the king's intrigue with his new love in which he eludes the watchful and jealous queen. Hultzsch rightly remarked that, though the author must have derived the conception of his plot from older compositions, yet, "as the hero of the new drama was a living and reigning king, it is unlikely that the chief persons who appear on the stage together with him were pure inventions of the poet. It would have been poor panegyric that made Arjunavarman move among fictitious characters." The evidence of Arjunavarman's grants which also ascribe to him victories over Jayasimha seem to confirm this conclusion. The same author, following Dr. Hall, has suggested the identification of this Jayasimha with the Caulukya Bhima II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), who had the biruda 'new Siddharāja,' which was a surname of Jayasimha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). Though Merutunga refers to the devastation of Gujarat during the reign of Bhima II by Sohada's son

1 Sāradā, line 3. Bhāratī, line 6.
3 Also called Caulukya-mahi-mahendra, ibid, p. 103, V. 7.
4 Not identified.
5 Called in V. 30 (p. 107) Sumastakalā.
Arjunadeva, yet I am inclined to believe that the prince referred to was not Bhima Abhinava-Siddharāja, but the Cañulukya Jayantasimha, also called Jayasinha, who during the period c. 1218-26 A.D. ousted Bhima II and for a short time captured the sovereign power in Gujarat. Hultsch however may be right in his identification of the Kuntala king with the Hoysala Vīra-Ballāna II, who ruled from c. 1173-1212 A.D.

The claim to literary merit advanced by his grants is supported by his commentary on the Amaru-śataka. In this work he quotes a verse by the preceptor (upādhyāya) Madana, alias Bālasarasvatī. Hultsch rightly identified this Madana with the author of the Pārijāta-mañjarī and the three royal grants mentioned above. The quotations in the Rasika-sandhyavini show that Madana produced other poetical works, and he may have materially helped his disciple in the compilation of his commentary. Another luminary in Arjunavarman's court was Bilhana, who is described as Mahāpamīta in the royal grants. He served the Malava prince as his Sāndhīvigrahika, and is referred to as Mahākavi in Jain tradition. The third scholar was the Jain Āśādhara, whose father Salakhaṇa (Sallakṣaṇa) is probably to be identified with the person of that name who appears with the title rājā as the Mahāsāndhīvigrahika of Arjunavarman in one of his Bhopal grants (V.S. 1272). The Jain tradition records that Madana was a pupil of Āśādhara.

The facts recorded above show that the Paramāras had to some extent again succeeded in reviving the glory of the days of

1. IV, p. 154.
5. Sāgas-dharmāmyaṭṭha, p. 2.
7. For the name of another officer of Arjuna, the Amāṭya Nārāyaṇa, see Pārijāta-mañjarī, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 103, V. 8.
Muñja and Bhoja. The claim that Arjunavarman was an incarnation of Bhoja was not entirely fictitious.

Arjunavarman was succeeded sometime before V.S. 1275 by Devapāla. The following records are known for his reign:

(1) Harsauda stone-inscription.—Dug out from the ruins of a temple in the village of Harsauda, about 10½ miles from the town of Chārwā, in the district of Hosangabad in the Central Provinces. It contains 18 lines, opening with Om namah Śivāya and then praising the gods Heramba (Ganēṣa), Bhāratī (Sarasvatī), Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Then follows the date (V.) Samevat 1275 (A.D. 1218), at Dhāra, in the reign of Samadhigata-paṇca-mahā-sabd-ālaukāra-virājmanā-Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-maheśvara-Limbārya1-prasāda vara-labha-pratāpa-Devapāladeva. The object of the inscription is to record that on the north-eastern side of Harsapura the merchant Keśava built a temple of Śambhu together with a tank, and that near it he put up figures of Hanumat, Keśiṇḍapāla, Ganēṣa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakuliṣa and Ambikā. It ends with Śivamastu.2

(2) Mandhata grant.—Found enclosed in a stone-chest near the temple of Siddheśvara at Māndhātā, an island on the Narmadā river attached to the Nimar District of the C. P. It contains 80 lines, incised on 3 plates. The introductory portion (verses 1-19) is exactly the same as in his father's grants.3 We are informed that Arjunavarman was succeeded in Mālava, by Devapāla, son of Hariścandra. In the formal part we are told, while staying at Māhiṃśmati,4 on the occasion of a lunar eclipse,

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1 I cannot identify this deity; see also IA, Vol. XX, p. 84, fn. 3. Dr. Barnett suggests:
2 This name is right: cf. Limbāra or see below (DHNI, Vol. II, p. 921. Perhaps Limbā is a variant for nimba which occurs in names (e.g., Nimbāḍaya, Nimbārkā), so Kanarese has both nimba and nimba.
5 Identified by Kielhorn with Maleśvar, north of the Narbardā (Long. 75°47' and Lat. 22°11'), in the Indore State: EI, Vol. IX, p. 100.
in (V.) Samvat 1282 (c. 1225 A.D.) after bathing in the Revā and worshipping Śiva in the neighbourhood of (Viśnu) Daityasūdana, Devapāla granted the village of Satājūpā, in the Mahānda-pratijāgaraṇaka, to the Brāhmaṇa Gaṅgādhara and 31 other donors. The date in figures is again given in line 79. It was composed by the Rāja-guru Madana with the assent of the Mahāśāndhivigrahika-Pandita Bihāpa. Line 80 contains the sign-manual of the donor.

(3) Udayapur stone-inscription (i).—Found inside the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur, in Gwalior. It contains 14 lines, opening with the date (V.) Samvat 1286 (c. 1229 A.D.) in the victorious reign of Devapāladeva.

(4) Udayapur stone-inscription (ii).—Found in the same place as in No. 3 above. It contains 15 lines, and is dated in (V.) Samvat 128 (9?) (c. 1232 A.D.), at Udayapura, in the reign of Pb.-M.-Devapāla.

The inscriptions noticed above range from V.S. 1275 to 1289, corresponding to c. 1218-1232 A.D. While editing the Harsaudā stone inscription Kielhorn noticed the similarity of the royal names in that record to those occurring in the inscriptions of the descendants of Mahākumāra Lakṣmīvarman. His suspicion was confirmed by the Mandhata plates, which distinctly state that Devapāla was the son of Harīscandra, who must be identified with the son of Lakṣmīvarman bearing the same name. Devapāla was therefore a brother of Mahākumāra Udayavarman, for whom we have the date V.S. 1256. The
fact that, unlike his father and grand-father Devapāla discards the title of *Mahākumāra* and assumes imperial titles would seem to indicate that in him the two families again became reunited. It is easy to conclude that the line of Arjunavarman ceased to exist for lack of male heirs. But it is not beyond the range of probability that the line of Laksāmīvarman, who, if Kielhorn’s guess is correct, never regarded the line of Ajayavarmān as the legitimate rulers of Mālava, may have ousted their relatives by violence.

The inscriptions noticed above show that Madana, the preceptor of Arjunavarman, continued to serve in that capacity under the new king. Similarly Bilhana, who also served the previous king appears to have retained the post of minister of peace and war under the new administration. The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived Arjunavarman and finished his *Jina-yajña-kalpa* and *Trīṣaṭṭi-smṛti* during the reign of Devapāla.1 The latter work was completed in A.D. 1236.2 The only interesting incident in Levapāla’s reign comes from *Hammira-madavardana* of Jayasimha Sūri, which tells us that in alliance with the Yādava king Simhana (Śūrghana, A.D. 1210-47) he made a joint attack on Viradhavala, the Vāghela chief-tain of Dholka. But the Jain author tells us that, thanks to the ability of the spies engaged by Vastupāla, the minister of the Vāghela chief, dissensions arose in the camps of the allied monarchs, and the attempted attack failed.3 We may well doubt whether this story of the failure of the Paramāra-Yādava attack is really correct. I have shown elsewhere that in the struggle with their southern neighbours the Dholka chiefs were sometimes defeated and compelled to submit.4

Devapala was succeeded by his son Jaitugi who had the *biruda* Bālanārayāna.5 The Jain scholar Āśādhara survived

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1 Sāgara-dharmāmṛta, p. 5.
2 Antrechts *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 54.
3 *GOS*, No. X. See Acta I and II; also *infra*, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Cauḍukyas.
Devapāla and finished his Sāgara-dharmāmrta in V.S. 1296 (c. 1239 A.D.) and his Anagāra-dharmāmrta in V.S. 1300 (c. 1243 A.D.) in the reign of the new king. No inscriptions of this king have yet been discovered. The only incident of his reign appears to have been a possible conflict with the Vāghela Visaladeva. Jaitugī was succeeded by his younger brother (anuja) Jayavarman II. The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) Rahatgadh stone-inscription.—Found 'inside the fort of Rahatgadh in the Central Provinces.' It contains 14 lines of very rude writing, which open with Om Siddhiḥ, and are dated in (V.) Samvat 1312 (c. 1256 A.D.) in the victorious reign of M. Jayavarmadeva.

(2) Modi stone-inscription.—Found in a Jain temple at Modi, Indore State, C.I. The record is fragmentary. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1314, and refers itself to the reign of (Paramāra) Jayayarmadeva.

(3) Mandhata grant. Found 'at the village of Godarpura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmādā in the Nimer district of the Central Provinces.' It contains 53 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion (Vs. 1-21) is the same as in No. 2 of his father. The new facts...
about the genealogy of the Paramāras (Vs. 22-23) are as follows.
After Devapāla’s death, the throne of Mālava went to his son
Jaitugi. After his death his younger brother Jayavarman II
succeeded him. In the formal portion of the grant we are told
that this last ruler in (V.) Samvatsara 1317 (c. 1260 A. D.),
while staying at Mandapa-durva, caused the Pratiḥāra Gāṅgadeva
to give the village of Vājrāda in the Mahinda-pathaka to the
agniḥotri Mādhya Sarman and two others (names and shares
given), Gāṅgadeva made the grant at Amareśvara-kṣetra, on
the southern bank of the Revā after bathing at the confluence
of the Revā and Kapilā and worshipping the holy Amareśvara
Śiva. The rāja-śāsana was written ‘here at Mandapadurva’ (mod.
Māṇḍu) by Harṣadeva, with the approbation of the Sāndhi-
vigrahika, the Pāṇḍita Māladhara. It was corrected by the
grammarian (Śābdhiṭa) Āmadeva, a disciple of the learned Gōṣeka
(Gōṣe), ‘who knew the boundless essence of legal science’ (Smṛti-
vāstra-sāra), and engraved by the rāpakāra Kānhaḍa. The Dūla
was the Mahāpradhāna Rāja Ajayadeva.

The three inscriptions noticed above show that Jayavarman
II ruled at Dhārā at least from V.S. 1312 to 1315 (c. 1256-60). If
the name ‘Jayasimha’ is accepted as a variation of his name
then he appears to have come into conflict with the Cāhamānas
of Ranastambhapura. In the Balvan plates of Hammira, Vāgbhaṭa,

1 Mentioned in the Ujjain grant of Yaśovarman and Iśakṣumvarman (V.S. 1191 and
1200); see IA, Vol. XIX, p. 852, line 5. See also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 882, ‘Perhaps
the village of Burud,’ 2 miles NNE of Satajana, the village granted by Devapāla’s
Māndhāta grant, see ibid., p. 901, fn. 1.
2 See Mandhata grant (V.S. 1292) of Devapāla. Note the correspondence by Pathaka
and Pratīṣṭhāgavāka.
3 Same as Amareśvara (rītha of the Bhojpā) grant (V.S. 1732), see ante, p. 507; also
JAOS, vol. VII, p. 27.
4 The junction of the two rivers (Revā and Kapilā) is now known as ‘Kapilā-Sangam
where a small stream joins the Narbāda.’ EI, Vol. IX, p. 120.
5 Edited by Kielhorn, EI, Vol. IX pp. 117-23. First noticed by Leje in his Progress
Report of archaeological work in the Dhar State, 24th August, 1904. The grant is some-
times called Godapurā plates, see EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 79, No. 559. The plates
are now in the Nagpur Museum.
7 See infra, DHNI, chapter on the Cāhamānas.
a descendant of Govindarāja is said to have harassed Jayasimha of Manḍapa (mod. Mandu).\(^1\) How long Jayavarman II continued to wield power in Mālava, it is difficult at present to say. But a reconsideration of the inscriptions which hitherto have been referred to a separate prince named Jayasimha may suggest that some of them perhaps belong to the immediate successor of Jaitugi. One such is the Pathari inscription, dated in V.S. 1326 (A.D. 1269), which Kielhorn referred to his reign.\(^3\) The date is so close to the last known date (V.S. 1317) of Jayavarman II that one is naturally tempted to think that there may have been some mistake in reading the name or that they are both the names of the same prince. Some scholars however take him to be a separate prince who succeeded Jayavarman II as Jayasimha III.\(^3\) But that there was a separate prince bearing the name Jayasimha who ruled in Malwa in V. S. 1366 (c. 1310 A.D.) is clearly shown by a stone inscription incised on the inside of the eastern entrance of the great temple of Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.).\(^4\) The date of this record is so far removed from the last known date of Jayavarman II that he must in all likelihood be accepted as a separate person.\(^5\) Whether his rule extended over Dhārā, as Kielhorn suggested, is however uncertain. But before this Jayasimha we must place two more princes. Rai Bahadur Ojha has pointed out that an inscription engraved on a slab in the temple of Kavāḷjī (Kapāliśvara) in the Balvan estate of Kotah, dated in

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1 El, Vol. XIX, p. 49, V. 7; ibid, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 89, No. 693.
2 Noticed by Kielhorn in El, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 33, No. 232, from a rubbing. In addition to the Aśru inscription of Jayasimha noticed above (note, p. 903, fn. 5), another inscription of Jayasimha bearing the date V.S. 1311 (A.D. 1256) was discovered at Udayapur (Gwalior State, C.I.). This prince is accepted by some as a Paramāra, see El, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 78, Nos. 550 and 551. It is possible, as I have suggested above, that Jayavarman was also known as Jayasimha.
3 See G. H. Ojha, HR (V.S. 1921), Fasciculus I, p. 209.
4 IA, Vol. XX, p. 84. Noticed by Kielhorn.
5 Ojha in his HR (I, p. 204) designates him as Jayasimha IV in the Malwa line.
V.S. 1345, the Cāhamāna Hammtra of Ranathambhor (c. 1283-1301 A.D.) claims to have taken away the fortune of Mālava by defeating Arjuna. Ojha accepts this Mālava prince as Arjuna-varman II in the Paramāra line of Malwa. Another ruler of Mālava who may possibly have been the successor of Arjuna II was Bhoja II. The Hammtra Mahākāvya of Nayacandra tells that the Cāhamāna prince Hammtra (c. 1283-1301 A.D.) in the course of his dig-vijaya defeated Bhoja of Dhārā, encamped in Ujjayini and worshipped at the temple of Mahākāla. From the similarity of this name with that of some of the Paramāras of Malwa and from the locality over which he reigned it will probably be safe to consider him as a successor of Arjuna (varman II?). But the exact relationship of this prince with Bhoja II (?) and of both with their predecessors or with their possible successors is at present unknown. Some scholars accept Jayasimha of the Udaipur inscription (V.S. 1366), as the successor of Bhoja II and as the last prince of the line of the Paramāras of Malwa. But this must remain at present a guess, unsupported by any conclusive evidence.

The period that followed the reign of Arjunavarman (c. 1211-15 A.D.) appears to have been one of gradual decline in the history of the Paramāras of Malwa. By this time the Turks had consolidated their power in the valleys of the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna and were casting greedy eyes towards the wealth of the south. In the reign of Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.) the greatest of the slave kings of Delhi, the Muslims first plundered and desecrated the temples and cities of Malwa. The Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri informs us that shortly after the capture of Gwalior, the Sultān in 632 A.H. (1234 A.D.) "led the hosts of Islam towards Mālwhah and took the fortress and town of Bhīlsān, and demolished the idol temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude,
was about one hundred ells. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagari, and the temple of Mahā-kāl Diw. The effigy of Bikramajit who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagari, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, one hundred, and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindū-i era, together with other effigies besides his, which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone [idol] of Mahā-kāl, were carried away to Dihlī, the capital."  
Firishta repeats this, with the additional information that the temple of Mahākāla was "formed upon the same plan with that of Somnat" and that the images conveyed to Delhi were "broken at the door of the great mosque."  
This expedition must have taken place in the reign of Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A.D.). There appears to have been a period of calm for about fifty years. But at the end of it, in 1292 A.D. 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī, in the reign of his uncle Jalāl ud-Dīn Firūz (1290-96 A.D.) invaded Malwa, captured the town of Bhilāsa, and brought much plunder to Dēḷī."  
Firishta records that shortly before this expedition Sultān Firūz himself had "marched against the 'Hindoos' in the neighbourhood of Mandu, and returned to his capital after devastating the country." In his subsequent invasion of Deogir in A.D. 1294, 'Alā ud-Dīn probably followed the Chandī-Bhilāsa route up the Betwa valley, and did not penetrate into the valleys of the Sipra and upper Chambal. By this he probably avoided a conflict with the Paramāras on this occasion. But in A.D. 1305, 'Alā ud-Dīn sent his general "Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltan...with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. 'He was opposed by Koka," the Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse, and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojein, Mando,

3 Ibid., p. 363.
5 The CHI, Vol. III, p. 111, gives the name as 'raja-Koka or Haranand.'
Dharanuggury and Chundery. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the king, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Dehly."" This was probably the end of Paramāra sovereignty in Malwa. What relationship this 'Koka' had with Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A.D.) or with Bhoja II (?) remains uncertain. That he was a Paramāra ruler is also at present a mere guess. The Udayapur inscription of Jayasimha, dated in 1310 A.D., shows that Hindu chiefs probably still lingered in Malwa for some time after the defeat of 'Koka'.

(2) Paramāras of Candravati and Arbuda (Abu).

The earliest reference to this branch of the Paramāras is obtained from the Vasantigad stone-inscription of the Paramāra Pūñapāla, dated in V.S. 1099. The introductory portion of this record gives the following genealogy of Pūñapāla:

From the anger (kopa) of Vasiṣṭha was produced a Kumāra; from him the Paramāras; in his lineage
Utpalarāja
| Aranyarāja
| Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja
| Mahipāla
Dhandhuka = Amrtadovī

Pūñapāla
(ruled in Arbuda-mandal.)

Lāhīni

It is evident from this list that Pūñapāla traced his descent to one Utpalarāja. It is not improbable that this prince is

3 Notice the peculiar spelling.
identical with Vākpati II (c. 975-90 A.D.) of the Malwa branch, who had the additional name of Utpalarāja.\(^1\) If this identification is accepted, we must suppose that Vākpati conquered the Abu country in the course of his campaigns against the Cāhamānas of Nādol and the Cāsulukyas of Anahilavād.\(^2\) Aranyarāja, the son of Vākpati-Utpala, was therefore in all probability established as the first feudatory of his father in the Arbuda-manḍala. Aranyarāja was succeeded by his sōn Vāsudeva\(^3\) alias Abdhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja I. This Kṛṣṇarāja may be identical with the hero Kānhaḍadeva, whose name occurs as that of one of the Abu Paramāras in the Mt. Abu Vimala temple-inscription \(^4\) dated in V.S. 1378 (A.D. 1322). But it is more likely that the person meant in the Abu inscription was the prince Kṛṣṇarāja from whom Vākpati II traces his descent in his grants.\(^5\) The next name on the list is that of Mahīpāla, who was possibly his son, though it is difficult to be certain on the point on account of some damage to the inscription.\(^6\) Rai Bahadur Ojha and Dr. Bhandarkar place the name of Dharaṇīvarāha between Kṛṣṇarāja and Mahīpāla, and accept him as the son of the former and father of the latter.\(^7\) It is likely that Mahīpāla had another name, Devarāja.\(^8\) An unpublished grant of Mahīpāla is reported to bear the date V.S. 1059 (c. 1002 A.D.).\(^9\) Mahītpāla was succeeded by Dhandhuka. This prince is probably to be identified with the Abu Paramāra of that name mentioned in the Vimala temple-inscription

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\(^{1}\) See ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 854.


\(^{3}\) EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 20, No. 193.


\(^{5}\) See ante, DNHI, Vol. II, pp. 844, 852.

\(^{6}\) Kielhorn writes ‘His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son’s son).’ EI, Vol. IX, p. 11.

\(^{7}\) Ojha, HR, I, pp. 171-72. EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 20, No. 123.


Ojha, HR, I, p. 172.
referred to above. We are told in this record that Dhandhu-rāja, lord of the town of Candrāvatt, was born in the family of Paramāra Kānhaḍadeva. This Dhandhu, "averse from rendering homage to the (Caulukya) king Bhāma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) and to escape from that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhoja, the lord of Dhārā" (c. 1010-55 A.D.). As the inscription after this statement abruptly introduces the Prāgvyāta Vimala, the Daudapati of Bhāma I at Arbuda, and refers to his building of a temple of Ṛṣabha (Yugādi-bhartr, Yugādi-jina, Ādi-nātha) on the top of the mountain in V.S. 1088 (c. 1031 A.D.) it seems almost certain that Vimala became the Caulukya governor of this region after ousting the Paramāra Dhandhu, who was probably the feudatory of Bhoja. But the Vasantagad stone-inscription of Pūrṇapāla shows that the Paramāras were not permanently ousted from the Abu region. This record was found in a tank at Vasantagad, apparently situated to the east of Mt. Abu, in the Sirohi State of Rajputana. It contains 23 lines of writing, of which about 15 aksaras have been lost at the commencement of lines 1-9. The inscription opens with two verses in which 'the author pays homage to Maheśvara, Prācītasa (Vālmiki), and Vānī (the goddess of eloquence.)' The 3rd verse invokes Hari (Viṣṇu). Then follows the genealogy of Pūrṇapāla, as shown above. Then we are told that Pūrṇapāla's sister Lāhini was married to one Vigrararaja. The genealogy of this person is given as follows:—

Deva Yoṣa.....by his bravery acquired the title king (bhāpa).

In his lineage

Netra Bhavagupta.....restored the sun-temple at Vata (Vata-vāsi-bhāmu). He reigned at Vata.

2 *Ibid, pp. 149, 153 and 156, lines 5, 8.
4 Vata-agara or Vata-pura was situated on the bank of the Saravatt (line 10). It is not identified, but Kielland points out that it was an ancient place, for it is mentioned
In his lineage
Sangrāmarāja... ruled at Badari in Varmārātha.

Durlabharāja

Dhandhuka

Caka

Pūrṇāpāla
Lāhiṇī = Vigrāharāja

The object of this inscription is to record that the widowed Lāhiṇī restored an ancient temple of the sun, and probably also a tank. It was composed by the Brāhman Mātrārajan and engraved by Śivapāla. It is dated in V.S. 1090 (c. 1042 A.D.) in lines 22-23.

Besides the above we have the Bhadund stone-inscription of Pūrṇāpāla showing that he was still holding Arbuda-mandala in (V.) Samvat 1102 (c. 1045 A.D.). This was discovered at Bhadund, about a mile and a half from Nana in the Jodhpur State. As Pūrṇāpāla's reign coincided with that of Caulukya Bhāma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.), it seems likely that the officers of the latter still held Abu while the country around continued to be in the possession of Dhandhuka's son. Pūrṇāpāla was possibly succeeded by Kṛṣṇarāja II. The following two inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) Bhinmal stone-inscription (i).—Incised on the lower part of a pillar in the dharmaśāla east of the temple of Bārāji east of the town. It contains 23 lines of writing and

in the Vasantgadh inscription of Varmākāta of the (V.)S. 682 (EI, Vol. IX, p. 191), and in a somewhat earlier inscription found at the village of Samoli in the Bhema district of Mewar. EI, Vol. IX, p. 99. It is probably identical with Vasantgadh, or was situated near by.

1 Apparently the very tank where this record has been found, Kielhorn, EI, Vol. IX, p. 11.


is somewhat damaged. The record opens with \textit{Om namah Sūryāya} and a verse in praise of the Sun. Then comes the date (V.) S. 1117 (c. 1060 A.D.), at Śrīmāla, in the reign of M.-Kṛṣṇarāja, son of Dhanādhuka and grandson of Devarāja of the Para-
māra race. It records some repairs to the temple of the god 
Jagatasvāmi (deva) by Dāda Hari and some other persons, likewise some gifts and donations to the temple. The grants were 
made when Kiriṇāditya of the Dharakūṭa family was the office-
holder in his turn for the current year (\textit{Vaitamāṇa-varṣa-vārika-
Dharakūṭa-jāti Kiriṇāditya}).

(2) \textit{Bhinnmal stone-inscription} (ii).—Incised 'on the north 
face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two 
pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of 
Jagatasvāmi.' It contains 13 lines of writing. The record opens 
with \textit{Om}, then follows the date (V.) S. 1123 (c. 1067 A.D.) at 
Śrīmāla, in the reign of M.-Kṛṣṇa-rāja. The inscription is 
badly damaged, but appears to be a Saiva record concerning one 
Jāvala, a \textit{Pāśupatācārya} and a devotee of Candraśī-Mahādeva.

A difficulty in the identification of this Kṛṣṇaraṇa as a member 
of Pūṇnapāla's family is caused by the name of his grand-
father Devarāja. But considering the proximity of his reign-
period (c. 1060-67 A.D.) to that of Pūṇnapāla (c. 1042-45) the 
agreement in the name of the father of both princes, and the 
provenance of their records, it is perhaps reasonable to accept him 
as a brother of Pūṇnapāla. I have already suggested that Deva-
raṇa was possibly another name of Mahīpāla, the grandfather of 
Pūṇnapāla. Kielhorn has pointed out that the prince Kṛṣṇa

\textit{WC}, 1908, p. 37.

V, Appendix, p. 98, No. 689.

\textsuperscript{3} See \textit{JBORS}, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 40 ff., for another suggestion. Dr. Ganguly 
considers Kṛṣṇa and his predecessors mentioned in the two Bhinnmal inscriptions (V.S. 1117 
and 1123) as belonging to a separate branch of the Parmāras reigning over Marunam-

whom the Naddūla Cāhamāna Bālaprasāda claims to have released from the prison of Bhīma I of Anahilavad (c. 1022-64 A.D.) is probably identical with this Abu prince.¹

There is a gap of about fifty years in the history of the Paramāras of Abu after Kṛṣṇarāja II. They next emerge from obscurity as feudatories of the Caulukyas of Anahilavad. The following genealogical list of these later Abu Paramāras is given in an Abu inscription (V.S. 1287=1230 A.D.)² of the time of Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.).

From the sacrificial fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Mt. Arbuda

1. Paramāra: In that lineage
2. Dhūmarāja: Then there were
3. Dhandhuka.
4. Druvabhāṣa and others: In their lineage
5. Rāmādeva
6. Yaśodhara
7. Dhāravāraṣa
8. Prahlādana
9. Somasimha
10. Kṛṣṇarāja.³

It is difficult to see what relationship this group had with the line of Pūrnapāla, noticed above. The latter group seems to trace its pedigree back to Utpalārāja of the main line and beyond him possibly to Kānhaḍādeva (Kṛṣṇarāja). It is not improbable that this last prince is the same as the Dhūmarāja of the above list.⁴

¹ EI, Vol. IX, pp. 75-76, V. 18; also p. 72; see infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapters on the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas.
³ Also known as 'Kānhaḍādeva.' See EI, Vol. VIII, p. 206.
⁴ Dr. Barnett sees no ground for accepting this identification; I have tentatively suggested the identification because of the similarity of the two names; dhūma and kṛṣṇa both signify darkness.

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But as I have already noticed, there is a distant possibility that Kānhaḍadeva and the present Dhūmarāja may be identical with the Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja of the Vasantgadh stone-inscription. Dhandhuka of the Abu inscription may also be the same as the father of Pūṇapāla of the Vasantgadh epigraph. But without confirmatory evidence these suggestions must be regarded as pure guess. The person who really founded this line was Rāmadeva, who may have been a relative of Kṛṣṇarāja II (c. 1060-67 A.D.) of the two Bhinmal inscriptions noticed above. The Kumārapāla-carita relates that the Caułukya king Kumārapāla suppressed the rebellion of Vikramasimha, the lord of Candrāvatī, and having imprisoned him, installed his nephew Yaśodhavala in his place. This Yaśodhavala is no doubt to be identified with the prince of that name in the Mt. Abu inscription. He was certainly the feudatory of Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.), as he claims to have killed Ballāla, the lord of Mālava, when the latter became hostile to the Caułukya prince. Thus Vikramasimha appears to have been a brother of Rāmadeva, and may have been placed in Candrāvatī as his feudatory by Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). The following inscriptions of Yaśodhavala are so far known:

(i) Ajahari stone-inscription.—Discovered at Ajahari in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is fragmentary and is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1146) in the time of Mahāmandalesvara Yaśodhavaladeva. It is now preserved in the Ajmer Museum.

(ii) Mount Abu inscription.—Found on Mount Abu, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1207 in the reign of Mahāmandalesvara Yaśodhavaladeva.

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1 See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caułukyas.
2 EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 311 and 316, V. 35; also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caułukyas.
3 Ojha, H. R., I, p. 175. ASI, WC, 1911, p. 38; IA, LVI, p. 12.
(iii) Koyalbavan inscription.—Found at Koyalbav, Godwar, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1208 in the reign of Jasadhavala (Yaśodhavala). ¹

Yaśodhavala was succeeded by his son Dhārāvarṣa, who claims in the Abu inscription to have defeated the lord of Kauṅkana, no doubt in the interest of his liege-lord the Cauļukya Kumārapala. ² According to the Pārthaparākrama this Abu ruler also repulsed a night attack by the (Cāhamāna) Prthvīrāja III (c. 1179-98 A.D.), king of Jaṅgala. ³ It is stated that up to now one copper-plate and 14 stone-inscriptions bearing dates from V.S. 1220 (c. 1163 A.D.) to V.S. 1276 (c. 1218 A.D.) have been discovered for the reign of Dhārāvarṣa. ⁴ Of these the following appears to have been noticed or published so far:

(1) Kayadra stone-inscription.—Found in the village of Kayadra (16 miles from Vasa in the Sirohi State) in a roofless brick shed near the ruined temple of Kāsi-Visvesvara. It is dated in (V.) S. 1220 (c. 1163 A.D.) in the reign of M.-Māhāmaṇḍaleśvara Dhārāvarṣadeva, and records some grants by him to the god Kāsiśvara. ⁵

(2) Abu stone-inscription (i).—Contains 14 lines, of which lines 7 and 14 are indistinct.  ³ It is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Vernacular. It opens with Oṁ saṃśasti, and then gives the date (V.) Sāmavat 1220 (c. 1163 A.D.) in the reign of M.-Māhāmaṇḍaleśvara-Dhārāvarṣa. It probably recorded the grant of a Sāvana by this prince granting remission of taxes, on (the village of) Plukahali belonging to Bhaṭṭāraka Deveśvara, of

¹ El, Vol. XX, p. 43, No. 288.
² El, Vol. VIII, p. 212, V, 55; see also infra, chapter on the Cauļukyas. The name of the lord of Kōkkan was Mallikārjuna.
³ GOS, No. 4, p. 3; also ibid., Introduction, p. ii.
⁴ IA, 1927, pp. 47-48. The discovery is said to have been made by G. H. Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.
⁵ ASI, WC, 1907, p. 27; ibid., 1911, p. 39. In the absence of plates, it is not possible for me to compare it with No. 2 but the name of the god makes me suspicious that it may be the same record as the next one. See IA, 1924, p. 51. Bhandarkar seems to agree, see El, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 45, No. 317.
the temple of Kāśīvara, by Kumhara (Kumāra) Pālhanadeva. Lines 13-14 record the grant of a field by the amātya Sivasimha.1

(3) Hathal grant.—The plates were discovered at Hathal, Sirohi State, Rajputana. They are dated in V. S. 1237 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, lord of Arbuda (Abu).2

(4) Ajahari inscription.—Found at Ajahari, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V. S. 1240 in the time of Dhārāvarṣa-deva reigning at Candravati.3

(5) Munthala inscription.—Found at Munthala, Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is dated in V. S. 1245 in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa-deva.4

(6) Abu stone-inscription (ii).—This is dated in V. S. 1265 in the time of the Caulukya Bhīma II and his feudatory Mandalika Dhārāvarṣa-deva. The latter was ruling at Candravati with the Kumārā-guru Prahlādana as the Yuvarāja.5

(7) Abu: stone-inscription (iii).—4 lines only. It opens with the date (V.) Saṁvat 1271 (c. 1214 A.D.), and grants one halavāha (plough-drive) of land at the village of Sāvaḍa Vṛddha by the Mahāmandalesvara Dhārāvarṣa.6

(8) Abu: stone-inscription (iv).—Found in a temple of Śiva; contains 19 lines; broken in two pieces. It opens with the date (V.) Saṁvat 1274 (c. 1217 A.D.), in the reign of Dhārāvarṣa, the son of Jasadhavala (Yasodhavala). The object is not clear; it 'probably records the vow of certain persons to

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1 Edited by H. R. Haldar, IA, 1927, Vol LVI, pp. 50-51. Now in the Rajputana Museum. Seems to be the same inscription as No. 1. But Haldar does not refer to it as previously noticed in ASI, WC, 1907, under a different name.
2 Edited by B. Shastri, IA, Vol. XLIII, p. 194.
3 Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, ASI, WC, 1911, p. 38.
5 Edited by Cartellieri, IA, Vol. XI, pp. 220-23. For detailed notice of the record see infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas (reign of Bhima II). The inscription is recorded in EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 65, No. 454 under the name Kankhal inscription.
observe the festivities for two days on the day of Mahārātri. (Sivarātri).  

(9) Pindwara stone-inscription.—Found at Pindwara, the principal town of the tahsil of the same name, about 14 miles east of Sirohi. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1274 (A.D. 1217), in the reign of Dharāvarṣa, son of Jasadhavala, of the lineage of Sri-Dhomarāja.

(10) Makavala inscription.—This record is said to be engraved on a marble pillar on the bank of a tank at a little distance from the village of Makaval in the Sirohi state, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1276 (c. 1219 A.D.) in the reign of Dharāvarṣa of Candrāvati.

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1220 to 1276 V.S., a period of 56 years (c. 1163-1219, A.D.). The inscription No. 2 above gives us the name of Kumhara Pālhanadeva, who must be identified with prince Prahlādana, who according to the Abu inscription, dated in V.S. 1287, was a younger brother of Dharāvarṣa. Another Abu inscription (6), dated in V.S. 1265 describes Māndalika Dharāvarṣa as a feudatory of Bhima II. This inscription, we are told, was composed during Dharāvarṣa's administration when the illustrious Prahlādana-deva, 'an expert in all fine arts and useful sciences, a most worshipful prince, was the heir-apparent' (Sad-darśana-avalambara-stambha-sakala-kalā-kovida-Kumāra-guru-Sri-Prahlādana-deva). These inscriptions therefore show that Dharāvarṣa was contemporary with no less than four Caulukya princes, from Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) to Bhima II (c. 1178-1214 A.D.). The claim of Prahlādana to literary merit is confirmed by his

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1 Edited by Haldar, IA, Vol. LVI, p. 51 and pl., now in the Rajputana Museum.
2 Noticed in ASI, WC, 1906, p. 48. In the absence of plates I cannot compare it with No. 8; but it seems to be the same as No. 8; but Haldar does not refer to No. 8 as previously noticed under a different name. Bhandarkar seems to agree with me, EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 67, No. 469.
3 Noticed by Bakhshankar, ASI, WC, 1917, p. 61. See also IA, 1937, pp. 47-48; Ojha, HR, I, p. 177.
Vyāyoga, a one-act drama, named Pārthapuraśāramu. I have suggested elsewhere that Dhārāvaraśa is probably to be identified with ‘Dārāhars’ who with Rāi Karan led the Caulukya forces against Quṭb ud-Dīn in A.D. 1197. I have also discussed the question of the identity of the Gurjara prince who according to the Abu inscription of V.S. 1287 mentioned above, was defended by Prahlādana when the former’s power was broken in battle by the (Guhila) Sāmantisimha. He was probably Caulukya King Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.). The same inscription, when read with another Abu record of the same date, shows that in 1287 V.S. (c. 1230 A.D.) Somasimha, the son of Dhārāvaraśa, was still ruling at Candrāvatī as feudatory of Bhima II. Another inscription of Somasimha, stated to have been found in a temple at Devakṣetra in Sirohi State, carries his reign down to V.S. 1293 (c. 1230 A.D.). The recently discovered Pātanaśāraya stone-inscription shows that the line of the Abu Paramāras continued for three more generations. This record was found at Pātanaśāraya temple near Girvar, 4 miles west of Madhusudan in Sirohi. It contains 39 lines and opens with Oṁ namah Puruṣottamāya. It traces the genealogy from Dhārāvaraśa as follows:

1. Dhārāvaraśa
   1. Somasimha
   3. Krṣṇarāja (III)
4. Pratapaśimha.

It records that the Brāhman Delhaṇa, minister of No. 4 above, carried out the repairs of the temple (of Pāta-nārāyana) during

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1. Edited by Dalal in GOS, No. IV, 1917.
2. See infra, DHIN, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas; see also KI, Vol. XI, pp. 72-73; IA, 1927, p. 47. The Hamira-maddamavarana of Jayasimha states that Dhārāvaraśa, one of the chiefs of the Maru country, helped Viradhavala against the Mleccha-sahtravartī, GOS, No. X. II, 8.
3. Infra, DHIN, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas; also IA, 1921, pp. 100-02.
the years (V.) S. 1343-1344 (c. 1286-87 A.D.). The inscription was engraved by Gāṅgadeva. Line 39 contains the date (V.) S. 1344. The inscription tells us that Pratāpaśimha defeated Jaitrakarṣa and regained Candraśāti. It has been suggested that this Jaitrakarṣa is probably the Guhila Jaitrasimha, the grandson of Mathanasimha and son of Padmasimha. The details of the history of Pratāpaśimha's successors are not very clear. But Ojha refers to a stone-inscription in the Brahmāpavāmī (Sun) temple at the village of Varman in Sirohi, dated in V.S. 1356 (c. 1299 A.D.) in the reign of Mahārājakula Vikramasimha, whom he accepts as the successor of Pratāpaśimha, and the last of the Paramāras of Abu. An Abu inscription dated in V.S. 1377 (A.D. 1321) informs us that the Cāhāmāna Mahārājakula Luntigaideva conquered and ruled over Candraśāti and Arbuda. Another Abu inscription, dated in V.S. 1387 records repairs of a well by the Guhila Putra Mokala when Tejasimha was ruling at Candraśāti. This Tejasimha has been identified as the nephew of Luntiga and one of the ancestors of the Cāhāmāna family who still hold Sirohi. He appears to be identical with the Devdā (Deora) Tejasimha (V.S. 1387-93 = c. 1330-1335 A.D.), a descendant of Kirtipāla, who founded the Sonigārā branch of the Cāhāmānas at Jalor. Kirtipāla, was a brother of the Nado Cāhāmāna Kelhaṇa (V.S. 1221-39 = c. 1164-1182 A.D.). It is therefore certain that between the years V.S. 1344 and 1387 (c. 1277 and 1320 A.D.) the Paramāras were ousted from Abu by the Cāhāmānas.

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1. Edited by B. Sastri, IA, 1916, pp. 77-80.
6. RMB, 1926, p. 2; ASWI, No. 2, App., p. xv, No. 83; ASI, WC, 1907, p. 28.
7. EI, Vol. XI, pp. 73 ff. See also DHNI, Vol. II, infra, p. 925; also ibid., chapter on the Cāhāmānas.
(3) Paramāras of Banswara (Vāgaḍa).

The existence of this branch is known from the Arthuna inscription of Cāmunḍarāja and a number of other records. The Arthuna inscription was discovered near Arthuna, a village about 28 miles to the west of Banswara in Rajputana. It is incised on a slab on the right side of the Śikhara of the temple of Maṇḍalesvara Mahādeva, situated about a mile to the east of Arthuna, and contains 53 lines, opening with Om namaḥ Śivaḥya, and two verses invoking Devī and the moon-crested god (Siva). Then follows the following genealogy of the Paramāras:

From the fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Arbuda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paramāra</th>
<th>In his lineage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vairisimha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ďambarasimha</td>
<td>In his lineage:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karakadeva (Kakkadeva)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satyarāja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇḍanadeva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cāmunḍarāja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The object of the inscription is to record the foundation and endowment of the temple of Maṇḍalesa (Siva) by the last prince. It is dated in the last line in (V.) Samvat 1136 (c. 1080 A.D.); but through a mistake in V. 86 we are told that the prāśasti was composed by Candra of the Sādhāra family when 1136 was elapsing since the Saka king. The record was written by Āsarāja of the Kāyastha race.

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1. The capital of this branch appears to have been near mod. Arthuna. According to Ojha it was named Uthnapaka : *HR, I*, p. 208.
2. For this see Ve. 68-81, pp. 302-03 and 309-10, *EI, Vol. XIV*.
3. Apparently the same temple at Arthuna where the inscription was found. *EI, Vol. XIV*, p. 208.
4. First noticed by Kielhorn in *IA, Vol. XXII*, p. 80. Then edited by Dr. Barnett in
An earlier inscription of the Paramāras of this branch is the *Panhera stone-inscription* engraved on a slab built into the wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahādeva at Panhera (Pānāherā), in Banswara State, Rajputana. It is broken into 3 pieces, of which the second is missing. The first 5 verses are in praise of Śiva. It then goes on to describe the origin of the Paramāras from the fire-pit on Mt. Arbuda, and extols the five Paramāra princes of Malwa, viz., Siyaka,1 Muṇjadeva, Sindhurāja, Bhoja and Jayasimhā. Then follows the following genealogy of the local branch:

```
   Dhanika
   \   /
   /   \  
Cacca     (Name lost)2
   \   /
   /   
Satyarāja = Rājaśri
      \   /
      /   
   Limbarāja    Maṇḍalika
```

The last prince, Maṇḍalika, was apparently a feudatory of Jayasimhā. Maṇḍalika built at Pāsulākheṭaka a temple of the god Śiva known after him as Maṇḍaleśvara. The record is dated in (V.) S. 1116 (c. A.D. 1059).3

According to the Arthuna inscription, Kaṁka (Kakka) died fighting on the side of Śrī-Harṣa of Mālava, against the king of Karnāṭa on the banks of the Narmadā. This Harṣa has rightly been identified with Harṣa-Siyaka II (c. 949-70 A.D.) of the Mālava line, who in the Udayapur prāśasti is eulogised for

EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 295-300. In EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 24, No. 145, Bhandarkar refers the inscription to the time of Maṇḍanadeva. His son, Cāmuṇḍarāja, according to him, is 'mentioned as merely living when the temple was built by Maṇḍana.'

1 The name is broken; but it is restored from the latter part of the inscription, RMR, 1917, pp. 2-3.
2 The RMR, 1917, pp. 2-3, restores it as 'Caṇḍapa' from the Arthuna inscription.

II—33
taking the wealth of (the Rastrakuta) Khottaga, the successor of Krishna III, of Malkhed (c. 940-56 A.D.). I have already suggested the identity of Kakka with Cacca of the Panhera inscription because Cacca is credited in the latter record with the same achievement and a similar death on the banks of the Revâ. The contemporaneity of Kakka-Cacca with Harsha-Siyaka II makes it seem very probable that Vairisimha who stands at the head of the genealogical table in the Arthuna inscription, is identical with the first prince of that name in the Malava line. If this is so the Banswara Paramaras, like the Abu Paramaras, would be a branch of the main line ruling in Lat and Malava. The Banswara section claimed descent from Dambarasimha, brother of Vairisimha. But the exact relationship between the former and Kakka-Cacca is unknown. The Panhera inscription carries back the genealogy of this branch to Dhanika, the uncle of Cacca who is said to have built the temple of Dhaneśvara "as white as snow," near Mahakala (at Ujjain). Kakka-Cacca's son was Chandapa who has been placed in c. 1000 A.D. by Dr. Barnett. Nothing but vague praise is assigned to him in the Arthuna inscription. He was succeeded by Satyaratja who probably flourished in c. 1025 A.D. According to the Panhera inscription he 'received fortune' from Bhoja, and fought with the Gurjaras. His wife was Rajaari, of the illustrious family of the Câhamânas. It would appear from this that he must have fought as a feudatory of Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.), in the latter's struggles with Bhima I (c. 1022-64 A.D.). According to the Arthuna inscription Satyaraja was succeeded by his son Limbaraja, and the latter by his younger brother Mandalika. This Mandalika appears to be the same as the Manadanadeva of the Arthuna list. The Panhera inscription shows that this Mandalika (Manôna) was a feudatory of the Malwa Paramara Jayasimha.

1 See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 851; but the ASI, 1916-17, pp. 19-20, considers them to be separate.
3 RMA, 1917, pp. 2-3.
4 HI, Vol. XIV, p. 296. This name appears to have been lost in the Panhera record.
(c. 1055-60 A.D.). The same record tells us that Manjalka captured in battle the 'Commander Kanha' with his horses and elephants and handed him over to Jayasimha. The identity of this Kanha (Kṛṣṇa) is however uncertain. According to the Arthuna inscription Maṇḍana was succeeded by his son Cāmuṇḍarāja. He is said to have 'gloriously overcome' one Sindhurāja. Dr. Barnett rightly guessed that this Sindhurāja could not be identified with the Mālava Paramāra of that name who ruled in c. 994-1010 A.D. It is not unlikely that Sindhurāja may here mean a king of Sind, and Cāmuṇḍa may have undertaken an expedition to the lower Indus valley, in company with some of his more powerful neighbours. Besides the Arthuna inscription noticed above, there are two other records of Cāmuṇḍa which were discovered at the same place. These two Arthuna inscriptions bear the dates (V.) S. 1137 (c. 1080 A.D.) and 1159 (c. 1102 A.D.). Both these records are much damaged. The former seems to mention the name of an officer of Cāmuṇḍarāja one of whose 3 sons, Anantapāla, founded a temple of Śiva, probably the same temple amongst the ruins of which the record is stated to have been discovered. The other is much defaced, and is said to have been found in a Jain temple.

The fortunate discovery of an image of Hanumān at Arthuna in the year 1918 has revealed the name of Cāmuṇḍarāja's son and successor. The pedestal of this image bears an inscription dated in (V.) S. 1165 (c. 1108 A.D.), in the reign of Vijayarāja,

1 In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166) Manjalka is said to have killed Sindhurāja, El, XX. App., p. 29, No. 179. I have however tentatively accepted the view of Kielhorn and Barnett.
2 See above, fn. 1, on p. 930.
3 Noticed in R.M.R., 1915, p. 2. See also ASI, WC, 1900, p. 49; ibid., 1915, p. 35.
4 In the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166 = c. 1109 A.D.) Cāmuṇḍarāja (c. 1080-1102 A.D.) is said to have destroyed the king of Avanti in the Sihali (Vāgaḍa) country, El, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 29, No. 179. This king of Avanti was probably the Caulukya Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) who invaded and conquered Mālava and assumed the title Avantimath. See JBRAS, Vol. XXV, 1917-21, pp. 322 ff.; also DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas.
the son of Cāmundarāja and the grandson of Māndana. Another Arthuna stone-inscription of this king dated in V.S. 1166 (c. 1109 A.D.) is preserved in the Rajputana Museum. What happened to this branch after the reign of Vijayarāja is at present unknown. It seems likely that they were gradually ousted from this region by the rising power of the Guhila of Mewar. The Guhila prince Śāmantaśimha (c. 1171-79 A.D.), after being in turn ousted from Mewar is reported to have founded a princely in that portion of Vāgada which is now known as the Dungarpur State.

(4) Paramāras of Jalor (Jācalīpura).

The existence of this branch is known from a stone-inscription dated in V.S. 1174 (c. 1118 A.D.) which is reported to have been discovered in a temple of Siva at Jalor, in the State of Jodhpur. It supplies the following list of the princes of this family: (1) Vākpati-rāja, his son, (2) Candana, his son, (3) Devarāja, his son, (4) Aparājita, his son, (5) Vijjala, his son, (6) Dhārāvarṣa, and his son, (7) Visala. It records that in the year mentioned above Mallāradevi, the queen of No. 7, placed a golden Kalasā on the temple of Sindhurājesvarā. Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha thinks that this line was an offshoot of the Abu Paramāras, and he refers Vākpati-rāja of this inscription and Mahīpāla-Devarāja of the Abu line to the same period. To me however it seems that the Vākpati of the Jalor inscription was possibly Vākpati II (c. 974-95 A.D.) of the Mālava line, and thus he may be identical with Utpalarāja to whom the earlier Abu Paramāras trace their genealogy. In that case we must suppose that after conquering

1 RMR, 1918, p. 2.
2 ASI, WC, 1909, p. 40; Ojha, HR, I, p. 208.
3 Ibid.; see also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Guhila-putras.
4 Noticed by Bhandarkar in ASI, WC, 1909, p. 54; see also HR, I, 182.
5 This conclusion may have to be modified after an examination of the inscription. But see HI, XX, Appendix, p. 31, fn. 2.
the Sukri valley in the Jodhpur State, Vākpati II placed another of his sons as his feudatory over this tract. It is possible that after the disastrous defeat of Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) this line became independent of the control of the parent branch. The successors of Udayāditya do not appear to have been strong enough to exercise control over their distant kinsmen in Marwar. There is no record of the history of Vīsala’s immediate successors. According to Mātā Neņsi Jalar was wrested from the Paramāras by Kirtipāla, a brother of the Nadol Cāhamāna Kelhana (c. 1164-79 A.D.). We have seen that a section of the descendants of Kirtipāla, the Deva Cāhamānas subsequently ousted the Paramāras also from Abu.

(5) Paramāras of Kiradu (Kirāṭakūpa).

This branch is known from a stone-inscription which is reported to be incised on the pillar of a temple of Siva at Kiradu (Kirāṭakūpa), in the Jodhpur State. The inscription is damaged, and has not yet been properly edited, though a transcript of the inscription was published as early as 1918. Recently a summary of the contents of this inscription has been published by Prof. Bhandarkar, Rai Bahadur Ojha and Dr. Ganguly have also discussed the contents of this inscription. I have already noticed that there seem to be differences in the readings of the various scholars. The inscription refers to the origin of the Paramāras from the sacrificial pit on Mount Abu (Arbuda bhudhara) and then mentions the name of Mahārāja Sindhurāja of Maruṃandala. Ganguly suggests his identification with Sindhurāja (c. 995-1010 A.D.) of the main line. The next name is given by Bhandarkar as Usala (Utpala) and by Ganguly as Dūsala. According to

3 EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 47, No. 312.
4 HB, I, pp. 182-83.
the former the next two names are lost. The same scholar refers the next name as Dharaṇīvarāha. *From him Devarāja Dhandhuka 1 who became ruler of Marumandala after propitiating Durlabharāja,' who may have been either the Caulukya (c. 1010-22 A.D.) or the Cāhamāna prince (c. 999 A.D.) of the same name. Next came Kṛṣṇarāja, 2 Socharāja, Udayarāja, and Someśvara. G. S. Ojha thinks that the Socharāja was the son of the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa II (c. 1060-67 A.D.). This is not impossible but in that case there must have been some mistake in reading and interpreting the names before Dharaṇīvarāha. The next prince, Udayarāja, whose might is said to have spread in Coḍa, Gaṅḍa, Karnāṭa, and Mālavā. His son Someśvara appears to have been the feudatory of both the Caulukya princes Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) and Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). According to Prof. Bhandarkar’s reading Someśvara is said to have regained his lost throne in V.S. 1193 (? c. 1141 A.D.) through the assistance of the first of these two Caulukya princes. It is not unlikely that Someśvara was ousted from his paternal possessions by an invasion of the Cāhamānas under Arṇorāja (c. 1139 A.D.). The inscription next mentions that in V.S. 1205 (c. 1148 A.D.) in the time of Kumārapāla Someśvara consecrated a temple. In V.S. 1218 (c. 1161 A.D.) he claims to have taken 1,700 horses and the forts of Tunakotta 3 and Navasara 4 from the Sindhurāja Jajjaka, and made him a vassal of Kumārapāla. We have a Kiradu stone-inscription of the Nadol Cāhamāna Ālhaṇadeva, a feudatory of Kumārapāla, dated in V.S. 1209 (c. 1153 A.D.). 5 This shows that some time after V.S. 1205 he was temporarily ousted from the Kiradu

1 Ganguly’s suggestion that Dhandhuka is a separate ruler seems plausible.
2 Ganguly refers to this prince the two Bhismal inscriptions (V.S. 1117 and 1133) mentioned above on pp. 911-12 as belonging to the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa.
3 According to Ojha, Taumaut (probably Tanot of the IGI, Vol. XVI—Att. xx, p. 34) in the Jaisalmer State.
4 According to Ojha, Nausar in the Jodhpur State.
5 BI, pp. 172-73.
region and was again restored some time before V.S. 1218. Nothing is known about the subsequent career of Someśvara or any of his possible successors.

**GENEALOGICAL TABLES.**

*(Dates Approximate.)*

(1) *Paramāras of Lāṭa and Mālava (c. 888-1310).*

```
Paramāra
  Upendrarāja, alias Krṣṇarāja ?
  Vairisimha I
    Siyaka I
  Vakpatirāja I, alias Bappairāja
    Vairisimha II, alias Vajraṭasvāmin.
    Harsa, alias Siyaka II (Harṣasimha ?)
      (c. 948-74 A.D.),
      =Vāsajādevi.
    Vakpati II, alias Utpalarāja,
      Muṅja (c. 974-995 A.D.),
      Amoghavarṣa Prthvivallabha and Srivallabha=Mṛpā-
      lavati.
    Sindhurāja, alias Navasāha-
      sāṅka (c. 995-1010 A.D.)
      ?
      Bhojadeva I
        (c. 1010-1055 A.D.),
        Udayāditya
          (c. 1060-1087 A.D.).
    Jayasimha I
      (c. 1055-1060 A.D.).
    Lakṣmadeva
      (alias Jagaddeva
        ?)
      Naravarman 
        (c. 1097-1111 A.D.),
        =Momaladevi ?
      Yaśovarman (c. 1134-42 A.D.).
      Alhaṇadevi=Ḍāhala
        Kalacuri
        Gayā-Karna
        (1151 A.D.).
Syāmaladevi=Guhilaputra
  Vijayasimha
```
(2) Paramāras of Candrāvali and Arbuda (c. 975-1800 A.D.),

Kānhaḍadeva—Dhumarāja [Possibly the Kṛṣṇarāja of Vākpati II’s (c. 974-95 A.D.) grants ?]

Utpalarāja (probably the same as Vākpati II of the main line).

Āranyarāja

Vāsudeva alias Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarāja I.

Dharanivarāha ?

? Mahipāla (alias Devarāja ?) (c. 1002 A.D.).
(5) Paramāras of Bānsūra (Vāgaḍa).

Vairisimha (probably Vairisimha I of the main line).

× Dāmbarasimha

Dhanika ×

Kanikaḍe (Kakka ?) alias Cacca (?)

Cāṇḍapa

Satyarāja = Rājaśri.

Limbarāja

Mandalika, alias Mandana (c. 1059 A.D.).

Cāmundaṭa (c. 1080-1102 A.D.).

Vijayarāja (c. 1108-09 A.D.).
4. Paramāras of Jaulor (Jāvālipura).

Vakpatirāja (probably the second prince of that
name of the main line).

Candana

Devarāja

Aparājita

Vijjala

Dhāraśvarṣa

Visala=Mallāradevi
(c. 1118 A.D.).

5. Paramāras of Kiradu (Kirātakūpa).

Sindhurāja

Usala (Utpala) or Dūsala (?)

(Dharapīvarāha)

Devarāja Dandhuka ¹

Kṛṣnarāja ²

Socharāja ³

Udayarāja

Someśvara
(1161 A.D.).

¹ The reading of the Kiradu inscription may possibly be
Devarāja
Dandhuka
Kṛṣparāja

² Identified by some with the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa II.

³ Son of Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇa (?).
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CHAPTER XV

THE CAULKUKYAS (SOLAKSIS) OF ANAHILA-PĀTAKA

Unlike the history of many other dynasties which ruled in India during the period under survey, that of the Caulukyas\(^1\) of Gujarat and Kathiawar, who ruled in those regions for nearly three and a half centuries (c. 950-1304 A.D.), suffer from no dearth of materials. Not only have we numerous epigraphic records of these kings, but—what is more important—we have a number of Jain chronicles carefully registering the dates and incidents of each reign. Indeed, the facts are so plentiful that in a work like the present one we shall only have space to mention briefly the incidents of the reign of these kings, and to indicate as far as possible the sources whence future students may construct a more detailed history, the broad outlines of which have already been fixed by Bühler,\(^2\) Bhagvanlal Indraji, and Jackson.\(^3\)

The history of Gujarat and Kathiawar immediately before the rise of the Caulukyas of Anahilapātaka (Anhilvad) is mainly connected with the general history of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj. The Una grants\(^4\) of the Cālukya feudatory Avanivarmān, dated in A.D. 893 and 899 unquestionably show that the

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\(^1\) This is supposed by some scholars to be “a Sanskritised form, through an earlier form Cālukya, of the old names Calkya, Calikya, Cirikya...made to harmonise with the Purānik-looking story that the founder of the dynasty sprang from the Čulaka of Brahmā. The popular variant of the word seems to have been Solaki or Solañki.” See BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 156.


\(^3\) IA, Vol. VI, pp. 180ff.

whole of this region, up to the southernmost part of the peninsula, was included in the empire of Mahendrapāla I (c. 893-907 A.D.). The Haddala grant of the Cāpa feudatory Dharaṇīvarāha, indicates that Mahipāla held at least Gujarat up to 914 A.D. I have already shewn elsewhere that the invasion of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III (c. 915-17 A.D.) and the defeat of Mahipāla I (c. 914-43 A.D.) soon after A.D. 915 had very serious consequences for the fortunes of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. Though the Partabgarh inscription of Mahendrapāla II, dated in 945-46 A.D., proves that the Pratihāras recovered their hold for some time in Malwa, there is enough evidence to indicate that their hold on Gujarat and Kathiawar grew precarious. The Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III (c. 940-56 A.D.) seem to show a renewal of Rāṣṭrakūṭa pressure on these provinces in the reign of his father Amoghavarṣa III Vaddiga (c. 934-40 A.D.). The statement contained in them, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced as far as Citrakūṭa, seems to be confirmed by the recently discovered Ahmedabad plates (949-70 A.D.) of the Paramāra Sityaka II, a feudatory of Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa III. These struggles between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas apparently produced disorder and anarchic conditions in this area, such as are always favourable to the rise of bold adventurers and new dynasties. The Gurjara-Pratihāra power had been sinking since its disastrous defeats in the second decade of the tenth century. But the rapid decline of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the period (c. 956-73 A.D.) which followed the death of Kṛṣṇa III must have indirectly helped the immediate rise of the Caulukyas in Gujarat.

The Gujarat chronicles give us a rather romantic, if unreliable, story of this dynasty's origin. This can be briefly

1 IA, Vol. XII, pp. 190-95; ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 90.
3 Probably Chitori in Mewar, Rajputana, see DHNI, Vol. I, fn. 4 on p. 589.
summarised as follows. The Cāpotkaṭas, commonly known as Cāvaḍīs, ruled in Pañcāsara in the period c. 720-956 A.D. During the reign of Sāmantasimha, alias Bhuvatā, the last prince of this line, Rāji, Bīja, and Daṇḍaka, the 3 sons of Bhuvanādītya, the ruler of Kalyāṇa-kaṭaka in Kanauj, started incognito in the guise of beggars on a pilgrimage to Somnath. On their way back they attended a cavalry-parade held by Sāmantasimha. A criticism made by Rāji, on some of the cavalry movements pleased Sāmantasimha, who, taking him to be the scion of some noble family, gave him his sister Lalādevi in marriage. Lalādevi died pregnant, and the child, who was taken alive from his dead mother’s womb, was called Mūlarāja, because the operation was performed, when the Mūla constellation was in power. Mūlarāja grew up an able and popular prince, and, having slain his uncle, usurped this throne.

Though it is difficult to disentangle truth from fiction in this story it undoubtedly contains some elements of fact. The existence of the Cāvoṭakas as a ruling power in Gujarat in the first half of the 8th century A.D. is proved by the Nausari grant of the Cālukya prince Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya (739 A.D.). It tells us that sometime before 739 A.D. an army of the Arabs (Tājikas) destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings, and on their

1 Also Cāvoṭaka. According to Bhagavatā and Jackson, 'connected with the Čēpas of Bhinmal and of Wadhwan, and are therfore of Gurjara race.' BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 155.

2 Also as Cauḍa or Cauara and Cowra or Cāwara; see AR, Vol. I, p. 121; Raz, Vol. I, p. 87.

3 Mod. village of that name in Vadhiar, between Gujarat and Cutch; BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 149 and fn. 3.

4 Apart from the city of Kanauj, Kāṇyakubja also sometimes signified a province. See Barah grant of Bhoja (836 A.D.) for the mention of Kāṇyakubja-bhukti, which included Kāladjara-moṣḍa; SPL, Vol. XIX, p. 18, line 6. A Versal inscription, dated in 1169 A.D., mentions Vāgarasi (Benares) as included in Kāṇyakubja-sīya; WZKM, Vol. III, p. 7, lines 8-6.


6 BG, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 187-88 and 375,
way to the Deccan advanced as far as the Navasārikā country (situated in Lāṭa). The Haddala grant of Mahtpāla shows that the Cāpas as a feudatory power lingered on in Eastern Kathiawar and Central Gujarat, till 914 A.D. The Una grants indicate the existence in Gujarat of the Cālukya feudatories of the Kanauj rulers in A.D. 893 and the period preceding it. It is therefore not unlikely that one of these vassals who was connected by blood with the Cālukyas of Kalyani and through marriage with the Pratihāras of Kanauj, overthrew the small Cāpōtkaṭa principality at Paścāsara.¹ This may have been the origin of the distorted tradition of a prince from Kalyāṇa in Kanauj. But in the present state of our knowledge of Indian history it is unsafe to assert dogmatically that there could not have existed in the first half of the 10th century a city named Kalyāṇa in the province of Kanauj ² which was also the seat of a local Cālukya principality. Whatever may be the value of these guesses, we may probably conclude that Mūlarāja, the founder of the Caulukyas of Gujarat, was really the son of a Cāvāda princess who destroyed his maternal uncle and seized his principality at Aṇahilapāṭaka.³ In the inscriptions his father Rāji is designated a Mahārājādhirāja.⁴ During the period under survey this title often indicated no more than feudatory rank,⁵ and it is not impossible that Rāji’s family, as well as that of his wife, were vassals of the great Gurjara-Pratihāra empire. As I have already suggested, Mūlarāja

¹ The Haddala grant however gives Vardhamāna (mod. Wadhwan) as the place of residence of the Cāpa prince Dharaṇīvarāha in 914 A.D.
³ Sometimes in late records “Aṇahilapāṭaka.” Popularly known as Aṇahilavāḍa or Aṇhilipoor, mod. Patan on the Saraswati. According to the chronicles it was founded by Vanarāja, the first Cāvāda king of Paścāsara (c. 705-80 A.D.) and named after the shepherd Aṇahila, who pointed out the site of the city; BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 181. See also A.A.K., Vol. III, p. 362.
⁴ IA, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff., etc.
⁵ Cf. the Rajor stone-inscription (960 A.D.); EI, Vol. III, pp. 263-67. Bühler accepted the statement of the chronicles that Rāji was a son of the king of Kanauj who reconquered Gujarāṭ; IA, Vol. VI, p. 183.
profiting by the decline in the power of the Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the second half of the 9th century carved out a small independent principality in the Sarasvati valley. His Kadi grant tells us that he acquired the Sārasvata-mandala by the prowess of his own arms. In the Vadnagar praśasti of the reign of Kumārapāla, dated in 1151 A.D., we are told that he took captive the fortune of the kingdom of the Cāpotkaṭa princes. Both these statements tend to support the chronicles according to which Mūlarāja captured Anahilavāda on the Sarasvati from the last Cāvaḍa prince.

According to the chronicles, Mūlarāja did not rest satisfied with his conquest of the Sarasvati valley, but tried to extend his power in the north, west, and south. His ambition appears to have brought him into conflict with his neighbours. Of these the two most important were the Sapādalakṣīya Rājā of Sākambharti and Bārappa, king of Lāṭa, sometimes described as the general of Tailapa of Telingana. The Rājā of Sākambharti has been rightly identified with the Cāhamāna prince Vigraharāja, for whom we have the Harṣa stone-inscription, dated in 973 A.D., while Tailapa was apparently the Western Čālukya

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3 According to Bhagvanīlā Indraji this is the Sanskrit form of the word Siwalik, a range of hills below Dehra Dun, in the Saharanpur district, U.P. He suggested that the Cāhamānas of Sākambharti who were known as rulers of Sapādalakṣa, may have originally come from the Siwalik Hills. BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 157, and fn. 1 on p. 156.
4 Mod. Sambhar on the east bank of the lake of that name, on the borders of Jaipur and Jodhpur: BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 158, fn. 1. The Rājā (Vol. I, p. 62) describes this prince as the Rājā of Nagur, or of Sambur, the country afterwards known as Ujmeer.
5 In the Rājā (Vol. I, p. 54) the name is given as Bārapa while the PC (p. 23) gives it as Bārava. According to Bhagvanīlā the name Dvārappa of Dvārāyana is the Sanskritised form of Bārappa. BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 159, fn. 1.
6 In the Rājā (Vol. I, p. 53), the name is given as Talip the sovereign of Telingā. In the PC (p. 23) the monarch that ruled over the Telings country. The statement of the Sukto-saṅkhyaras, that Tailapa was a general of the king of Kanaur, is apparently a mistake. But see IA, Vol. XII, pp. 196 ff.
7 EI, Vol. II, pp. 119 ff. The inscription is also sometimes known as Harṣa inscription.
of that name who ruled from c. 973 to 997 A.D.\(^1\) The existence of a Caulukya prince in Lāṭa named Bārappa is revealed by the Surat grants\(^2\) of Kīrtirāja (c. 1018 A.D.) and Trilocanapāla (c. 1051 A.D.) which gives us the following list of their predecessors.

Caulukya......married a princess of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kānauj.
Nimbārka
Bārappa\(^3\).....obtained Lāṭa-desa
Goggirāja\(^4\)......Maṇḍalika-īlaka.
Kīrtirāja (Saka 940)...Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara.
Vatsarāja
Trilocanapāla (Saka 972)

As Kīrtirāja (1018 A.D.) is the 2nd in lineal descent from Bārappa, we can safely assign him to the 7th decade of the 10th century A.D. He was therefore a contemporary of Tailā II, and must have been appointed by him as his feudatory to guard the 'Baroda gap,' one of the main gateways to the South.\(^5\) We are told by Merutūṅga that Mūlarāja was attacked simultaneously by Bārappa and the ruler of Sākambhari, and that, unable to resist them, he took shelter in the Kanṭhā-durgā.\(^6\) Bühler found a confirmation of this statement in the Kadi grant, dated in 987 A.D., which tells us that Mūlarāja resembled 'Tryambaka (Siva) since he took up his residence on a mountain, just as the god dwells on the Mount (Kailāsa).\(^7\) As Anāhilapāṭaka, 'the resi-

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\(^2\) WZK.M. 1893, Band VII, pp. 89-90 ; IA, Vol. XII, pp. 195-205.
\(^3\) Sometimes written 'Vārypa'; see also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 987, fo. 5.
\(^4\) Sometimes read as Gojgirāja. Identified by Dhrava with the 'Caulukya noble Gojji-rāja' whose daughter Nāyiyaḷa was married by the Yādava king Tusuka of Chandod ; IA, Vol. XII, p. 200.
\(^7\) Tryambaka iti vihārākalārṣavaḥ. IA, Vol. VI, pp. 188-84 and 191-99, lines 9-3.
dence of Mūlarāja, was situated in an entirely flat sandy country, and not even within fifty miles of any hill,' the inference might be made that the praśastikāra 'in his anxiety to find points of resemblance between his patron and the various gods, found nothing more to the purpose than Mūlarāja's temporary stay on the hill of Kanthā, which he boldly compared to Siva's residing on Kailāsa.'

There are some differences in the accounts of the chronicles of the Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas about the results of this war. The Hammira-Mahākāvyya of Nayacandra tells us that the Cāhamāna Vigrahārāja killed Mūlarāja of Gujarat and conquered his country. The Prabandha-cintāmani on the other hand, while giving Mūlarāja no credit for victory over the Cāhamāna prince, tries to give the impression that the latter was persuaded or compelled to retire by the former's bravery and diplomacy. As Bhagvanial Indraji concluded long ago, truth may lie midway between the two statements. As the Gujarat chronicle represents Mūlarāja as visiting the Cāhamāna's camp and saying to him 'you should keep quiet and not give me a side-blow' while he was punishing Bārappa, it seems likely that the Caulukya king was really defeated, but on his submission the Cāhamāna prince did not press his advantage. In these circumstances the statement of the Gujarat chronicles that Bārappa was defeated and killed by Mūlarāja, seemed improbable to Bhagvanial and Jackson. But the statement of the Dvārakāya that Mūlarāja and his son Cāmunda crossed the river Scabhravati, the southern boundary of his dominions, and, entering Lāta, defeated and killed Bārappa, seems to gain some support from the Surat grant of Trilocanapāla mentioned above. This inscription describes

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3 Ibid, p. 159.
4 Modern Saharmati.
5 According to this authority the Cauluka army advanced as far as Bhrgukaccha (Broach), and Bārappa was killed by Cāmunda in single combat, IA, Vol. IV, p. 111.
Goggirāja, Bārappa’s son and successor, as the ‘first home of the family...who relieved his own land like a greater Viśṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons.’ It may well be that the demon-like enemies of this passage were the Caulukyas, who defeated his father and seized Lāṭa, his own land. The Bijapur stone-inscription of the Raṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi seems to contain another reference to Mūlarāja’s wars. We are there told that the Raṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala (c. 960-80 A.D.) gave shelter to the ‘lord of the Gurjaras’ when Muṇjarāja (c. 974-92 A.D.) had destroyed Aghāta, the pride of Medapāṭa. It has been already suggested that this prince of the Gurjaras was probably Mūlarāja. If this identification is accepted, this would afford a proof of the struggle of the Caulukyas with the Paramāras, and give us some idea of the extension of Mūlarāja’s dominions towards the east.

Amongst the other wars of Mūlarāja referred to by the chronicles, only two deserve our serious attention. One of these was his war with Laksāra, the king of Kaccha. Morutuṅga tells us that this prince was the son of Phulaḍa and Kāmalatā, the daughter of a Paramāra king called Kṛṭtirāja. Laksāra, ‘owing to the boon of Yaśorāja, whom he had propitiated...was altogether invincible. He repulsed eleven times the army of king Mūlarāja.’ But in the twelfth encounter Mūlarāja besieged him at Kapilakoti, killed him in single combat, and trod on the flowing beard of his

1 IA, Vol. XII, p. 208, V. 10-11.
4 Also called Laksā, Lāṣṭaka and Lāṅkhā; see PC, pp. 27, 28, 150: taken to belong to the Sūmra tribe; BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 160.
5 Mod. Cutch.
6 Not yet identified. But this supplies additional evidence of the hostilities between Mūlarāja and the Paramāras. Could he be a relative of Muṇja?
foe. If there is any foundation of fact in this story, these hostilities may have begun long before the joint invasion of the Lāṭa and Sākambhari kings. For Mūlarāja’s retirement on that occasion to Kanthkot shows that he was already master of Eastern Cutch.

The Dvyāśraya gives a somewhat different description of the death of this ruler of Cutch. In this work Hemacandra connects Mūlarāja’s struggles against the ruler of Cutch and the Ābhira chieflain of Saurāstra into one episode. He gives us the following account of Grāharipu, the ruler of Sorath. He lived at Vāmanasthali, a city resplendent with the flags of Hanumān and Garuḍa, and at Durgapali. He ate the flesh of animals and drank spirituous liquor. The ‘Mleccha’ hunted in Revatācala and slew deer at Prabhāsa which should not be slain. He took the flesh of cows, despised the Brāhmans, and killed the pilgrims going to Prabhāsa. He was rich and powerful, and once compelled the Rājā of Sindhu-desa to pay him tribute. He was in close alliance with the powerful Lākhā of Kaccha-desa and also with the Turks and other Mlecchas. We are then told that, being asked by Somanātha (Siva) in a dream to destroy Grāharipu, Mūlarāja, though on good terms with the Ābhira ruler, marched against him. In the struggle that followed Grāharipu

1 PC, 27-28. The Vastupāla-Tejośpāla Praśasti of Jayasimha (GOS, No. X, Appendix I, p. 50 ff., Va. 5-6) also tells us that Mūlarāja humbled the chief of Kaccha.

2 This family, according to Bhagvanial Indraji and Jackson, belonged to the Cūjāsamā tribe, who settled in Sind and Kathiawar between c. 920 and 940 A.D. The Cūjāsamās are still commonly called Kāra-rāmās (BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 137, 139, etc.). This identification is supported by the fact that we have a number of inscriptions of the Cūjāsamās in Vanthali in Junagarh, which was the capital of the Ābhira chieflain; see ARB, pp. 176, 178-79, 316-17 and 303-06; ASWI, Vol. II, pp. 153-64. For the close connection of the Ābhiras with the Sammas of Sind, see BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 136; also Elliot, Vol. I, p. 266. Both the Ābhiras and Sammas were beef-eaters; see also DHNI, Vol. I, p. 36.

3 Sometimes ‘Sorath,’ IA, Vol. IV, p. 73. Mod. Sorath in the south of Kathiawad.


5 Identified by Bhagvanial with mod. Junagarh.

6 Mod. Somnath Patan, also called Veraval.
was taken prisoner, and Ṭākhā was killed. Mūlarāja then went to Prabhāsa and worshipped the linga at Somanātha.1

There is no epigraphic support for Hemacandra's account of this war of Mūlarāja. The latter's pilgrimage to Somanātha however is supported by Merutuṅga who tells us that Mūlarāja went "every Monday on a pilgrimage to Someśvarapattana," out of devotion to the god Śiva, and Somanātha was so pleased with his devotion that after informing him of his intention, he came to the town of Maṇḍālt. The king caused there to be built the Muleśvara temple." Bühler has pointed out that this Muleśvara is evidently to be identified with Mūlanātha-deva to which Mūlarāja assigned the village of Kamboiḳā by his Kadi grant, dated V.S. 1043.8

Jayasimha's Vastupāla-Tejāhpāla Praśasti supplies us with a fact which may indicate that Mūlarāja waged war with yet another power. He tells us that the Caulukya prince was always waited upon by 36 Rāja-kulas, and that he 'put to agitation the Sindhrurāja.' It is difficult to identify this ruler of Sind; but he may have been one of the later members of the Habbāri dynasty of Maṃśūra (c. 912-76 A.D.).

Of the time of Mūlarāja we have the following published records:

(1) Baroda grant.—Found in the possession of a man at Patan (Anahilavada). It records a grant of 'a plough of land' to Vacchakācārīya in Pālādyā-grāma in the Gambhūtā-viṣaya, on the occasion of a solar eclipse in V.S. 1030 (c. 974 A.D.). The donor was Mūlarāja, the Dūtaka the Mahāsandhīvigrāhīka Śrī-Jaya.9

(2) Kadi grant.—Found lying in the Gaikvāḍī Kacheri at Kadi, the chief town of the Uttara Mahals. It contains 22 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with a description

1 IA, Vol. IV, 72-77.

8 IA, Vol. IV, 72-77.
of the donor's pedigree. Then we are told that M.-Rāji-sutah-
Caulukikānayo M.-Mūlarāja, while residing at Anahilapātaka, on
the occasion of a solar eclipse in (V.) Saṁvat 1043 (c. 987 A.D.),
granted Ardhāṣṭama of Moḍhera in the village of Kambojakā
to the illustrious Mūlanāthadeva, established at Maṇḍali, in the
Vardhī-vaśya. Before making the grant the king worshipped
Rudramahālaya. At the end of the first plate there is a figure
of a sitting bull.1

(3) Balera grant.—Found in the possession of a Brāhmaṇ
at Balera, in Sanchor district, Jodhpur State. It contains 21
lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the
date (V.) Saṁvat 1051 (c. 995 A.D.). We are then told that on
that date Pb.-M.-P.-Mūlarājadeva, from Anahilapātaka, granted
the Varanaka-grāma in the Satyapura-maṇḍala to the illustrious
Dīrghācārya, son of Durlabhācārya, who had come from
Kanyakubja, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donor
worships the Ambikā-pati (Siva). The grant was written by the
Kāyasṭhu Kāṃcana. The Dūtaka was the maḥattama Sivārāja.2

The three inscriptions noticed above give us dates from 974
to 995 A.D., a period of 21 years. According to Merutūṅga,
however, Mūlarāja ruled for 55 years. This author gives V.S.
993 as the date of Mūlarāja's accession, and V.S. 1050 for that
of his son Cāmuṇḍa.3 This would actually give the former a
reign of about 57 years (c. 937-994 A.D.).4 The Vicāraśrenī
of the same author however gives the reign-period of this
prince as 35 years extending from 1017 to 1052 V.S.

1 Edited by Böhler, IA., Vol. VI, pp. 191-93. Note the form Caulukikānayo.
2 First noticed in 1891 by Dhrurra, WZKM, Vol. V, pp. 300-01, and then by Devi Prasad
his introductory remarks accepts the evidence of the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛṣṇa III
(A.D. 940-55) as proof of Mūlarāja's war with the Kalacuras. For a different interpretation
3 PC, pp. 23 and 29. The text of the different MSS. of Merutūṅga's work must be
correct. For the BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 162, gives the dates from Merutūṅga as V.S. 968
(A.D. 943) to 1053 (A.D. 997). I follow Tawney's English version of the text.
4 The AAK (Vol. II, p. 260) gives the reign-period as 56 years. The MA. (Trans. by
Bird, London, 1835, p. 143) also gives 55.
(A.D. 961-96).

1 As we have no dated record of the reign of the next king, we cannot verify the statement of this chronicle; but its moderate estimate of the reign-period seems to be more consistent with the fact that Mularaja could scarcely have been a young man when he overthrew his uncle’s power. But the recently discovered Sambhar inscription of Jayasimha which gives V.S. 998 (c. 941 A.D.) as the date of Mularaja seems to indicate that he really reigned for more than half a century.

The period of about 25 years (c. 996-1022 A.D.) which intervened between Mularaja’s death and the accession of Bhima I, was inglorious. No epigraphic record has so far been discovered for the reign of any of the princes that ruled during this period, and we depend mainly on the chronicles for the incidents of their reigns. According to the Prabandha-cintama, Mularaja was succeeded by his son Cmuntha in 1050 V.S. He reigned for about 13 years, and was succeeded by Vallabharaja in 1065 V.S. This king after investing the fortress of Dhara in the country of Mulava, died of small-pox. He acquired the titles “subduer of kings, as Siva subdued the god of Love.” (Raja-madana-Sarkara) and “Shaker of the world” (Jajajjhampana). He reigned only for five months and twenty-nine days. Then Durlabhuraja was crowned king in 1065 V.S.

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1 JRAI, Vol. IX, p. 155. I have a suspicion that what Bhan Daji calls Merutunga’s Theravali (Shatavali) and Bhagwanrathis Vicarajpati may be the same work. Or is the former a separate chapter of the Vicarajpati? BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 162.

2 IA, 1929, pp. 294-305, V. 9.

3 Ibid. The Deykraiya says Mularaja ‘mounted the funeral pile’ on the banks of the Sarasvati. Does it mean that he committed suicide, like some other Indian princes of this period?

4 Pd, p. 29, gives V. S. 1055 as the date which marked the end of the reign of Cmuntha, and then gives 1065 as the date when Vallabharaja assumed the sovereignty. I think 1055 is a mistake for 1065. See the Text (Sanskrit) of the work. (Ed. by Ramendra Dinantha, Bombay, 1889, p. 43) where also the same dates are repeated.

5 Silarajena. The Deykraiya has the adjective called Silala, IA, Vol. IV, p. 112. His fight with Mulava is also found in the Kirti-kamadi (II, 11) and Sarki-satakirtana (ii, 13). See SJ, Vol. I, p. 394.

6 The BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 162 says that the PC gives Cmuntha a reign of 6 months. This must be a mistake: see JRAI, Vol. VI, p. 184, where Bholer rightly assigns 6 months to Vallabharaja.
He built a palace of seven storeys and a clock tower at Pattana and a temple of Madana-śatikara for the welfare of his brother Vallabharāja. He reigned 12 years, and then in V. S. 1077 he established on the throne his brother’s son, Bhīma. The Viśeśaśreṇi by the same author gives the list of Mūlarāja’s successors as follows: his son Vallabharāja 14 years, V. S. 1052-66; his brother Durlabha, 12 years, V. S. 1066-78. According to the Dvīṣāraya, Mūlarāja was succeeded by Cāmunda, who had 3 sons, viz., Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja, and Nāgarāja. “Once on a time Cāmunda, inflamed by sensual passion did wrong to his sister Cáciṇidevi; to expiate this sin he placed Vallabharāja on the throne and went on a pilgrimage to Vāraṇasī. By the way the Rāja of Mālava plundered his umbrella and other insignia of royalty. Cāmunda having accomplished his pilgrimage, returned to Pattana” and asked his son to punish the Malava prince. Vallabha started on his expedition to Malava but died on the way (A. D. 1010). Cāmunda thereupon seated Durlabha on the throne and retired to Sukla-tīrtha, on the Narmada, where he died. Durlabha married his sister to Mahendra, the king of Maru-deśa. He and his brother also married respectively Durlabhadevi and another princess, the two sisters of Mahendrarāja. According to Hemacandra, Durlabhadevi was won by Durlabha in a Svayamvara; but to retain possession of the princess he had to fight a number of other claimants, amongst whom were the

1. PC, pp. 29-30. Bühler, however, gives the date as S. 1058 wrongly for 1078; see IA, Vol. VI, p. 185.
2. The BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 163 says that the text of this work mentions Bhīma as the son of Durlabha. But Tawney’s version gives the relationship as nephew.
3. Or Theraśaśi.
4. The BG (Vol. I, Part I, p. 163) mentions the name of the Malava kings as Munja. But this does not occur in the text. Bhargavula probably has taken the name from the very similar story given in the PC (p. 38) in connection with the pilgrimage of Durlabha to Benares.
kings of Áṅga, Kāśi, Avanti, Cedi-deśa, Kurudēśa, Hūṇa-deśa, Mathurā, and Vindhyā. At last Durlabha abdicated his throne in favour of his nephew, Bhīma, the son of Nāgarāja, and with Nāgarāja ‘made Svargavāsa at Pattan.’

To this account we may add the following details found in the inscriptions of their successors, and Muslim sources. The Vadnagar prasasti of the reign of Kumārapāla (V.S. 1206) tells us that Mūlarāja was succeeded by Cāmuṇḍarāja. “Inhaling even from afar the breeze, perfumed with the ichor of his (Cāmuṇḍa’s) excellent elephants, the illustrious Sindhū-rāja fled together with his own elephants that were cowed by the smell of (their opponent’s) rut, and vanished in such wise that even all trace of the fame of that prince was lost.” This statement is not incredible in view of the fact that Sind formed the western border of the Caḷukya kingdom. If there is any truth in this statement, we must assume that Cāmuṇḍa by his hostility to the Sind rulers merely carried on the policy laid down by his father. It is however difficult to identify this ruler of Sind. I can only suggest that he was probably one of the local rulers of Māṇṣūra who may have ruled there between the Habbārī dynasty and the Sumras. Abu’l-

1 Wrongly given in IA, IV, p. 112, as ‘Vaiḍi-deśa.’
2 Wrongly given in IA, IV, p. 112, as Andhra-deśa.
5 Ibid., pp. 297 and 302, V. B. Kielhorn at first took Sindhūrāja to mean king of Sind, but later on in the ‘Errata and Corrigenda’ (ibid, p. 481) said “possibly the king of Sind but more probably Sindhūrāja of Māḷa.” As Mūlāja seems to have died some time between 904 and 907 A. D. (ibid, p. 228), there is no inherent impossibility in Sindhūrāja of Māḷa being a contemporary of Cāmuṇḍa. But in view of the fact that Mūlarāja also fought with a Sindhūrāja I prefer his former view. See also the Arthuna stone inscription of Paramāra Cāmuṇḍarāja (A. D. 1086) where Sindhūrāja must be taken to mean ‘prince of Sind.’ See EI, Vol. XIV. The Kumārapāla-carita says that Cāmuṇḍa killed Sindhūrāja in battle; see I, 21.
6 See above, p. 947.
Faṣl assigns to Cāmunḍa a reign of 13 years, but the Mirāt-i-Aḥmadī gives the figure as 12 years and four months and 2 days.\(^1\) In view of this approximate agreement of the Hindu and Muslim chronicles we may assign to Cāmunḍa a reign of 12 or 13 years and place him c. 996-1009 A.D.

According to the Vadnagar prāsasti, Cāmunḍa was succeeded by his son Vallabharāja. He 'astonished the circle of earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke, rising from the empire of the Mālava king (Mālava-bhūpa-cakra) who quaked on hearing of his marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger.'\(^2\) According to Abu'l-Faṣl, 'Balabha' reigned for 6 months,\(^3\) while 'Ali Muḥammad Khān assigns him a reign of 7 months.\(^4\) As his war with Mālava is confirmed by both literary and epigraphic tradition we may accept it as real. The ruler of Mālava is probably to be identified with Sindhurāja (c. 997-1010), the brother of the Paramāra Muṇija. The support of the Muslim tradition seems to indicate that the Hindu chroniclers were right in assigning a short reign to Vallabha.\(^5\)

The fact that he died so soon and was succeeded in the course of the same year by his brother Durlabha, seems to explain the omission of his name in some of the later Caulukya inscriptions.\(^6\)

We shall not therefore be far from the truth if we assume that Durlabha ascended the throne c. 1009-10 A.D. The only

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4. MA, Text, p. 29, Trans., p. 143; also BHG, p. 27. This text spells the name as Baiyā (Baiyā).

5. The Vicāra-greśa is obviously wrong when it omits Cāmunḍa and assigns Vallabha 14 years adding the 12 years of his predecessor to the 6 months of his reign.

6. Of Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), see IA, Vol. VI, pp. 194-96. Another reason of the omission may be due to the fact that his father Cāmunḍa may have been living when he died.
interesting fact mentioned about this king is contained in the statement of the Vadnagar praśasti that he caused 'the destruction of the Lāṭa country.' The chronicles of Gujarat generally credit Mūlarāja I with a conquest of the Lāṭa country. But the existence of the Lāṭa princes even after the death of Mūlarāja has been revealed by the Surat grant of Kīrtirāja (dated in A.D. 1018), who must have been ruling in Lāṭa when it was invaded by Durlabhā. That Durlabhā did not succeed in completely destroying the Caulukya principality of Lāṭa is proved by the Surat grant of Trilokanāpāla (A.D. 1051), the grandson of Kīrtirāja. The Aʿin-i-Akbār assigns to Durlabhā a reign of 11 years and 6 months, while the Mīrāt-i-Aḥmādī gives him only 8 years. As Hemacandra and Abuʿl-Fażl nearly agree in assigning him a period of about 12 years we may refer him to the period c. 1010-22 A.D.

According to all our sources, literary and epigraphic, Durlabhā was succeeded by his nephew Bhīmādeva, the son of Nāgarāja. The following epigraphic records are known for his reign:

(1) Radhanpur grant.—Procured from the Radhanpur Durbar in North Gujarat. Its find-spot is unknown. It contains 23 lines incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date Vikrama Saṃvat 1086 (A.D. 1029). It then decrees that M.-Bhīmādeva, from his residence at Anahilapāṭaka after

1 Lār(t?)-vaśadā-bhāṣṭra, EI, Vol. I, pp. 297 and 302, V. 8. Note also the statement in the same verse, that he 'was not easily accessible to the wives of other men,' and compare it with Kundrapūla-crita, I, 33-34, which seems to show he really took another's wife by force.
3 Ibid.
4 AAR, Vol. II, p. 969; MA, Trans., p. 143; ibid., text, p. 29. BHG, p. 27. In the Muslim account he is wrongly stated to be the nephew of Vallabha. The MA spells the name as Dīlā (दीला), perhaps representing the Prakrit Dīlāhā (दीलाहा).
5 As Muṣża was certainly dead by the year 997 A.D. the story of FC (pp. 29-30) which makes Durlabhā a contemporary of Muṣża is wrong. His date for the accession of Bhīma, V.B. 1077 (c. 1021 A.D.) may also be inaccurate. The Tharbākālī gives this date as V.B. 1078.
worshipping Bhavānī-patī (Siva), granted the village of Mansūra, situated in the Ghaḍāhaḍikā-āvādāsaka in the Kaccha-māndala, to the Bhaṭṭāraka Ajapāla. The Dūtaka of the grant was Mahāśāndhivigrahika Candra Sarman, and it was written by the Kayastha Vaṭēśvara.¹

(2) Mundaka grant.—Found together with five other grants in the possession of the widow of the late Dr. Gerson Da Cunha. Its find-spot is unknown. It is incised on two plates of copper held together by a ring of the same metal. It records the grant of eleven plough-measures of land in the village of Munḍaka which was included in the Viśaya of Vardhi, to the Brāhmaṇa Vāsudeva, son of Balabhadrā, by M.-Bhīmadeva, at Anahila-pāṭaka, in V. S. 1086 (A.D. 1030).²

(3) Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's grant.—Deposited in the Library of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. There is no information as to where it was originally found. It contains 16 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with the date (V.) Samvat (10)93 (A.D. 1036),³ and then records that the donor of No. 2, from Anahilapāṭaka, having worshipped (Siva) the lord of Bhavānī, granted one plough of land in the village of Sahasacāṇa in Kaccha-māndala to the Brāhmaṇa Govinda. The writer and the Dūtaka of the grant are the same as in No. 1.⁴

(4) Abu stone-inscription.—Incised in the Vimala temple on Mount Abu, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana. It is a short inscription of a minister of the Caulukya Bhīmadeva I, dated in V. S. 1119 (A.D. 1062).⁵

¹ Edited by Bühler, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 193-94; see also EI, p. 194. Cf. Maṃgūrāḥ in Sind.
² Noticed in ASI, WC., 1930, p. 54. For text and translation see JBRAS, Vol. XX, p. 49.
³ The date is given as 93. Fleet took it to be Śidha-Samvat 93 (A.D. 1007), and referred it to Bihims II; IA, XVIII, pp. 108-09. Bühler first (IA, Vol. VI, p. 180) took it to be a case of omitted hundreds. But see Fleet in IA, Vol. XIX, pp. 833-34.
⁴ First noticed in a Gujarati History of Ootich (p. 17); see IA, Vol. VI, p. 185 fn. It was edited by Fleet in IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 108-10. But he took it to be a grant of Bihims II. I think Hultsch, Bühler, Bhagwanlal Indrajit, and Jackson were right in taking the grant to belong to Bihims I. The fact that the names of the Manḍala, the Dūtaka and the writer are the same as in No. (1) seems to be conclusive.
The dates in these four inscriptions range from c. 1029 to 1062 A.D.¹ According to Merutunga, Bhima I ascended the throne of Anahilapataka in V. S. 1077.² or 1078.³ As both the Hindu and Muslim chronicles allot to him a reign of 42 years, we may with some certainty assign him to the period c. 1022-64 A.D. The Prabandha-cintamani supplies us with some details of the relationship between him and his contemporaries, the Paramara Bhoja (c. 1010 1055 A.D.) and the Kalacuri (Lakshmi)-Karna (c. 1041-70 A.D.). We are told that at first, 'a league of friendship subsisted' between Bhima and Bhoja. But the peace was broken through the hostile activities of Bhoja. The first invasion of Gujarat by Bhoja was diverted to the south against Tailapa by the intrigues of Damarra, Bhima's minister of peace and war.⁴ But the second time, when Bhima had marched to conquer the 'country of Sindh,' Kulacandra, Bhoja's commander-in-chief, swooped down upon his capital Anahilapataka 'sacked the august city, and having caused cowries to be sown at the gate of the clock-tower of the palace, extorted a record of victory (Jaya-patra). In retaliation Bhima sent soldiers into the country of his enemy and once very nearly caught him when the latter was worshipping his family goddess in a temple in a suburb of the city of Dhara. Bhima however could not achieve any material success against Bhoja, till the latter incurred the hostility of the Dahala king Karna. The latter attacked Bhoja in company with 136 princes, and at the same time he invited Bhima to attack the country of Malava in the rear, promising him the half of Bhoja's kingdom. Then king Bhoja, being attacked by those two kings, lost his pride, as a snake, overcome

¹ Mt. Abu Vimala temple inscription of V.S. 1078, contains a date for Bhima I. We are told that the temple of Rasha was founded in V.S. 1088 (c. 1081 A.D.) by a certain Vimala who had been appointed Dandapati at Arbuda by Bhimadeva (I), see EI, Vol. IX, p. 149.
² PC, p. 30.
⁶ He was a Digambara Jain.
with a charm, loses its poison. And then a sudden corporeal malady took hold of Bhoja, of which he died. After this Karna 'broke down the fort and took all the wealth of Bhoja.' But owing to the intrigues of Dāmara, Karna while sleeping after the sack of Dhāra, was taken prisoner by the former and had to give Bhīma 'a golden shrine, and the lord Siva associated with Gāṇeśa.'

The Dvīśraya seems to confirm this story of Bhīma’s war with Karna. We are told that Bhīma’s fame spread to distant countries. ‘The Rāja of Pundra-deśa sent presents; the Rāja of Andhra-deśa sent him a necklace; Bhīma’s fame spread into Magadha-deśa.’ Then some one said to Bhīma, ‘O Rāja! on the earth the Sindhu prince, and the king of Cedi in their pride alone regard not your fame.’ Hearing this report of his ‘spy,’ Bhīma with his army went to the Punjab ‘near to Sindh,’ where ‘five rivers flow together.” The Sind king Hammuka, having conquered his enemies, ‘slept in peace.’ But Bhīma, having crossed the mighty stream of the five rivers by building a bridge, defeated and conquered the prince of Sind. Then ‘Bhīma went to Cedi-deśa conquering the princes as he went. When he heard of Bhīma’s approach, the Rāja of Cedi collected an army of Bhillas and Mlecchas.’ But after long considerations he at last decided to make peace with Bhīma. This he purchased by handing over to Dāmodara, the Vakil of Bhīma, a ‘gold Meru.’ ‘Bhīma having thus conquered returned to Pattan.’

It is difficult to know the proportion of truth and fables in these stories. But no doubt they contain some elements of fact. We have seen that both Ulurāja and Cāmuṇḍa fought with the rulers of Sind. It is therefore quite possible that Bhīma also carried on the policy laid down by the founder of his dynasty.

1 PG, pp. 36-77. Among the other romantic stories in this work may be mentioned the visit of Bhīma to the court of Bhoja in the disguise of a Brāhmaṇ (ibid, pp. 47 ff.). The story of the birth of Karna (ibid, p. 73) has a similarity with the Muslim story of the birth of Lākṣmapāsasna (TN, Vol. I, pp. 354-55); see also DHNI, Vol. I, p. 372. The death of Bhoja by Bhīma is also referred to by the Vasant-vilāsa of Bālacandra (GOS, No. VII, 1917), iii, 15.

Bhoja’s struggle against the Gurjaras, Cedis, and other enemies among whom Bhima was prominent, is referred to by the Udaipur prāṣasti of the Paramāras of Mālava.1 The Vadnagar prāṣasti distinctly says that Bhima’s horses, which were “supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called dhārā), quickly gained Dhārā, the capital of the emperor of Mālava.”2 Though the Udaipur3 and the Nagpur4 prāṣastis do not definitely associate the names of Karna and Bhima with Bhoja’s death they clearly indicate that Bhoja was “submerged” by “floods” which for a time overwhelmed Dhārā and its rulers. There is no epigraphic evidence to show that Karna was defeated by Bhima. But it is not unlikely, in view of the fact that he, like Bhoja, also had a meteoric fall, and Bhima may have had a share in bringing about the downfall of the Kalacuri empire. Though the chronicles are silent on Bhima’s relations with the Cāhamānas, epigraphic evidence shows that he had reversed his predecessor’s friendly policy towards the Nāḍḍūla Cāhamānas. The Sundha Hill inscription of Cāciga (V.S. 1319)5 tells us that the Nāḍḍūla princess Ahila and his paternal uncle Anahilla defeated the Gurjara king Bhima I. In the same inscription, the latter’s son Bālaprasāda6 is said to have compelled Bhima to liberate from prison a king named Kṛṣṇarāja. Kielhorn has rightly identified this Kṛṣṇarāja with the Paramāra of that name, who ruled in Abu c. 1060-67 A.D.7 An inscription in the Vimala temple on Mt.

3 Ibid, pp. 236 and 238, V. 21.
6 (5) Aśvatāla (7) Anahilla.
(6) Ahila (8) Bālaprasāda.
Abu shows that Abu was ruled by Vimala, the Danḍapati of Bhīma I, in V.S. 1088 (c. 1031 A.D.).

But the most important incident in the history of Bhīma which has been omitted by the chroniclers and the inscriptions, is the famous raid of Maḥmūd of Ghazni on the temple of Somanātha (mod. Somnath) in 1025 A.D. Our earliest Persian source for this expedition, the recently published Kitāb Zain ul Akhbār gives the following account of this expedition: "In Hindūstān, on the shores of the sea, there is a big city called Sūmnāt, which is as sacred to the Hindus as Mecca to the Muslims. In it there are a large number of idols made of gold and silver and the idol Manāt, which in the days of the Prophet was taken out of Ka‘ba and despatched to India, through 'Adan. The way to it was very perilous and dangerous and full of hardships. When Maḥmūd arrived near the city and the Samans and the Brāhmans saw him, they began to pray round the idols, and the commander of that city came out and sitting in a boat with his family and relatives went into the sea and alighted on an island; and he remained there as long as the Muslim army remained in that country. When the Muslim army arrived near the city, its inhabitants closed the gates and began fighting; but after only a few days they opened the gates, and the army of Amir Maḥmūd went in and killed many infidels. Maḥmūd then ordered the Mu‘azzin to go on the top of the derā and call the faithful to prayer. All the idols were broken, burnt and destroyed, and the Manāt stone was

2 According to the editor it was written c. 840 A. H. (1048 A.D.). Ed. by Muḥammad Nazim, Trinischahr, Berlin, 1928. Muslim historians generally spell 'Somanātha' as Sūmnāt.
3 This story is also found in TA (Trans., p. 15). Nigān-ud-Dīn after giving the story says: "But it appears from the ancient books of the Brāhmans that this was not so. This idol has been the object of adoration of the Brāhmans from the time of Kishan (Krishna) which was four thousand years ago."
taken out of its roots and broken to pieces; part of it was placed on camels and brought to Ghazni and placed outside the mosque there. There was a treasure under the idols. He carried away that treasure and got a huge amount of wealth, consisting of silver idols and their jewels......From that place Mahmūd turned back, and the reason was that Param Deo, who was the king of the Hindus, was in the way, and the Amīr Mahmūd feared lest this great victory might be spoiled. He did not come back by the direct way, but took a guide and, marching by the way of Mansūra and the bank of the Sihūn, went towards Multān. His soldiers suffered heavily on the way both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jatts of Sind. Many animals and a large number of men of the Muslim army perished on the way, and most of the beasts of burden died, till at last they reached Multān."

The next important source in order of time for this expedition is the Arabic Ta'rikh-ul-Kāmil of Ibn Athīr. This historian tells us that Mahmūd started from Multān with 30,000 horse, besides volunteers on the 10th Sha'ban (416 A.H., 1025 A.D.). He carried with him provisions (water and corn) on 30,000 camels, as the way from Multān to India lay through a barren desert without inhabitants or food. After crossing the desert he captured a fort full of people, in which place there were wells, and reached Anahilwāra at the beginning of Zu'lqā'īda. The chief of Anahilwāra, "fled hastily, and, abandoning his city, went to a certain fort for safety and to prepare for war. Mahmūd pushed on for Sūmnāt." After passing through a waterless desert and capturing several forts on his way, he reached Dabalwārah, two days' journey from Sūmnāt. Arriving at Sūmnāt on

1 Ezir (ژیر).
2 Pā'īn (پاین).
3 Pp. 65-67 of the text. I am indebted for this translation to Dr. Mirza, Head of the Department of Arabic, Lucknow University.
4 Written in c. 623 A.H. (1220 A.D.).
Thursday in the middle of Zu'lqa'da, he was desperately resisted by the Hindus for one day; but on the second it was captured with great slaughter, over 50,000 being slain. "After the capture of Sūmnāt, Mahmūd received intelligence that Bhīm, the chief of Anhilwāra, had gone to the fort of Kandahat, which is situated about forty parasangs from Sūmnāt between that place and the desert. He marched thither, and when he came in front of the place, he questioned some men who were hunting as to the tide. From them he learned that there was a practicable ford, but that if the wind blew a little, he might be submerged. Mahmūd prayed to the Almighty and then entered the water. He and his forces passed over safely and drove the enemy out of the place. Thence he returned, intending to proceed against Mānṣūra." 1

Neither the Zain ul-Akhbār nor the Kāmil gives details of the route taken by Mahmūd from Multan to reach Somnath. The latter only tells us that he came by way of Anhilvada. The accounts of Nīgam ud-Din and Khond Amīr, 2 though interesting in other matters, throw no additional light on the question. The former tells us that Mahmūd after passing the winter of the year 415 A.H. (1024 A.D.) at Ghazni, advanced towards Somnath. "When the Sultān reached the city of Naharwāla Patan," 3 he found it empty. He ordered that grain might be collected, and then he took the way to Sūmnāt. When he reached Sūmnāt, the inhabitants shut the gate on his face. After much fighting and great struggles the fort was taken, and the methods of plunder and destruction were carried into effect, and vast multitudes were killed and taken prisoner. The temples were pulled down and destroyed from their very foundations. The idol Sūmnāt was broken to pieces, and one piece was sent to Ghaznin, and was placed at the gate of the Jāme' Masjid, and for years it remained there. The Sultān raised his standard...

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2 Sometimes spelt as Kāwānd-Amīr.
with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo\textsuperscript{1} one of the most powerful of the Rājas of Hindūstān, had to be met on the way, he did not consider it advisable to fight with him at that time, under all the circumstances, he turned towards Multān by way of Sindh. His troops suffered great privations \textit{en route}, in some places, on account of scarcity of water, and in others, for want of fodder, but at last, after suffering great distress and hardship he reached Ghaznin in the year 417 A.H. (1026 A.D.)\textsuperscript{2}.

The \textit{Habīb us-Siyar} of Khond Amir, however, gives us the following account of Maḥmūd’s march from Multan to Naharwāla.\textsuperscript{3} We are told that Maḥmūd’s army, which mainly consisted of about 30,000 cavalry, travelled from Multan \textquotedblleft by way of the desert." The soldiers were obliged to carry water and forage for many days; and in addition the Sultān loaded 20,000 camels with water and provisions. \textquotedblleft Having passed that bloodthirsty desert, they saw on the edge of it several forts filled with fighting men, and abounding with instruments of war but the omnipotent God struck fear into the hearts of the infidels, so that they delivered the forts over without striking a blow. Sultān Maḥmūd went from that place towards Naharwāla and he killed and plundered the inhabitants of every city on the road at which he arrived."\textsuperscript{4}

The only authorities who supply us with the names of important stages of Maḥmūd’s advance from Multan to Anhilvada are the \textit{Ta’rīkh-i-Fīrishta} and \textit{Ta’rīkh-i-Alfī}. The former relates that \textsuperscript{5} having passed the desert the army reached the city of Ajmeer.... The Rāja and the inhabitants abandoned the place. Conceiving the reduction of the fort of Ajmeer would occupy too much time, he left it unmolested, and proceeding on

\textsuperscript{1} T.A., Trans., p. 15. In the text the name is \\textsuperscript{2} A.D. 1026, T.A., Trans., pp. 15-16.\
\textsuperscript{3} Elliot has pointed out that Mir Khound, Khond Amir sometimes spelt Mir-Khwānd) and \textit{Ta’rīkh-i-Alfī} wrongly read Bakusārā; Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 180, fn. 2.\
\textsuperscript{4} Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 180-81.
his expedition took by assault some smaller forts on the road till at length he arrived at Nehrwāla.\textsuperscript{1} It is clear that by the ‘Raja of Ajmeer’ Firishta meant the Cāhamāna ruler of Sākambhari. It seems a little strange that Māhmūd, whose main object was to plunder the treasure of Somnāth, should by his attack on the powerful Cāhamānas’ capital unnecessarily incur their hostility. It may be therefore that Firishta was wrong in holding that Māhmūd followed the Ajmeer route.\textsuperscript{2} It seems to me that the Ta’rikh-i-Ālī is perhaps more correct in representing him as passing through Jaisalmer.\textsuperscript{3} It is not unlikely that he went through Bahawalpur, crossed the dry bed of the Hakra, passed through Jaisalmer and Mallani, and suddenly appeared before Anhilvada. An attack on the Cāhamānas would have certainly given a warning to the Caulukyas, which would have led to some fighting before the walls of that city before Māhmūd was allowed to pass on his way to Somnath. The fact that all the Muslim authorities are unanimous in asserting that he fought no engagement at or near Anhilvada shows that his strategy was brilliantly successful. By carrying ample water and provisions from Multan to last him for months he was able to cross the Thar by its western and less frequented routes, and take the Caulukya king

\textsuperscript{1} TF, Briggs’ Trans., Vol. I, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{2} See Bihlar in IA, 1897, Vol. XXV, pp. 164 ff. He also disbelieves Firishta’s account. He shows good grounds for believing that Ajmer was not founded till c. 1108-1139 A.D. The Prthvīrāja-viṣaya, one of the most reliable chronicles on the Cāhamānas’ history, distinctly states that it was Ajayarāja the father of Argorāja (1139 A.D.) who built the Ajayamān (Ajmer). See also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas.
\textsuperscript{3} Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 185, fn. 2. Since the above was written my attention has been drawn to the summary of a paper by Muhammad Nāṣim on the Somnath expedition of Māhmūd. He refers to a qasida of Farrūkhi (one of the court poets of Māhmūd) which tells us that Māhmūd on his way to Somnath passed by Ludrava, Chikāūr (?), Naharwāla and Dewalwāra. Nāṣim identifies ‘Ludrava’ with modern Ludhara, about 10 miles west by north of the town of Jaisalmer; Chikāūr with Chikhoda Mata’s Hill, 17 miles north of Pālaspur; Mundher is about 8 miles south of Patan; and Dewalwāra is mod. Delwara between Una and the island of Dūr; JRAS, 1928, pp. 335-39. Nāṣim also rejects Firishta and appears to have formed conclusions similar to mine on Māhmūd’s route. See also Nāṣim’s recently published The Life and Times of Sultan Māhmūd of Ghur, 1931, pp. 215 ff.
completely by surprise. Finding resistance hopeless, the king must have evacuated the city; but once Mahmūd had passed on his way, he found time not only to organise measures for the defence of the city, but took steps which greatly increased the difficulties of the Yamunī raider.

The next difficulty that presents itself about this invasion is the name of the king of Anhilvada at the time of this invasion. According to Abu'l-Faṣl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, the contemporary ruler was Cāmunḍa. According to Gardīzī and Niẓām ud-Dīn it was 'Param Deo.' The published lithographed editions of Ta'rikh-i-Firīṣhta also supply the same name.¹ But in his translation of this work Briggs gives the name as 'Brahma Dew.'² Ibn Athīr however supplies the name 'Bhim,' and there is no doubt that as usual,³ he has preserved the king's correct name. We have already seen that it was Bhīma (I) who was on the throne of Anhilvada from c. 1022-64 A.D.

According to the Zain ul-Akhbār, when Mahmūd appeared before the gates of Somnath, the local commander left the city and took shelter in a boat on the sea. The defence was mainly organised by the priests.⁴ The Muslim accounts leave no doubt that the temple-priests resisted the invader with the courage of despair. Thus Khond Amīr tells us: "The army of Ghaznīn full of bravery, having gone to the foot of the fort brought down the Hindus from the tops of the ramparts with points of eye-destroying arrows, and having placed scaling ladders, they began to ascend with loud cries of Allāh-u-Akbar. The Hindus offered resistance, and on that day, from the time that the sun entered upon the fort of the turquoise-coloured sky, until the time that the stars of the bedchambers of heaven were

² Vol. I, p. 74. See also ibid, p. 170. "The prince Bhim-Dew (a linear descendant from Brahma Dew of Gujarāt, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznīvī)."
⁴ Samans and Brāhmaṇs, see above, p. 929.
conspicuous, did the battle rage between the two parties. When the darkness of night prevented the light of the eye from seeing the bodies of men, the army of the faithful returned to their quarters. The next day having returned to the strife, and having finished bringing into play the weapons of warfare, they vanquished the Hindus. Those ignorant men ran in crowds to the idol temple, embraced Sūmnāt, and came out again to fight until they were killed. Fifty thousand infidels were killed round about the temple, and the rest who escaped from the sword embarked in ships and fled away."

According to Firishtas, the struggle for the fortified temple went on for 3 days. "The labours of the second day proved even more unsuccessful than those of the first... As fast as the besiegers scaled the walls, so fast were they hurled down headlong by the besieged who now seemed resolved to defend the place to the last. On the third day an army of idolators having arrived to reinforce the garrison, presented itself in order of battle in sight of the Ghizny camp. Mahmood determined to prevent this attempt to raise the siege and having ordered a party to keep the garrison in check, himself engaged the enemy in the field. The battle raged with great fury; victory was long doubtful, till two Indian princes, Brahma Dew and Dabishleem, with other reinforcements joined their countrymen during the action, and inspired them with fresh courage. Mahmood at this moment perceiving his troops to waver, leaped from his horse, and, prostrating himself before God, implored his assistance. Then mounting again, he took Abool Hussun, the Circassian by the hand, by way of encouragement, and advanced on the enemy. At the same time he cheered his troops with such energy, that ashamed to abandon their king with whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord gave a loud shout and rushed forward. In this charge the Moslems broke through the

1 Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 182.
2 One of his generals.
enemy’s line and laid 5,000 Hindus dead at their feet. The rout became general. The garrison of Sūmnāt, beholding this defeat, abandoned the defence of the place, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of 4,000, embarked in boats, intending to proceed to the island of Serendip or Ceylon."

According to all accounts Maḥmūd gained much treasure, by plundering the temple. According to the Zainul-Akhbār the treasure was found under (zār) the idols. Probably it was buried in the raised platform (vedā) on which the images were set up. The romantic story first found in the Ta’rīkh-i-Alfī and later repeated by Firishta, in which Maḥmūd is said to have refused the offer of gold by the Brāhmans to spare the idol of Somnath, and breaking open with a single blow of his mace ‘the belly of Sūmnāt which was hollow’ was rewarded by the discovery of "diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Brāhmans had offered," has been rightly rejected as impossible. It seems very likely that the idol of Somnath was a ‘solid unsculptured līṅga,’ and not a statue. This is supported by the fact that Abu Sa‘īd ‘Abd ul-Ḥayy b. ad-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Maḥmūd al-Gardīzī, our earliest authority on the invasion described the god as a stone (سک). Ibn Ṭhīr also distinctly says that the idol "had no appearance of being sculptured." It is significant that we have no trace of

2. According to Ibn Ṭhīr the treasure found in the temple was ‘more than twenty million (twenty thousand thousand) dinārā.’ Kāmil IX, p. 248. But *BG* (Vol. I, Part I, p. 167) gives the figure as two millions. Mir Khond (Rawdat us-Ṣafā, Nawār Kishor Ed., Vol. IV, p. 43) gives the figure as 30,000 gold dirhams. Nāṣirī has calculated the value of the total spoils at £10,500,000. According to Khond Amir Maḥmūd obtained ‘more than 20,000 (thousand?) dinārā’ from the idol temple of Somnāt. He adds that this big sum was obtained because the 26 pillars which supported the roof of the temple ‘were all adorned with precious jewels.’ Elliot, Vol. IV, pp. 182-83; see also ibid., fn. 3, on p. 183.
4. Khond Amir says that ‘the name of the idol of Somnāt was Lāt.’ (Elliot, Vol. IV, p. 181.) ‘It was an idol cut out of stone, whose height was five yards, of which three yards were visible, and two yards were concealed in the ground.’
5. *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 197. Its height was 5 cubits and its girth 3 cubits; 2 cubits were hidden in the basement.
this dramatic story in any authority till about 600 years after Maḥmūd.

According to Ibn Athīr Maḥmūd after plundering the temple drove away Bhīma, the chief of Anhilwāra, from the fort of Kandahat, and then proceeded on his way to Maṣūra. But the Zain ul-Akẖbār, our earliest authority on the subject, tells us that from Somnath Maḥmūd took a guide and marched direct by way of Maṣūra. The reason for this course was that Param (Bhīma?) Deo, the king of the Hindus was 'in the way.' This statement is also found in the Tabaqat-i-Akbarī. According to these authorities, therefore, Maḥmūd did not return by way Anhilvada, because he wanted to avoid a conflict with Bhīma, 'the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindūstān.' It is therefore doubtful whether Ibn Athīr was right in making Bhīma the opponent of Maḥmūd at Kandahat. Our suspicion seems to be confirmed by the statement of Khond Amīr, who tells us that after the glorious victory at Somnath, Maḥmūd 'reduced a fort in which the governor of Naharwāla had taken refuge.' Finishta states that the relieving force which nearly snatched the fruits of victory from Maḥmūd in the battle of the temple was sent by Param (Bhīma) Deo, the Rāja of Naharwāla. This king, we are told, 'had cut off above 3,000 of the faithful,' and 'after the taking of Somnāth, instead of proceeding to Naharwāla shut himself in the fort of Gundaba.'

1 Identified by Sir Wolseley Haig with the mod. island of Beyt Shankholhar, an islet at the N.W. corner of Kathiawar, see CHI, Vol. III, p. 25 and fn. 1. Finishta gives the name of the fort as 'Gundaba.' Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 74. Böhler identified it with Kanghat in East Cutch; Col. Watson preferred Gándhīvī an 'Kathiavāda coast a few miles N.E. of Mānī' while Dr. Well favoured Gūndhūr in Broach, in the mouth of the Dhādhar river; Elliot preferred Khandādūr at the N.W. angle of Kathiawar. None of these suggestions are free from difficulties. See BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 167, fn. 4. IA, Vol. VI, pp. 155–86. But I prefer Böhler's identification, see DHNI, Vol. II, p. 938 and fn. 6.

2 It is almost certain that Param is a mistake for Bhīma. The stages of corruption in MSS. may have been as follows:


5 Certainly the 'Kandahat' of Ibn Athīr.
present in the battle, in which he is said to have caused such havoc on the Muslims. This is confirmed by his statement that when the battle was raging "two Indian princes Param (Bhīma) Deo and Dabishleem with other reinforcements joined their countrymen during the action." The statement of Firishta that Bhīma personally fought at Somnath does not find support from any existing authority. Evidently there is a confusion in the Muslim tradition about the details of this episode. I am however disposed to believe that Mahmūd, in his anxiety to avoid Bhīma's armies in the neighbourhood of Anhilvada, avoided that route, and with the assistance of guides tried to find out a shorter and less frequented road to Sind. During these movements he defeated, as Khond Amīr says, a section of Bhīma's army, which may have been sent from Anhilvada to Cutch to block that line of retreat.

Mahmūd's invasion had no permanent effect on the history of Gujarat. The Mundaka and Radhanpur grants show that Bhīma was in safe possession of his capital Anhilvada. He had at least 3 queens, viz., Udayamatt, Cakulādevi, and another. By the first he had a son named Karna, while the second, who was probably of low origin, was the the mother of Kṣemarāja. He had another son named Mūlarāja. Of these Karna appears to have been the youngest. According to the Prabandha-cintāmani Mūlarāja died in the lifetime of his father.

1 In Briggs' Trans. 'Brahma,' ibid., p. 70.
2 Bühler suggested that Mahmūd marched through the northern part of the Rann and Thar Parkar; ibid., Vol. VI, p. 196.
3 I omit here the fantastic stories about the two Dābahillima who figure in later Muslim chronicles in connection with Mahmūd's arrangements for the government of Somnath. For these see Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 500-04; Vol. IV, pp. 183-86; TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 76-80. All the earlier authorities are agreed that Mahmūd after plundering Somnath beat a hasty retreat with his spoils. See also BG, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 168.
5 This name is given by the Kumārapāla-carita (I, 36-39). But the PC (p. 116) gives the name as 'Haripāla.' According to Harunārāyaṇa, Cauḍādevi, the mother of Haripāla, was once a beautiful hera; ibid.
and the latter built a 'temple called Tripurūṣaprasāda, for the welfare of the prince.'1 According to the Devāṣraya, the throne was then offered to Kṣemarāja. But the latter refused to accept it, and induced his father to crown Karna. After Bhima's death, Kṣemarāja retired to Muṇḍikeśvara, near the village of Dahisjhala (or Dadhisthala), on the banks of the Sarasvatī, to perform penances. This village of Dāhīsthala was granted 'to Kumāra Devaprasāda that he might attend upon his father Kṣemarāja in his penances there.'2 It is extremely doubtful whether Karna's succession to the throne was really effected in this peaceful way. The sudden death of Mūlarāja, and the strange tendency of the young prince Kṣemarāja for penances may have been due to more forcible reasons. According to the Prabandha-cintāmani the coronation of Karna took place in V.S. 1120 (c. 1064 A.D.) in the month of Čaitra, and he ruled till the year 1150 V.S. (c. 1094 A.D.) covering a period of 29 years 8 months and 21 days.3 The Theravāda of Merutūṅga assigns him 30 years, from V.S. 1120 to 1150.4 Abu'l-Faḍl and 'Alī Muḥammad Kāhān assign to him a reign of 31 years.5 As there is an approximate agreement amongst all these authorities, we may accept the detailed statement of Merutūṅga and place Karna in the period c. 1164-94 A.D. His long reign of 30 years appears to have been comparatively uneventful. The only inscription so far discovered for it is his Sunak grant. This was discovered at Sunak, 'a village 15 miles east-southeast from Pattan, N. Gujarat, and about 5 miles west of Uñjha railway station.' It contains 23 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription opens with the date V.S. 1148 (A.D. 1091), and records that M.-Trailōkyamalla-Karṇadeva from Anahilapātaka, after worshipping (Siva), the lord of Bhavānī on the occasion of a

1 PC, pp. 72-73.
3 PC, pp. 78-81.
lunar eclipse, granted four ploughs of land requiring 12 pālām\(^1\) of seed corn in Laghu-Dābhi,\(^2\) situated in "a division of 126 villages the chief of which was Ānandapura."\(^3\) From the income of this grant a tank which the Rasovika (?) Thakkura Mahādeva caused to be constructed in the village of Sūnaka\(^4\) was to be maintained. The grant was written by Akṣapatañika Kekkaka, son of the Kāyastha Vāṭēvara. The Dūtaka was Mahāsandhīvigrāhika Cāhila.\(^5\)

According to the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi Karna undertook a successful expedition against a Bhilla named Āśā dwelling at Āśāpalli,\(^6\) who was king of over six lakhs.\(^7\) Having captured Āśāpalli he built there a temple to the goddess called Kocharaba. He also erected a temple to the goddess Jayantī, and the temple of Karnaśvara, which was adorned with a lake called Karnaśāgara. He founded the city of Karnaśawati in which he reigned and in Pattana he built the temple of Karnameru.\(^8\) A Chitorgadh inscription of the time of Kumārapāla credits him with a victory over the Mālavas at the Śūdakūpa mountain pass.\(^9\) Inspite of these accounts of his wars and his temple-building activities, the chronicles do not give us the impression that Karna was a very powerful prince, and the tradition preserved in the Hammira Mahākārika of Nāyacandra that he was killed by the Cāhamāna Duśśala may therefore have some foundation in fact.\(^10\) If the

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1. One pālām = 4 acres.
2. Little Dābhi. Mod. Dabbi, about 1 mile SW. of Sanak. EI, Vol. I, p. 316. The village of Sandera which lay to the south-west of Dābhi is mod. Sandera, 3 miles SW. by W. of Dabbi.
3. Mod. Vadnagar in N. Gujarat; (ibid.
4. Identical with the find-spot of the grant.
7. Of men or villages?
8. PG, p. 69.
10. IA, Vol. VIII, p. 50. Duśśala was 6th in descent from Vigrāharāja, the enemy of Mūlarāja, from whom Karna was 5th in descent; BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 171, fn. 4.
Sundha Hill inscription of Cacigadeva, dated in V.S. 1319 is to be believed he was also defeated by the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Prthvīpāla.¹

According to the chronicles Karna was succeeded in V.S. 1150 (A.D. 1094) by Jayasimha Siddharaja, his son by Mayanalladevi,² the daughter of the Goa Kadamba Jayakesin (A.D. 1052).³

The following records have so far been discovered for Jayasimha's reign:

(1) Atru stone pillar inscription.—Found in the Gadgaccha temple at Atru about 14 miles from Sirod and in the same tahsil, in Kotah State, Rajputana. It contains only 6 lines opening with the name of M.-Jayasimhadeva, and then recording the grant of Mhaisadā-grāma to Mahākavi-Cakravarti-Thakkura-Nārāyanā. It ends with the date (Simha) Sam. 14 (c. 1127-28 A.D.).⁴

(2) Bhinmal inscription.—Found in Bhinmal, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in (V.) Sam. 1186 in the reign of (Jayasimha) Siddharaja.⁵

(3) Gala stone-inscription (§).—Found in a temple on the west bank of the rivulet named Candra-bhāga, equidistant from the villages of Gala and Duadpur which are about 8 miles from Dhrangadra, in Jhalawar, NE Kathiawar. The inscription, which is damaged, contains 5 lines. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1193 (c. A.D. 1136), in the reign of Mahā...(Si)ddha-Cakravarti Avatinnatha-Jayasimhadeva. The object is to record the erection of a temple to the goddess Bhattarika with a shrine

¹ 87, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 76, V. 23.
² For the stories of her marriage, see PG, pp. 79-80; IA, Vol. IV, pp. 233-34. According to Merutunga she was ugly, and according to Hemacandra extremely beautiful.
⁴ The text is given in ASI, WC, 1906-07, pp. 56-57. I accept the suggestion made (ibid., p. 67), that the record probably belongs to Jayasimha of Anahilavad and that the era therefore is the (Simha) era instituted by him. For the location of Atru, see ibid., 1904-05, pp. 47-48.
⁵ Noticed by D. B. Bhadarkar, ASI, WC, 1907-08, p. 38.
of Ganesa by certain persons (apparently related to the Vyayakaran Mahamatiya (treasury officer?) Ambaprasada.\(^1\)

(4) Gala inscription (ii).—Dated in (V.) S. 1193 in the time of Siddharaja Jayasimha.\(^9\)

(5) Ujjain fragmentary stone inscription.—This was 'but a fragment and was lying in the compound of the local Municipality.' It opens with the date Thursday, the 14th of the dark-half of Jyeshta of V.S. 1195 (c. 1138 A.D.) and refers itself to the reign of Tribhuvana-gandha-Siddha-Cakravarti-Avantinatha-Vavaraka-jiśnu-Jayasimhadeva, who resided at Anahilapataka. The inscription then tells us that Jayasimha was holding Avanti-mandala after vanquishing the Malava king Yasvarman. Malava was ruled at this time by Mahadeva, son of Dādāka of the Nagara race. The Mahattama Dādāka was the keeper of the seal at Anahilapataka.\(^3\)

(4) Bhadresvar inscription.—This fragmentary inscription was found at 'Chokanda Mahadeva, near Bhadresvar, Kachch.' It is dated in V.S. 1195 (A.D. 1138) in the reign of M.-P.-Siddha-Chakravarti-Trailokyamalla Jayasimhadeva.\(^4\)

(5) Dohad stone pillar-inscription.—Contains 13 lines, carved on a stone pillar, lying close to the sluice of a tank at Dohad in the Panch Mahals. The inscription opens with Om namo bhagavate Vasudevaya. Then comes the name of Jayasimhadeva the ruler of Gurjara-mandala, who threw into prison the lords of Surastra and Malava; he who destroyed other kings, as Sinduraja and others, and made the kings of the North bear his commands (respectfully) on their heads like Seça; he whose rajadhani was Anahila-pataka. Then we are told that from him the Vahanipati Kesava obtained a commission as Senapati.

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\(^1\) Edited by G. V. Acharya, JBRAS, Vol. XXV, 1917-19, pp. 322-34.
\(^3\) Noticed in ASI, WU, 1921, pp. 54-55.
\(^4\) Noticed by Burgess, Archaeological Survey of W. India, No. 3, Appendix, pp. xliii-xiv.
over Dadhipadra and other mandalas. 'The...mantri appointed by him at Dadhipadra established the temple of Goga-Narayana, for the good of his mother,' in V.S. 1196 (c. 1140 A.D.).

(6) Talwara image-inscription.—Found in Talwara in the Banswara State in South Rajputana; incised on the pedestal of an image of Gañapati. It traces the genealogy of Siddharaja-Jayasimha from Bhima. We are told that Jayasimha 'humbled the pride of Naravarman, crushed Paramardi and founded a temple of Gañanatha.' The date is defaced.

(7) Udayapur stone-inscription.—Contains 12 lines, incised outside the entrance of the great temple in the town of Udayapur, in Gwalior State. It is dated in the victorious reign of Jayasimha.

(8) Bali stone-inscription.—Found at Bali, in Jodhpur State. It contains 6 lines. It opens with the date (V.) Samvat 1200 in the reign of M.-Jayasimhadeva, and then mentions the (Marwar Câhamâna) Mahârâja Āśvaka as his feudatory. It records the grant of four drammams by Bopana-Stambhana in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahughrânā.

(9) Sambhar stone-inscription.—'Found fixed in a well known as Umar shâh-kâ-kuan at Sambhar in Jaipur State in Rajputana. It is engraved on two blank stone slabs and contains 28 lines of which the last 14 lines are more or less damaged. The record opens with an invocation to the goddess Sarasvati and some other gods and then gives the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mularaja to Jayasimha. It states that after

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1 Edified by H. H. Dhrupa, IA, Vol. XX, pp. 158-60. In the opinion of some scholars (EI, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 39, No. 360), a Kirdau inscription of Kumarspâla supplies the date V.S. 1199 (?) for this reign. On this date the local Paramâra prince of Kirâjaköpa is said to have recovered his lost kingdom through the help of the (Caulukya) Jayasimha Siddharaja. See also supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 926.

2 Noted in RMR, 1915, p. 3. The date, though defaced, 'falls between Sañisvat 1161 and 1195' (A.D. 1104-1139).

3 Noted by Kielhorn from an imperfect paper-rubbing in IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 341.

4 Edified by D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XI, pp. 32-33. Āśvaka is the same as Āśtarja and Āśvaraja.
the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama, Mūladeva came to the
crest of the earth in this dynasty. From the provenance of the
inscription as well as the fact that 'Sambhar' is actually
mentioned in the inscription, it is possible to conclude that
Jayasimha actually held Sambhar for some time.¹

These inscriptions range from c. 1127 to 1143 A.D. Accord-
ing to the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi of Merutuṅga Jayasimha's
reign extended over a period of 49 years, V.S. 1150-1199 (c.
1094-1143 A.D.).² This agrees with the period assigned in the
Theravāda of the same author.³ The A'in-i-Akbari and the
Mirāt-i-Ahmadi allot him a period of 50 years.⁴ The Bali stone-
inscription, dated in V.S. 1200, seems to support the Muslim
tradition. According to the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, he ascended
the throne when he was still very young, and the power in the
state appears to have fallen into the hands of his mother, the
dowager queen Mayānalladevi.⁵ It is not therefore unlikely, as
Bhagvanlal has suggested, that the circumstances that led to the
coronation of Jayasimha were attended with violence and court
intrigue.⁶ The unusual sorrow of Devaprasāda which led
him to burn himself alive to follow Karṇa⁷ and the violent
death of Madanapāla, the brother of queen Udayamatī, Karṇa's
mother,⁸ may be connected with intrigues and struggles for the
succession. Merutuṅga seems to indicate that one of the most
important acts of the queen-mother Mayānalladevi was the
abolition of the tax at Bāhuloḍa,⁹ on the pilgrims going to

¹ Edited by Bhabawar Nath Reu, JA, 1939, pp. 234-36. The inscription is now in
the Barhar Museum, Jodhpur.
² PC, pp. 80 and 115.
⁵ PC, pp. 80 ff.
⁸ PC, pp. 81-82.
⁹ 'Apparently mod. Bholada on the Gujarat-Kathiawad frontier about 22 miles SW.
Somnath. According to him the tax yielded seventy-two lakhs to the royal treasury.¹

Jayasimha was a great warrior. The provenance of the inscriptions, which come from the States of Kotah, Banswara, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Dhrangadra, Cutch, the Panch Mahals, and Ujjain show that his dominions must have extended over large portions of Central India and Rajputana, besides Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch.² According to the chroniclers, one of his earliest wars was against the Ābhirā rulers of Saurāstra. According to Merutuṅga, the Abhira ruler Navaghana³ had advanced from Girnar, and having defeated the Caulukya armies eleven times, 'had caused to be thrown up ramparts round Vardhamāna⁴ and other cities.' Jayasimha personally marched against him and after killing Navaghana appointed Sajjana as his Dāṇḍādhīpati 'to superintend the affairs of Saurāstra.'⁵ Merutuṅga's account of the conquest of Saurāstra is confirmed by the Dohad inscription, noticed above, which tells us that Jayasimha imprisoned the prince of that country. Bhagvanlal Indraji drew attention to an inscription of Sajjana in the temple of Neminātha at Girnar, dated in V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1120).⁶

Jayasimha's next war was against his western neighbours, the rulers of Mālava. According to Merutuṅga Yaśovarman, king of Mālava, invaded and overran Gujarat, when Jayasimha was absent from his capital, on a pilgrimage to Someśvara. The minister Sāntu, who was left in charge, was compelled to wash the feet of the Paramāra king and throw 'into the hollow of his hand a handful of water' as a sign of the transference

¹ PC, p. 84.
² A Kirānu inscription states that Udayarāja, the local Paramāra chief fought for Jayasimha in Coja, Gauḍa, Karpēṭa and Māḷava; see ante, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Paramāras, p. 926.
³ Aḥiṣh Khangāra, PC, p. 95. See DHNI, Vol. II, supra, fn. 2 on p. 941. Navaghana was certainly connected with Grāharipu, the enemy of Mūlarāja.
⁴ Mod. Wadhwan in Jhalawar.
⁵ PC, 85-96.
of the spiritual merit which his master had gained by his pilgrimage to Somnath. The angry Caulukya king, when he returned, waged incessant wars for 12 years and in the end stormed Dhārā, imprisoned Yaśovarman and led him in triumph to Pattana. According to the Devaśraya Jayasimha advanced on Ujjain 'by daily stages of eight kos,' entered it, and 'seizing Yaśovarman, imprisoned him and brought all Avantidesa with Dhārā under subjection to himself. Afterwards Jayasimha seized and imprisoned a raja of that country near to Ujjain named Sim and several other Rajas. Some of them he caged like birds, some he chained by the neck like cattle, or by legs like horses.' The Kumārapāla-carita tells us that Jayasimha destroyed Dhārā and killed Nara Varman. The Vasanta-vilāsa contains the statement that Jayasimha brought from Ujjainī Yogini-pitā and defeated and imprisoned the lord of Dhārā 'like a suka bird in a cage.' The substantial accuracy of these statements of the chroniclers seems to be proved by epigraphic evidence. The epithet Avantinātha, which first appears in the Gala inscription (A.D.1137), seems to have been accepted as a regular title by Jayasimha. The Talwara inscription informs us that Jayasimha humbled the pride of Nara Varman while the Dohad pillar inscription states that he threw into prison the ruler of Mālava. The statement of the Dohad inscription is supported by the Vadnagar prasasti of Kumārapāla which also states that Jayasimha "fettered the proud king of Mālava." The Talwara, the Udaipur, and above all the fragmentary Ujjain inscriptions testify to the accuracy

1 FC, pp. 85 ff.
2 IA, Vol. IV, p. 266. Before the declaration of war Jayasimha vowed to 'encage' Yaśovarman 'like a parrot.'
4 For stories about Jayasimha's relations with Kālikā and other Yoginis of Ujjain see Devaśraya, IA, p. 266. The Yoginis are said to have fought against the Caulukya ruler when he attacked Ujjain.
of the epigraphic and literary tradition. As both Naravarman (c. 1097-1111 A.D.) and Yaśovarman (c. 1134-42 A.D.) were contemporaries of Jayasimha (c. 1094-1143 A.D.) it seems quite probable that both of them lost their lives in the protracted struggle which lasted for about 12 years.\(^1\) Bühler has already pointed out that in the 12th century, as now, one of the great routes from Gujarat into Malwa passed through the Panch Mahals. The appointment of Senapati Keśava in Dohad shows that Jayasimha was well aware of the strategic importance of this route in his wars with the Paramāras, and was determined to hold this high-road to Dhārā and Mandu for the free movement of his own troops.\(^2\) According to Sundha Hill inscription of Cāciga, Jayasimha was assisted in the campaigns in Mālava by the Naḍḍūla Cāhamāna Aśāraja.\(^8\)

The virtual annexation of the Paramāra territories in Mālava and Southern Rajputana brought Jayasimha into touch with the Candellas, the Kalacuris, and probably the Gaharwars. The Kumārapāla-carita claims that Jayasimha defeated Madanavarman the lord of Mahobaka\(^4\) (c.1129-63 A.D.). According to the Kīrtikaumudī, he went from Dhārā to Kālānjara.\(^4\) As I have already suggested elsewhere, it appears from the chronicles that Jayasimha did not derive much material advantage from his wars with the Candellas.\(^6\) But the authenticity of the statements of these chronicles about this war seems to be proved by a Kālānjara stone-inscription which refers to a victory of Madanavarman over the Gurjara king.\(^7\) The Prabandha-cintāmaṇī

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\(^1\) See also supra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Paramāras, pp. 883 ff.
\(^3\) EI, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 76, V. 28 ff., see above, p. 967, inscription No. 8. A reference to Jayasimha’s conflict with the Paramāras of Vāgāra is possibly contained in the Arthuna inscription of Vijayarāja (V.S. 1166). His father Cāmunḍarāja (c. 1080-1103 A.D.) is said to have defeated a king of Avanti in the Sthail (Vāgāra) country, see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 933, fn. 4.
\(^4\) IA, 42.
\(^7\) See above, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 710; also p. 710, fn. 4.

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\(^8\) Ibid; a similar statement also occurs in Prthvirāja-Rāja. See IA, 1006, p. 144.
informs us that the 'king of the country of Dāhala' wrote to Jayasimha 'a letter of alliance,' and that the latter maintained diplomatic relations with 'Jayacandra,' 'king of Benares.' This king of Dāhala was probably the Kalacuri Yaśaḥ-Karna (c. 1073-1125 A.D.). But the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king 'Jayacandra' (c. 1170-93 A.D.) given by Merutunga appears to be a mistake for Govindacandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.).

The Dohad and the Talwara inscriptions seem to contain references to two other wars of Jayasimha. The former tells us that he 'destroyed Sindhumāja and others and made the kings of the north bear his commands on their heads like Śeṣa.' Though it is difficult to find the name of this ruler of Sind, he is without doubt one of the Sumra chiefs who ruled at Maṅgūra from c. 1025 to 1362 A.D. In fighting with the rulers of Sind, Jayasimha was merely following a policy which was laid down by the founder of his dynasty nearly a century before his time. His other war appears to have been against a ruler named Paramardi. The Talwara epigraph states that he 'crushed Paramardi.' This Paramardi must be differentiated from the Candella Paramardi, who ruled c. 1167 to 1202 A.D. I would suggest the identity of this prince with the Cāḷukya Vikramādiya VI of Kalyani (c. 1055 to 1126 A.D.), who was also known as Paramardideva.

According to the chronicles, there was yet another struggle in which Jayasimha was involved. This was waged against a prince named Barbaraka. According to the Dvāṭraya


3 The Kirtikāmudī also mentions 'the binding of the lord of Sindhu.' BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 170.


6 This identification is suggested in RMF, 1913, p. 2. For the Candella Paramardi, see DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 713 ff.

7 See BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 616. The inscription (No. 9) may indicate that Jayasimha also defeated the Cāḷukya of Śekumbhārī and for some time at least occupied their capital.

this chief was assisted by the younger brother of 'the Raja of Aśtardhanadesa.' As the followers of Barbaraka are described by Hemacandra as Rākṣasas; who troubled the Brāhmaṇ sages at Sristhala-tirtha (Siddhapur) he may have been a leader of some non-Aryan tribe. According to Bhagvanlal, the modern representatives of this tribe 'are the Bābarias, settled in South Kathia- war, in the province still known as Bābariavāda.' Hemacandra tells us that Jayasimhha led an army against this chief and defeated and imprisoned him. But on the assurance given by his wife Pingalika that he would leave the Brāhmaṇs in peace, he was released; and henceforth became a faithful servant of the Caulukya king. That this account of Hemacandra is based on fact is shown by the title Varavaraka-Jñānu first founded in the Ujjain epigraph dated V.S.1195 (c. 1139-40 A.D.).

The chronicles represent Jayasimhha as a great builder. Amongst the numerous structures ascribed to him may be mentioned the temple of Rudra-mahākāla at Siddhapur and the great artificial lake Sahasralīnga at Pattan. Both these works show Jayasimhha to have been a devotee of the Śaiva faith. Bhagvanlal Indraji has shown that the attempts of Hemacandra and other Jain chroniclers to represent him as leaning toward Jainism have little foundation. The facts at our disposal rather point the

1 But he also calls Barbaraka a Kṣatriya; see IA, Vol. IV, p. 265. Jayasimhha Śrīrī calls him duṣṭaḥ Barbarokam śāram. See Kumārapāla-carita, I, 44.
3 The Kritisāmudī of Somanīvāra tells us that, like Viṣṇu, Jayasimhha conquered (the Cāhamāna) Araporāja (ocean), but, unlike him, married his daughter (Lakṣmī) to the Sākambhari prince. Bhagvanlal Indraji thought that this was a mistake and that the war and peace really took place in the reign of Kumārapāla. JRAS, 1913, p. 374. BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 170. But see Dvārakā (IA, Vol. IV, p. 261), which also says that Kṣna of Sagadalaka bent his head before Jayasimhha. It is possible that the Kiraṅa Paramāra Udayarāja (see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 926), whose might is said to have spread "as far as Goḍja, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa and Māslava " was a feudatory of Jayasimhha.
other way.\textsuperscript{1} Jayasimha, however, honoured Hemacandra and other Jain monks for their learning, and there are stories that he used to hold discussions between the rival sections of that religious fraternity.\textsuperscript{2} According to the Dvayashraya he established schools for the study of the Jyotisha-sastras, Nyaya-sastras, and Puranas, and he built a hundred and eight temples of Candikadeva and others at the Sahasralinga tank.\textsuperscript{3} The same authority tells us that Kumarakapala the successor of Jayasimha started an era during his reign. This must refer to the era known as the Simha era the epoch of which is A.D. 1113-14. We have a Mangrol inscription of Kumarakapala dated in the 32nd year of this era. But the Atru stone-inscription, dated in the year 14 shows that the era was already in use during Jayasimha's reign. We must therefore conclude that Abhayatilaka, who completed the Dvayashraya, committed a mistake in giving the credit for establishing this era to Kumarakapala. The institution of this new era is another evidence of Jayasimha's successful administration.

In spite of all these victories in peace and war, one sorrow constantly gnawed at Jayasimha's heart. He had no son. The chronicles tell us that all his prayers to the gods proved in vain. The god Mahadeva himself told him that "his brother\textsuperscript{4} Tribhuvanapala's son Kumarakapala should sit on his throne."\textsuperscript{5} The relationship of Kumarakapala with Jayasimha may be shown by the following table:

\begin{itemize}
  \item [1] BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 179. See also PC (p. 90) which in recording the ceremony of setting up the flag on the temple of Rudra-mahakala says: On this occasion "he had the flags of all the Jain temples lowered, as in the country of Malava when the banner of Mahakala is displayed, no flag is hoisted on any Jaina temple."
  \item [2] IA, Vol. IV, p. 267
  \item [3] Brother is probably a mistake. Authorities differ as to the ancestry of Kumarakapala. In another place the Depsihsraya (IA, IV, p. 267) describes Jayasimha as Kumarakapala's "uncle."
\end{itemize}
Merutunga tells us that 'as Kumārapāla was of low birth, Siddharāja could not bear the idea of his inheriting the throne and was always on the look-out for an opportunity of compassing his destruction.' The same authority adds that Siddharāja had adopted as his son 'the prince named Bāhaḍa, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva.' The chronicles make it quite clear that during the later years of Jayasimha's reign his court was divided into two factions. The Kumārapāla-carita tells us that owing to his hatred of Kumārapāla Jayasimha killed the latter's father Tribhuvanapāla, and drove Kumārapāla

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1 Manutunga's Thēravālī (JBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 155) has 'Devapāla' in the place of 'Devaprasāda.' The contemporary Devārōṣu, gives Kṣemarāja and Karpa as the names of the two sons of Bhima. Kṣemarāja's son was Devaprasāda. PC, p. 116, gives Bhima; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla; his son Kumārapāla. BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 181, gives Bhima; his son Kṣemarāja; his son Haripāla; his son Tribhuvanapāla; his son Kumārapāla.

2 PC, p. 116.

3 Ibid., p. 120.

4 Abu'l-Faṣl also says that 'Kumārapāla Solanki through fear of his life lived in retirement' till Jayasimha's death. AAK, Vol. II, p. 263.
into exile. After long wanderings in distant countries he at last came back to Anahilla-pattana and took shelter in the house of his brother-in-law Kṣṇadeva. Though there is no definite evidence, yet the sudden death of Jayasimha within 7 days of the arrival of Kumārapāla at Anhilvad looks rather suspicious. The Prabandha-cintāmaṇi tells us that Kumārapāla was so closely pursued that he was at last compelled to take shelter with the 'great minister' Udayana at Cambay. The latter was persuaded to help Kumārapāla to escape by the emphatic statement of the Jain monk Hemacandra that Kumārapāla would be installed as king "in the 1199th year of the era of Vikramādiya, on the second day of Karttiika, on a Sunday, in the nakṣatra of Hasta." This prognosis of Hemacandra was attended by the practical admonition of the monk to Kumārapāla that he "must be grateful" and "always devoted to the law of the Jina." We are told that Kumārapāla 'reverently accepted this admonition.' Jayasimha did not long survive this compact, and it seems certain that even if Jayasimha's death was natural, Kumārapāla's elevation to the throne was to some extent aided by the powerful Jain party in Gujarat. According to Merutunțga, after Jayasimha's death Kānhaḍadeva 'made his forces ready for battle,' and played the part of a king-maker. It appears that, including Kumārapāla, there were three candidates for the throne. Kānhaḍadeva found the other two unfit for kingship, and ordered Kumārapāla to ascend the throne. Kumārapāla was at this time 50 years of age. Once in power, he proved to be a vigorous and effective ruler. The disaffected ministers were 'all dismissed

1 Vālapadra, Bhṛgukscha, Ujjayini, Kāḍj, and Citrakūṭa; see Kumārapāla-cūrīta, III, 67 ff.; also PC, pp. 116 ff.
2 Kumārapāla-cūrīta, III, 443-49.
3 But see above, p. 967, inscription No. 8 of Jayasimha which is dated in V.S. 1900.
4 PC, pp. 117-18.
5 The Mangrol inscription of the time of Kumārapāla significantly says: 'When king Siddharāja died accidentally, Kumārapāla took possession of his kingdom. See BI, p. 159.
6 PC, pp. 118-19.
to the city of Yama,' and even his sister's husband, who had become haughty and contemptuous, was blinded and had his limbs paralysed by royal orders. After this most of the officers submitted, but Bāhāda, Jayasimha's adopted son, escaped and with a section of the royal army took service under the king of Sapādalakṣa.\footnote{Ibid., p. 123.} According to the Kumārapāla-carita, Kumārapāla after his coronation made Bhopalladevi, his Pāttrājītī and Udayana his chief minister.\footnote{III, 474 f. The Kumārapāla-carita gives the name Padmāvatī as that of another queen of Kumārapāla (BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 188). The Rat (Vol. I, pp. 192-99) gives the tragic story of a Sosoda queen of Kumārapāla, of the House of Mewar.} This Udayana was no doubt the same man who had helped him to escape from the fury of Jayasimha at Cambay.

Of the time of Kumārapāla we have the following published records:

(1) Mangrol stone-inscription.—Found incised on a piece of hard black stone, "built up in the wall to the right in descending into a Vāo (Vāpi) near the Gādis' gate at Mangrol in Junagarh," South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, and opens with Om namah Sivaḥya and an invocation to Hara. It then praises Kumārapāla, who succeeded Siddharāja. Next follows the genealogy of a family of Guhila chiefs.\footnote{For details see DHNI, Vol. II, infra, chapter on the Guhila-pulvisa.} Amongst these Sahajājīga became a commander of the Caulukya forces. His sons grew so powerful that they were able to protect the Saurāstra country. One of these, named Samaśāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara; and another named Tha(kkura) Mūluka made some grants for the service of the god. In lines 23-25 the record is dated in V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1145) and Simha Samvat 32. It was composed by the Parama-Pāṣupatācārya-mahāpandita Prasarvadnya.\footnote{IB, pp. 188-90; Den, pp. 179-80.}

(2) Dohad stone-pillar inscription.—This short inscription is incised at the end of No. 5 of Jayasimha. It records that
in V.S. 1202 (c. 1145-46 A.D.) Ṛṣṇa Sāmkarasīha, who attained to greatness under the good graces of the Mahāmanḍalesvara Vāpanadeva, residing at Godrahaka, gave three ploughs of land in the village of Āsvīliyā-Koḍā in the pathaka of Udbhola, for (the expenses of) the worship of the god (Goga-Nārāyana).  

(3) Kiradu inscription (i).—It belongs to the time of the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara, a feudatory of Kumārapāla. It is dated in V. S. 1205.  

(4) Chitorgadh stone-inscription (i).—Incised on a slab of black marble preserved in the temple of Mokalji at Chitorgadh in the Udaipur State, Rajputana. It contains 28 lines, and is much damaged. It opens with Om namāḥ Sarvaṅgāya and 4 verses invoking Śiva (Śarva, Mrḍa, and Samiddheśvara) and Sarasvatī, and then eulogises the family of the Caulukyas. In that family was born Mūlarāja. After many other kings of this line came Siddharāja, who was succeeded by Kumārapāladeva. The proper object of the inscription is to record that in the course of his campaigns against the rulers of Sākambhari he came to the Citrakūṭa mountain, and having worshipped the god Samiddheśvara and his consort granted a village (name lost) and made some donations to his temple. The prasasti was written by the chief of the Digambaras Rāmakirti. The date (V.) Samvat 1207 (c. 1150 A.D.) comes at the end.  

(5) Chitorgadh stone-inscription (ii).—The record is fragmentary and highly weather-worn. It contains the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla. The former was born in the race of Caulukya who was in his turn born from the hollow of the palm of Brahmā. Then follows the usual genealogy from Mūlarāja to Jayasimha. After him,

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1 Edited by Dhrupa, I.A., Vol. X., pp. 159-60. He took this inscription to be a part of Jayasimha’s (5), and wrongly referred it to the reign of Jayasimha. Though the name of the reigning king is not mentioned in it, inscription No. 1 shows that it must belong to Kumārapāla’s reign.

2 See supra, DHNI, Vol. II., pp. 925 ff.

3 Edited by Kielborn, HI., Vol. II., pp. 421-24. The place Sālipura mentioned in this inscription, where Kumārapāla pitched his camp has not yet been identified.
Kumārapāla, son of Tribhuvanapāla who was son of Deva-
prasāda, son of Kṣemarāja, who was son of Bhīmadeva (I). 1

(6) Vadnagar prāśasti.—Incised on a stone slab in the
Arjun-Bāri near the Sāmelā tank at Vadnagar in Gujarat. It
contains 46 lines, opening with Om namah Śivāya and a
maṅgala addressed to Brahman. The next 17 verses give an
account of the origin of the Caulukyas, and traces their genealogy
down to Kumārapāla. Verses 19 to 29 praise the ancient
Brāhmanic settlement of Nagara or Ānandapura,2 and the rampart
which Kumārapāla raised round it. V. 30 gives us the
name of the author of the prāśasti, Śripāla, who, we are told,
was adopted as a brother by Siddharāja and bore the title
Kavi-cakravartin.3 The record was written in (V.) Saṁvat 1208
(c. 1151 A.D.) by the Nagara Brāhman, Pandit Valhana.4

(7) Kiradu stone pillar-inscription (ii).—Found incised on a
white stone pillar at Kiradu, ‘a small village near Hāthamo
under Bādmera, in Marwar in Rajputana. It contains 21 lines
of very damaged and fragmentary writing. It opens with the
date (V.) Saṁvat 1209 (c. 1153 A.D.), in the victorious reign
of Rājādhirāja-Kumārapāla, ‘who has conquered all kings,’ by
the grace of Śaṅkara, the lord of Pārvatt,’ and then records
that when Mahādeva was ‘in charge of the signet and the seal,
etc.’5 (the Naḍḍula Cāhamāna) Mahārāja Ālaṅaḍeva on the
Sivarātri Caturdaśi, and certain other specified days gave
security for the lives of animals. No life was to be taken under
penalty of a fine for persons belonging to the royal family and of

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1 Originally found at Chitorgarh; now in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. AbI, WC, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2220; 8I, Vol. XX, p. 209, No. 1522.
2 Mod. Vadnagar (Sanskrit Vṛddha-nagara), in the Kheralu sub-division of the Kajs district, Baroda State. For the antiquity of this place see 8I, Vol. I, p. 295.
3 He was the poet-laureate of Jayasimha; see Kielhorn, ibid.
5 Srikarūndainam samataś-mudrā-cyāpārān paripūda... (lost). According to Dr. Barnett this seems to mean: 4 being in charge (7) of all the functions of the Seal in the Treasury (Sri Koro).
capital punishment for others. The record was written by Maharajaputra-Sandhisigrahika Thakkura Kheladiya.¹

(8) Pali inscription.—It is engraved on a pilaster close by the sanctum in the Sabhāmandapa of the temple of Somanatha at Pali (Pallika-grāma), in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1209 in the reign of Kumārapāla.²

(9) Ratanpur stone-inscription.—Contains 11 lines, incised on a stone in the dome of an old Śaiva temple outside the town of Ratanpur in Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is damaged, the 1st and the 7th lines being almost illegible. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and is then dated in the victorious reign of M.-Pb.-P.-Kumārapāla.³ The inscription then records the publication of an order of Girijādevī, the Mahārājī of Pūnapākṣadeva, successor of (the Naddula Cāhamāna) Mahārājī Rayapāla, prohibiting slaughter of animals on some specified dates. The violation of the order was to be punished with fines. On the Amāväśya day even the potters were ordered not to burn their pots. The edict was made public through Pūtiga and Sāliga, the two sons of the Śrāvaka Subhamkara belonging to the Prāgavatavamśa and Naddula-pura. It was written by Thakkura Asapāla.⁴

(10) Bhatund stone pillar-inscription.—Incised on one of the pillars of the Sabhā-mandapa of a dilapidated temple in the village of Bhatund, about a mile to the south of Bijapur in the Jodhpur State. The record is ‘highly weather-worn,’ and its object is not clear. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1210 (A.D. 1154) in the reign of ‘the Caulukya sovereign Kumārapāla and mentions

² Noted by D. R. Bhandarkar, ASI, WC, 1907-08, pp. 44-45; see also BI, Vol. XI, p. 70.
³ As in No. 5, i.e., ‘illustrious by the favour of Pārati-pati’ (line 2).
⁴ BI, pp. 200-207. See also BI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 209, No. 1259. The record is not dated in any era.
the Dandanāyaka Vaijāka,¹ who was apparently in charge of the Naḍḍāla district.²

(11) Nadol grant.—The plate was found in the possession of the Panchāyat of the village of Nādol, in the Desuri district, Jodhpur State. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit prose; there is a benedictory verse towards the end. It opens with the date (V.) Sam. 1213 (A.D. 1156) when Pb.-M.-P. Umāpativa-rābdha-prasāda-praudhuprātāpa-nijabhuja-vikramarāṇāṅgana-vinirjita-Sākambhari-bhūpāla-Kumārapāla was reigning at Anahilapātaka and when the Mahāmātya Bāhaḍadeva was transacting the business of the Seal, etc. It then records a grant made by his feudatory, the Mahāmanḍalika Pratāpaspīthiya of the Vadānā clan (anvaya). The grant consists of one rāpaka per day from the custom-house (maṇḍapikā) of Badari to some Jaina temples at Naḍḍālaikā (mod. Nadlai) and Lavaṇḍaḍi. The inscription was written by the Gauḍānvaya-Kayartha-Paṇḍita Mahīpāla.³

(13) Bali Inscription.—Incised on a lintel in the temple of Bahuguna Mātā at Bali, the principal town of the district of the same name in Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1216 (A.D. 1159) in the reign of Kumārapāla. On that date his Dandanāyaka at Naḍḍāla was Vayajaladeva and 'Jahugirdār' of Vālāhi (mod. Bali) was Anupameśvara. The inscription

¹ Also known as Vaijā, Vaijalladeva, and Vayajaladeva. The following inscriptions also mention him:

(a) A stone inscription in the Mahāvira temple at Sevadi (Jodhpur State) dated in V.S. 1213 speaks of Dauḍa Vaijā as ruling in Naḍḍāla.

(b) A stone inscription in a Jaina temple at Ghanerav in the Desuri district (Jodhpur State) is dated in V.S. 1213 in the reign of Daṇḍanāyaka Vaijalladeva.

(c) A stone inscription in a lintel of the Saḥā-ṣaṃḍopa of the temple of Bōlia or Bahuguna Mātā at Bali, dated in V.S. 1216; in the reign of Kumārapāla; speaks of Daṇḍa Vayajaladeva as ruling in Naddralā.

(d) Inscription No. 2 of the Gauḍukya Ajayapāla, dated in V.S. 1231 mentions Mahāmāṇḍalikā Vaḷījalladeva of the Cāhāyana (Cāhamāna) family.

See EI, Vol. XI, p. 70 and fn. 4.

² Noted in ASI, WC. 1908, pp. 51-52. The town of Bhāṭuṇḍapradra-nagara is identified with mod. Bhautand, the final spot of the record.

records that a plot of land belonging to Bali which could be traversed by one ploughshare in a single day was granted by Vayajaladeva for the worship of the goddess Bahughrṇa.¹

(13) Kiradu inscription (iii).—Incised in the Śiva temple at Kiradu, Jodhpur State. It belongs to the time of Kumārapāla and his feudatory, the Kiradu Paramāra Someśvara. It is dated in V.S. 1218 (A.D. 1161).²

(14) Udayapur stone-inscription (i).—Said to have been found inside the east entrance of the great temple of the town of Udayapur (Lat. 23°54'N., Long. 78°7'E.) in the State of Gwalior. It contains 20 lines of incomplete writing, for in its present condition 'at the beginning of each line we miss from about 8 to 10 akṣaras.' The inscription records donations to the temple of the god Udaleśvara in the town of Udayapura by Mahārājaputra Vasantapāla. It was apparently dated in the first 8 lines, in the reign of Ku(mārapāla) of Aṇa(hilapātaka), 'the vanquisher of the lords of Sākambhari and Avanti,'³ while the Mahāmātya Yaśodhava(la) was managing the affairs of the state.⁴ and when the Mahāsādhanika Rājya(pāla) was governing at Udayapura. Of the date which was contained in the beginning of the first line only ...ṣa-sudi 15 Gurau remains. As the endowments were made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse the editor has calculated that the lost portion must have been (V.) Samvat 1220 vari... (A.D.) 1163.⁵

(15) Jalar stone-inscription.—Incised on a lintel in the second storey of an old mosque now used as a tōpkhāna at Jalar, in Jodhpur State. It records the construction of a Jain vihāra containing an image of Pārvanātha on the fort of Kāñcanagiri, belonging to Jābālipura (mod. Jalar) in V.S. 1221, by the Gūrjara-dharādhiśvara-Paramārhaṭa-Caullakya-M.-Kumārapāla

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¹ ASI, xx, 1907-08, pp. 54-55.
² EF, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 47, No. 813.
³ This is the interpretation of Kielhorn; but to me it seems that Avantinātha was a title of the king; see above, inscription No. 8 of Jayasimha.
⁴ (Sama)stā-nuḍrā-nupārān-paripāṭhānyat-tiy-ṣu...... See above inscription No. 6.
⁵ Edited by Kielhorn, IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 341-43.
being requested by Prabhu Hema Sûri. The temple was known as Kuvara (Kumâra) vihâra.¹

(16) Udayapur stone pillar-inscription (ii).—Said to be incised on a pillar; in the south of the east entrance of the same temple as No. 14. It contains only 5 lines. It opens with the date (V.) Samvat 1222 (A.D. 1166), and records that the Tha(kkura) Câhaḍa ² gave half the village of Samgavaṭṭā in the Bhûṅgârît-catuḥṣaṭti (group of 64 villages called Bhûṅgârî), probably to the temple where the epigraph was found at Udayapura.³

(17) Veraval praṣasti of Bhûva-Brhaspati.—Contains 54 lines, incised on a stone slab fixed in the porch of the temple of Bhadrakâlî at Veraval (Somnath) in S. Kathiawar. The record opens with Om namah Śivâya and invocations to Bhavânâtpati (Siva), Gâneśa, and Soma (Moon). It then gives an account of the birth and career of Bhûva-Brhaspati. He was born in the city of Vâpârasî in the Kânyakubja-Visâya in a Brâhman family, and took the vow of the Pâṣupatas. When he reached Dhârâ and Avânti in the Mâlava country he was highly honoured, and the Paramâra lords became his pupils. Next he bound to himself Jayâsinâha in a close bond of brotherhood. After his death, when Kumârapâla, 'who was a lion to jump on the heads of (those) elephants-Ballâla,' king of Dhârâ and the illustrious ruler of Jâṅgala,' quickly mounted the throne of his kingdom,' the Gaṇḍa ⁴ Bhûva ⁵-Brhaspati, 'seeing the temple of the Foe of Cupid (Somanath) ruined,' exhorted him 'to restore the house of the god.' We are told that the temple of Somnath was first

² Kielhorn has suggested that this Câhaḍa may be identical with Kumârapâla's general.
³ The same name mentioned by the Devâdityas. see IA, Vol. IV, p. 267; Vol. XVIII, p. 443, fn. 22.
⁴ Edited by Kielhorn, IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 843-44.
⁵ Temple priest; see WZKM, Vol. III, p. 2 and fn. 1.
⁶ A common honorific title of religious teachers; ibid, fn. 1.
erected in stone by Bhima I. Kumārapāla agreed, made Brhaspati the lord of all the gaudas, and appointed him governor of Somanātha-pattana. When the temple of Somnath was finally rebuilt the king made his office of chief temple-priest hereditary and granted him the village of Brahmapuri, near Mandalī. When Bhoja, the son of the king's sister Premalladēvī, worshipped Somanātha under the guidance of Brhaspati, Kumārapāla, characterised as Māheśvara-nṛpāgranī gave another village to the priest. The record was written by Rudra Śūri, and is dated in the last line in Valabhi Samvat 850 (A.D. 1169).

(18) Junagarh stone-inscription.—Incised on a piece of hard black stone and found in a Śaiva temple at Junagarh. It contains 34 lines of very much damaged writing. It opens with an invocation to Śiva, and then gives the genealogy of the Canlukyas of Anahilapātaka from Mūlarāja, followed by the names of Bhima, Karṇa, Jayasimha and Kumārapāla. It seems to record the building of a Śaiva temple by the last prince of Ānandanagara and his minister Dhavala. The date is Valabhi-Samvat 850 and Simha-Samvat 60 (A.D. 1169).

(19) Nadlāi stone-inscription.—Found near the temple of Mahādeva, about one mile SW. of Nadlāi. It contains 3 lines and records the construction of the mandapa, etc., of the temple of Bhivadeśvara by one Pāhini at the cost of 330 drammas, in V.S. 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.), during the victorious reign of

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7 Must have been damaged during the invasion of Mahāud in the reign of this prince. See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 953 ff.
8 Mod. Brahmapuri, near mod. Mandalī, in the Viramgam Taluka of the Ahmedabad Collectorate.
10 Mod. Vadnagar.
12 Nadlāi is situated 8 miles to the NW. of Desuri, the principal town of the district of the same name; Godwar division; Jadīpur State; see SI, Vol. XI, p. 34.
Kumžara(Kumāra)pāla, while Kelhana was ruling in Nāḍūla and the Rānā Lakhamāna at Voripadyaka.¹

These inscriptions cover a period of about 26 years, c. 1145 to 1171. According to the Prabandha-cintāmanī Kumārapāla reigned for 31 years from V.S. 1199 to 1230.² The Theravālī, gives the reign-period as 1199 to 1229 V.S.³ The Mirāt-i-Āhmadi⁴ assigns him a reign of 30 years and 6 months, while the A’in-i-Akbārī gives him only 23 years.⁵ As the Bali-stone-inscription of his predecessor is dated in V.S. 1200 and the Udaipur stone-inscription of his successor is dated in V. S. 1229 Kumārapāla’s reign must fall between these two limits. As Merutūṅga tells us that Kumārapāla ascended the throne when he was fifty years old, it would seem at first sight that the tradition recorded by Abu’l-Fazl of a shorter reign of 23 years is the more correct. But the Nadlāi stone-inscription of V.S. 1228 shows that the Theravālī represent the true tradition regarding the lower limit of the reign.

According to the Gujarat chronicles Kumārapāla, like his predecessors, was also a great warrior. The most elaborate description of his dīqvijaya is found in the Kumārapāla-carita of Jayasimha Sūri. The whole of the fourth Sarga of this work is devoted to the king’s victorious campaigns. We are told that he first reached Jāvalapura⁶ (mod. Jalor). After being entertained by its nāyaka, he proceeded to attack the Sapādālakṣa country. Armorāja, the king of this place who was also his brother-in-law, worshipped him; then he proceeded to the Kuru-mandala and halted on the banks of the Mandākinī (Ganges). Then the Gurjarar king marched against Mālava. On the way the lord of Citrakūṭa showed his gratitude to him. After reaching Avanti-desa he captured its ruler. He then

² PC, p. 161.
³ IBRĀH, Vol. IX, p. 155; see also p. 157.
⁴ MA, Trans., p. 143.
followed the banks of the Narmadā, and rested for some time in the Revā-tīra. Next he crossed the river, and entering Ābhīravrīṣayu, compelled the lord of Prakāśa-nagari to become his servant. Further south his advance was obstructed by the Vindhyas, and after extracting tribute from the petty village chiefs in that area he appears to have turned west and subdued the lord of Lāta. Proceeding northwards from Lāta he turned towards the west, and defeated the chief of the Surāṣṭra-𝑣ṛiṣayu. From Surāṣṭra he entered Kaccha, defeated its chief, and went on to fight with the Paṇcanadādhipa, who is described as nausādhana-samuddha-ta. After defeating him he proceeded to fight against Mūlarāja the lord of Mūlāstānā (mod. Multan). After a terrific contest Mūlarāja was vanquished, and the Caulukya king returned victorious from the Saka country, by way of Jālandhara and Marushāna. After describing his triumphant tour of victory, Jayasimha thus indicates the limits of Kumārapāla’s digvijaya.¹

A Mamgam Aindrīm a-Vindhyamī Yāmyām a-Sindhu-paścimām,  
A-Turūskam ca Kauberīṁ Caulukyaḥ Śadhāvaiṣyati.

[Up to the Ganges on the east, Vindhyas on the south, Sindh, on the west and up to the Turuśka (land) on the north did the Caulukya (king) conquer.²]

Further on Jayasimha gives a detailed account of Kumārapāla’s war with Arñorāja, the lord of Sākambhari. According to him, the war was caused by Arñorāja having insulted Devalladevi, the sister of Kumārapāla. She is said to have left the Cāhamāna kingdom and complained to her brother. Kumārapāla thereupon invaded the Cāhamāna territories and defeated

¹ IV, 117; the Kumārapāla-prabandha also gives the same limits of his sway. See B.G.,  

² The Saṅgita-kirti-kalolini[ of Udayaprakasa contains the following verse on Kumārapāla’s conquest:

Agra Hammira-vitra ciram ajira-mahī-pādopah pāda-padma-
Kṛśa-hṛṣaṁ Kalihaṁ sādvasva rhagha Medapīṭha kapāṅga,
Andhaṁ Kandaṁ-Līṭau Kuru-Maru-Murulā-Vagha-Cauḍā-Cauḍaṁ,
Kṛśa-śambhaṁ sahāyum iti nṛpati-kulair akulaṁ devo yaḥ

GOS, No. X, Appendix II, pp. 76 ff., V. 60.
Arnoraja, but in the end reinstated him on his throne. The Dvyasastra however says that the hostilities were first commenced by Anna of Sapadalaksa, who, 'supposing the government to be new and Kumarapala to be weak quarrelled with him,' and invaded Gujarat. But Anna was defeated and wounded in the fight, and bought peace by marrying his daughter Jalhaná to Kumarapala. Merutunga agrees with Hemacandra in stating that it was the king of Sapadalaksa who first made the attack. According to him the Cāhamāna king was induced to attack the frontiers of Gujarata by Bāhada, the son of the prime minister Udayanadeva and the adopted son of Siddharāja, Bāhada, 'desiring to make war on Kumārapāla, having won over to his side all the officers in those parts with bribes, attentions and gifts, bringing with him the king of the Sapadalaksa country, surrounded with a formidable army, arrived on the borders of Gujarat.' For a time the position of the Caulukya king was serious. A large section of the army, including Caullinga, the driver of the royal elephant, refused to follow him to battle. But in the end, thanks to Kumārapāla’s personal bravery, the enemy forces were completely routed, Bāhada was captured, while Anna the Sapadalaksa king was wounded with an iron dart. This victory over Arnoraja is also mentioned by the Vasanta-nilasa, the Vastupala-Tejahpala-prasasti, and the Suhrtakirti-kollolini.

There is ample epigraphic evidence to show that this literary tradition of war between Kumārapāla and Arnoraja is based on fact. The Kiradu (V. S. 1209) and Ratanpur stone inscriptions show that the principality of the Naduula Čāhamānas was

1 IV, 170 ff.
2 IA, IV, pp. 267 ff.
3 PC, p. 190.
4 GOS, No. VII, n. 29. The Cāhamāna king is referred to as 'King of Jāngala' in this work. Also in the Versival inscription of Bhava-Bhaskapati; see WZKM, Vol. III pp. 1 ff.
6 Ibid, Appendix II, pp. 61 ff., V. 61.
included within his dominions. The inscription of Bhatund and a number of others indicate that during the years V. S. 1210-16 one of his Danda-nayakas was actually posted in the Nāḍḍāla area. The Cāhamāna principalities of Nāḍḍāla served as a buffer-state between the kingdoms of Anahilapātaka and Sākambharī, and its inclusion within the Caulukya dominions must have been effected by successful war. This guess seems to be supported by one of Kumārapāla's Chitorgadh inscriptions (V. S. 1220) which actually states that he defeated the ruler of Sākambharī, and, after devastating the Sapādalakṣa country pitched his great camp at Sālipura, not far from modern Chitor in Udaipur State, Rajputana. There is however no evidence to show that the Cāhamāna ruler was completely crushed. The Vadnagar prasāti (V. S. 1208), which also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Arnorāja when read with the Chitorgadh inscription mentioned above indicates that the war on this frontier raged for at least 8 years. Kumārapāla's victory over the Jāgala king is also referred to in the Veraval inscription of Bhāva Brāhaspati (A.D. 1169).  

The war with the Cāhamānas of Sākambharī seems to have involved Kumārapāla in two other struggles on his eastern frontier. The Devāśraya says that after his victory over Ānna he was advised to win fame by subduing Ballāla. The reason why his ministers counselled him to attack Ballāla is given by Hemacandra in another passage, where he writes that before Ānna advanced upon the frontiers of Gujarat he formed an alliance with Ballāla, the king of Avanti, and it was arranged that both the powers should simultaneously attack the Caulukya kingdom from the north and the east. After the Caulukya king had returned to Patana, "News was brought to Kumārapāla that Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, the two

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1 See above, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 980 ff.
2 The PC (p. 141) seems to give Vigrāharāja, cīra Viśvala, the king of Sapādalakṣa.
3 IA, Vol. IV, p. 298.
Sāmantas whom he had sent to oppose Ballāla, when he himself advanced against Ānna, had gone over to the king of Ujjain, and that monarch was already in his territory and was advancing on Anahillapura. Kumārapāla, assembling his troops, went against Ballāla, who was defeated and struck from his elephant."¹ The Vasantavilāsa² also refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla while the Kirti-Kaumudī informs us that the latter was beheaded by Kumārapāla.³ The authenticity of this literary tradition seems to be borne out by epigraphic evidence. The stone pillar at Dohad, which contains an inscription dated in the reign of Jayasimhā in V. S. 1196 (A.D. 1140) also contains a postscript dated in V. S. 1202 (A.D. 1145-46). But, significantly enough, it fails to mention the name of the sovereign lord of the Mahānandaleśvara Vāpanadeva. We have already noticed the strategic importance of the Dohad, region. It is not unlikely that sometime between 1140 and 1146 A.D. the Caulukyas lost their hold over this region. But there is no doubt that whatever reason may have induced the composer of the inscription to omit the name of Kumārapāla, the Caulukyas had recovered their hold on Mālava some time before 1163 A.D. The two Udayapur inscriptions of Kumārapāla dated in V. S. 1220 (A.D. 1163) and 1222 (A.D. 1166), which were discovered not far from Bhilsa, show that, like his predecessor he was again the lord of Mālava. The Veraval Inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati (A.D. 1169) refers to Kumārapāla's victory over Ballāla, the king of Dhārā, while the Vadnagar prasasti states that the Caulukya king charmed the goddess Candī, "when she was desirous of taking a toy-lotus with the lotus-head of the Mālava lord, that was suspended at his gate."⁴ This last inscription indicates that Ballāla

¹ Ibid.
² III, 29.
was killed sometime before c. 1151 A.D.\(^1\) It is however difficult to identify the Mālava king Ballāla. The genealogical lists in the published records of the Paramāras do not contain this name: as Lüders has suggested, he may have been a usurper who seized the throne of Mālava some time between 1136 to 1144 A.D.\(^2\) and taking advantage of Kumārapāla's difficulties when he first ascended the throne of Anahilapātaka, declared his independence, and allied himself with the Cāhamānas of Sākambhari, and advanced against Gujarat to try conclusions with the traditional enemies of his country.\(^3\)

The second war that was waged by Kumārapāla in connexion with his struggle with the Cāhamāna Arnorāja was against the Paramāra principality of Candrāvatī in Abu. The Kumārapāla-carita tells us that when he was fighting with Arnorāja, Vikramasimha, the lord of Candrāvatī, rebelled against him. So after his victory against the northern ruler, he advanced towards Candrāvatī and after capturing the city imprisoned its ruler.\(^4\) According to this authority, the throne of Candrāvatī was given to Vikramasimha's nephew Yasodhavala.\(^5\) The authenticity of this tradition is shown by the Mount Abu praśasti of Tejāhpāla (V. S. 1287), which tells us that the Arbuda Paramāra Yasodhavala "quickly killed Ballāla the lord of Mālava, when he had learnt that he had become hostile to the Caukulka king Kumārapāla."\(^6\) From the wording of this

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\(^1\) Lüders suggested on the authority of the Varaval inscription that Ballāla must have died before 1169 A.D.; \textit{EI}, Vol. VIII, p. 301. But the Mālava lord in the Vadnagar inscription is certainly the Ballāla of the later record, and so we can shorten the period of his death by about 18 years.

\(^2\) \textit{EI}, Vol. VII, pp. 201-02. The last date of Yasovarman and the first date of Laksulvarman. \textit{IA}, Vol. XIX, pp. 348-49; \textit{ibid.}, pp. 353 ff. Recently a suggestion has been made that Ballāla was a Hoysala ruler from Dorasamudra.

\(^3\) See inscription No. 14 above and fn. 3 on p. 363.

\(^4\) \textit{IV}, 421-52. The \textit{Devyāra }\textit{(IA, Vol. IV, p. 367)} says that Vikramasimha, the Paramāra ruler of Abu, entertained Kumārapāla when the latter reached his capital on his way to waging against Kuns of Sapādalāka.


passage we may conclude that Yaśodhavala was a feudatory of Kumārapāla.

Apart from these three wars, Kumārapāla seems to have engaged in at least two others. One of these was waged against Mallikārjuna, the ruler of Kaṅkaṇa (Konkan). The Arbuda Paramāra Yaśodhavala, who claims to have materially assisted Kumārapāla against Ballāla, seems to have also shared in his campaign against this prince. We are told by the Mount Abu praśasti of Tejahpāla (V. S. 1287) that when Yaśodhavala, "inflamed with anger, held his ground in the battle-field, the wives of the lord of Kaṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes." The chronicles however do not mention Yaśodhavala's name in this connection. Merutunga gives the following story about this war. Once when the Caulukya king was giving a general audience to the people, he heard a bard bestowing on the king of the country of Kaṅkaṇa, the biruda of Rāja-pitāmaha. Deeply indignant, he looked around the assembly, and, finding Āmrabhaṭa (also known as Āmbaḍa), a son of the prime-minister Udayana, willing to lead an army 'to destroy that semblance of a king,' Kumārapāla despatched him with all his chieftains. But when Āmbaḍa had reached the Kaṅkaṇa country and was encamped on the further bank of the river Kalaviṇi, he was suddenly attacked and put to flight by Mallikārjuna. Kumārapāla seeing him deeply humiliated but yet determined to try his luck again, invested him with the command for the second time. Āmbaḍa now crossed the river by throwing a bridge across it, and carefully transporting his army to the other bank, attacked, defeated and killed Mallikārjuna. Then "he had Mallikārjuna's head set in gold, and after establishing the authority of the Caulukya sovereign" presented it to his lord at Anahillapura. Kumārapāla thereupon

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2 According to the *PB*, Mallikārjuna was killed by the Cāhamāna Somēvara, who was at that time living at Kumārapāla's court. See *JRAI*, 1913, pp. 274-75.
conferring the title Rāja-pitāmaha on Āmbaḍa.\(^1\) This Mallikārjuna has been rightly identified with the Śilāhāra prince of that name, for whom we have inscriptions dated in Saka 1078 (A.D. 1156) and 1082 (A. D. 1160). As the earliest inscription, so far known, of his successor Aparāditya is dated in Saka 1084 (A. D. 1162), Bhagvanalal suggested that he must have lost his life between A. D. 1160 and 1162.\(^2\)

Another war mentioned by Merutūṅga was waged against śumvara,\(^3\) the chief of Surāśṭra. The expedition against this prince was led by the prime-minister Udayana. But in the struggle that followed the Caulukya forces were defeated, and Udayana himself was carried to his quarters mortally wounded. Bhagvanalal has calculated that this war must have taken place sometime c. 1149 A. D. (V. S. 1205), as the repairs to the temple of Ādinātha at Pālītāna, which he promised to carry out just before his death, were finished in A. D. 1156-57 A. D. (V. S. 1211).\(^4\) The same scholar has suggested that the Surāśṭra chieftain was possibly some Gohilvad Mehr chief. He may however have belonged to the family of the Ābhīra-Cūḍāsamā chiefs of Junagadh who had been giving trouble to the Caulukyas since the days of Mūlarāja I. The Kumārapāla-carita tells us that Samara (Sausara) was in the end defeated and his son placed on the throne. As the Sundha Hill inscription \(^5\) tells us that the Nāḍḍula Cāhamāna Alhādana \(^6\) helped the Gurjara king in suppressing disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāśṭra (girau’saurāśtre), the victory over Samara may have been won through the assistance of this feudatory.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) PC, pp. 122-23.


\(^3\) Also known as Sambusara. According to others the same is Samara. See BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 186 and fn. 1.


\(^5\) HI, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.

\(^6\) Same as Alhanađe of inscription No. 7 above, p. 979.

\(^7\) HI, Vol. XI, p. 71.
I shall conclude the list of Kumārapāla’s wars by referring to a very curious story about a Dāhala king named Karna. The Prabandha-cintāmani tells us that this king once marched against the Caulukya kingdom. The report of this invasion took Kumārapāla by surprise, and he was in a state of bewilderment knowing not what to do. But as Karna was marching by night, seated on the forehead of an elephant, his eyes closed in sleep and ‘a gold chain that he wore on his neck, caught in a banyan-tree and hanged him, and so he died.’ If there is any truth in this story Karna must be the Dāhala Kalacuri Gayā-Karna, who ruled about 1151 A. D.

Kumārapāla’s reign is extremely interesting in the religious history of India. The Jain chroniclers unanimously assert that as he advanced in years he gradually came under the influence of Hemacandra and at last embraced Jainism. The Kumārapāla-carita of Jayasimha (A. D. 1365) devotes six sargas (V-X) to describing the circumstances that led to his final conversion and the steps which he took for the advancement of that religion. We are told that on the advice of Hemacandra he first gave up eating flesh and drinking wine. Then on the instruction of the monk the king went to Somnath, accompanied by the sage, and worshipped Śiva. Hemacandra then caused Śiva to appear and praise the Jain religion. As a result of this Kumārapāla accepted the Abhakṣa-niyama and fixed his mind on Jainism (Jainadharme-manasthāpana). Jayasimha devotes the next chapter to a religious discourse between the king and the sage, and then in the 7th sarga we are told that the king finally accepted Śraddhadharma from Hemacandra and prohibited the killing of animals in his kingdom. The author informs us that the order became effective in Surāṣṭra, Lāṭa, Mālava, Ābhira, Medapāta, Maru, and even Sapādalakṣa-deśa. The decree was enforced with such rigour that a merchant of Sapādalakṣa, for killing a louse that
was sucking his blood like a rākṣasa, was arrested like a thief and compelled to give up all his property for the foundation of a sanctuary for lice (Yāka-vihāra).\(^1\) The slaughter of goats on Nava-rātras was abolished and the king even sent ministers to Kāśi to suppress injury to animals. The next two sargas are devoted to the description of Kumārapāla’s pilgrimage to various Jain sacred places, and the establishment of caityas and temples and various donations. In the tenth section we are told that the king conferred upon his guru the title of Kalikā-sāravajña \(^2\) and after selecting Ajayapāla as his successor died soon after Hemacandra’s death. The Kumārapāla-pratibodha of Somaprabha \(^3\) generally describes the Jain teachings given to the king by Hemacandra, and sets forth Kumārapāla’s edict prohibiting slaughter of animals, meat-eating, gambling, and prostitution. The most interesting effect of Jain teaching on the king was his withdrawal of the right of the state to confiscate the property of those who died childless (maṃsa-dhanāpaharana-nīṣedha).\(^4\) Another interesting fact supplied by this author is a description of the king’s daily time-table (dīna-caryā). We are told that the king left his bed very early in the morning and recited the sacred Jain mantra Pañca namastkāra (five salutations), and meditated on the ador- able gods and gurus. Thereupon he finished his bath, etc., worshipped the Jain images in the household temple, and, if time permitted, proceeded on an elephant to the Kumāra-vihāra in the company of his ministers. After performing eightfold worship there he used to go to Hemacandra, and, having worshipped him, listened to his religious teachings. He returned at midday to his palace, and after giving food and alms to mendicants

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1 VII, 488 ff.
2 X, 106. He had before this conferred the title Paramārhatā on his preceptor on being cured of leprosy by him; see VII, 602 ff.
3 Gos, No. XIV. The date of the MS. is given as 1402 A. D., but according to the editor it was probably composed c. A. D. 1179, and its author was a contemporary of Kumārapāla.
4 Found also in the Vasantavīda, III, 28.
and sent food-offerings to the Jain idols, took his meal. Then he attended an assembly of learned men, and discoursed with them on religious and philosophical topics. In the 4th prahara of the day (about 3 p.m.) he took his seat on the throne in the royal court and attended to the business of state, heard appeals from the people, and passed judgment on them. Sometimes purely as a part of royal duty he attended wrestling matches, elephant-fights, and other such pastimes. He took his evening meal 48 minutes before sunset, but ate only once on the 8th and 14th days of every fortnight. After dinner he worshipped with flowers the household temples and made dancing girls wave lights before the deities. Worship over, he listened to musical concerts and recitations, sung by cāranās. Having thus passed the day, he then retired to rest. Another interesting work on Kumārapāla’s conversion to Jainism is the allegorical drama Maha-rājaparājaya of Yasahpāla (c. 1174-77 A.D.) which resembles the Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra (c. 1065 A.D.) This work also specially emphasises Kumārapāla’s prohibition of the four vyasanas and the abolition of the rule by which the property of those who died heirless was confiscated to the state. The king, we are told, ordered his Daṇḍapāsikas to suppress gambling, meat-eating, wine-drinking, butchery, robbery and adultery. But it is interesting to know that Veśyā-vyasana was not considered to be a very great sin, and was apparently allowed to continue. Gambling, it appears was very common amongst the nobles, princes, and general public. Yaśahpāla describes five kinds of gambling, viz., (1) Anudhiya, (2) Nālaya (3) Caturāṇa, (4) Aksa and (5) Varada. We are told that amongst habitual gamblers, some have hands, feet, and ears chopped off; of others the eyes are removed; some are without

1 Ibid, pp. 423 ff.
2 GOS, Vol. IX, 1918. The author was a Modab Bania, and certainly a Jain.
3 IV, 3.
4 See the story of the merchant Kauera, III. 55 ff. The wealthy Bania caste, who were mostly Jains, suffered most by this role. It is interesting to remember that Rameshad and arc was also a Bania.
nose and lips, and of some all the limbs are cut off, while others go naked. But apart from these disreputable fellows, there were amongst the habitual gamblers men of the highest families. The author gives us the following names from this class: (1) Mēvāda-Kumāra, (2) Suraṭṭhākīva-sahodara (brother of the king of Suraṭṭha), (3) Camdrāvadi-pati, (4) Naḍūla-nurimmānattua (nephew of the Naḍūla king), (5) Guharāja-bhāya-namdana, (6) Dhārāhirāya-bhāginijjo (sister’s son of the Dhārā king), (7) Sāyambharī-bhuvāla-mādulaga (maternal-uncle of the Sākambhari king), (8) Kumkanāhīva-nemāugo (step-brother of the king of Konkan), (9) Kaccha-bhumibhuyaniga-sālao (brother-in-law of the king of Kaccha), (10) Maru-maṇḍala-khāṇḍaduhidā-namdana (sister’s son of the king of the Maru country), (11) Cālukya-nīva-javassa-mādugo (maternal uncle of the Cālukya king). We are told that these were so much addicted to gambling that they did not stop even if their father, mother, or any other relatives died. The next interesting information in this work is the names of the various sects who were wedded to the principle of slaughter. These were the (1) Kauṭā, (2) Kāpālikā, (3) Rāhamāṇa, (4) Ghaṭacataka, and (5) Māri (?). There is general agreement amongst the other Jain authors about the facts detailed above, and there is some epigraphic evidence to show that the statements, though exaggerated, are at least partially based on fact. The Kirādu and Ratanpur inscriptions, for instance, actually record edicts for the prohibition of animal-slaughter on certain specified days, while the Jalar stone-inscription calls Kumārapāla Paramārhatu. But there is also evidence to show that though influenced by Jainism he never formally gave up his traditional Śaiva faith. Even the Jain writers admit that he worshipped Somēvara and rebuilt the temple of that god at Somnath. In the Veraval

1 IV, 11. 2 IV, 29 ff.

3 The Dvāpatra also records the building of the Śaiva temple of Mahādeva Kumārapālaśvara at Anahillapura, JA, Vol. IV, p. 269; also the repair of the temple of Kedārādeva Mahādeva, ibid. For the repair of temples see also Vasanta-rāla, III, 26.
stone-inscription, which records this fact, he is called *Māheśvara-nrṇāgranīḥ*,¹ in A.D. 1169, only a few years before his death (c. 1174 A.D.). Most of his inscriptions begin with invocations to Śiva; and it is significant that not a single inscription has yet been discovered where he invokes any Jain deity. The Jain chronicles record stories of Brāhmaṇa hostility to the influence of Hemacandra at his court. In these quarrels, the Brāhmaṇas, we are told, always came off second best, and were often saved from the wrath of the king by the merciful intervention of Hemacandra. But there is reason to suspect these stories of the king’s partiality to Jainism. The *Rās-mālā* for instance records a story in which the Śaiva saint Śaṅkara Śvāmī brings about the death of Hemacandra and induces Kumārapāla to massacre the Jain monks and become his disciple. It is evident that Kumārapāla accepted some of the principles of Jainism. But it is doubtful whether he was really sincere in his acceptance of its tenets. It is not unlikely that his leanings towards Jainism had a material object in view, the winning of the support of the powerful and wealthy Bania corporations, who were predominantly Jain. The king’s numerous wars must have drained his treasury, and may have made him increasingly dependent for financial assistance on the Jain community, who appeared to have formed, then as now, the backbone of industry, commerce, and banking in Gujarat. It may not be without significance that Hemacandra himself was a Moḍha Bania by caste, while Udayana, the prime minister was also a rich merchant of the Śrīmāla-vaiṃśa.²

According to the *Kumārapāla-carita* of Jayasimha, the Caulukya monarch before his death discussed with Hemacandra

¹ In the Bombay (Secretariat) grant of his successor Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla is called *Umaṭeti-rāṣṭra-labdhra-prasāda*, see *IA*, Vol. XVIII, p. 83, line 4.
² *PG*, p. 82. See also p. 976 above for the connection of Kumārapāla’s accession with the Jain Bania community.
the question of succession and seems to have selected Ajayapāla. The Kumārapāla-prabandha however tells us that Kumārapāla desired to give the throne to his daughter's son Pratāpamalla, but Ajayapāla raised a revolt and got rid of Kumārapāla by poison. It is significant that this tradition that Ajayapāla 'wickedly poisoned his sovereign' is also recorded by Abu'il-Fażl and 'Alī Muḥammad Khān. The dramatic forecast of Hemacandra that the royal pupil would only survive him for six months, was probably made to come true by more violent means than the Jaina chroniclers would have us believe. The suspicion of foul play increases when we see that there was a violent reaction in the religious policy of Kumārapāla's successor. It is not unlikely therefore that soon after the death of the powerful Jaina teacher all the elements of dissatisfied Brahmanical forces combined to bring about a change of royal policy by violent means. The appointment of Kapardin, an avowed devotee of the goddess Durgā, as the prime minister of Ajayapāla, the violent deaths of Amrabhaṭa, the son of the Jain prime minister Udayana after a short civil war and of the Jaina monk Ramacandra all seem to point to the same conclusion.

The relationship between Kumārapāla and his successors is usually left uncertain in the chronicles and inscriptions. But the Devāstra of Hemacandra and the Therāvali of Merutunga tell us that Ajayapāla was the son of Mahipāla, a brother of Kumārapāla. This statement is supported by a Patan inscription at Veraval, which calls Ajayapāla the brother's son of

1 X, 118.
2 BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 194. See also PC, p. 149, which seems to refer to the birth of a son to Kumārapāla: 'A son has been born to your majesty.' The king is reported to have answered that this child would be a king in Gujarat but not in that city (Aparihāra-
pāṭaka).
4 PC, p. 120.
5 Ibid., pp. 152-53.
The following inscriptions are so far known for Ajayapāla’s reign:

(1) Udayapur stone-inscription.—Found in Udayāditya’s magnificent temple to Śiva at Udayapur, in the State of Gwalior, C. I. It contains 23 lines, and opens with Ōm namaḥ Śivāya. Then follows the date (V.) Sāṃvat 1229 (A. D. 1173), in the reign of M.-P.-Parama-māheśvara Ajayapāladeva, when the Amātya Somesvara was transacting the business of the seal. At this date the illustrious Lūnapaśāka, an officer appointed by the king to govern Udayapura, which was in the Bhāillasvāmi-mahādvādasaka-mandala, a province acquired by the king’s own prowess, on the occasion of a Yugādí, which coincided with the Akṣaya-trītyā, gave the village of Umarathā in the Bhṛṅgārika-Caitukhaśāti-pathaka to the god Vaidyanātha, at Udayapura, for the spiritual benefit of the deceased Rāja, the illustrious Solapadeva, a son of the Rājaputra, the illustrious Vilhaṇadēva, of the Muhilaūndha (?) family. Lines 20-21 state that the donation was received (on behalf of the god) by Nīlakanaṭha Svāmin.5

(2) Unjha inscription.—Found in the Kāleśvar Mahādev temple at Unjha, Baroda State. It is dated in (V.) S. 1231 in the reign of Ajayapāladeva of Anahilapāṭaka.6

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1 Ibid., In. 2, en p. 194.
3 The exact date is Monday, the 16th April, A. D. 1173.
4 Sri-Sri Kauvādatu sāvasta-mudrā-vyāpārān paripāthāyati.
5 Corrupted from Prakrit Lūḍapaśāya, Sanskrit Lavaṇaprasāda. Another form of the name is Lūḍapaśāya. See IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 340.
6 Bhāillasvāmi is mod. Bhīsha, to the N. E. of Bhopal, C. I.
8 Noticed by D. R. Bhāndarkar from his own transcript, EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 54, No. 333.
(3) Bombay Secretariat grant.—The find-spot of the inscription is not known. It was deposited in 1889 in the Bombay Secretariat. It contains 32 lines, incised on two plates. Though there are ring-holes in the plate, and one plain copper ring was found, there is no indication of any seal having been attached to the ring. At the end are engraved the sun, the moon, and the figure of a four-faced, and four-armed god, seated on a water-lily (Brahman). The inscription opens with two verses praising the god Siva (Vyomakesa and Smararati), and next comes the name Brahmaapataka the place from which the grant was issued. It then traces the succession of Pb.-M.-Parama-mahaesvara Ajayapaladeva from Jayasimha.\(^1\) We are next told that in the reign of this prince, who was established in Anahilapataka when the Mahamatiya Someesvara was in charge of the seal, the Cahnaya (Cahanama) Mahamandalesvara Vaijalladeva who had attained the Pancha-mahaabada and who through the favour of Ajayapaladeva was governing the Narmada-tata-mandala, when stationed at Brahmaapataka, in V. S. 1231 (for 1232? = A.D. 1175), granted the village of Alavidagamya, belonging to the group known as Makhulagamya-graama-dvacatvarimkat and forming part of Purna-pathaka, for the feeding of 50 new Brahmans in Khandohaka, southern division. In line 31 there is another date, (V.) Samvat 1231, in figures. The Duta(taka) of the grant was the Pratihaara Subhanadeva. The grant ends with Cava-hasto-yam-Mahamandalesvara-Sri Vaijalladevasya. Uparori (Uparika?) Vamadeva.\(^2\)

If Fleet is right in his suggestion that the date V. S. 1231 of the second inscription is a mistake for V. S. 1232 the two records show that Ajayapala reigned at least for 3 years (V. S. 1229-32). Merutungas Theravali tells us that he reigned for

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1. Jayasimha is given the epithet Varavaraha-jishna, while Kumaraapa is called Umapati, vara-labhaprada and vinirjita. Sambhori-bhupala. The epithet padamnudasa qualifies the relationship of both Kumaraapa and Ajayapala to their predecessors.

3 years and two months, from V.S. 1229, Paśa, to 1232, Phālguna. The Prabandha-cintāmāni of the same author states that he 'ruled for 3 years beginning from V.S. 1230.' As the A'in-i-Akbari and the Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadi also assign him 3 years, we may conclude that his reign period did not exceed that limit by any appreciable margin. The Jain chroniclers do not record any achievements of this reign. The author of the Sukṛta-saṃkhārtana however notes that the king of Sapādalakṣa sent Ajaya pāla a silver pavilion 'as a feudatory's gift.' This seems to be confirmed by the Kadi grant of Bhīma II (V.S. 1263), which gives Ajaya pāla the epithet Karadiktṛa-Sapādalakṣa-Kṣamāpāla. If there is any truth in this statement, this Cāhamāna ruler must be identified with Someśvara, for whom we have dates ranging from c. 1170 to 1177 A.D. There is some evidence to show that Ajaya pāla was engaged in war with the rising Guhilas of Rajputana. From an Abu inscription dated in V.S. 1287 we learn that the Abu Paramāra Prahlādana defended the illustrious Gurjara king when his power had been broken on the battle-field by Sāmantasimha. Lüders suggested the identification of the latter prince with the Guhila Sāmantasimha, whose name is mentioned in two inscriptions of Mt. Abu. He referred him to c. 1200 A.D. But two inscriptions of the Guhila prince, recently discovered, are dated in V.S. 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.) and 1236 (c. 1179 A.D.). These make him a

2 This must be wrong; see above, p. 999, inscription No. 1, dated in V.S. 1229.
5 IA, Vol. VI, p. 194 ff. Placed in the grant No. 9 of Bhīma II (see below, p. 1008) read it, I think wrongly, as Karadiktṛa-Sapādalakṣa-Lakṣmāpāla, and translates as 'levied tribute from Lakṣmāpāla, the king of Sapādalakṣa.' IA, Vol. XVIII, pp. 113 and 115.
8 Ibid, p. 209; Lüders takes the Gurjara king to be Bhīma II.
9 Noticed in RMR, 1914-15, p. 3; also IA, 1924, p. 100.
contemporary of Ajayapāla; and as the two immediate successors of Ajayapāla were minors when they ascended the throne, the conflict may have taken place during his reign.¹

According to the Merutuṅga, Ajayapāladeva, soon after his accession, ‘began to destroy the (Jain) temples set up by his predecessors’ and appointed Kapardin, a worshipper of Durgā, to be his prime minister. Among the violent acts recorded by this author of this ‘low villain of a king’ is the execution of the minister Kapardin and the Jain scholar Rāmacandra, ‘the author of a hundred works’ (and a pupil of Hemacandra). The former was ‘cast into the cauldron,’ while the latter was ‘placed……on a heated plate of copper.’ I have already referred to the armed revolt of Āmarbhaṭa, the son of Udayana, Kumārapāla’s powerful Jain minister. We are told that he refused to prostrate himself before the king, saying that in this birth he did obeisance only “to him who is without passion as a god, to the sage Hemacandra as a teacher, and to Kumārapāla as a master.”² The angry king ordered him to prepare for battle. Thereupon he worshipped the image of the Jina and after accepting consecration for battle, ‘swept away from his own mansion the retainers of the king like a heap of chaff, with the wind of his own soldiers.’ He then ‘penetrated as far as the clock-house’ and passed into existence as a god, being emulously chosen by the Apsaras, who came to behold the wondrous sight.’³ There is no reason to doubt these stories of the violent end of these two influential Jain devotees. But there is some ground to suspect the authenticity of Merutuṅga’s story about Kapardin. For the two inscriptions of Ajayapāla give the name of his chief minister as Someśvara. Possibly however Kapardin was one of the minor ministers. But when we contrast the evident horror and anger of Merutuṅga in his description of the death of Rāmacandra with his tacit approval in the case of Kapardin we may well suspect

¹ HR, II, p. 449; IA, 1924, pp. 100-102.
² PC, p. 163.
³ Ibid.
that underneath this story there lies a desire to show poetic justice for the violent anti-Jain policy of the king's ministry. The Prabandha-cintāmaṇi says that Ajayapāla, 'the sinner against religious edifices, was stabbed to death with a knife by a door-keeper (Pratihāra) named Vayajaladeva, and being devoured by worms, and suffering the tortures of hell every day, he passed into the invisible world.' It is not easy to identify this murderer. But I would like to point out that this was the name of a very influential Cāhamāna officer of both Kumārapāla and Ajayapāla, and the murder may have had some connection with the king's religious policy.

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his son Mūlarāja II. The Prabandha-cintāmaṇi calls him Bāla-Mūlarāja, and assigns him a reign of two years, beginning from V.S. 1233. The Theravālī styles him Laghu-Mūladeva, and allots him a period of two years, one month, and two days, from V.S. 1232, Phalguna, to 1234, Caitra. Abu'l-Faṣl gives him a reign of 8 years, while 'Abd Muḥammad allows him 20 years. The Muslim tradition on this point is evidently wrong, for we know that the successor of Mūlarāja must have ascended the throne before V.S. 1235. Merutūṅga, therefore, is apparently right in assigning him a short reign. He probably ruled from c. 1176 to 1178 A.D. As the Muslim tradition agrees with Merutūṅga, it seems certain that Mūlarāja ascended the throne when still a child. The Prabandha-cintāmaṇi states that after the accession in V.S.

1 Ibid., p. 164. Tawney has translated Pratihāra as 'door-keeper,' see Sanskrit Text, Ed. by Rāmānanda Dīnavātha, Bombay, 1888, p. 249. But I think the Sanskrit word here denotes a higher official of the State.
2 See Kumārapāla's inscription No. 10 on p. 961 and fn. 1 on p. 961; also inscription No. 9 of Ajayapāla on p. 1000.
4 PG, p. 154.
7 MA, Trans., p. 143. The name is given as Lakhū-Māl Deva.
8 See TN, Vol. I, pp. 451-52, which says that Bhima was already on the throne of Nahrwālah in 574 A. H. (A. D. 1178).
1283, his mother "queen Nāiki, the daughter of king Paramardin 1 taking her son in her lap, 2 fought at Gaḍarāra-ghaṭṭa, and conquered the king of the Mlecchas, by the aid of a mass of rain-clouds, that came out of season attracted by her virtue." 3 The Kirti-kaumudi, the Sukṛta-samkirtana, 4 and Vasanta-vilāsa 5 state that Mūladeva even in childhood defeated the Muhammadans. 6 This tradition of the defeat of the Muslims is confirmed by epigraphic evidence. A Veraval inscription of Bhim II tells us that Mūlarāja conquered Hammira in battle, 7 while four Kadi plates of the same king give him the epithet parābhūta-durjaya-Garjjanakādhikrāja. 8 Two other Kadi grants call him: Mleccha-tamo-nicayacchanna-mahī-valaya-pradyotana-bālārka. 9 Bühler has suggested that Garjjanaka is a mere Sanskritisation of the word Ghaznavi, giving the etymological meaning of 'the roarer.' 10 Mr. Jackson has conjectured that this conflict with the Muslims occurred in 574 A. H. (A.D. 1178), when according to the Muhammadan historians Sultan Mu‘izz ud-Din unsuccessfully invaded Gujrat. 11 But as the Muhammadan chroniclers unanimously give the name of the contemporary Caukulya king as Bhim Deo it seems difficult to accept Jackson’s suggestion that they are wrong in

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2 Utsāyā śiṣṭaṁ sutaṁ apradhā vidhāya (having made her son a child in arms king).
3 PG, p. 154.
5 III, 94.
6 The Muslims are mentioned as Turuskaz in the first two and Mleccha in the third.
7 BI, p. 210, line 29.
8 IA, Vol. VI, pp. 104ff.; ibid, p. 201. See also Royal Asiatic Society’s grant, ibid, Vol. XVIII, pp. 118. But Fleet reads the word as Nāgārjuna-Kavirāja, i.e., Nāgārjuna, the lord of Kavi (mod. Kavi in Broach district). Without actually rejecting Bühler’s reading in the Kadi plates, Fleet is emphatic that his reading is quite distinct on the plate.
9 IA, Vol. VI, p. 109, line 12, plate I. But see ibid, p. 200, 10 where Bühler wrongly gives the summary as ‘who conquered the ruler of Garjjanaka.’ The English translation ought to be ‘the morning sun by illuminating the world, that had been overshadowed by the darkness of the Mlecchas,’ see ibid, p. 206.
10 IA, Vol. VI, p. 186.
11 BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 196, fn. 4
mentioning Bhima instead of Mūlarāja. If Bühler’s reading and interpretation of Garjjanaka is accepted, one might suggest that the invader may have been one of the Ghaznavids of Lahore. But it is highly improbable that the ‘mild and the voluptuous’ Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (c. 1160-86),¹ the last representative of that line, would have attempted so daring and distant an expedition. As the Caulukyas of Anhilvada were frequently in conflict with the rulers of Sind the struggle in question may have been caused by the raid of a Sumra chief of Maṇṣūra. There is a third possibility. We know that Muʿizz ud-Dīn conquered Multan in 571-72 A.H. (1175-76 A.D.).² Can it be that before embarking upon his distant expedition against Nahrwālā in 574 A.H. (1178 A.D.) he sent a minor expedition for reconnaissance during the period c. 1176-78 A.D., which has been left unrecorded by Muslim historians?

According to a Veraval stone inscription Mūlarāja II “went to heaven even in youth as if desirous of (meeting) his father there. Then Bhimadeva became the self-elected husband of royalty.”³ The Sukṛta-sāmkīrtana and the Kṛiti-kaumudi inform us that he was the younger brother of Mūlarāja.⁴ The Kṛiti-kaumudi further adds that when Bhimadeva came to the throne he was still in his childhood.⁵

Of the time of Bhima II we have the following published records:

1 Veraval stone-inscription of Bhāva-Bṛhaspati.—Found lying loose in the Fauzdar’s office at the sea-port of Veraval, in Junagarh state. It contains 45 lines, many of which are damaged and extremely fragmentary. It opens with verses in praise of Śiva and Sarasvati; then follow an account of Gaṅḍa-Bhāva-Bṛhaspati and his family and the names of the

¹ For his rule, see CHI, Vol. III, pp. 37ff.
³ III, p. 313.
Caulukya princes from Siddharaja to Bhima II. The proper object of the inscription, which is undated, seems to be to record that Bhima II built a temple called Meghanada at Somanatha.\(^1\)

(2) Kiradu stone-inscription.—This fragmentary and mutilated inscription was found in a temple of Someśvara, and belongs to the reign of Bhima II. It is dated in (V.) S. 1235 and mentions the name of the feudatory chieftain Madanabrahmadeva and his subordinate Tejapala. It records that the image of Someśvara, which was in the temple, and which was broken by the Turuskas was replaced by a new one by Tejapala’s wife.\(^2\)

(3) Patan inscription.—This fragmentary inscription of the time of Bala Bhima (II) was discovered at Patan (Baroda State). It is dated in (V.) S. 1236. The inscription was composed by the Nagar Brāhman Madhava.\(^3\)

(4) Divra image-inscription.—Found inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Nityaprasādita-deva at Divra in Dungarpur State, South Rajputana. It records that in V.S. 1253 (A.D. 1196), in the reign of Bhima II, a person named Vaija erected the image at Devakarna (Divra).\(^4\)

(5) Patan grant: ‘picked up from the old rubbish lying at the Patan Kacheri.’—It contains 45 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with Oṁ svasti, then follows the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mularaja I to Bhima II.\(^5\) The object of the inscriptions to record that Pb.-M.-P.-Abhinava-Siddharaja Bhimadeva, residing at Anahilapataka in V.S. 1256 (? 1199 A.D.) granted four ploughs of land in Kajagrama, on the eastern side, the side close to the land of the god Analesvaradeva, of

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1 BI, pp. 208-14. See above, inscription No. 10 of Kumārapāla.
2 Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XI, p. 72. Kiradu is a village in Marwar, near Hathman under Badnera.
3 Noticed from his own transcript by D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XX, p. 57, No. 386.
4 BMR, 1915, p. 2.
5 All the rulers are called Pb.-M.-P.-Sri. In addition Karpa is given the biruda: Trulokamalla; Jayasidha is given the epithets Avantinatha-Trihalva-nagaṇa-Varmaranakṣa-Siddha-cakrawarti; Kumārapāla: Umāpati-cara-labda-prasaṅga-prudhānapratāpā-Śravabhaja-ekrama-rupāgana-cinirjita-Sakambhari-bhāpa; Ajayapāla: Karadikṛtya-Sapādana-kṣa-Keśmāpāla; Mularaja: Parābha-ta-Durjaya-Gorjanaśādhāriya.
the village of Mahīsānā, to the Rāyakavāla Brāhman Āśādhara. The writer of the grant was the Modhānvaya-prasūta-Mahākṣapatañika-Tha(kkura)-Kunyara, the Dūtaka the Mahāsāndhivigrahika-Tha(kkura) Bhīmaka. The grant ends with Śrī-Bhīmadesavasya.  

(6) Kādi grant (ō).—One of the plates which was lying in the 'Gaikvādi Kacheri' at Kādi in the Uttarā Mahāls. It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. The inscription begins with Om svasti; then follows the genealogy of the Caulukyas from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II. The object is to record that Pb.-M.-P.-Abhinava-Siddharāja Bhīmadeva, who ruled in Anahilapāṭaka, in V. Sāṃvatsar 1263 (A.D. 1206), granted the village of Indilā in the Agambhūta (or Gambhūta)-pathaka to maintain the temples of Bhīmeśvara and Līlesvaradeva built by Rājāī Līlādēvī, daughter of Cāhu(māna) Rāṇ(ā) Samarsēlh at Līlāpura and the drinking-fountain and almshouse situated at the same place. The writer of the grant was the Kāyastha Mahākṣapatañika Tha(kkura) Vosarīn, and the Dūtaka was Mahāsāndhivigrahika Tha(kkura) Śūdhā (?). The grant ends with Śrī Bhīmadesavasya.  

(7) Timana grant of the Mehra Jagamalla.—'Found at Timānā near Bhau Nagar.' It contains 34 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with the date (V.) Sāṃvat 1264 (A.D. 1206) when M.P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labdha-praudha-pratāpa-Lāṅken-vara-Nārāyanāvatāra Bhīmadeva was ruling at Anahilapāṭaka and while his Mahāmātya-Rāṇaka Cáciagadeva was in charge of the Seal. At this date the following Śāsana-patra was drawn up with the consent of the Mehara-rāja Jagamalla at Tīmbānaka (mod. Timana) under the administration (vyāpāre ?) of the Pratī(hāra) Sākhadā. The abovementioned Jagamalla had
established two idols,\textsuperscript{1} Caūndareśvara and Prthivideviśvara, at the large town (mahāsthāna \textsuperscript{2}) of Talājha\textsuperscript{2} for the spiritual merit of (his father) Caūndarā, the son of the great man (bṛhat-purusa), the Mehara-rāja Ana, and his mother Sethāhe-rājñī Prthividevi. He granted 55 pāthas\textsuperscript{3} of land in each of the two villages named Kāmbalaūli\textsuperscript{4} and Phulasara\textsuperscript{5} for the maintenance of the gods.\textsuperscript{6} The inscription also records donations of annual grants of money (drama and rūpaka) from Prati(hāra) Sākhadā, the Sṛgṭhin Valahala and the Mahājanas of Tīmbānka, the pūjāmātya of the Tīmbānaka-mandala, and Rāula Uccadeva. This last person and 8 other trustees (Gosṭhika) were appointed to administer the revenues of 'this place of worship' under the control of certain Sobhārka. The inscription was incised by Sau Ālada.\textsuperscript{7}

(8) Abu stone-inscription (i).—Opens with Om svasti and an invocation of Siva, the lord of the holy Mt. Abu. Then follows a glorification of Avanti and a list of 7 spiritual ancestors\textsuperscript{8} of the Saiva ascetic Kedārarāsi, who belonged to the Capalagotra. The object is to record that this ascetic paved the interior of the Tirtha of Kanakhala on Mount Arbuda, and built and renovated various temples at that holy place. The record was composed by Laksāmīdhara in (V.) Sāmvat 1265 (A.D. 1208-09), in the Vijaya-rājya of Pb.-M.-Bhimađeva, the saviour of the Caulukyas,\textsuperscript{9} while Mahām.\textsuperscript{10} Ṭhābū (?) was in charge of the great Seal, when the Māndalika Dhārāvarṣadeva,

\textsuperscript{1} Saiva Liṅgaś (?), Rama were sacrificed before them, see IA, Vol. XI, p. 339.
\textsuperscript{2} Mod. Talāja (or Tilājha) on the Setramji (dātruṇījaya) river near Palitana, in the SE. of Kathiawar.
\textsuperscript{3} One pātha=340 sq. ft.; see ibid, fn. 23 on p. 339.
\textsuperscript{4} Mod. Kusmōl, W. of Talājha.
\textsuperscript{5} Mod. Phulasar, S. of Talājha.
\textsuperscript{6} Names of cultivators are given who were appointed to plough the land.
\textsuperscript{7} Edited by Hultsch, IA, Vol. XI, pp. 337-40.
\textsuperscript{8} This includes Yāgaśvari, a female ascetic.
\textsuperscript{9} Caulukyapīdharaya.
\textsuperscript{10} Mahāmātṛa.
the lord of Candrāvatī was protecting the earth, and when the worshipful prince, Prahlādanādeva was the Yuvarāja. The inscription was engraved by the Śūtra(dhāra) Pālāna.  

(9) Royal Asiatic Society's grant.—Found deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, in 1879. Its find-spot is unknown. It contains 56 lines, incised on three plates. It opens with Oṁ svaṁśṭi; then follows the date, V.S. 1266 (A.D. 1209), Simha Samvat 96. Next comes the genealogy of the Caulukyas of Anahillapātaka from Mularāja I to Bhūma II. We are then told that in the reign of Pr. M.-P.-Abhināna-Sudhāraṇajádeva-Vula (Bala ?) Nārāyanavatāra Bhūmadeva, while the Mahāmāyatya Ratnapāla was in charge of the Seal and when the Mahāpattī(hāra) Somarājadeva was carrying on the administration at Vāmanasthali in Surāṣṭra-mandala, 350 pāsas of land yielding four Khandas were granted to a certain Mādhava of the állara kindred (jātiya), for the maintenance of an irrigation-well and a watering-trough made at the village of Ghatelānā by one Mahāpāla of the Prāgyāta kindred (jātiya). The Dālaka is represented as 'himself' (śvāyam, perhaps Somarāja).  

(10) Veraval stone-inscription of Śrīdhara.—Reported to have been originally found by Tod and Postans on a (stone) pillar at

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1. Kumārāyana. 
3. Hirund and epithets as in No. 4 above. 
4. The connection of Vaka to Vuda is suggested by Fleet, IA, Vol. XVIII, p. 113, but could it have any connection with the popular epithet Bhakta applied to him? See RG, Vol. I, Part T, p. 196. 
5. Vāmanasthali/Sakarang. Vāmanasthali is modern Vanthali in the Junagadh State. 
6. Mod. Sorath, or perhaps the whole of the Kathiawar peninsula as Fleet suggests. 
7. pāsa = chain, 100 passa = 1 khanda. 
8. This place together with the other villages mentioned in connection with the grant have not yet been identified. For their names, see p. 115, IA, Vol. XVIII. 
Somnath, near the Qāzī’s house. At present the slab bearing the record is built into the wall of the fort, to the right of the great gate of the town of Veraval. The inscription contains 47 lines of fragmentary and damaged writing. It opens with (Om namah) Śivāya, and a maragata addressed to Siva (Vs. 1-3). Then follows a eulogy of the temple and town of Somanātha, which the moon founded in order to escape the intolerable disease of consumption (Vs. 4-5). Next comes a eulogy of certain members of the Vastrākula family and the Caulukyas of Anhilvad. Sridhara of the former family we are told, was honoured amongst the officials of king Bhima II. By his counsel he quickly made again stable the country that had been shaken by the war elephants of Mālava and protected Devapattana by his power. He made like so much grass the host of the heroic Hammira. The proper object of the inscription is probably to record that this person constructed two temples at Somanātha, one of these a Vaishnava shrine raised in memory of his mother, and the other a Saiva temple, in memory of his father. The date, V.S. 1273 (A.D. 1216) is given in the last line.

(11) Bharana stone-inscription.—Found built into the verandah of a Bāvā’s monastery at the small village of Bharana near Kambhali, a seaport in the Gulf of Cutch in Jamnagar State, Kathiawar. It contains 9 lines of fragmentary writing, opening with the date V.S. 12(75) (A.D. 1219) in the Vijaya-rāja of M.-Bhimadeva of Anhilapātaka. The object is to record that a well was caused to be made by Sāmantasimha, who was probably an officer appointed in Saurāstra (Śrī-Sau... desābhīhyuktamahān-Srī...).

(12) Kadi grant (ii).—Found as in No. 5 above. It contains 28 lines, opening with Om avasti and then giving the genealogy

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1 From Mālārāja I to Bhima II, with the exception of Bhima I, whose name has been lost through damage of V. 10.
2 Belonged to the Śrādjīya gote and the city of Nagar (mod. Vadnagar).
4 EI, pp. 594-95.
of the Caulukyas as in No. 4 above.\(^1\) We are then told that M.-P.-Pb.-Abhinava-Siddhārāja-Saptama-cakravarti Bhīmadeva, residing at Anahilapātaka in V.S. 1283 (A.D. 1226) granted the village of Natāuli, in the Cālīsa-pathaka\(^5\) to the temple of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍalā and the ascetics attached thereto. The trustee was the Sthānapati Vedagarbharāśī. The grant was written by the Akṣapaṭali(k)a Kayastha Somasiha; the Dītaka was Maḥasāndhi(vigrahika) Thau(kkura) Vahudeva. The inscription ends with 'Sṛi-Bhīmadevasya.'\(^2\)

(13) Nana stone-inscription.—Found in the temple of Niłakaṇṭha-Mahādeva at Nana in the Bali district in Godwar. It is in Marwari, and records the repair of the temple in (V.) Samvat 1283 when Bhayivadeva (Bhīmadeva), son of Ajayapāladeva, was paramount sovereign at Anahila-nagara, and when the Cāhama (Cahamāna?) Dhāndhaladeva, son of Visadhavala, was his feudatory.\(^3\)

(14) Kādi grant (iii).—Found as in No. 6 above. It contains 55 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is almost the same as in No. 4. The inscription next records that M.-P.-Pb.-Abhinava-Siddhārāja-Saptama-Cakravarti Bhīmadeva residing at Anahilapātaka\(^4\) in V.S. 1287 (A.D. 1030) granted the village of Devāṇ (?) in the Vardhi-pathaka,\(^6\) to the temples of Ānaleśvara and Salakhanēśvara, built by the Solum (ki) Rāṇā Ānā Thau(kkura) Lunāpasāka\(^7\) to defray the expenses of the temple service and to feed Brāhmans. The trustees of the endowment was Vedagarbharāśī, the Sthānapati of the

\(^1\) The brādar and epithets are similar with some differences. The most important of these is the epithet: Meccha-tama-śrīka a-cikāna-saḥi-cālīsa-śrīka-pātana kuṭāka given to Mālārāja II.

\(^2\) For the places mentioned in connection with the boundary, see IA, Vol. VI, p. 200.

\(^3\) Edited by Bühler, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 199-200.

\(^4\) ASI, WC, 1906, p. 46.

\(^5\) In the English summary Bühler gives this as 'Anahilapātaka.'

\(^6\) The place names occurring in the description of the boundaries of the villages (see IA, Vol. VI, p. 30) have not yet been identified.

\(^7\) Sanskrit Lavapapadosa? see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, fo. 5 on p. 200.
3. Muleśvaradeva-maṭha at Mandali. The writer and the Dātaka of the grant are the same as in No. 12. Line 7 of the plate II then ends with ‘Śrī-Bhimadevasya.’ Lines 8 to 26 contain a mutilated postscript which appears to contain some more orders regarding dues to be paid by the merchants of Salakhanapura.’

(15) Abu stone-inscription (ii).—Engraved on a white slab built into a niche in the corridor of the shrine of Neminātha on Mt. Abu which is generally known as the ‘temple of Vastupāla and Tejāhpāla.’ It contains 33 lines. In the opening lines (1-5) we are told that in (V.) Sanevat 1287 (A.D. 1230) the Caulukya king Bhūmadeva was ruling at Anahilapātaka, and while the Maha-mandalesvara-rājakula-Somasinha, born in the family of the illustrious Dhumarāja, who had sprung from the sacrificial fire-altar of the holy Vasiṣṭha was reigning victorious ly, Tejāhpāla caused to be made in the village of Deulavāḍa on the top of Mt. Arbuda, the temple of the holy Neminātha, called Lūnasinhamasahikā, for the increase of the glory and merit of his wife Anupamadevi, and his son Lūnasinham. Tejāhpāla is described as ‘conducting the whole business of the seal of the Mahāmandalesvara-rāmak-Viradhavaladeva, the son of Mahāmandalesvara-rāmak Lavanaprasāhadeva, born in the Caulukya-kula, in the...rātra-manḍala (obtained) by favour of the aforesaid M.-Bhumadeva. The rest is mainly devoted to an elaborate description of the management of the temple and some endowments to the same. The Śrāvaka trustees (gaṭhikā) appointed for the temple were Tejāhpāla, his two brothers Malladeva and Vastupāla, their descendants and all male members of the family of Lūnasinham’s mother Anupamadevi and their descendants. Amongst the names of persons to whom the care of the temple was entrusted occur the names of Rājakula

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1 Edited by Bühler, Id., Vol. VI, pp. 201-211.
2 Made, Dilwar, in Inst. 24°36' N. long 72°13'E. The other places mentioned in the inscription have all been located round about Dilwar, see Id., Vol. VIII, p. 257.
3 His pedigree as in No. 10, the next inscription.

This family resided at Candravat and belonged to the Prīgaṭa jatī.
Somasiṃha, the lord of Candrāvatī and his son the Rājakula Kānhabādeva. Line 31 records that the Māhārājakula Somasimhadeva granted to Neminātha in the Lūnasiṃha-vasāhikā the village of Ūvāṇi in Vāhirahadi, for his worship and personal allowance. The record concludes with Somasiṃha ‘entreating the future kings of the Pramāra (Paramāra) race to protect his gift for all time.’

(16) Abu stone-inscription (iii).—Engraved on a black slab built into a niche in the corridor of the same temple as in No. 15 above. It contains 47 lines of writings. It opens with an invocation of Sarasvati and Ganeśa. Then comes an account of Tejahpāla’s family, which may be tabulated as follows:—

1. Candapa...the crown of the Prāgovatāvanaya
2. Candaprasāda
3. Soma
4. Ávarāja = Kumāradevi
5. Lūniga (died in youth) = Lalukā
6. Malladeva = Lalitadevi
7. Vastupala (sacred of the Caulukyas) = Anupama-devi
8. Tejahpāla (seven daughters) = Anupama-devi
9. Pūrṇasiṃha = Ahūnadevi
10. Jayantasiṃha or Jaitrasimha = Ahūnadevi

Pethāda.

(10) Lāvanyasiṃha or Lūnasiṃha

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1. The same as Kṛṣṇarāja-deva of No. 15.
2. A short account of the record was published by Wilson in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, pp. 309 ff. It was then edited by Prof. Kathavate as Appendix B to his Ed. of the Kṛti-koumudi. Re-edited, by Lüders in EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 204-07 and 210-22.
3. Note the omission of the name of Bhimadeva, the reigning king.
5. Her genealogy. In the Prāgovatā family of Candrāvatī:

Gāmi

Dharaṅga = Trihāvana-devi

Anupama-devi
From V. 25 the genealogy of Tejahpāla’s masters begins as follows:

In the family (vāmśa) of the Caulukya heroes
Āgrorāja..............after him
Lavaṇaprasāda

Viradhavala: his two ministers (Vastupāla and Tejahpāla)

From V. 30 begins a description of Mount Arbuda and the following genealogy of the Paramāras of Candraśivati:

From the sacrificial fire of Vasiṣṭha
(1) Paramāra...so called because he took delight

in killing his enemies (para-māraṇa).

In that lineage

(2) Dhūmrāja: Then came
(3) Dhandhuka
(4) Dhrumavāha and others. In their lineage
(5) Ramađeva

(6) Yasodhavala...killed Ballāla, lord of Mālava, who had become hostile to the Caulukya king Kumārapāla.

(7) Dhārāvarṣa
(defeated the lord of Kauṇkāna)

(8) Prabhūdāna...defended the Gaurjasa king
when his power had been broken in battle by Samantabhadra.

(9) Somaśīhadeva

(10) Kṛṣṇarājađeva.

V. 60 announces that for the religious merit of his wife (Anupamā) and son (Lāvanyasimha) Tejahpāla built this temple of Neminātha on Arbuda. It was built of white marble and had 52 shrines for the Jinas. There were besides 10 statues of the members of Tejahpāla’s family (Nos. 1-10) mounted on female elephants. Behind these statues, on khaṭṭukas of white marble the same persons were placed with their wives. The prāśasti
was composed by Someśvaradeva whose feet were honoured by the Caulukya king. It was engraved by the Sūtra(dhāra) Candeśvara. It is dated in the last line (47) in V. S. 1287 (A.D. 1230).¹

(17) Kadi grant (iv).—Found as No. 6 above. It contains 40 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 5 above. The inscription in its formal part records that the donor of No. 11 above, in V. S. 1288 (c. 1232 A.D.), granted a village (name lost) and 20 ploughs of land in the village......(name lost), both in the Vāhana-pathaka,² to the temples of Ānaśeśvara, and Salakhaśeśvara in the Salakhaṇapura and to the Shānapati of the local māthā, Vedagarbharāṇi, as well as his son Someśvara for the maintenance of the Bhāttārakas and the almshouse (sātra). The writer³ and the Dātaka of the grant are the same as in No. 12 above.⁴

(18) Kadi grant (v).—Found as in No. 6 above. It contains 47 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 5.⁵ In the formal part it records that the donor of No. 12 above, in V. S. 1295 (c. 1238 A.D.), granted as pallaśikā in the village of Ghūṣadī, near Gohanasara, a garden measuring two ploughs and some other objects⁶ to the temples of Vīrameśvara built by Rāṇā Vīrama, son of Rāṇā Lūṇapāśā in Ghūṣadī and Sūmaleshvara. The trustee is the same as in No. 14 above; the writer as in

² Places mentioned in connection of the boundaries not identified; see IA, Vol. VI, p. 294.
³ Here called Mahākāpāṭikā.
⁴ Edited by Bähr, IA, Vol. VI, pp. 293-91.
⁵ Though here Mūlarāja II is given the epithet parabhūta durjaya-Gurjasaśādhiśīja, the editor erroneously translates it as "morning sun, etc." See IA, Vol. VI, p. 394.
⁶ Writing damaged in this portion.
No. 12 above. The Dūtaka was the Mahāsandhīvigrāhika (Thakkura) Vayajaladeva.¹

(19) Kadī grant (vi).—Found as No. 6 above. It contains 44 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion is nearly the same as in No. 5.² It records that the donor of No. 12 in V.S. 1296 (A.D. 1238) granted the village of Rāja-yasīyant in the Vardhi-pathaka to the same donees as in No. 17. Trustee as in No. 14. The same writer as in No. 12, and the same Dūtaka as in No. 18 above.³

These inscriptions cover a period of about 60 years, from 1235 to 1296 V.S. (c. 1178-1238 A.D.). According to the Prabandha-cintāmani, Bhima II reigned for 63 years from V.S. 1235.⁴ According to Merutunga’s Theravali he ascended the throne in V.S. 1234, Caitra 14, and apparently continued to reign till V.S. 1300, when Visaladeva came to the throne.⁵ As the epigraphic and literary evidences agree in assigning Bhima a long reign, it is likely that he really ruled from c. 1235 to about 1298 V.S. (A.D. 1178-1241).

According to the Kirti-kaumudi, Bhima II was still young when he ascended the throne. The Jain chroniclers usually pass over his reign, or only supply the most meagre details of it. The violent reaction of the royal family towards Saivism and the persecution of prominent Jain monks must have alienated the sympathies of the Jain writers from the reigning house of Anhilvad. Yet there is reason to believe that this long reign of more than half a century was not devoid of important incidents, which had far-reaching effects on the whole history of Gujarat. It seems that in the very year in which Bhima ascended the throne Gujarat was faced with the invasion of Turnakas under the formidable leadership of Sultan Mu’izz ud-Din Ghūrī. The

¹ Edited by Bühler, JA, Vol. VI, pp. 203-06.
² Mūlarāja II is called Mürdotama etc. etc. in No. 11 above.
³ Edited by Bühler, JI, Vol. VI, pp. 296-16.
⁴ PG, p. 154.
⁵ JBRAS, Vol. IX, p. 155.
Tabaqat-i-Nāṣirī relates that in the year 574 (A.D. 1178), the Sultan visited Aqūb and Multān. He marched an army towards Nahrwālāh by way of Uchchah and Multān. The Rāj of Nahrwālāh, Bīhim Diw, was young in years, but had numerous forces and many elephants. The Sultan and Multān, and then marched towards Gujrat through the desert. Rai Bīhim Deo, who was the ruler of the country, gave him battle; and after a severe struggle, the Sultan was defeated, and after much trouble he returned to Ghaznīn and rested there for a short time. Īsānī also repeats a similar story. We are told that in the year 574, he again marched to Uchch and Multān, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Gujrat. The prince Bīhim-deo advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in their retreat, before they reached Ghizny.

According to these three Muslim accounts Bīhima was no contemptible ruler, as the Jain authors try to paint him. It was no mean achievement for one so young in years to defeat one of the greatest military leaders of the age. The victory was so decisive that the Muslims apparently made no serious efforts to recover their position for about 20 years. It was not till the month of Safar in 593 A.H. (A.D. 1197) that Quṭb ud-Dīn

2. *TA*, Trans., p. 36. The *Zafar al-Walīkh* also states that when Muʿīz ud-Dīn Ghūrī advanced towards Nahrwālāh by way of Ujja and Multān, the infant Bīhim Deo, the Rāj of Gujrat, who was young in years, came but with his minister (Jīhād) to oppose the Muslim advance with many soldiers and elephants. But, curiously enough the author writes: "The two armies met and there was a hard struggle, which promised a victory in due time. So he returned to Ghāzni." Thus perhaps like some other Muslim historians he avoided telling an unpleasant truth. See *Zafar*, Ed. by E. D. Ross, Vol. II, p. 675.

succeeded in raiding Aṇahilapāṭaka, Bhīma's capital. Ḥasan Nīgāmī, the author of the Ṭaj ul-Ma'āthir, gives the following account of this Muslim campaign:

"In the year 591 H. (1195 A.D.) when Quṭbu-d-Dīn was again at Ajmīr, intelligence was brought to him that a party of seditious Mhers, 'who were always shooting the arrow of deceit from the bow of refractoriness,' had sent spies and messengers towards Nahrwāla, representing that a detachment of the army of the Turks had arrived at Ajmīr, of no great strength and numbers, and that if from that quarter a force could be immediately sent to join them, before the enemy could find the opportunity of putting themselves in a state of preparation, they could make a sudden night attack upon them, and might rid the country of them, and if any one of the Turkish army were to escape from the talons of the eagle of death, he must necessarily take the road to flight, and with his two horses would make three stages into one, until he reached Delhi in a state of distraction.

When this treacherous plan was revealed Quṭbu-d-Dīn determined to anticipate it, and during the height of the hot season, 'before the sun arose, fell upon the advance guard of the black infidels, and like lions attacked them right and left.' The action lasted during the whole day, and next morning, the immense army of Nahrwāla came to the assistance of the vanguard, slew many of the Musulmāns, wounded their commander, pursued them to Ajmīr, and encamped within one parsang of that place.

In this predicament, a confidential messenger was sent to Ghazna, 'to explain before the sublime throne the position of the army of the infidels, and to ask for orders as to future proceedings.' A royal edict was issued conferring all kinds of honours and kindness upon the Khusrū, and leaving to his entire discretion the subjection and extirpation of the turbulent. A large army was despatched to reinforce him, under the command of Jāhān Pahlawān, Asadu-d-Dīn, Arslān Kalij, Nasīrū-d-Dīn
Husain, Izzu-d-din, son of Muwaiyidu-d-din Balkh and Sharfuddin Muhammad Jarah. These reinforcements arrived at the beginning of the cold season, when 'the vanguard of the army of the winter began to draw its sword from the scabbard, and the season of collecting armies and the time of making raids had returned.'

In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H. (January, 1197), the world-conquering Khusrū departed from Ajmir, and with every description of forces turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rāi of Nahrwāla. When he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandūl, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmāns, and had collected under their leader Rāi Karan, and Dārābars, in great numbers, at the foot of Mt. Abu and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter. The Musulmāns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially in that very place Sultān Muhammad Sām Ghūrī had fallen wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindus seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoned the pass, turned their face towards the fields of battle and the plain of honour and renown for they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion.

The two armies stood face to face for some time engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabī‘ul awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islam advanced from its camp, and at noon reached the position of the infidels. A severe action ensued from dawn to midday, when

1 Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar suggests that 'Karan' is the Nadol Cāhūsāna Kalhana (c. 1164-83 A.D.), see BI, Vol. XI, pp. 73-74; also supra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhūsānas.

2 Probably Dharavara (c. 1163-1219 A.D.), the Abu Parmāra chief, who was a feudatory of Bhima II. See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 93 ff., chapter on the Parmāras, also BI, Vol. XI, pp. 73-74; JA. 1927, p. 47.
the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became one level.' Rai Karan effected his escape from the field. 'More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants and cattle and arms beyond all calculation fell into the hands of the victors.' 'You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of all the inhabited world had come into their possession.'

'The city of Nahrwāla, which is the most celebrated in the country, full of rivers,' and the kingdom of Gujarat, which is 'a separate region of the world' came under the dominion of the Musulmans, 'and high and low were treated with royal benignity and justice.' 'The chief nobles and pillars of the state were favoured with handsome robes of honour; and received abundant proofs of royal kindness,' then 'the standards of the Khusrū, victorious in battle returned to Ajmīr.'

The above quotation gives us some idea of the severe struggles that Qutb ud-Din had to encounter for about two years (c. 1195-97 A.D.), before he succeeded in effecting his temporary occupation of Anahilapataka in 1197 A.D. It was probably one of the episodes of this protracted struggle that gave Jayasimha Sūri his theme for his drama Hammira-mada-mardana. The account of Jayasimha, though tainted with the well-known bias of Jain authors, seem to contain some elements of truth. He tells us that when Bhīmasimha was the simanta-mari of Surāṣṭra, and when Viradhavala was reigning at Dhavalakapuri, a mighty army of horse of the Turuṣka-viras came to attack Gujarat by way of the Maru. Viradhavala, however, promptly appeared in the Marudeśa

3  II, 9. Must be identified with Bhima II.
4  Also known as Dhavalakka-nagarī, or sometimes Dhavalakūka. Modern Dholka, in Ahmedabad District. V, 32.
before the Mleccha-Cakravarti. Somasimha, Udayasimha, and Dhāravarsa, the princes of the Maru country and Bhīmasimha of Surāstra, joined him against the Mlecchas. In the meantime the territory of Jayatala, the lord of Medapata, who in his pride had not joined Viradhavala, was invaded by the Hammira. His capital was plundered with terrible brutality. Even the children were butchered; and the people were so demoralised that they threw themselves into wells rather than fall into the invader's hands. The approach of Viradhavala and the intrigues of his spies in the end compelled the Muslim prince to beat a hasty retreat towards Mathurā, his own principality. Viradhavala then returned to his capital in triumph by way of Arbuda-giri, Candravati, the capital of the Paramāras, the river Sarasvati, Anhilvad, the capital of the Gurjara king, and Karṇāvatī on the Sābhramati. In this account Jayasimha characteristically gives all the credit to Viradhavala, the generous patron of his religion, and does not even mention 'Rāj Karan' who according to the Muslim writers, was the real leader of these campaigns.

1 II, 8. Probably Jaitrasimha, the ruler of Medapata (c. 1213-52 A.D.) whose capital Nāgadrabapura (modern Nagda, 14 miles north of Udaipur) was destroyed by the troops of the Suratāpa (Suliān). See WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.; also EI, Vol. XI, p. 73, fn. 6; infra, DHNI, Vol. II, infra, chapter on the Gahila-putras.

2 III, 11 ff. 3 V, 9 ff. 4 V, 15 ff. 5 V, 15 ff. 6 V, 21 ff. 7 V, 29 ff.

The Muslim leader in this invasion is often designated by Jayasimha as Milascakāra (III, 3 ff.). It has been recently suggested that this name is a corruption of Amir-i-Shihāra, an office conferred by Qutb ud-Dīn on Itutmish; HB, II, p. 467; also IA, 1929, p. 47. I do not know how this identification can be sustained on phonetic grounds. Dr. Barnett considers the identification as very improbable, but it seems to me possible that Jayasimha may have based his plot on some of the incidents which took place when Itutmish (1211-36 A.D.) captured Mandawar (मन्दवार), probably mod. Mandor near Jodhpur in the Siwalik (Sapādālakaṇṭha territory) in A. H. 624 (c. 1228 A. D.), or when he invaded Malwa in A. H. 632 (c. 1234 A. D.), captured Bhilā, and sacked Ujjain. See TN, Vol. I, pp. 611 and 621 ff. Though he text sometimes gives the name as (मन्दवार), the mention of 'Siwalik' A. H. 633 makes the identification of Mandawar with Mandu impossible; see ibid, p. 611, fn. 3. CHI, Vol. III, p. 53 places it 8 miles north of Bijnor in U.P. I think Raverty was right and Sir W. Haig wrong.
Besides these serious conflicts with the Muslims, there is evidence to show that there were other foreign invasions during the reign of Bhima II. According to the Prabandha-cintāmaṇi, while Bhima was reigning, ‘the king of Malava, named Sohadā, advanced to the border of Gujarat, with the intention of devastating that country, but the ministers of Bhimadeva went to meet him, and addressed this couplet to him,

Thy blaze of might, O son of kings, gleams in the eastern quarter,
But it will be extinguished, when thou shalt descend into the western region.

When Sohadā heard this disagreeable utterance of the minister he turned back again. Subsequently his son, named the glorious Arjunadeva, quite defeated the realm of Gujarat.1 The HūΗmāra-

mada-nīrduṣṭa of Jayasimha also refers to the invasion of Gujarat by Mahārāja Devapala of Malava2 simultaneously with the Muslim invasion from the north. Lavanaprasāda, who was a minister of Bhima, is credited in Bālaendra’s Vāṃsanta-vilāsa with victories over Coda, Kerala, Lata, Malava, Radha, and the Hūnas. To this war between Malava and Gurjara princes during this period the literary and epigraphic records of the Paramāras bear testimony. Thus the Pāṇḍuṣṭa-mañjari3 of Madana4 tells us that the Paramāra Arjunavarman (1211-15 A. D.) defeated the Cautuka-mahi-mahendra Jayasimha.5 Hultzsch inclined to the view that this Jayasimha is identical with Bhima II, who like his predecessor Jayasimha, was known as ‘the New Siddhārāja.’6

1 FC, p. 124.
3 III: 42-43.
4 Also known as Pijayātī.
5 The preceptor of the Paramāra Arjunavarman.
6 Also called Gurjurerda and Gurjurerpati.
But it is more likely that this ruler was Jayasimha, the temporary usurper of Bhūma II's throne, for whom we have got a grant, dated in V. S. 1280 (c. 1223 A. D.). The statement of Madana concerning the victory of the Paramāras over Gujarat kings is also borne out by the inscriptions of the former. Thus the Pipplainagār and Bhopal grants of Arjunavarman (V. S. 1267-72) claim that the 'angered prowess' of Subhaṭavarman was 'witnessed in the conflagration of the cities of Gurjara', and repeats the story of Arjuna's victory over Jayasimha. The same incidents are also recorded in the Mandhata grants of his sons Jaitugi and Jayavarman.

The Vyāyoga Pārthaparākrama of Prahlādana seems to refer to hostilities between Bhūma II, and the Cāhamānas of Sākambhari. We are told that the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, who was a feudatory of the Caulukya prince, repulsed a night attack by Prthvitrāja (III), lord of Jaṅgala. This is confirmed by the bardic tradition of war between the two kings.

Another important foreign invasion that seriously troubled Gujarat during this period appears to have come from the south. The inscriptions of the Yādava king, Śiṅghana (c. 1210-47 A. D.) claims repeated victories over the Gurjaras. One of Śiṅghana's earlier expeditions was apparently led by his Brāhman general Kholeśvara. Fleet has suggested that this expedition took place in the time of Lavaṇaprasāda, who, as we have seen, was the

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1 This name occurs at the end of his grant: Sri-Jayasimha-devarṣya; but in the grant itself the name is given as Jayantarasiṣṭha. See IA, Vol. VI, pp. 197-98. He is called Jaitrusiṣṭha in the Mandhata grant of Jayavarman: EI, Vol. IX, p. 191, line 15. On the identity of the prince defeated by the Paramāra Arjuna, see Kielhorn, ibid, p. 118, fn. 2.
2 Same as Rohuda of PC; father of Arjuna.
5 EI, Vol. IX, pp. 103-08, lines 12-13; ibid. p. 120, lines 14-15.
6 GOS, No. IV, p. 3.
chief minister of Bhima II. The Yavada claims to victory over the Gujarat kings seems to be confirmed by two pieces of literary evidence. Someśvara in his Kṛiti-kaumudi tells us that during the time of Lavanaprasāda and his son Viradhavala, Śinghana with a mighty army crossed the Tapti and overran the country about Broach. The capital of the Gurjaras trembled with fear, and the terror-stricken villagers fled en masse from their route, guiding their movements by the columns of smoke from the burnt villages that marked the advance of the Yavada army. Lavanaprasāda when he heard this, though he had but a small army advanced to the Mahi and ‘did not consider them unconquerable.’ In the meantime however four kings of Mārvāḍ̄ rose against Lavanaprasāda, and were joined by the chiefs of Godhrā and Lāṭa. ‘In these circumstances Lavanaprasāda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.’ The Yavada army, however, did not, according to Someśvara, advance further; but he gives no reason whatever for this, observing only that ‘deer do not follow a lion’s path even when he has left it.’¹ But as Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has remarked ‘if the invasion spread such terror over the country, as Someśvara himself represents, and the army of Śinghana was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gurjara prince retreated unless he had agreed to pay tribute, or satisfied the Yavada commander in some other way.’² His guess is confirmed by the Lekha-paddhati,³ also known as Lekha-paṇcaśikā, of an unknown author, which gives us the following draft of a treaty (Yamalapatra) between Śirhana (Śinghana) and Lāvanyaprasāda, dated in (V.) Samvat 1288.

Samvat 1288 vṛṣe Vaiśākha Sudi 15.

Some’dyeha Śrimad-Vijayakutake Mahārajaśhiraja-Śrimat-Siḥhanadevasya Mahāmandaleśvara - Rānaka-Sṛī - Lāvanyā-

³ OS, No. XIX, 1925.
Commenting on this treaty, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar rightly remarked that "it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in this form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Simhâna is but another form of Sînhâna, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the victorious camp, which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Someshvara." 3

This treaty throws a flood of light on the internal history of Gujarat. It is dated in V. S. 1288 (c. 1231 A. D.). The inscriptions of Bhîma II noticed above shows that he was ruling at Anahilapâtaka at least up to V. S. 1296 (c. 1238 A. D.). But it is significant that the treaty omits the name of the reigning sovereign and substitutes for it that of his minister the Mahâ- mandaśvarâ Lâvanyaprasâda. The author of the Kirti-kauvûnûdi tells us that the kingdom of the young Bhîma was gradually divided among powerful ministers and provincial chiefs, while Sukrâ-sankiśâna refers to Bhîma’s great anxiety on account of the chiefs, who had forcibly eaten away portions of the kingdom. The statement of these chroniclers would seem to indicate
that the religious revolution in Ajayapāla's reign, his violent death, and the youth of the next two rulers must have shaken the very foundation of the authority of the central government at Anahilapātaka. To the task of re-establishing the authority of his house, Bhīma appears to have devoted his whole energies. But though he may not have been a mere 'simpleton' (Bhōlo), as he is sometimes represented to be, he does not appear to have met with any substantial success. Besides the disorder and economic distress caused by repeated invasions he was faced with the treachery and disaffection of many of his powerful feudal barons. The statements of the Jaina authors on this point are remarkably confirmed by the Kadi grant of Jayantasisimhha, also known as Jayasingha. It was found as in No. 6 of Bhīma II, and contains 42 lines incised on two plates. The introductory portion of the grant is almost similar to the other Kadi grants of Bhīma II. But after tracing the Caulukya genealogy up to this prince it replaces the usual pāḍānudhyāta by tadantaram sthāne and mentions the name of M.-P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labdhā-prasāda-praudha-pratāpa-Caulukya-kula-kalpa-vallī-vistāraṇa-dīpta-Abhinava-Siddhārāja Jayantasisimhadeva, established at the rājadānī Anahilapura. It then records that this prince, in V.S. 1280 (c. 1223 A.D.), granted the village of Sāmpavāḍa in Vardhī-pathaka to the donee of inscription No. 13 of Bhīma II. The inscription ends with Sri-Jayasinghadevasya.

This grant shows that some time between V.S. 1275 and 1283, the dates of Bhīma II's Bharana and Kadi (No. ii) inscrip-

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1 Called Jalirasidiha in the Mandhata grant c. the Paramēra Jayavarman, see EI, Vol. VIII, p. 121, V. 15.
2 To Jayasimhha-Siddhārāja is given, in addition to the usual epithets, the title Ekāṅga-vīra. It also contains parābhāṭaduryāya-Gajavak-ādhirāja for Mālarāja II.
3 The place gives Vardā, while Bühler gives it in the abstract Varphl. But as the donor addresses the officers and residents of Vardhī-pathaka, Vardā is clearly a scribe's mistake for Vardhī, which is frequently mentioned in Caulukya grants from the time of Mālarāja I. See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 943, 1011, etc.
tions, the latter was ousted from his ancestral throne by a usurper. As Jayantasinibha calls himself a Caulukya, he was probably one of Bhīma's relatives; but the actual relationship must remain for the present uncertain. The Kadi grant (No. ii), of Bhīma, dated in V.S. 1283, shows that the usurper's tenure of power was comparatively short, and that Bhīma had won back his throne at Anahilapātaka sometime before c. 1226 A.D. But the most serious danger that threatened the Caulukyas of Anhilvada came from one of their distant branches, which was founded by Dhaivala, the husband of Kumārapāla's maternal aunt. The Sukra-kirti-kallolini calls this chief Bhīmapallī-pati and the line founded by him as Dhaivala-kula. His son was Āna or Arṇorāja; who, we are told, served under Kumārapāla and killed the chiefs of Medapāta and Candrāvattpura. In return for his services Kumārapāla granted him the village of Vyāghrapalli, about 10 miles S.W. of Anahilapātaka. It was from this village that his family came to be known in the Vernacular form as Vyāghelā. Udayaprabha relates that Bhīma II, considering that Arṇorāja, son of Dhaivala, had made Kumārapāla king and was an object of that prince's favour, entrusted the task of administration to Arṇorāja's son Lavaṇaprasāda. It was this Lavaṇaprasāda and his son Viradhavala, who, while acknowledging the nominal sovereignty of Bhīma II, gradually carved out a principality round Dhaivalakka (Dholka), between the Sabarmati and the Narbada. Though the Jain writers often invest Viradhavala and even his father Lavaṇaprasāda with royal titles, it is significant that even as late as V.S. 1287 an Abu stone-inscription represents both of them as Mahāmāndalēśvaras and Rāṇakas. But it is to be noted that a Girnar inscription,
dated in V.S. 1288, not only omits Bhīma's name, but invests Lavaṇaprasāda with the title of Mahārāja-dhirāja and his son with that of Mahārāja. It was in this very year that the Yamala-patra of the Lekha-paddhati and also an Abu inscription omit mention of the name of Bhīma. As Bhagvanlal Indraji has suggested, the Vāghelās perhaps rose to power by aiding Bhīma to recover his throne from the usurper Jayantasiûha (c. 1275-1283 V.S.). Though it is evident from epigraphic evidence, that Bhīma II continued to reign till V.S. 1296, he was apparently not strong enough to destroy this imperium in imperio which after Lavaṇaprasāda's death, Viradhavala continued to build up in the south. The formal transference of the crown of Añhalapātaka was perhaps not completed even as late as V.S. 1300, when according to the Therāvali Visaladeva ascended the throne, yet for all practical purposes, during the period V.S. 1288-1300 Viradhavala seems to have acted as an independent sovereign.

The Jain authors are at pains to assert that the transference of power from the time of Bhīma to the Vāghelās was peaceful, and did not involve any violent measures by the latter. Thus according to the authors of the Sukṛta-saṅkirtana, Kumārapāla appeared to his grandson Bhīma and directed him to appoint Viradhavala as his heir-apparent. "Next day in court, in the presence of the nobles, when Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala entered, the king said to Lavaṇaprasāda 'Your father Arñorāja seated me on the throne, you should therefore uphold my power; in return I will name your son Viradhavala as my heir-apparent.'"

The anxiety of the Jain authors to whitewash the usurpation of Viradhavala and his father is evidently to be explained by the fact that after the violent measures of Ajayapāla, the Jain religion had found new patrons in the line of Vyāghrapallī.

And, as in the case of Kumārapāla, the substantial backing of this powerful and wealthy mercantile community no doubt greatly facilitated the task of Viradhavāla. In consolidating his power Viradhavāla, we are told, was ably assisted by two Jain Bania ministers, Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla.1 Jayasimha in his Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-praśasti tells us that these two brothers were at first ministers3 of Bhīma, and the latter at the request of Viradhavāla gave them to the Vāghelā prince "as a matter of friendship."5 This is probably intended to hide the fact that these two ministers deserted him and joined the party of Viradhavāla. According to Bālacandra’s Vasanta-cilāsa it was the Rājalakṣemi who appeared to Viradhavāla in a dream and asked him to appoint the two brothers of the Prāgyaṭa family as his Mantri-yugma.4 Whatever may be the reason that led to their appointment, their influence on the reign of Viradhavāla is apparent. Not only do the Jain authors ascribe all his success directly or indirectly to them and their family, but even all the epigraphic records of his reign are connected with their achievements. Besides the inscriptions Nos. 15 and 16 of the reign of Bhīma, which practically belong to these two brothers, the following published records of their time may be mentioned:

(1-30) Abu stone-inscriptions.—These 30 short inscriptions are engraved in the temple of Neminātha5 at Abu. They are all incised either on the lintels of the doorway of the main temple or that of the cell-shrines in the corridor of the temple recording the erection of these shrines or of images of Tirthaṅkaras. The records all belong to Tejaḥpāla, and contain dates from 1287

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1 For their genealogy see inscription No. 16 of Bhīma II, above, p. 1012.
2 Karana-pada-kṛṣṇa-sūpya, V. 50.
3 Ibid., Vs. 38-51.
4 III, 51 ff.; for another version, see PG, pp. 156 ff.
5 Same as in No. 15 of Bhīma II, see above, pp. 1012-13.
to 1297 V.S. They are of interest as showing that the minister in the years following V.S. 1287, when the temple was erected, did not cease to enlarge and embellish the sanctuary which he had erected.¹

(31) Gîrnar stone-inscription.—Found over the west doors of the temple of Vastupâla and Tejâhpâla on Mt. Gîrnar. It opens with (Oṃ) namaḥ Sarva-nārayana and a mutilated invocation to Nemi-Jina. Then follows the date, V.S. 1288 (A.D. 1232). The rest is devoted to a praśasti of Vastupâla and Tejâhpâla describing their various building and charitable activities. Besides the genealogy of the ministers,² the only important information supplied by the record is as follows:

(i) In c. (V.)S. (12)79,³ Vastupâla’s son Jayantasimha was transacting the business of the Seal⁴ at Stambhatîrtha (Cambay).

(ii) In V.S. (12)76, Vastupâla and Tejâhpâla were appointed to carry on the business of the Seal in Dhavalakkaka and other cities in the Gurjara-maṇḍala by the Mahārāja Viradhavala, son of M. Lavanaprâsadâ, of the Caulukya lineage (kula).

(iii) In V.S. (12)77, the Mahāmâtya became Saṅghadhipati and made pilgrimages to Satruṇjaya, Ujjayanta and other Mahâtîrthas. The inscription was composed by the Gurjara-Purohita Thâ(kkura) Somaśvara, and written by the Kayastha Jaitrasimha.⁵

(32-36) Gîrnar stone-inscriptions.—All these five inscriptions are on the doors of the same temple as No. 31. They all describe the numerous charitable and building

¹ Edited by Lâders, EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 207-08 and 233-39. The inscriptions do not mention the name of any king.
² Almost the same as in No. 16 of Bîhma; see above, p. 1012.
³ Saṃ 79 varga-pūrṇaḥ was translated by Burgess as ‘before the Sâdvat year 79.’ But C. D. Dalal pointed out that it should mean ‘beginning with the year 1279’; see ARB, pp. 288-84; GOS, No. VII, p. xii, fn. 2.
⁴ Mātrā-epupāraṁ epapraṣeti.
⁵ ARB, pp. 283-86; ASWI, Vol. II, pp. 170-73. The pilgrimage of Vastupâla in V. S. 1277 is also mentioned by the PC, p. 157.
activities of the two ministers. They were composed by Maladhāri Naracandra, Somesvara, Maladhāri Narendra, Maladhāri Saracandra and Udayaprabha. They are all dated in V.S. 1288.\(^1\)

(37) Girnar stone-inscription.—Incised on the rock to the east of Rājala and Vājela caves and west of the road to Gau-mukha. It records the erection of four new and beautiful Jain temples for the spiritual benefit of the donor and his wives. The date is V.S. 1289.\(^2\)

Besides the above inscriptions, the Jain authors have left a number of literary compositions on the life and works of the two ministers.\(^3\)

As Viradhavala's principality lay between the Sabarmati and the Narbada, he had to bear the brunt of the assaults of the Yādava ruler Śīṅghana. I have already referred to one such expedition by Śīṅghana and his treaty with Viradhavala's father in V.S. 1288. The Hāṃmīra-mada-mardana gives a detailed account of another attack by Śīṅghana in collaboration with the Mālava-nareśa Devapāla (c. 1218-29 A.D.) and the Māndalesvara Saṅgrāmasimha who was the son of Sindjurāja and the nephew of Śīṅhā, the lord of Lāṭa.\(^4\) But thanks to the activity of Vastupāla's spies the alliance was dissolved and the allies dispersed. The Ambem inscription tells us that Rāma, the son of Kholesvara, led a Yādava army as far as the Narmadā,

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\(^1\) ARB, pp. 286-302.

\(^2\) ARB, p. 315. But in ASWI, Vol. II, p. 173, the date is given as V. S. 1288. See EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 73, No. 507. For notices of other inscriptions see GOS, No. VII, pp. x-xii.


\(^4\) The Dohali Inscription of Visalakshra, V. S. 1311, seem to refer to an unsuccessful combined attack by the lords of Dhāra and the Daksīṇa; see EI, Vol. I, pp. 99 ff., V. 25.
where ‘he slew a number of Gurjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.’ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has shown that his expedition must have taken place shortly before Saka 1160 (c. 1295 V.S.). Possibly therefore Rāma lost his life in the expedition referred to by the drama of Jayasimha. The Vasanta-nilāsa describes a victory of Vastupāla over the Cāhamāna ruler of Lāṭa named Saṅkhu. He attacked Stambhatīrtha from Bhrgukaccha with a cavalry force but after a fierce struggle was forced to retreat to Bhrgupura. This Saṅkhu, who is also referred to by other Jain writers, is, I think, to be identified with the Saṅgrāma of the Hummira-madu-mardana. Besides these wars, Viradhavala is credited with other victories. I have already referred to his success against a Muslim invader who advanced as far as Medapāta. Someśvara records his campaigns against the chiefs of Vamanasthali, near Junagadh, Godhra in Eastern Gujrat, and Cutch. Not all of these were successful. In the last campaign we are told that Viradhavala was defeated and made a prisoner.

Viradhavala must have died sometime before V.S. 1295, for a colophon of a MS. of the Yogaśāstra contains that date as in the reign of Mahāmāyulēśvar-Śrīkula-Visaladeva. Merutūṅga narrates that when Viradhavala died, ‘owing to his excessive popularity, 120 followers elected to burn themselves with his corpse.’ Jain tradition related that Visaladeva poisoned his father and prevented by arms the accession of his elder brother Virama. That the succession was disputed seems to be proved by the colophon of a palm-leaf MS., which is dated from the

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2 IV, 17ff.
3 Saṅkhu in Pt., p. 102ff.
5 According to Parasukhara and Harya Gaṇa, Viradhavala died at Dholka, not long before the death of his minister Vastupāla in V. S. 1297 (A.D. 1229); IA, Vol. VI, p. 196.
6 No. 37 of Sanghavi’s Bhandari at Padani; see COS, No. VII, p. xi, fn. 2.
7 PC, p. 167.
9 No. 393 in the Jaināmāra Bhandari; see COS, No. VII, p. xi, fn. 4.
rājadhānī of Mahāmāndaleśvara-Rāṇaka-Virama, in V. S. 1296, in the victorious reign of M.-Bhīmadeva. These two colophons seem to indicate that the kingdom was for a time divided between the brothers. The presence of Bhīma II's name in the colophon of Virama and its absence in the case of Visala may show that while the elder brother still continued to pay nominal allegiance to the government of Anahilapura, the younger and more ambitious brother was determined to end the anomalous position and assert his complete independence. The Ahmedabad pillar inscription of V. S. 1308 shows that Visaladeva had then already assumed imperial titles, while by the year V.S. 1318 he had ousted the line of Bhīma and captured the throne of Anahila-pāṭaka itself.

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Visaladeva.

(1) Ahmedabad pillar-inscription.—On a pillar in the mosque of Ahmad Shāh I (A. D. 1411-48), in the Bhadr at Ahmedabad. It contains 10 lines, incised on a pillar to the right of the pulpit. The preserved portion opens with the date, (V.) Samvat 1308 (c. 1251 A.D.) It records that on that date, in the victorious reign of M.-Visaladeva, while the Mahāprādhānas appointed by him (were) the Rāṇaka Vardhamana and Mūlarāja, a trellis (jāli) was caused to be made in the mandapa of the god Uttaresvara by Pethaḍa, the masāhanī, of Bai Sodhala-devī. The overseer Upadraṣṭā was the Rā(utra) Mallā, the Sūtra(dhāra) Sūmanā.

(2) Dabhoi stone-inscription.—Incised on a large stone fixed in the inner side-wall of the Hira Bhāgolā gate at Dabhoi. The inscription, which contains 59 lines, is very badly damaged and in many portions is extremely fragmentary. It seems to open with 3 verses invoking Siva-Vaidyanātha, and then in Vs. 4-79 gives an eulogistic description of the predecessors of Visaladeva. Vs.

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3 His mother was Vayaladevi; EI, p. 215, V. 18.

II—47
4-7 seem to have contained references to Mūlarāja I, the founder of the Caulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka. From Vs. 8-79, we have a description of the achievements of the Vāghelās from Arporāja to Visaladeva. The proper object seems to have been to record the building or restoration of a temple of Siva-Vaidyanātha at Dabhoi (Darbhavati) by the order of Visaladeva. The prakasti was composed by Someśvara, the royal priest and written by the Brāhman Prahlādana. It was incised by the Sūtradhāra-dhūrti Padmasimha. The date, (V.) Samvat 1311 (A.D. 1253) comes at the end.

(3) Kadi grant.—Found as No. 6 of Bhima II. It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with Om svasti; then follows the date, V. S. 1317 (A.D. 1261), when the P.-Pb.-Umāpati-vara-labhā-prasāda-praudha-pratāpa-Caulukya-kula-kamalini-kalikā-vikāśa-mārtanda-Simghana-sainya-samudra-samśoṣana-Vaḍavānala-Mālavrādhīśa-māna-mardana-Medapāṭaka-deśa-kalusa-rājya-valli-kandocched-ana-Kuddāla-kalpa-Karnata-rāja-jaladhi-tanaya-svayamvara-Puruṣottama-bhujabala-Bhima-Abhinava-Siddharāja-apar-Ārjuna Visaladeva ruling victoriously at Aṇahillapāṭaka, and when the Mahāmātya Nāgaḍa was in charge of the Seal. It then states that on this date the Mahāmanḍalesvara-Rāṇaka Sāmantasimha, who ruled at Maṇḍali in Vardhi-pathaka, for the spiritual benefit of his grandfather Rāṇa Lōṇapāṣa, granted 12 ploughs of land in the villages of Mehūṇa and Rīnasihvasaṇa, 12 shops at Maṇḍali, and some other gifts for the purpose of feeding in Āṣāpalli, at a formerly instituted Sattra, 8 new Brāhmins, and to keep the drinking-fountain filled. All this was made over for management to the Mahāmunīmāra-rājakula

1 The inscription contains references to many historical incidents.
2 The same as the author of the Kīrti-kumudī.
Viśvāmitra, the head of the maṭha of Muleśvaradeva at Maṇḍapikā. The Dūtaka was Mahā-sāndhivigrahika Tha(kkura). Sridhara, the writer Mahākṣapaṭalika Tha(kkura) Govinda. The inscription ends with Aparārjuna-M.-Sri-Srimad-Visaladevasya.¹

These 3 inscriptions cover the period 1308 to 1317 V.S. We have seen that Visaladeva was already a Mahāmaṇḍalesvara in V. S. 1295. Merutūṅga's Therāvalī asserts that he became king in V. S. 1300. He probably means that he ascended the throne at Anahilapāṭaka on that date. For, as we have seen, Bhīma II was actually ruling in that city in V. S. 1296 (A. D. 1238). Then there is evidence to show that Bhīma was succeeded in that city by one Tribhuvanapāla, who ruled up to V. S. 1299. This is proved by the Kadi grant² of the latter. This inscription contains 42 lines, incised on two plates. The introductory portion gives us the Caulukya genealogy from Mūlarāja I to Bhīma II.³ We are then told that M.-P.-Pb.- Tribhuvanapāla, who meditated on the feet of Bhtmadeva (II), and who resided at Anahilapāṭaka, in V. S. 1299 (c. 1242 A. D.) granted the villages of Bhāṃsara and Rājapuri in the Viṣaya and Daṇḍahi Pathakas⁴ to feed the Kārpaṭika (mendicants) at the almshouse (satraṅgāra) built by Rāṇā Lunaṇapāṇi in the Māula-talapāda, for the spiritual benefit of his mother Rājāi Salakhaṇadevi. The management of the endowment was entrusted to Vedagarbharāśī, the Sthānapati of the temple of Muleśvara (Siva) at Maṇḍall, and his descendants. The writer of the grant was Aksapaṭalika Tha(kkura) Somasiha, the Dūtaka Tha(kkura) Vayajaladeva. It ends with Śrī-Tribhuvanapālasya.⁵

¹ Edited by Bühler, Id., Vol. VI, pp. 210-13. Note also the unfinished Combay stone inscription in which the last name is that of Visaladeva. As the record is undated, it is impossible to say definitely whether it belongs to him. BI, pp. 214-18.
² Found as No. 6 of Bhima II. See above, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1007.
³ The Vamārvalī agrees with No. 19 of Bhima II. See ibid, p. 1016.
⁴ The king addresses the officials and inhabitants of the Viṣaya and Daṇḍahi Pathakas.
⁵ Edited by Bühler, Id., Vol. VI, pp. 208-10. This prince is possibly to be identified with the Tribhuvana-Rāṇaka who fought and killed Bāla, a general of Guhila Jairasītha.
This grant shows that besides his brother Virama, Visaladeva had probably to fight Tribhuvanapāla, the immediate successor of Bīma II, before he could seat himself on the throne of Anahilapātaka. If Merutunga is to be believed, Visaladeva's struggle for the crown was settled by V.S. 1300. Tribhuvanapāla had therefore a short tenure of power, which probably extended from c. 1296 to 1300 V.S.

The first important event in the reign of this prince was the downfall of his father's two great ministers, Vastupāla¹ and Tejahpāla. According to the Jain writers, it was Vastupāla who was instrumental in securing the crown for Visaladeva. Someśvara records that in spite of this service, they suffered great indignities at the hands of the king, and were nearly obliged to undergo the ordeal of ghaṭa-sarpa in order to prove themselves innocent of peculation.² On another occasion Vastupāla came into violent conflict with Sinhu, the king's maternal uncle, and 'abandoned the hope of life.'³ On both these occasions, we are told, the royal priest Someśvara saved them by his intervention. Before these incidents, it seems that the king had relieved them of their high offices and appointed a Brāhman named Nāgāda as his chief minister. The Kadi grant shows that Nāgāda was transacting the business of the Seal as late as V.S. 1317. The appointment of Nāgāda like that of Kapardin in the reign of Ajayapāla probably marks a Brāhmancial reaction in the king's administration; and we are therefore not at all surprised to see the Jain chroniclers completely ignoring Visaladeva after recording the incidents about the Jain ministers.⁴ But the inscriptions of the king shows that his reign was not without its share of military glory.

¹ (c. 1232-53), when the latter was trying to recover Koṭṭadaka (mod. Kota) ; see WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff. See also infra, DHNIT, Vol. II, chapter on the Gahila-patras.
² For some additional inscription of Vastupāla and his family, see ABOL, 1937-28, pp. 170-82. These stone-inscriptions contain dates from V. S. 1381-92. See also RMR, 1916-11, for another inscription dated in V.S. 1296.
⁴ Ibid.
² IA, Vol. VI, p. 191.
The fragmentary Dabhoi inscription seems to claim that Visaladeva successfully fought with the Dhārādhiśvara and Dakṣiṇēśvara and kept a hero's vow (vīra-vrata) on the banks of the Sindhu.\(^1\) His success against the rulers of Mālava and the South is confirmed by the epithets applied to him in the Kadi grant. The name of the Southern prince is given as Śrīgana (c. 1210-47 A.D.), who was certainly the Yādava ruler of that name, and who had been raiding the Gujarāt frontier since the days of Lavana-prasāda. The statement contained in the Kadi grant, that Visaladeva won in a Sva-yāmeśaṇa the daughter of the Karna-rāja, may indicate an alliance between the Cauḍukyas and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra against their common enemy the Yādavas of Devagiri.\(^2\) Bühler suggested that the Mālava prince who was defeated by Visaladeva was Pūrnāmalla.\(^3\) But it is more likely that he was either Jaṭugīdeva (c. 1239-43 A.D.) or Jayavarman (c. 1256-69 A.D.), the two immediate successors of Devapāla, the opponent of Viradhavala, who fought with Visaladeva. Bühler is however probably right in his guess that the ruler of Medapāta defeated by the Cauḍukya king was the Guhila Tejasimitra (c. 1260-67 A.D.) mentioned in an Abu inscription.\(^4\)

According to Merutaṅga, Visaladeva\(^5\) was succeeded by Arjunadeva in V.S. 1318. The Cintra pruṣastī of the reign of Sāraṅgadeva reveals the fact that Arjuna was not the son but the nephew of Visaladeva. We are told that “after the illustrious Viṣvamalla had anointed Arjuna, the son of (his younger brother) Pratāpamalla, he enjoyed (in heaven) the banquets of ambrosia and the nectar of the lips of the celestial maidens.”\(^6\) The same record gives us the name of Nāgalladevi

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\(^5\) Sometimes known as Viṣvamalla or Viśvala or Viṣala, see El, Vol. I, p. 272.

Visaladeva’s queen. A stone tablet at Kodinara in Kathiawar contains two prāṣastis of the Nāgara Brāhman Nānāka, the court poet of Visaladeva which record the inauguration of Sārasvata-krita-ketana and Sārasvata-sarovara by him. One of these prāṣastis is dated in V.S. 1328.1

Of the reign of Arjuna we have the following published records:—

(1) Veraval grant.—Found in the temple of Harṣatā at Veraval in Kathiawar. It contains 45 lines of writing in very bad Sanskrit, opening with Om om namah Viśvanāthāya and an invocation to that deity. It is then dated in Rasula-Mahamada-samvat 622 (A.D. 1264), in V.S. 1320 (A.D. 1264), in Valabhiya (S.) 945, and Simha-Samvat 151, when P.-Ph.-Umaśatīvara-labdhā praudha-pratāpa-Nīkānka-malla -Ari-rāya-hrdya-salīya Caułukya-Çakravarti-M.-Arjunadeva was ruling victoriously at Aṇāhilla-pāṭaka and while the Mahāmātya-Rāṇaka Mālađeva was transacting the business of the Seal, and Amīr-Rukunadina2 was reigning in the coast of Harmuja.3 At this date, with the permission of the Paṇcakulas, in the town of Somanāthadeva, Mahan(ta) Abhayasīha the pāri(pārśvika) of Mahattara-Gaṇḍaśri-Paravirabhadrā, the great teacher of the Pāśupatas, the (ship-owner),4 Noradina Ptroja,5 a native of HarmuJa-deśa, brought a piece of land in the Sikottarī-mahāyanapālī outside the town of Somnath and built a miṣījiti (masjīd) on it. For the maintenance of this place of worship he gave the whole palladikā belonging to the temple of Bhūtesvara, in the centre of Somnath, the dānapala of an oil-mill, and two shops in front of the miṣījiti. Any surplus that remained was to be sent to the holy districts of Mecca and Medina.

2 Hijra year.
3 Amīr Rukn ud-Dīn.
4 The small island of Hurmūs, which gives its name to the strait leading out of the Persian Gulf.
5 Nau (sēha).
6 Nār ud-Dīn Firūs.
The trustees appointed for the management of the endowment included the Muslim congregations (jamātha, i.e., Jamā'at) of Nākhyā-naurika (ship-owners), of wharf-people (Ghaṭṭaka) who are devoted to the Martyr with their preacher (Khalibā), and of the Musalmans among the landholders (pathapati) and the (Persian) artisans (cunakara). The inscription ends with the statement that any one who plundered this place of worship and its income will bear the guilt of the five deadly sins (pañca-mahāpātaka).

(2) Rav stone-inscription.—"It is engraved on a memorial slab at the corner of the courtyard wall of an old temple" at the village of Rav, about 60 miles east of Bhuj in Cutch. It speaks of Arjunadeva as "great king of kings, supreme ruler, supreme lord." It is dated in V.S. 1328 (A.D. 1272), when Māladeva was his chief minister, and records the building of a step-well in the village of Rāv.

(3) Girnar stone-inscription.—Found on the famous Girnar hill in Kathiawar at the entrance of the maṇḍapa of Gaṇadhara situated in the west of the main temple of Nemi-nātha. It contains 7 lines of Sanskrit prose. It is dated in V.S. 1330 in the reign of Arjunadeva, when Pālha was (transacting the business of the Seal) in Saurāṣṭra. It records the grant of the right of engraving inscriptions (sūtradhāratvam) in the temple of Neminātha and at other sacred places on the hill of Girnar to sūtradhāra Haripāla, son of sūtradhāra Goga, belonging to the Mevāḍa community by Udayaprabha and other Jain priests and the Pañcakula headed by Dhāndhā.

These three inscriptions cover the period V.S. 1320 to 1330 (c. 1264-73) Merutunga states that Arjunadeva's reign extended

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1 "All.
up to V.S. 1361. According to Abu’l-Fażl and ‘Alî Muḥammad he reigned for only 10 years. As the earliest known inscription of his successor is dated in V.S. 1332, we may tentatively accept with Bühler Merutuṅga’s date. We know of very few political incidents in his reign; but his two inscriptions show that his authority extended from Patan to Cutch and the South of Kathiawar. His Veraval inscription is of great interest, as it bears witness to his tolerance in religious matters. The generous statesmanship which allowed Muslim communities to thrive and to build and endow mosques in one of the most sacred cities of the Caulukya kingdom forms a remarkable contrast to the policy of plunder and desecration practised by the early Turkish conquerors of India.

According to Merutuṅga, Arjunadeva was succeeded by Sāraṅgadeva in V.S. 1331. The latter’s Cintra prāṣasti shows that he was the son of Arjunadeva. Of his reign we have the following published records and dates:

(1) Khokhrā stone-inscription.—This mutilated inscription is incised on a Pāliā at Khokhrā in Cutch, which was originally in the fort of Bhadreswar. ‘The Pāliā has a figure of a cow feeding probably on Indian corn (maize) and suckling her calf,’ and at present contains 6 lines of writing. It opens with Oṁ and gives the date (V.) Saṁvat 1332 (A.D. 1275), when M.-P.-Pb.-Praudha-pratāpa-Nāraviyaṇavatāra-Lakṣmi-svayamvara-Mahārāja-Saraṅgadeva was ruling victoriously at Anahillapāṭaka, and when the Mahāmātya-Śrī-Māeva-mahām rūḍhi-Śrī-Kānha was transacting all the royal business.

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3 IA, Vol. VI, p. 191.
6 These words baffle emendation.
7 Noticed by Bühler, IA, Vol. XXI, pp. 276-77.
(2) **Amaran inscription.**—Found at Amaran, Jamnagar State, Kathiawar. It is dated in V.S. 1333 in the reign of Mālava - dharā - dhūmaketu - Gūtījara - dharaṇī- samuddharana-varāhā-Saptama-cakravarti-Bhuja-bala-malla-Mahārājā-Sārāṅgadeva, when Pālha was officer-in-charge of Saurāṣṭra. It records a benefaction by a prince (name lost), son of the Cāpotkaṭa Rāṇaka Bhojadeva.¹

(3) **British Museum inscription.**—Dated in (V.) S. 1335 in the reign Kalyāṇa-Vijaya-rāyja of Sārāṅgadeva.²

(4) **Cintra stone-inscription.**—Incised on a long slab of polished black stone which is now preserved in the Quinta of Don João de Castro at Cintra. Its contents however show that it originally belonged to a temple at Veraval or Somnath. It contains 66 lines of writing, and opens with Om om namah Śivāya; then follow three verses containing a maṅgala addressed to Siva and Gaṇeśa. Next come the genealogy of the Vāgbelās from Viśvamalla³ to Sārāṅgadeva (Vs. 4-13). Next is described the spiritual family of the Lakulīśa-Pāśupata⁴ ascetic Tripurāntaka, the benefactor of the Tiṛṭha of Somnātha (Vs. 14-39). Verses 40-46 inform us that Tripurāntaka built temples, and dedicated 5 Lingas, and erected a toraṇa at Somnath. Verses 47-72 enumerate the benefactions which Tripurāntaka made in order to provide for the service of his temples" and the rules regarding the worship. V. 76 states that the prāṣasti was composed by Dharaṇīdhara, written by the mantrin Vikrama, and incised by the Silpin Pūṇasīha. At the end we are told that the Linga-pratiṣṭhā-mahotsava took place in V.S. 1343 (1287 A.D.)⁵

³ Vījaladeva.
⁴ The head establishment of this ascet was in Karobha (mod. Karon on the Miyagas-Dabhni railway) in Lāḍa (Central Gujarat).
⁵ Edited by Bihler, EI, 1892, Vol. I, pp. 371-377. A copy of the prāṣasti was first published in Murphy's *Travels in Portugal* (1798), and the plate was then reproduced by Burgess in No. 9 of the *Memoranda of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Bombay, 1870. The record is sometimes known as Veraval inscription, see EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 87, No. 611.
(5) Anavada stone-inscription.—Found during excavation work at Anavada, the old Añahilapātaka, nearly 3 miles from Patan, in the Kadi division. It contains 24 lines, and begins with the opening stanza of Jayadeva’s Gīta-Govinda. Then follows the date, (V.) Saṅvat 1348 (c. 1291 A.D.), when M. Sāraṅgadeva was reigning at Añahilavātaka, and while Mahāsāṃdhi (vigrahika) Mahāmātya Madhusūdana was transacting the business of the Seal, and the Pañcakula consisted of Patdāda and others. It then records a list of gifts which was made on that date and also previously by various persons, merchants and shipowners (nau-vittaka), etc., for the worship, offerings and theatricals in honour of Kṛṣṇa.¹

(6) Cambay stone-inscription.—Found in the Jain temple of Cintāmani-Pārśvanātha at Cambay, in the Kaira collectorate of Gujarat. It contains 29 lines of damaged writing in Sanskrit, beginning with an invocation to Pārśvanātha and then follows a date (V.) Saṅvat 1165.² Next comes the genealogy of the Vāghelās. Lūpigadeva, his son Viradhavala, Pratāpamalla, his son Arjuna (lines 5-6), and Sāraṅgadeva (line 26). In line 25 occurs the date V.S. 1352 (c. 1295 A.D.).³

These inscriptions cover the period V.S. 1332 to 1352 (c. 1275-95 A.D.).⁴

This agrees with the statement of Merutuṅga, according to whom Sāraṅgadeva ruled from V.S. 1331 to 1353, or roughly

¹ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, IA, 1912, pp. 20-21.
² "Without any indication as to what it refers to."
³ Very imperfectly edited in EI, pp. 237-38, see also Kielhorn in EI, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 36, No. 249. Though it contains a date for Sāraṅgadeva, it is doubtful whether it belongs to his reign.
from 1274-75 to 1296-97 A.D.\(^1\) Abu’l-Faṣl and ‘Alī Muhammad assigned him a reign of 21 years.\(^2\) Unfortunately very few facts throwing light upon the political incidents of his reign are known. The Amran inscription however tells us that he revived the fortune of the Gurjara country and was a veritable dhūmaketu to the Mālava kingdom. The Cintra Prāsasti seems to indicate that the traditional hostilities against the Yādavas of Devagiri and the rulers of Mālava were successfully continued under him. We are told by Dharaṇidhara, the author of the prāsasti, that the ruler of the Gurjara kingdom was “passionately addicted to the sport of rescuing the earth......Through his power he in battle reduced the powers of the Yādava and the Mālava lords, just as the lord of birds formerly (overcame) the huge-bodied elephant and the tortoise”\(^3\). Bühler rightly identified the Yādava foe of Sārāṅga with Ramacandra, the last independent Hindu monarch of Devagiri, who ascended the throne in 1271 A.D. and died in 1309-10 A.D., a feudatory of ‘Alā ud-Dīn Khalji (1296-1316 A.D.).\(^4\) The Mālava king, whom he could not identify is perhaps the (Paramāra?) Jayavarmana II for whom we seem to have inscriptions ranging from c. 1256 to 1260 A.D.\(^5\)

Sārāṅgadeva was succeeded by Karṇadeva, popularly known as Ghelaro or the ‘insane prince’\(^6\) in c. 1296-97 A.D. Merutūṅga assigns him the period V.S. 1353 to 1360 (A.D. 1296-97 to 1303-04). According to Abu’l Faṣl he reigned for 6 years 10 months and 15 days.\(^7\) All accounts agree that he was the last Vāghelā king of Anhilvad. We have already noticed conflicts

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\(^1\) IA, Vol. VI, p. 191.
\(^6\) Or simply Ghelo (insane), Ras, Vol. I, pp. 264 and 266.
\(^7\) AAK, Vol. II, p. 260. The MA (Trans., p. 159) assigns him 6 years and 2 months.
between the Muslims and the Caulukyas in the time of Bhīma II and Viradhavala. On that occasion the Muslims advanced from the region of Mathura southwards to Medapāta. After about 50 years' inactivity they again renewed their depredations on the Caulukya dominions. Unfortunately for Karna, his accession nearly synchronised with that of 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.) one of the ablest military leaders among the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi. Within a short time of his usurpation of the crown 'Alā ud-Dīn turned his attention to the fertile plains and wealthy ports of Gujarat.1 Barani tells us that at the beginning of the 3rd year of his rule: "Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān, with their amirs and generals, and a large army marched against Gujarat. They took and plundered Naharwāla and all Gujarat. Kāran, Rai of Gujarat, fled from Naharwāla and went to Rām Deo of Deogrā. The wives and daughters, the treasure and elephants of Rai Kāran, fell into the hands of the Muhhammadans. All Gujarat became a prey to the invaders and the idol which, after the victory of Sultān Mahmūd and his destruction of (the idol) Manāt, the Brāhmans had set up under the name of Somnāth, for the worship of the Hindus, was removed and carried to Delhi, where it was laid down for people to tread upon. Nuṣrat Khān proceeded to Kamīya (Cambay) and levied large quantities of jewels and precious articles from the merchants of the place who were very wealthy. He also took a handsome slave from his master (afterwards known as) Kāfūr Hazār-dīnārī, who was made Malik-nāīb, and whose beauty captivated 'Alā ud-Dīn. Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān returned with great booty."2 Firishta adds the information that amongst the wives of Kāna, who were

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1 The Ras (Vol. I, p. 266) mentions the story that Karna had two Nāgara Brāhmans ministers named Mādhava and Kēśava. Karna took by force the former's wife, who was a padsini, and slew Kēśava. Mādhava thereupon went to 'Alā ud-Dīn and brought in the Muslims.

captured in this expedition was 'Kowlia Devy,' whose beauty, wit and accomplishment so captivated 'Alā ud-Dīn that he took her into his harem.' The Mirat-i-Ahmadi states that before Karna fled he engaged the Muslim generals in battle; and the Zafar ul-Wālih informs us that it was 'a hard struggle.' This campaign did not however completely end Karna's career. He appears to have maintained his independence in the hilly territory known as Baglan in Nasik; and Firishta tells us that when in 1306 A.D., according to the instructions of Malik Kafur, Alaf Khan tried to join him in 'the borders of the Deccan' from Gujarat 'by the route leading through the mountains of Buglana, so as both to enter the Deccan together,' he was successfully opposed by Karna. Immediately before this Malik Kafur had tried to persuade the Caulukya king to hand over to him Devaladev, his daughter by Kavalardevi. For we are told that at her request the Sultan had issued express injunctions to his generals to seize her daughter and send her to Delhi. But 'The Raja could by no means be brought to agree' to this demand. Finding that his own military efforts had no effect on local rajas, he directed Alaf Khan to join him in Gujarat. But Firishta relates that for two months Karna defeated all his efforts to force a passage, fighting several actions. At this time Saunkara the son of the Devagiri Yadava Ramadeva made offers of help to Karna, who agreed to give him his daughter, who was only 13 years of age. When Bhimadeva, Saunkara's brother, was escorting the girl to Devagiri, and had nearly reached the capital city, a section of the troops of Asaf Khan, numbering about 300, who had gone 'without leave to see the caves of Eloora, in the neighbourhood of Dewgur' surprised the escort and captured the young bride. According to Firishta,

1 'Kowlia' is quite correct, Kamalā through the intermediate Kaselā. Dr. Barnett suggests that the vernacular form of the name was probably Kavaladevi, in Sanskrit Kamaladevi.


3 *TP, Briggs* Trans., Vol. I, pp. 365-66. Devaladevi, who like her mother, was famous for her beauty, was married to Khizr Khan, the eldest son of 'Alī ud-Din. Amir Khaaraun
before this incident Alaf Khān, being much concerned at the reports of these marriage-arrangements and fearing for his head, had made one supreme effort to pierce Karna's mountain-defences. His army, we are told, 'entered the mountains in all directions and engaging the Raja gave him total defeat. Kurrun Ray fled to Dewgur, leaving his elephants, tents and equipage on the field.' After this history loses sight of Karna, and he probably died as a refugee somewhere in the Deccan.¹

¹ The Vaghelas continued to rule in Gujarat as petty chiefs in the Muhammadan period. See the Adalji well-inscription of Rāji Bhujādevi, wife of the Vaghela Virasinhha of Dandāhidēśa in the reign of Mahmūd Begarhā, 1458-1511 A.D., dated in V.S. 1556. ARB., pp. 284-86; also BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 206.
Genealogical Tables.
(Dates approximate.)

Rājā = Cāpoṭkāṭa Princess

Mūlarāja I (c. 961-96 A.D.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cāmupdarāja (c. 996-1010 A.D.)</th>
<th>Cācinidevi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vallaḥarāja</td>
<td>Durlabharāja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jagaiḫampana</td>
<td>(c. 1010-22 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nagadeva¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhimadeva I = Udayamati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c. 1022-64 A.D.)</td>
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<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Karpadeva I (c. 1064-94 A.D.)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trailokyamalla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Mayapalladevi</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kṣemarāja</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devaprasāda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Dhevala = X                   |
| (of Bhimapallī)               |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kāśmiradevi = Tribhuvanapāla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mahipāla</th>
<th>Kirtipāla</th>
<th>Kumārapāla</th>
<th>Premaladevi</th>
<th>Devaladevi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>= Kṛṣṇadeva</td>
<td>= Arṇorāja (Cāhamāna)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arṇorāja (of Vyāghrapallī) = Sallakṣanadevi

Ajayapāla, (c. 1173-76 A.D.)

¹ Names in stipes did not reign at Anhilvada.
Arnorāja
(of Vyāghrapalli = Sallakaṇādevī)

Lavanyaprasāda
(of Dhavalakkha = Madanaṇdevī)

Viradhavala

Virāma
Viśvarāma or
Viśaladeva
(c. 1244-52 A.D.)

Pratapamalla

Arjunadeva (c. 1262-75 A.D.)

Sārangadeva (c. 1275-97 A.D.)

Karnadeva II (c. 1297-1304 A.D.)

= Kouḍadevi (Kamalaṇdevī) = 'Alā ud-Din Khalji (Sultān of Delhi) (or Kouḍadevī)

(1296-1316 A.D.)

Devaladevi = Khirr Khān (eldest son of 'Alā ud-Din Khalji)

= Qutb ud-Dīn Mubārak Khalji (Sultān of Delhi) (1316-20 A.D.)

= Khusrau Shāh (Sultān of Delhi) (A.D. 1320).

Ajayaṇāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.)

(Laghū or Bahā) Mūlarāja II (c. 1176-78 A.D.)

(Bhola) Bhīmadeva II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.)

(Usurpation of Jayantaisinha. Jayatāsinha or Jayatisinva (c. 1228 A.D.)

Trubhuvanaṇāla (c. 1241-44 A.D.)

1 Names in italics did not reign at Anhilvada.
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6. Ṭabqät-i-Akbarī of Nigām-ud-Dīn, Trans. by B. Dey, 1913 (Bibliotheca Indica).


8. A’in-i-Akbarī, Trans. by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II.


24. *Vastupāla-Tejahpāla-praṣasti* by the same, ibid, Appendix I.
26. *Nārāyanānanda*, by Vasantapāla (Vastupāla) *GOS*, No. II.
27. *Kīrti-kaumudi* of Someśvara, Ed. by A. V. Kathvate (Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXV), 1883.
29. *Caturvimśati Prabandha* of Rājaśekhara.
31. *Kumārapāla-carīta* of Cāritrasundara. (Ātmānanda Grantha-ratnamālā, Bhavnagar.)

1 (Note.—In addition to these see the texts mentioned by Bhagvanal in *BG*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 149, fn. 1.)

34. *Archaeological Survey of Western India* (Northern Gujarat) by Burgess and Cousens, Vol. IX, 1908, Chap. I, pp. i-xx; also 3 ff.


CHAPTER XVI

THE CĀHAMĀNAS (CAUHĀNS) OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA AND GUJARAT

The bardic tradition of the Rajputs regards the Cāhamānas1 (Cauhāns) as one of the four fire-born races (agni-kula). With the founders of the Pratthāras (Parihārs), Caulukyas (Solaṅkis) and Paramāras (Pāvars), their founder is said to have sprung from the fire-altar of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mount Abu.2 He is stated to have been 'quadriform (Caturaṅga), whence his name Cauhan.'3 The first seat of the government of 'Anhal, the first created Cauhan' was Māhiṣmati on the Narbada, from which city the power of the twenty-four Sākhās of the tribe spread throughout the length and breadth of India. Unfortunately, authentic archaeological and literary records which bear upon the history of the tribe and its branches contain nothing to support the data derived from bardic songs. Unlike the Paramāras, the authors of the inscriptions and the kāvyas in the court of the Cāhamāna princes even as late as the 14th century A.D. seem to have been ignorant of the origin of their patrons from the fire-pit. It is unknown not only to Someśvara's Bijolia stone-inscription, dated V.S. 1226 (c. 1169 A.D.) but also to the Prthvīrāja-vijaya, which appears to have been composed in the life-time of Prthvīrāja III (c. 1179-92 A.D.)

1 There are variants of this name: Cāhuṅga, EI, Vol. XI, p. 70, fn. 4; Cāhamāna, ZDMG, Vol. XL, pp. 38 ff.; Cāhurāna, IA, 1890, p. 216, fn. 5; also Sāhagadhara-paddhati, Ed. by Peterson, p. 1, loka 2; Cāhamāna, ASH, Vol. XXI, pp. 173 ff., No. 9.
3 AR, Vol. I, p. 113. In another place it is stated that like Viṣṇu, who created him, he was 'four-armed' like his creator, and 'was thence styled Caturbhujha Cauhān; ' ibid., Vol. III, p. 1443.
and even to the *Hammira-Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri, the grandson of the spiritual adviser of Hammira of Ranthambhor (c. 1288-1301 A.D.). Like Padmāgupta-Parimala, the court-poet of the Paramāra Sindhurāja (c. 995-1010 A.D.), these authors would certainly have utilised the myth to glorify their patrons, if, it was known in their time. The authors of both the *Prthvirāja-vijaya* and the *Hammira-Mahākāvya* trace the origin of the tribe to an eponymous Cāhamāna who was born from the Sun (*Sūrya-mandala*). According to the Bijolia inscription Sāmanta, the earliest representative of the family on its list, was born in the Vatsa gotra at Ahicchatrapura.  

This Ahicchatrapura has been identified by some with Nāgapura (mod. Nagaur, Jodhpur State). An inscription recently found in the possession of the descendants of Gyanji Jabi, Colonel Tod’s guru, says that Ahicchatrapura was the capital of Jāngludesa (Jāngala-deśa). Rai Bahadur Ojha would identify ‘Jāngala country’ with the region now known as Bikaner and Northern Marwar. Recent discussion however has shown that ‘Jāngala-deśa’ does not mean a particular tract of land. Jāngala literally means a forest or waste, and it has been shown that Jāngala settlements were attached to various ancient Indian States like Madra and Kuru. According to the *Mahābhārata* Ahicchatra was the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla, and this section of the state may possibly have abounded in forests and hence acquired the name of Pañcāla-jāngala.  

In that case we must suppose that

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1. In the Sandhā hill-inscription of Cāciga (V.S. 1319) the eponymous Cāhamāna is stated to have been a source of great pleasure to the sage Vatsa (*EI*, Vol. IX, p. 70 ff.). The Mt. Abu inscriptions of Luntiga (V.S. 1377) says that when the Solar and Lunar races came to an end, the holy Vaca (t.e., Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race of warriors, the Cāhamānas (*EI*, Vol. X, pp. 70 ff.). In the recently published Sevadi grant of Katnapāla (V.S. 1176), however, the Cāhamāna-mandala is said to have sprung from a person who came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the East (*EI*, Vol. XI, pp. 304 ff.). These composers of Cāhamāna records were also ignorant of the true origin of their patrons as late as the 16th century A.D.


5. Like Kuru-jāngala, Madreya-jāngala, etc.
the Cāhamānas, at least in the middle of the 12th century A.D., claimed to have migrated from the Upper Ganges-Jumna Valley. But it is significant that the authors of the two literary works referred to above do not mention Abicchatra, and on the contrary seems specifically to associate the rise of the Cāhamānas with the lake Sākambhari (Sambhar), situated on the borders of the Jodhpur and Jaipur States. The provenance of the earliest inscriptions and the identification of some of the places mentioned therein suggest that the Sambhar region was possibly the cradle-land of the tribe. The well-known tradition, both literary and epigraphic, that the Cāhamānas took Delhi from the Tomaras, supported by references to conflicts between some of the earlier Cāhamānas and Tomara chiefs, seems to indicate that the movement of the tribe was from Sambhar towards the Ganges-Jumna Valley, and not vice versa.¹

Epigraphic evidence supports the bardic tradition that the Cāhamānas were divided into many branches. Some of these were unquestionably feudatories of the Pratthāras of Avanti and Kanauj. Thus the Hansot plates of the Cāhamāna Bhartriyaddha (V.S. 813 = A.D. 756) show that he owed allegiance to Nāgāvaloka, rightly identified with Nāgabhāta I (c. 725 A.D.), while the Harsa stone-inscription reveals the dependence of Gīvaka I on another Nāgāvaloka, alias Nāgabhāta II ² (c. 815 A.D.). The Partabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapāla II (V.S. 1003 = A.D. 946) mentions his feudatory the Cāhamāna Mahāsūmanta Indrarāja.³ During the period c. 750 to 950 A.D. most of the regions over which the Cāhamānas ruled were certainly included in the Pratthāra dominions. It was probably Vigraharaṇa II (A.D. 973), of the Sākambhari branch, who first became free from the control of the 'house

¹ The theory that Sapādatasās is derived from the word 'Siwalik,' a range of hills running parallel to the Himalayas from Kangra to Nainital, is far from certain. See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 937, fn. 3.
of Raghu' (Pratīhāras), to whom his father Simharāja had still paid homage.¹

The history of the Cāhamānas may be conveniently grouped round the following heads: (1) Cāhamānas of Lāṭa, (2) Cāhamānas of Dharalapuri, (3) Cāhamānas of Partabgarh, (4) Cāhamānas of Sākambhari, (5) Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura, (6) Cāhamānas of Nāḍāla, (7) Cāhamānas of Jāvālipura, and (8) Cāhamānas of Satyapura. Of these the last three (Nos. 6, 7 and 8) were undoubtedly connected with No. 4; but the relationship of the first three with each other or with the rest is at present unknown.

(1) Cāhamānas of Lāṭa.

The earliest reference to the existence of Cāhamānas in Lāṭa was revealed by the discovery of the Hansot grant of Bhārtṛvaddha. It was found in the possession of a person in the town of Hansot, in the Anklesvar taluka of the Broach district, Bombay Presidency. It contains 36 lines, incised on two plates. It opens with Om Svasti, after which comes the following: 'The Cāhamāna family, exalted with a large army, who have succeeded in adorning their territory, who are a receptacle of victory, like Meru (which is lofty with large ridges, adorned with the circle of Siddhas, the support of Jaya, or the sun.' Then comes the genealogy of the donor:

In the Cāhamāna family

Rājan Mahēśvaradāma

Bhīmadāma

Bhārtṛvaddha (I)

Parara-mahēśvara Haradāma

Dhrubhaṣṭadeva


¹ IA, 1918, pp. 58 and 62, V. 19.
It is then announced that this last prince, while staying at Bhrgukaccha (mod. Broach), granted the village of Arjuna-devigrāma in the Akrūreshvara viṣayā to the Brāhman Bhṛṭṭa Būṭa (?) and two others. The grant was written by the Valabhyā Bhṛṭṭa Kakka. It was issued from Bhṛgukaccha, with Bhṛṭṭa Lalluva as its Dūtaka, in the pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya of the illustrious Nāgāvaloka, in the (V.) year 813 (A.D. 756).

This inscription gives us six generations of Cāhamānas who appear to have resided in the region of Broach. By assigning a period of 30 years for each generation Konow arrived at c. 500 A.D. as the date of Maheśvaradāma.

Noticing the occurrence of names which were common to the Maitrakas of Valabhi and the occurrence of the epithet Valabhyā (from Valabhi ?) before the name of the writer of the grant, he also suspected intimate contact between the two families. But the most striking feature of these princes' names is certainly the ending -dāma in three of them, which is likewise found in the names of several descendants of the Western Kṣatrapa Caśṭana. In the opinion of Rapson, it may well be a Sanskritised form of a Persian word.

The identification of Nāgāvaloka with Nāgabhṛṭṭa I of the Gurjara-Prātihāra family is now generally accepted. The existence of a Gurjara ruling family in the Broach region till c.

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1. Probably the present Ankleshvar taluka: EI, Vol. XII, p. 201.
2. From Valabhi: s—cīf, p. 204.
3. Edited by Sten Konow, EI, Vol. XII, pp. 197-204.
4. I would rather assign 25 years, and propose c. 600 A.D. as the date of Maheśvaradāma.
6. It is possible that Bhṛtyavajjha II's sister was married to Silāditya VI, so that Silāditya VII may have worn the name of his maternal grandfather: EI, Vol. XII, p. 199.
7. ‘Spalaga-dāma’: see Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins (Anhilas, Kṣatrapas, etc.), 1906, p. cv. For a Kaçhapaphaṭa name ending in dāma, see my chapter on the Kaçhapaphaṭas, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 822; also fn. 5 on the same page.
706-36 A.D.\(^1\) seems to indicate that Bhartr̥vaḍḍha II may have succeeded Jayabhaṭa III, the last representative of that family, as the viceroy of Lāṭa. Bhartr̥vaḍḍha’s predecessors, however, may have been settled, as Konow suggests, in Broach for a long time previously.\(^2\) But the fact that they are assigned only vague praise in the grant of their successor, combined with the absence of any titles of even feudatory rank, indicates that their position as rulers of Gujarat was not very conspicuous.

For about five centuries nothing is heard of the Cāhamānas in Gujarat. The Hammira-maḍa-mardana of Jayasmīha\(^3\) reveals the presence of the Mahāmandaḷēsvaṛa Samgrāmarāja, also known as Samgrāmasimīha, who was a contemporary of the Vāghelā Viradhavala (c. 1238-43 A.D.). He is said to have been the son of Sindhrurāja and nephew of Simha, lord of Lāṭadesa. The drama represents him as in alliance with the Devagiri Yādana Simhaṇa (c. 1210-47 A.D.) and the Mālava Paramāra Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A.D.) against the Dholka chieftain. The allied invasion however, failed, largely owing to the activity of the spies of Vastupāla, the able minister of Viradhavala. The alliance was dissolved and Samgrāmarāja was forced into an alliance with Viradhavala. The Vasanta-vilāsa of Bālacandra also contains\(^4\) an account of the hostilities between Viradhavala and the princes of Lāṭa. It relates that Stambhatīrtha (mod. Cambay) was conquered by the Dholka chiefs from the king of Lāṭa: The latter, according to this authority, was of Cāhamāna lineage, and named Saṅkhu. On one occasion he started from Bhārgukaccha to attack Stambhatīrtha with a cavalry force. But in the battle which followed Saṅkhu was defeated and compelled to retire to Broach. As the father of Saṅkhu was named Sindhrurāja, he is almost certainly identical with the Samgrāmarāja of the Hammira-maḍa-mardana. Jayasmīha says of Saṅkhu that his ‘left foot was

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\(^2\) *EI*, Vol. XII, pp. 198 ff.

\(^3\) *GOS*, No. X, 1930.

\(^4\) *GOS*, No. VII, 1917.
adorned with the figures of 12 Mandalâdhipatis on golden dāmas, and he defeated the Yādava king Simhaṇa on the Narbada.

From these statements it is clear that Broach was the centre of the Cāhamāna principality. Being situated on the frontiers of the Caulukyas, the Yādavas, and the Paramāras, it was in a difficult position. Though Bālacandra calls Saṅku a bhūpati or king, it is doubtful whether they at any time really enjoyed sovereign power. Jayasimha more appropriately calls him a Mahāmandaleśvara. It is likely that, though possessing considerable power and prestige, these princes were always compelled to acknowledge, at least tacitly, the sovereignty of their stronger neighbours. The dominance of the great kingdoms of Gujarat, Malwa and the Deccan during the period c. 750-1175 must have kept them in insignificance. It was only after the decline or downfall of the states towards the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century that they were given opportunities to rise in importance.

As to the relationship of the family of Bhartrvaddha and Saṅku nothing is at present definitely known. But as Broach was the base of power of both the families, it may be conjectured that they were connected by blood.

(2) Cāhamānas of Dhavalapuri.

The existence of this branch was made known by the discovery of a Stone-inscription at Dholpur: It contains 26 lines, incised on a black stone in the Residency of the Dholpur State, Rajputana. It opens with a eulogy of the Sun-god (Bhāsvat, Bhāskara). Then follows the genealogy of a king named Caṇḍamahāsena:

In the Cāhavāna-vamśa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Isuka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mahiṣarāma—Kapullā...performed satī when her husband died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caṇḍamahāsena or Caṇḍa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 GOS, No. X. V. 99.
CĀHAMĀNAS OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA AND GUJARAT: 1059

This last prince lived in Dhavalapuri. The proper object of the inscription is to record the building of a temple of Cāndasvāmin, together with a pond and a well. The date of the consecration of the temple is V. S. 898 (A.D. 842).

Cāndamahāsen’s family appear to have been feudatory princes. Possibly he acknowledged the sovereignty of the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja, who had captured Kanauj sometimes before 836 A.D. The only thing known about him is that the Mleccha lords who were established on the banks of the Carmaṇvati (Chambal) paid him homage; I am unable to suggest the identification of these Mlecchas.

(3) Cāhamānas of Partabgarh.

This branch is known from the Partabgarh stone-inscription of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla II, whose gift of a village for the cult of the goddess Vata-Yakṣīṇī-devī in V. S. 1003 (A.D. 946) is recorded in it. But it also contains references to earlier grants to various shrines attached to the monastery of Hari-Rṣīśvara. We are told that the provincial governor of Mahendrapāla resident at Ujjain, at the request of the Cāhamāna Mahāsāmanta Indrarāja, granted a village for the cult of Indrādityadeva. The inscription gives the following genealogy of the Cāhamāna chief:

Princes of the Cāhamān-ānvaya...who were a source of great pleasure to king Bhojadeva.

 Govindarāja
   Durlabharāja
       Indrarāja

1 Identified with mod. Dholpur, ZDMG, Vol. XL, p. 35.
2 Edited by Hultzsch, ZDMG, Vol. XL, pp. 32-43.
3 Cāmaṇvati-tata-ānvaya-saṃsthita-Mlecchāhīpa-pravarādh, ēpitaṇā prasātā vedam kuraṇtā parāṇa.
4 Is it possible that there were during that period some Arab settlements in the Chambal valley as a result of a long series of Arab raids from the lower Indus valley? See supra, DHNI, Vol. I. Chapter I.
This last prince built the great temple of the Sun-god, named after him (Indr-āditya), at the village of Ghōpta-Vaśikā. As grants are recorded to this temple in V. S. 999 (A.D. 942) it is certain that Indrarāja built the temple on or before that date.

It appears from the eulogy of Indrarāja's predecessors that his family first rose into importance in the service of Bhoja and his successors. Indrarāja was a vassal of Mahendrapāla II, and was immediately subordinate to the governor of Ujjain. This is apparent from the fact that he had to apply to the latter in order to secure a grant of land for his temple.

Nothing is known about any possible successors of Indrarāja.

(4) Cāhamānas of Sākambhari.

The earliest inscription of this branch is still the Harṣa stone inscription of the time of Vigrāharāja II dated in V. S. 1030 (A.D. 973). It carries back the genealogy of the Cāhamānas for six generations up to Gūvaka I, who, as we shall presently see, was a contemporary and feudatory of the Pratihāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815 A.D.). The much later Bijolia rock-inscription, dated in V. S. 1226 (c. 1169 A.D.), in the reign of Someśvara, however, gives the names of 27 predecessors of Someśvara. Morison in 1893, first published a list of Cāhamāna princes from a Sanskrit work named Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya, which on comparison was found to agree closely with the list supplied by the two inscriptions mentioned above. To these lists

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1 Said to be situated in Daśapura (mod. Mandasar). The village has been identified with mod. Ghotari, 7 miles east of Pataungarh.
2 Sometimes called Harṣa Inscription; see EI, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 14, No. 82.
3 WZKM, Vol. VII, pp. 187-92. PE, now edited with Jonārāja's commentary, by S. K. Balvekar, Bibliotheca Indica, New Series, No. 1400, Calcutta. The author of the work is unknown. Sarda has suggested that it may be Jayānaka, the Kashmirian poet, whose entry in Pṛthvīrāja's court is recorded in Sarga XII. As it mentions the defeat of Muhammad Ghūrī by Bhima I, which took place in 1178 A.D., it is suggested that the work was composed between that date and about 1200 A.D. The work is incomplete.
and that given in Himmira-mahakavya of Nayacandra; H. B. Sarda has added two more pedigrees contained in the Prabandha-kosa and the Surjan-carita. The last scholar has contributed a critical and comparative chart of all these genealogies, and drawn the reasonable conclusion that, in the present state of our knowledge, the lists supplied by the Prthviraja-vijaya and tested by the evidence of the Bijholi inscription may be accepted as reliable.

According to the Prthviraja-vijaya and all the other literary traditions noticed above, the first historical person on the Câhâmâna genealogy is Vasudeva. The 3rd and 4th Sargas of the Prthviraja-vijaya describe the mythical origin of the lake Sâkambhari, which through the favour of the two goddesses Sâkambhari and Aśâpuri was ever after to remain in the possession of Vasudeva and his descendants, who thus became known as Sâkambhariśvâra. In his lineage was born Sâmanta-râja, the first name on the Bijolia list. He was a feudatory prince (Sâmanta) and was possibly also known as Ananta. As I have already noticed, this inscription records that he was a vipra and born in the Vata-gotra at Ahicchatrapura. If there is any historical basis for the statement of the Prthviraja-vijaya that Vasudeva was already connected with the Sambhar region, then Ahicchatra must be located near the borders of the Jaipur and Jodhpur States. As Sâmanta is the 13th king, counting backwards from Vigrâharâja II (A. D. 973), we may perhaps assign him roughly to about the middle of the

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1 Jâ, Vol. VIII, pp. 55-73.
2 JRAS, 1913, pp. 299-31.
3 Of Râjâśekhara. See Guâtarcâho, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXIV, Introduction, p. cxxxv, Note 11, footnote. Stated to be 4 or 5 centuries old, JRAS, 1913, p. 265.
4 Composed at Benares by Candra-sekhera, a Bengali Vaidya (Ganâja Ambâsâja) poet in the court of Surjan Sinha of Bundi, Akbar’s Câhâmâna general. I am at present engaged in editing this Mahâkavya (No. 1135 of the Govt. Collection of MSS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.)
5 Va. 1-5. The country round the lake was known as Sâkambhari-pradeśa; ibid, V. 3. Also infra, p. 1099, fn. 3.
7th century A. D. Since the succession between Sāmanta and Vāsudeva does not appear to have been immediate, it is difficult to decide the exact time when Vāsudeva carved out his principality round Sambhar. The succession from Sāmanta to Durlabharāja I is given as follows:

1. Sāmantarāja (also known as Ananta?): after him,
2. Purṇatalla *
3. Jayarāja *
4. Vigrahāra I
5. Candrarāja
6. Gopendrarāja
7. Durlabharāja (I)

Practically nothing but vague praise is assigned to these princes, and they were apparently insignificant. According to the Prthvirīra-vijaya Durlabharāja I was succeeded by his son Govindarāja. But the Bijolia inscription places Gūvaka after Durlabha. Sarda has accepted Gūvaka as an alias of Govindarāja. The Hārṣa stone inscription of Vigrahāra traces his descent to prince Gūvaka. Scholars agree in identifying the Gūvaka of the Bijolia inscription with the Gūvaka of the Hārṣa record. They also agree that 'Nāgāvaloka the foremost of kings,' in whose court Gūvaka is stated to have 'attained pre-eminence,' is the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815 A. D.).

1 Pṛabandha-kosa however gives V. S. 698 (A.D. 551) as the date of Vāsudeva, see Reports on Sanskrit MSS. in Southern India, by Huitson, Vol. III, Madras, 1905, No. 1066, p. 112. The MS. was found in the private library of a Maratha Brähman of Tarjore; also JRAS, 1913, p. 266, fn. 1.
2 Sarda omits this name from his list of names given from Bijolia inscription, see JRAS, 1913, p. 270. The fact that PB (Va. 7-8) seems to omit this name makes me a little doubtful about the reading of the transcript in HI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 51, No. 344.
3 Sometimes Jayantaraṇja, or Ajayapāla.
4 D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that the Saiva temple referred to in the Hārṣa inscription of Vigrahāra (V. S. 1030) was originally constructed by Gūvaka I, IA, 1913, p. 56.
5 IA, 1911, pp. 239-40; ibid, 1913, p. 56.
The implication of this statement of the Harṣa stone inscription is no doubt that Gūvaka I was a feudatory of the powerful Pratihāra monarch.

According to the Prthvīrāja-vijaya, the next prince was Govindarāja's son Candrarāja II. This agrees with the Harṣa inscription; but the Bijolia epigraph gives the variant Śasānpa. His son was Gūvaka II. According to the Prthvīrāja-vijaya, his sister Kalāvatī chose for her husband the king of Kanauj. Gūvaka's son was Candanarāja. According to the Harṣa inscription, he defeated and slew in battle a Tomara prince (Tomaraśa) named Rudrena, who has not yet been identified. There is reason to believe that the Tomaras were settled in the region round modern Delhi in the 9th century A. D. The north of the present Jaipur State is reported to be divided into two divisions viz., Tamvravaṭi and Sekhawaṭi. The former name is said to be derived from the Rajput tribe Tamvar, who are the same as the Tomaras of the inscriptions. As Tamvravaṭi is not very far from the Sambhar region, Rudrena may have been a prince of this locality. This conflict and the death of Rudrena may then be regarded as the opening act of that grim struggle which in the middle of the 12th century was to extend the arms of the Cāhamānas to the foot-hills of the Himalayas. According to the Prthvīrāja-vijaya, Candana's queen Rudrāṇi, also called Atmaprabhā, set up 1,000 lingas on the banks of Puṣkara, 'which shone like lights in darkness.' Candana's son by this queen was Vākpatirāja, called Vappayarāja and Vindhyanpati (?) in the Bijolia inscription. The Harṣa inscription gives him the epithet Mahārāja, and states that he put to flight one Tantrapāla, who

1 The meaning of both the names is the same, 'moon-kings.'
2 The Bijoli inscription seems to spell the name 'Gavaka.' See EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 51, No. 244. JASB, LV. I, 41 has 'Gavaka.' JRAS, 1913, table on p. 270.
3 Vs. 30-31. She had 12 other suitors, but they were all defeated by her brother.
4 Kielhorn read the name as 'Rudrena.' EI, Vol. II, p. 121. V. 14. But D. R. Bhandarkar proposes to read it as 'Ruddre.' IA, 1913, p. 58, and In. 2.
6 IA, 1913, p. 69.
7 Vs. 37-38. She was also probably known as Yogini; see JRAS, 1913, p. 268.
was ‘coming haughtily towards the Ananta country’ to deliver a message of his overlord.\(^1\) The identity of the defeated prince is unknown; but it may be assumed that the kingdom of the Cāhamānas was called Ananta-gocara, after the name of its second prince. According to the Prthvirāja-vijaya, Vākpati I was a great warrior and won 188 victories. He was also a devotee of Siva, and built at Puṣkara a temple (prāsāda) for Vyomakesa (Siva), ‘which looked like Kailāsa.’\(^2\) He was succeeded by his son Simhāraja. The Harṣa inscription gives him the epithet Mahārājādhirāja, and states that he subdued the Tomara chief (nāyaka) Salavana\(^3\) and put to flight and captured the hosts that had gathered under his command. The princes who were captured in this struggle were kept in prison till his overlord, who belonged to the ‘family of Raghu,’ came in person to his house to liberate them.\(^4\) The Rāghu-kula-cakravartin \(^5\) referred to in this passage is most probably one of the successors of the Pratihāra monarch Nāgabhata II, to whom, as we have seen, Gūvaka I owed allegiance. It is difficult to identify the Pratihāra prince; but as we have the date 973 A.D. for the successor of Simhāraja, he must be either Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 946) or one of his weak successors. The fact that the overlord had to come personally to the house of his feudatory to effect the release of prisoners is sufficient evidence of the increasing importance of the Cāhamānas of Sākambharī and of the decline of the imperial power of Kanauj.

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\(^1\) IA. 1913, pp. 58 and 62, V. 16. The overlord may have been either the Pratihāra emperor Mahīprāla I (c. 914-31 A.D.) or one of his immediate successors. According to some, ‘Tantrapāla’ may denote the designation of an individual; see EI, XIX, Appendix, p. 14, fn. 4. For ‘Ananta,’ see also V. 22.

\(^2\) Vs. 41-43. It was probably from Vākpati’s son Lakṣmana that the Cāhamānas of Nājīḍula took their rise, see infra, pp. 110 ff. Vākpati had another son, named Vatahrāja, see EI, Vol. II, p. 129.

\(^3\) The passage may also mean ‘subdued the Tomara nāyaka...together with Laraṇa’ see Bhandarkar, IA. 1912, pp. 57 ff., and Kielhorn, EI, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff.

\(^4\) IA. 1913, pp. 53 and 62, V. 19.

\(^5\) Rājasekharī tells us that the Pratihāra princes of Kanauj claimed descent from the Rāghu-kula; see supra, DHNI, Vol. I, p. 576.
Siūharāja was succeeded by his son Vigrahārāja II, for whose reign we have the Harṣa stone-inscription: This was found 'engraved on a large slab of black stone which lies in the porch of the temple of what is known as Purāna Mahādeva on a hill near the village Haras, situated in the Sikar principality of the Shekhawati province, Jaipur State,' Rajputana. It contains 40 lines of writing, and is somewhat damaged. It seems to open with Ōm om namaḥ Śivāya. The first verse pays obeisance to Gajānana; the next 10 verses eulogise Siva, who appears to have been given the name Harṣa. Verse 12 praises the 'mansion of the divine Harṣadeva.'\(^1\) Verses 13-27 trace the genealogy of the Cāhamānas from Gūvaka I to Vigrahārāja II. The inscription then gives an account of 'a line of ascetics who were in charge of the temple of Harṣanātha,' relating that in the country of Ananta (Ananta-gocara) there lived Viśvarūpa, 'who was a teacher of the Lākula doctrine'\(^2\) expounding pañcārtha.' His disciple was the Brāhman Bhāvirakta, alias Allatā, of Rā*papallikā.\(^3\) Allatā, who was like Nandin, began the building of the temple of Harṣanātha with the wealth received from pious people. The temple was completed in (V.) S. 1013 (c. 956 A.D.); but Allatā died in (V.) S. 1027 (A.D. 970), before he could accomplish all his designs. The works were completed by Allatā's disciple Bhāvadyota\(^4\) at the request of his preceptor. The architect of the temple was Caṇḍāsiva, 'omniscient like Viśakarman in the art of building houses.' The record was composed by Dhīranāga, the pious son of the

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1. D. R. Bhandarkar has tried to show that the description fits in well with the ruined temple where the inscription was found: J.A., 1913, pp. 57-66.


4. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that he simply repaired the temple, which was built long ago by Gūvaka I: J.A., 1913, p. 58.

5. D. R. Bhandarkar points out that Allatā and Bhāvadyota are given the epithets digambara-nācana and digambara respectively. This may indicate that the sect, like their deity Lākulaśa, who is represented as Urdha-maṭhara, was naked. J.A., 1913, p. 39.
Karanika Thiruka. Then is given a list of endowments received by the temple up to (V.) S. 1030 (c. 973 A.D.). The M-Simharaja, after having bathed at Puškara-tirtha had given the villages Simhagottha in the Tūnakūpaka in the Paṭtabaddha, Viṣaya, and Kaṇhapallika in the Sarakotṭa in the Viṣaya; his brother Vatsarāja, the village of Kardamakhāta in the Jayapura; king Vigrarahāja, the villages of Chatradhāra and Saṅkrāṇaka; Simharāja’s other sons, Candrarāja and Govindarāja, two hamlets in the Paṭtabaddha and Darbhakaka in Viṣayas; Dandhuka, an official (Duḥsadhya) of Simharāja, the village Mayurapadra in the Khaṭakūpa Viṣaya; and a certain Jayanarāja, the village Kolikūpakā. Besides these fields had been given by various pious people at Madrāpurikā, Nimbadikā, Marupallikā, Harṣa and .............. (Ka)lāvanapadra; and taxes on salt and horses had been assigned for the benefit of the temple by traders (?) at Sākambharī and horsedeleers of Uttarāpatha.

1 Mod. Puškar near Ajmer.
2 Modern Simhot, ibid.
3 Mod. Tunu in the Sikar principality, ID, 1913, p. 60.
4 Mod. Patoda in the Sikar principality, ibid.
5 Mod. Sargot in Marot, Jodhpur, ibid.
6 Mod. Dhakka in the Sikar principality, ibid.
7 Mod. Khatu in Sambhar Nizamā, Jaipur State, ibid.
9 D. R. Bhandarkar locates most of the villages mentioned in the Sikar chiefship of Jaipur State; see ID, 1913, p. 60.
10 Edited by Kielhorn, EI, Vol. II, pp. 116-30. Re-edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, IA 1913, pp. 77-94. The record is sometimes called Harṣa Inscription, see EI, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 14, No. 63. The Sakrāi stone-inscription is referred to some to the reign of Vigrarahāja. It is engraved on a slab ‘in the principal niche of the exterior of the shrine’ of Sakambharī at Sakrāi, some 20 miles distant from Raghamathgarh, Jaipur State. Rājputana. The record has not been properly read but it seems to refer itself to the reign of the Cāheśvara prince Vigrarahāja. It records that Dayikā, wife of Vatsarāja (no doubt, the maternal uncle of Vigrarahāja referred to in the Harṣa inscription) repaired the temple of Saṅkarāḍeṭ. It is dated in Sambhar A. 55 Maṃga Śuddhi 5. The date is taken to be a case of omitted hundred and equivalent to V. S. 1055. ASI, WC, 1909-10, p. 57; in EI, Vol XIX, Appendix, p. 17, No. 97 the inscription is referred ‘apparently’ to the time of king Vatsarāja, successor (?) of Vigrarahāja.
This inscription gives the date (V.) S. 1030 (c. 973 A.D.) for Vigrarahāja. The donatory position of the record also shows that he had two brothers Candrarāja and Govindrāja, and an uncle, named Vatsarāja, brother of Śūnharāja. It appears certain that sometime before this date the Cāhamānas had completely freed themselves from the control of the princes of ‘Raghu-kula’ (Gurjara-Pratihāras). The Prthvirāja-vijaya tells us that Vigrarahāja extended his conquests as far south as the Narmadā and defeated the Gurjara king Mūlarāja, who fled to Kanthādurga.¹ He is also reported to have built a temple (dhāma) for the goddess Āśāpurī on the banks of the Revā at Bhrigukaccha.² The statement of the conflict between Mūlarāja and the king of Śākambhari is remarkably borne out by Merutungā's Prabandha-cintāmani according to which the 'king of Sapādalakṣa,' who ruled from his capital at Śākambhari, invaded Gujarāt, and the distressed Caulukya was forced to take shelter in the fort of Kanthā.³ The identification of this invader with Vigrarahāja is generally accepted. According to the Hammār-mahākārya, the struggle ended with fatal results for Mūlarāja.⁴ I have shown elsewhere ⁵ that, though it may well be doubted whether Nayacandra is correct in his statement that Mūlarāja was killed by Vigrarahāja, there is sufficient reason to believe that he was really defeated by him.

Vigrarahāja was succeeded by his younger brother Durlabharāja of whom nothing more was known than the name of his minister, Madhava, which is supplied by the Prthvirāja-vijaya, until the discovery of the Kinsariya stone-inscription of Cacca threw some welcome light on his reign. This was found in a temple dedicated to the goddess Kevāy mātā and situated on the summit of a hill in the vicinity of a village named Kinsariyā,

¹ Va. 50-51.
² V. 53.
⁵ Ibid.
4 miles north of Parbatsar, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur State. It is incised on a stone fixed in the wall of the Sabhāmāṇḍapa. It contains 23 lines of somewhat damaged writing. The first verse has peeled off. In the next four verses it invokes Kātyāyana, Kāli, and another deity (name lost). Verse 6 praises the Cāhamāna race. Then it gives the names of Vākpatirāja, Simharāja, and Durlabharāja. The latter, we are told, earned the epithet Durlaṅghya-meru, as none could transgress his orders. Verse 12 represents him as having conquered the country called Āsośītana.

Next is given the following genealogy of a line of feudatory princes who traced their descent to the sage Dadhīci and were hence known as Dadhīcika (also Dahiyaka).

In this race:

Meghanāda = Māsaṭā
Vairisimha = Dundā
Cacca

Yaśahpuṣṭa Uddharaṇa

Cacca built 'this' temple of Bhavāṇī, no doubt the temple where this inscription was found. The praśasti was composed by the Gauda-Kāyastha Mahādeva, son of Kalya, a poet. The date (V.) Samvat 1056 (c. 999) is given in line 22.

Durlabharāja was succeeded by his son Govindarāja, whom the Prabandha-kosa credits with a victory over Sultan Mahmūd. If the latter is the prince of Ghazni of that name, we must suppose that the Cāhamāna king won some minor success when

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1. Perhaps 'Āsośītana,' EI, Vol. XII, p. 56.
2. The editor identifies them with the Dahiya Rajputa: See ibid, pp. 57 ff. According to Mahājota Naḷaṛi, they originally migrated from Thalner, on the Godavari, near Nasik, into Marwar.
4. JRAS, 1913, p. 269, fn. 2. See also Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXIV, Introduction, p. cxxvi.
Maḥmūd was on his way to Śāṃnath through Jaigalmer and Mallani. But I am disposed to doubt the reliability of this statement, as it is omitted in the much more reliable Prthvirāja-vijaya.

Govindarāja was succeeded by his son Vākpatirāja who according to the Prthvirāja-vijaya sent Ambāprasāda the lord (pati) of Āghāṭa, with his army to the abode of Yama and rent his mouth with a dagger (churikā).1 Āghāṭa is modern Ahar, near Udaipur station, and was the ancient capital of the Gubilas. It is therefore certain that this Ambāprasāda is to be identified with Ambāprasād or Amrāprasād who is placed in the Guhila list of princes after Saktikumāra (V.S. 1034 = A.D. 977).3

Vākpati II. was succeeded by his son Viryārāma who is stated by the Prthvirāja-vijaya to have been killed by the (Paramāra) Bhoja lord of Avanti (c. 1010-1055 A.D.).2 He was succeeded by his younger brother Čāmunḍarāja, who built at Narapura1 a temple of Viṣṇu.2 The next king, according to the Prthvirāja-vijaya, was Viryārāma's son Durlabhharāja III, also called Viraśimha, who is said to have been killed in battle by the Mātanagas. The commentator Jonarāja explains Mātaṅga by the word Mleccha.6 If this interpretation is correct, he may have lost his life in a struggle against an unrecorded invasion of the Yamānis from the Lahore region. Durlabha is probably the same as Dūṣala of the Bijolia rock inscription; but the latter's father's name is given in the inscription as Simhaṭa. Durlabha III was succeeded by his brother Vigrāharāja III, who is probably identical with Visala of the Bijolia inscription.

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1 V. Vs. 59-60.
2 JRAI, 1918, p. 295 and fn. 3; also HR, I, pp. 438-39; ibid, II, p. 438. See also infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Guhila-patras.
3 V. 87.
4 Narwar, situated in Kishengarh territory at a distance of about 15 miles from Ajmer. JRAI, 1918, p. 272.
5 V. 65.
6 Mātaṅga-saṅgāra = Mleccha saṅgrāme. The commentator also adds that it may mean hasti-samare, which seems to be more probable.
and Viśvala of the Hammīra-mahākāvya. According to the Bijolia inscription Visala’s queen was named Rājadevi. The Prthvirāja-vijaya states that Vigraharaṇa gave to Udayāditya of Mālava (c. 1059-87 A.D.) a horse named Sāraṅga, with which Udayāditya vanquished the Gurjar Karna\(^1\) (c. 1064-94 A.D.). If this statement is based on fact, we must reject the statement of Nāyacandra, that Karna was killed by Viśvala’s predecessor Duśala.\(^2\)

Vigraharaṇa was succeeded by his son Prthvirāja I. The Prthvirāja-vijaya states that this prince defeated and killed a body of 700 ‘Caulukyas’ who had come to Puṣkara to rob the Brāhmans. He is also reported to have built an anna-satra on the road to Somanātha. The Bijolia inscription gives Rasaladevi as the name of his queen. Only one inscription has so far been noticed for the reign of Prthvirāja I. This is his Revasa stone-inscription found in the temple of Jin-mātā (Jayantī-mātā) situated about six miles to the south of Revasa. The latter place is nearly 16 miles NW of Khatu, in the Sambhar Nizamat in Shekhawati, Jaipur State. The goddess inside the temple is ‘an eight-handed Mahiśamardini’; the Sabhāmaṇḍapa of the temple is ‘doubtless old,’ and is stated to be not later than the 10th century A.D. The present inscription is incised on the lower part of a pillar of this Sabhāmaṇḍapa. It is dated in V.S. 1162 (c. 1105 A.D.) in the reign of Prthvi-deva\(^3\) and records the building of the temple by one Haṭhada, son of Mohila.\(^4\)

Prthvirāja I was succeeded by his son Ajayaraṇa\(^5\) alias Salhava. According to the Prthvirāja-vijaya, he defeated the

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1. Va. 76-78.
2. IA, Vol. VIII, p. 59. Though the author does not actually state the dynasty to which Karna belonged, the inference is obvious that the Cauluka prince is meant. See supra, DBNI, Vol. II, pp. 873, fn. 2, and 954.
3. ‘Prthvīdeva’ is the same as ‘Prthvirāja.’ Another variant of the name is ‘Prthvi-bhāja,’ which we find in the case of the second prince of that name. See infra.
5. Also known as Ajayadeva.
Mātaṁgas (mlecchas?) and also Sulhana the king of Mālava. The last statement is confirmed by the Bijolia inscription, which states that Ajayarāja captured in battle Sulhana, the commander-in-chief of the army, tied him to the back of his camel, and brought him to Ajmer. As there was no prince ruling in Mālava during this period who bore the name Sulhana, he must be a general of one of the Paramāra kings, possibly Yasovarman (c. 1134-42 A.D.). These were not the only victories of Ajayarāja. The Bijolia inscription states that he killed three kings, viz., Cāciga, Sindhula, and Yaṣorāja, while another stone inscription found in the Adhāi dinkā Jhonprā, Ajmer, says that he conquered the country up to Ujjain. Besides these conquests, the most important achievement of his reign was the foundation of the city of Ajaya-meru, now known as Ajmer. The author of the Prthvirāja-vijaya eloquently describes the many temples and palaces with which the king beautified this city. No inscription of Ajayarāja has yet been published, but certain silver and copper coins of a prince of the same name bearing the figure of a seated goddess on the obverse which are frequently met with in Rajputana and Mathura, have been referred to him. It is interesting in this connection to note that the Prthvirāja-vijaya actually states that he filled this world with his rūpakas, made of Durvara (silver). It also states that the king’s wife (priyā) Somalekhā used to coin fresh (nava) rūpakas every day. In corroboration of this last statement certain silver and copper coins bearing on the obverse the legend Śrī-Somaladeśi have

1 JRAS, 1913, p. 272, fn. 5.
2 Now in the Rajputana Museum.
3 JRAS, 1913, p. 273, fn. 5. Ajayarāja was also sometimes called Jayadeva. (JASB, Vol. LV, Part I, p. 41, V. 14) or Jayarāja (PB, V, V. 83).
4 PB, p. 164; JRAS, 1913, pp. 272-73; IA, 1897, pp. 152-64.
5 Ojha, IA, 1913, pp. 204-11.
6 V. 88. See infrā, inscription No. 2 of Samevāra which refers to the Drammav of Ajayapāla.
7 V, va. 90.
8 Ojha calls this side of the coin ‘reverse’ but Mr. Allan, Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, told me that it is better to accept Cunningham’s practice of calling that side of the coin ‘obverse’ which bears the royal legend.
been referred to this queen. The silver coins bear on the reverse "a degraded representation" of a king's head, while the copper coins bear the effigy of a horseman. As the Bijolia inscription actually gives Somalladevi as a variant of the name of Ajayapāla's queen, it seems probable that the coins in question belonged to her.

Ajayarāja was succeeded by his son Arnorāja. Of his reign only two inscriptions have so far been noticed, viz., his Revasa (Jaipur State, Rajputana) stone-inscriptions. These are incised on the lower part of a pillar of the Sabhā-
mandapā of the same temple which bears the inscription of his grand-father Prthvīrāja I. They are dated in (V.)S. 1196 (c. 1139 A.D.) in the reign of Arṇarāja (Arnorāja). The Dvīṣtāra of Hemacandra states that Āna of Sapādalakśa bent his head before the Caulukya Jayasimha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). Someśvara's Kṛiti-kaumudi confirms this statement, and adds that, though Jayasimha defeated the Sākambhari prince, he gave his daughter as a bride to him. The marriage was no doubt intended to end an era of hostility between the two neighbouring dynasties. The Prthvīrāja-vijaya mentions two queens of Arnorāja, of whom one came from Gurjara, and the other named Sudhavā from the desert country named Avici. The commentator Jonarāja tells us that the Gurjara queen was named Kāñcanadevi and that she was given away by Jayasimha. Hostilities with the Caulukyas seems to have broken out afresh with the accession of Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) to the throne of Anhilvada. The Jain chronicles record many incidents in connection with this new war. I have, elsewhere, discussed

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1 Olha calls this side "obverse" but see above.
3 Noticed in ASI, WC, 1909-10, p. 92.
5 JRAS, 1913, p. 274.
6 Arlešíhāgo marabhāmā-nāma, PII, p. 197. According to Sarda it means Marwar, see JRAS, 1913 p. 274.
7 PB, p. 198.
in detail the facts mentioned by them. We shall here mention only two incidents. The first is Arṇorāja’s invasion of Kumārapāla’s territory, before the latter had consolidated his position on the throne, in support of the cause of Bāhāda, the adopted son of Jayasimha; and the second is Arṇorāja’s ill-treatment of his wife Devalladevi, who, we are told, was a sister of Kumārapāla. Both these incidents are given by different authorities as causes of war between Arṇorāja and Kumārapāla. Recently Rai Bahadur H. B. Sarda has offered the plausible conjecture that the Jain chroniclers mention only one war while the facts suggest two distinct struggles. He supposes that the first war ended with a marriage-alliance at the beginning of Kumārapāla’s career. The Devāśraya mentions that Arṇorāja brought peace by giving his daughter Jalhaṇā to Kumārapāla. The next war may have been occasioned by the treatment of Devalladevi some time before V.S. 1207 (c. 1150 A.D.), the date of Kumārapāla’s Chitorgadh stone-inscription.¹

Besides these struggles, Arṇorāja is reported to have engaged in other conflicts. The Prthvīrāja-vijayya² states that he defeated the Mātāngas and once made a great massacre of the Turuṣkas. The latter, we are told, came across the desert (Maruṣthali). By the time they reached the Cāhamāna dominions, they were so thirsty that according to Jonarāja they had to drink the blood of their horses by striking their shoulders with their weapons. Arṇorāja, it is said, made a great slaughter of them, and afterwards purified the place, by constructing a lake on the battlefield by diverting the waters of the river Candra,³ which rises in Puṣkaraṇaṇya. It is evident from these statements that these

¹ Ia, 1912, pp. 193-96.
² Sagi VI.
³ Acc. to Sarda mod. Bandi river, which is in its lower course known as Luni, JBS, 1913, p. 274, fn. 2. In the IGI, Vol. XXVI (Atlas), 1931, two rivers are shown with the name Bandi, one is a tributary of the Luni, the other of the river Banas. None of these rises from near Pushkar or flows by the irthas; the Luni, however, takes its rise in the Sambhar lake and flows by Pushkar. Under the circumstances I prefer to identify Candra with the Luni.
Muslims must have raided the temples of the sacred Puṣkara-tirtha. This appears to be another unrecorded instance of Muslim invasion of India. Possibly the Turuṣkas were troops of the Yamrīts of Lahore.

It appears from the Prthvirāja-vijaya that the reign of Arorāja had a violent ending. We read that queen Sudhavā had three sons, who differed from each other as the three guṇas (sattva, rajas and tamas). Of these Vigrahāraja was like the sattva-guṇa, while the eldest son is reported to have 'rendered the same services to his father as Bhṛgu's son Paraśu Rāma had rendered to his mother.'1 This certainly indicated that this eldest son murdered his father. But unfortunately neither the Prthvirāja-vijaya nor the Bijolia inscription mention his name. The Hammīra-mahākāvyya, the Prabandhakośa and the Surjun-carita however give the name of the successor of Aṇāladeva 2 (Arorāja?), and the predecessor of Visaladeva (Vigrahāraja IV) as Jugadeva. It is therefore likely that the eldest prince was named Jugadeva, and that he succeeded in occupying the throne for at least some time. The Prthvirāja-vijaya however seems to indicate Vigrahāraja IV, one of the sons of Sudhavā, as his father's immediate successor. It is not improbable that before Jugadeva had time to consolidate his position on the throne, he was ousted by his younger brother, Vigrahāraja. The following records are known for the latter's reign.

(1) Ajmer stone-inscription (i).—Found in the mosque known as Aḍhai dinkā Ḡhonprā, on the lower slope of the Taragadh hill at Ajmer, Rajputana. It consists of 75 lines of writing. It contains a large portion of the 1st act, the beginning of the 2nd act, the end of the 3rd act and a large portion of the 4th act of Lalita-Vigrahāraja, a drama (nāṭaka) composed by the Mahākavi Somadeva in honour of king Vigrahāraja of Sākambhari. The preserved

1PB, VI, pp. 197 ff. JRAS, 1913, p. 274. 2 In the Surjun-carita Analadeva.
portion of the drama deals with the king’s love for Desaladevi, the daughter of prince Vasantapāla, who appears to have lived near or at the town of Indrapura (?). The end of the 3rd act contains a conversation between the king and Saśiprabhā, a confidante of Desaladevi. Reference is then made to the king’s impending ‘march against the king of the Turuṣkas.’ Two Turuṣka prisoners appear in the 4th act, and spies of the two hostile kings enter their enemies’ camps to ascertain their strength and position. The Turuṣka spy announces that the Cāhamāna army consists of a thousand elephants, a hundred thousand horses, and a million men; while the Cāhamāna spy states that ‘the Hammīra’s army consists of countless elephants, chariots, horses and men.’

We are also told that the camp of the Hammīra, which was a Yojana distant from Vavveraa, the place where Vigradarāja was then encamped, was ‘well guarded.’ The Cāhamāna king consults Rāja Simhabala, his maternal uncle, and the Mantri Śrīdhara as to the course of conduct on the impending struggle. The preserved portion ends with the arrival of a dāta from the Hammīra. The record was written and engraved by the learned Bhāskara. 

(2) Ajmer stone-inscription (ii).—Found as No. 1 above. It consists of 81 lines of writing, containing portions of the 2nd and 3rd acts and the concluding portions of the 5th act of the Harakeli-nāṭaka, a drama composed by the M.-P. Vigrarājadeva of Śakambhari. The drama in certain portions seems to have been imitated from the Kiratārjunīya of Bhāravi. It seems to be intended as a prākṛti to the god Siva and his consort Gaurī. In the end the god expresses great

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1 Kielhorn suggests that he may be a Tomara chief, *JA*, Vol. XX, p. 202, fn. 1.
2 Kielhorn was not sure about the Sanskrit equivalent of this Prakrit form. He however suggested that this may possibly be Vyāghrera which is mod. Bāghera about 47 miles S. E. of Ajmer: *ibid*, fn. 3. To Barnett Vavveraa looks like Varvaraka (> Vavveraa).
pleasure with the composition of the drama, and tells the author that 'his fame as a poet is to last for ever.' The inscription was written by the same as No. 1. He is described here as the grandson of the learned Govinda, 'who was born in the family of Hāna princes and was, on account of his manifold excellences, a favourite of king Bhoja.' It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1210 (A.D. 1153)."'

(3) Lohari stone-inscription.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Bhūtesvara near the village of Lohari in the Jahazpur district of the Udaipur State. It records that during the reign of the illustrious Visaladeva, in V. (S.) 1211 (c. 1155 A.D.), the great Pāṣupata priest Viśvesvaraprajña adorned the temple of Siddhesvara, with a maṇḍapa."

(4) Delhi Siwalik Pillar-inscriptions.—Incised on the pillar which is known as Firūz Shāh's Āṭ or the Siwalik Pillar, which contains the inscriptions of Aśoka. It is reported that the original site of the pillar was near Khizrabad, immediately west of the Jumna, at the foot of Siwalik mountains, whence it was removed to Delhi by Firūz Shāh (A.D. 1351-88). There are three short inscriptions on the pillar. The first consists of only 3 lines, giving the date (V.) Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164) in the reign of the Sākambhari king Visaladeva, the son of Ānnalladeva. The second inscription, of four lines, contains a short praṭasti of king Vigraha or Vigrahāra. The third inscription, in six lines, also contains a praṭasti of the 'ornament of the Cāhamānas,' Visala also called Vigrahāra of Sākambhari, who is said to have conquered the whole region from the Vindhyas to the Himalayas and repeatedly exterminated the Mlecchas. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1220 (A.D. 1164), and was written at the king's command in the presence of the

1 Partially edited by Kielhorn in IA, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff. Edited by the same in Göttinger Festschrift, 1901, pp. 16-30.
2 Now known as Bhūtesvara.
3 Noticed in HMR, 1923, p. 2.
4 A variant of Ar̄gaṇa, see EI, Vol. XIX, p. 48, fn. 2. Kielhorn read the name as Yvalladeva.
astrologer Tilakarāja by the Gauda Kāyastha Śripati, when the Rājputra Sallakṣaṇa was serving as the Mahā-mantri.1

These inscriptions range from V. S. 1210 to 1220 corresponding to c. 1153 to 1164 A.D. The last of them shows that by 1164 A.D. the Cāhamāna dominions had spread northwards to the foot-hills of the Himalayas, and perhaps may have included a substantial portion of the Punjab lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna. This extension of power in the Punjab must have brought Vigrarāja IV, into repeated conflict with the Yamnīs of Ghazni and Lahore. It is therefore natural that the inscriptions should refer to repeated victories over the Turuṣkcas and Mlecchas. The success of his arms was no doubt largely due to the rapid decline of the Yamnī power 2 during the administration of Khusrau Shāh Mu‘izz ud-Daulah (A.D. 1152-60) and Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (A.D. 1160-86). The Bijolia inscription of Someśvara refers to the conquest of Dhillikā and Aśīkā by Vigrarāja,3 while the Siwalik pillar inscription claims that the Cāhamāna prince made Āryavarta ‘once more the abode of the Āryas’ by exterminating the Mlecchas. According to some inscriptions of the 14th century, the town of Delhi and the neighbouring region, then known as the ‘land of Hariyānaka,’ were conquered by the Cāhamānas from the Tomaras.4 In the S. W. Vigrarāja’s arms appear to have reached the valley of the river Sukri. The Bijolia inscription seems to state that he reduced Pallikā and Naddūla 5 and burnt the town of Javālipura, which is to be identified with modern Jalore in


3 V. 22; see JRAS, 1913, p. 276, fn. 1. JASB, 1886, Part I, pp. 31 and 42. Aśīkā is sometimes spelt Aśikā, see infra, p. 1078.


5 See EI, Vol. IX, p. 69, fn. 4.
Jodhpur State. Whether his power really extended so far south as the Vindhyas is more than doubtful. For though the Paramāras during this period could offer no effective resistance to his arms, his reign synchronised with that of the powerful Caulukya monarch Kumārapāla (c. 1141-73 A.D.) for whom we have epigraphic records in Kirādu, Ratanpur and Bhatund in Marwar, Chitor in Mewar, and Udayapur in the Gwalior State. It rather seems that, seeing on his southern frontier such a formidable rival, he turned his whole attention to the northern region, where the fortunate decline of the Yamnīs assured him of success. The capture of Delhi and the land between the Jumna and the Sutlej made his dynasty the guardian of the gates to the Ganges-Jumna Valley, and, as subsequent history shows, the Cāhamānas had to bear the first shock of the revived Muslim power that was gradually issuing out from the hills of Ghūr.

By his combination of military gifts with literary merit Vigraharāja seems to have revived the memory of such rulers as Muñja and Bhoja. But, unlike them, he seems to have escaped a tragic end. The Prthvīrāja-vijaya declares that with his death the name of the friend of the poets 'disappeared.' He was succeeded by his son Apara-Gāṅgeya and the latter by Prthvībhata, the son of the eldest son of Sudhavā (i.e., Jugadeva?). The following inscriptions are known for this prince's reign:

(1) Hansi stone-inscription.—Originally found on the wall of a building at Hansi, in the Hissar district of the Punjab. It contains 22 lines, opening with salutation to an unspecified goddess.

1. V. 21. JASB, 1886, Part I, pp. 31 and 42.
3. The Shamesbānīah dynasty of Ghūr is now regarded by some as of Iranian origin, see CHI, Vol. III, p. 38. Though this may possibly be so, there is little doubt that the most important officials and the bulk of the men who entered India with the Ghūrids were of Turkish origin.
4. JRAS, 1913, p. 276.
Then follows a verse invoking Murāri. V. 2 refers to the Cāhamāna king Prthvirāja and his maternal uncle, Kilhana; V. 3 informs us that the latter belonged to the Gūhilaūta tribe. The verse following tells us that thinking of Hammira who had become the cause of the anxiety of the world, the king put Kilhana in charge of the fort of Āsikā. The proper object of the inscription was probably to record that Kilhana erected a pratoli (or gateway) and near it two kośṭhakas or granaries. The flag on the pratoli, we are told, set Hammira as it were at defiance. The rest of the inscription is devoted to a prāshasti of Kilhana, comparing him to Hanumān and Prthvirāja to Rāma. V. 11 refers to his having burnt Pañcapura and captured but not killed its lord. The record was composed by Laksmana of the Doja race, a servant of Kilhana. The date (V.) Samvat 1224 (c. 1168 A.D.) comes at the end.

(2) Menal stone-inscription.—Found at Menal in Udaipur State, Rajputana. 7 lines, opening with Seasti, followed by the date, (V.) Samvat 1225 (c. 1168 A.D.). It refers to some endowments made by Mahārājī Suhavadevi, queen of Prthvirāja II, to the god Suhaveśvara.

(3) Dhod stone-inscription.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Rūṭhi Rāṇī at Dhod, in the Jahazpur district of Mewar. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1225 (c. 1169 A.D.) and records that during the reign of P.-Pb. Prthviṁvideva (Prthvītdeva), the lord of Śakambhari, his feudatory Adhirāja Kumārapāla, son of Tha(kkura) Maṅgalarāja erected the temple of Nityapramoditadeva, at Dhavagarttā. Kumārapāla is said to be the chief of Uparamvāla Antarī. The record mentions

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1 According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is doubtless Hamsi. IA, 1912, p. 17.
2 Identified with 'Pachaspattana' on the Sutlej, ibid, p. 18.
3 One of the recognised 36 royal races of Rajasthan. Bhandarkar thinks that they are the Doja or the Dojas, a clan of the Paramārās, ibid.
5 Noticed in ASI, WC, 1906, pp. 59-60, No. 3191.
6 Now known as Rūṭhi Rāṇī's temple.
7 Mod. Dhod.
8 Uparamvāla Antarī.
Rajni Suhavadevi, apparently a queen of the Cāhamāna prince.¹

(4) Menalgarh pillar-inscription.—Found on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace in Menalgarh in Mewar. It records the erection of a monastery (mātha) by Bhāva Brahma, while the Cāhamāna Prthvirāja was reigning in V.S. 1226 (A.D. 1170).²

These inscriptions range from 1224 to 1226 V.S., corresponding to c. 1167-1170 A.D. As the last recorded date of his predecessors is A.D. 1164 and the first of his successors A.D. 1170, Prthviratsha's reign appears to have been short. It has been assumed that his succession to the throne was not peaceful. The Dhod stone-inscription mentioned above is reported to contain a statement that he won a victory over the king of Sākambhart by the strength of his arms.³ This seems to indicate that Aparangaeya, who according to the Prthviraja-vijaya died unmarried, was forcibly removed from his throne by him. The only important point in Prthviraja's reign is his conflict with the Muslims, which is revealed by the Hansi stone-inscription. If the identification of 'Pāmcapura' with 'Pachapattana' on the Sutlej is accepted, he must have had some success in these conflicts against the Yamini prince Khusrav Malik Taj ud-Daulah (1160-86), who is described by Minhaj as 'of excessive mildness and beneficence....but addicted to pleasure.'⁴

Prthviraja was succeeded in 1170 A.D. by his uncle Someśvara, son of Kāñcanadevi, the daughter of the Cauivaka Jayasimha Siddharaja. According to the Prthviraja-vijaya, the interval between his father's death and his own accession to the throne was spent by Someśvara in the court of the Cauivakas Jayasimha and Kumārapāla. We are told that the former, hearing that Someśvara's son would be an incarnation of Rama,

¹ RMB, 1923, p. 2.
³ JRAS, 1915, p. 276, fn. 2.
took away his grandson to his own capital. 1 After his death his successor Kumārapāla continued to favour the Cāhamāna prince, so much so that his name 'protector of Kumāra' became a significant one.2 In the course of Kumārapāla's campaign against Konkan, Someśvara is said to have cut off the head of the prince of that country.3 While living in the court of Kumārapāla he appears to have married the daughter of a Kalacuri prince of Tripuri.4 According to Jonarāja, the commentor, the name of the princess was Karpūradevi.5 By her he had two sons, Prthvirāja and Harirāja. The former was born at the end of Vaiśākha, when Mars was in Capricorn, Saturn in Aquarius, Jupiter in Pisces, the Sun in Aries, the Moon in Taurus, and Mercury in Gemini.6 Harirāja was born in Māgha, Śūdi, 3. It is said that these sons were born when Vigrahārāja IV was still on the throne. After the death of Prthvirāja II the ministers brought him to the Sapādalakṣa country and placed him on the throne. It is therefore likely that on his accession he was already a man of mature years. The following inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) Bijolī 7 rock-inscription.—Found in the village of Bijolī in Mewar about 100 miles from the capital (Udaipur). It appears to be a Jain record, and opens with salutations to Pārśvanātha and other Jain divinities. Vs. 10 to 26 are devoted to the Cāhamāna genealogy which is traced from

1 PB, p. 198; JRAS, 1913, p. 274. 2 PB, p. 288; JRAS, 1913, p. 275. 3 But see ante, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Cauḷukyaś, p. 991, where the credit is given to Āmbaśa. 4 Tripuri-puramāra. The tribal name is given as Kaliyuga. The name of the father is Acalarāja, see JRAS, 1913, p. 277. I am unable to identify this prince of Tripuri. See DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Haikāyas, pp. 751 ff. I fear it was an exaggeration of the poet to represent him as a ruler of Tripuri. He may have been a petty chief in the Cauḷukya court who claimed Haikāya lineage and relationship with the Tripuri branch. 5 PB, Fasc. III, p. 397. Sarda wrongly gives the name as Karpūradevi. The marriage and the correct name of the queen are also mentioned in Hammāra-mahākāya; see Text, p. 16. 6 The position of Venus, the ascending and descending nodes, are lost through damage to the MSS. JRAS, 1913, p. 275. 7 Sarda calls it 'Bijolian,' Kielhorn spells 'Bijholi' and D. B. Bhandarkar 'Bijolī.'
Sāmanta to Someśvara. V. 27 seems to state that the last ruler had the biruda Pratāpa-Lāṃkēśvara. V. 28 states that he gave the village of Rewna to the 'self-existent Pārvanātha.' Vs. 29-30 apparently give the genealogy of the person who built a temple to house the deity. It is dated towards the end in (V.) Samvat 1228 (A.D. 1170).¹

(2) Dhod stone-inscription (i).—Engraved on a pillar in the Rāthi Rāni temple at Dhod in Jahazpur, Mewar. It records that in (V.) Samvat 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.), during the reign of Pb.-M.-P. Someśvara, the Karanika Brāhman Mahantama Cāhaḍa, son of Vijay, sold his house to the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for 16 drammas (coins) of Ajayadeva.²

(3) Dhod stone-inscription (ii).—Found as No. 2 above. It records that in (V.) Samvat 1229 (c. 1172 A.D.), when Pb.-M.-P. Someśvara, was ruling at Ajayameru-durga in the county of Sapādalakṣa, Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhāsarāśi built a monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadeva for the residence of Kāpālika ascetics from foreign countries.³

(4) Revasa stone-inscription.—Incised on a pillar in the Sabhā-maṇḍapa of the temple of Jīn-Mātā, about 16 miles N. W. of Khatu, in the Sambhar Nizamat of Shekhawati, Jaipur State. It records that in (V.) Samvat 1230 (c. 1174 A.D.), in the reign of Someśvara, one Ālhaṇa, son of Udaīrā, rebuilt the maṇḍapa of the temple.⁴

(5) Anvaldā stone-inscription.—Engraved on a Sātī-pillar. It is dated in (V.) Samvat 1234 (c. 1177 A.D.) and records that during the reign of M. Someśvara the memorial stone was erected in honour of Sindara(ja), son of Doḍa Rā(o) Simbharā(ja).⁵

These five inscriptions noticed above range from V.S. 1226 to 1234, corresponding roughly to c. 1169-1177 A.D. As we have an inscription of his successor, dated in V.S. 1233 (A.D.

² Noticed in RMH, 1925, p. 2.
³ Ibid.
⁴ Noticed in ASI, WC, 1910, p. 52.
⁵ Noticed in RMH, 1925, p. 2.
1180), Someśvara’s reign must have ended sometime before that date. Besides these inscriptions, coins of billion or copper of the ‘Bull and horseman type’ of Someśvara are known. The obverse bears the figure of a horseman with the legend Śri-Someśvara-deva, and the reverse the figure of a humped bull and the legend Āśāvarī śri Śāma (ntadeva). It seems from the Prthvīrāja-vījaya that when Someśvara died his eldest son Prthvīrāja III was still a minor. ‘So before leaving this world he had appointed the Devī or the queen (Karpūradevī) to protect his son in his childhood.’ The author of the Prthvīrāja-vījaya gives eloquent description of the prosperity of the Cāhamāna kingdom during the Queen’s regency. It appears that she was ably assisted in her administration by the minister Kādamba Vāsa. On his reaching the age of discretion Prthvīrāja seems to have been assisted by another officer named Bhuvanaikamalla, who is reported to have come to the Cāhamāna court to find out how ‘the son of his elder brother’s daughter’ was protecting this earth. While Kādamba Vāsa is compared with Hanumān, Bhuvanaikamalla is described as a veritable Garuḍa, who served Prthvīrāja and his brother Harirāja, the two incarnations of Rāma and Lakṣmana. ‘Just as Rāma, with the help of Garuḍa and Hanumān crossed the sea and did other things, so Prthvīrāja, with the help of Hanumān-like Kādamba Vāsa and Garuḍa-like Bhuvanaikamalla, did many things for the welfare of the people.’ The following records are so far known for the reign of this prince:

(1) Lohari stone-inscription.—Engraved on a Satī-pillar. It is dated in (V.) 1236 (c. 1180 A.D.), and records that during the reign of Prthvīrāja, the memorial was set up in honour of Jalasala, son of Vāgaḍī Salakhaṇa, by his mother Kālī. It contains the names of 9 ladies who became Satī on this occasion.  

1 CChM, pp. 257 and 261.  
2 JRAS, 1913, p. 277.  
3 Or Kādamba Vāsa. See JRAS, 1913, p. 277 and fn. 1.  
4 JRAS, 1913, pp. 978-79  
5 Noted in RMH, 1923, pp. 3-5; see also ASI, WC, 1906, p. 62, No. 2235; IA, Vol. 1927, p. 49, fn. 15.
(2) Madanpur stone-inscriptions.—These are three in number, and were found in the large temple of Śiva at Madanpur, which is situated at the head of one of the principal passes leading from Saugor (C. P.) to Lalitpur, Jhansi and Gwalior. It is 24 miles to the S.E. of Dudahi, 35 miles to the S.S.E. of Lalitpur and 30 miles to the north of Saugor. Inscription No. (i) records the name of Prthvīrāja of the Cāhumāna-varman, who came to the country of king Paramardi. No (ii) gives the genealogy of Prthvīrāja as grandson of Arṇorāja and son of Someśvara. We are then told, that in (V.) Saṅvat 1239 (c. 1182-83 A.D.) he conquered the country of Jejāka-bhukti. No. (iii) gives the names of Candraśekhara, Tryambaka and Tripurāntaka indicating that the temple where his inscription was placed was a Saiva shrine.¹

(3) Udaipur stone-inscription.—Engraved on a Sati-pillar; dated in (V.) Saṅvat 1244 (c. 1188 A.D.) in the reign of M. Prthvīrāja.²

(4) Visalpur stone-inscription.—It was found on a pillar in the temple of Gokaranātha at Visalpur near Rajmahal in the Jaipur State. The temple, as well as the town, is said to have been founded by Visaladeva (Vigrahārāja IV). The record is dated in (V.) S. 1244 (c. 1187-88 A.D.), in the reign Pb.-M.-P. Prthvīrāja. The object is to register some donations to the temple of the god Gokarna at Vigraḥapura,³ in the Sapādalakṣa country.⁴

(5) Bajta image-inscription.—Found engraved on the pedestal of an image of Gauśā, kept in a niche in a temple of Māṃ Mātā near Bajta,⁵ in the Estate of Savar, Rajputana. It records that the image was made by one Rājala, son of Mahām Rāṇavata, an officer of Pithimadeva (= Prthvideva = Prthvīrāja) in (V.) Saṅvat 1245 (c. 1189 A.D.).⁶

¹ ASR, Vol. XX, Plate XXXII, Nos. 9, 10 and 11; ibid, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-74, Nos. 9-11.
² Noticed in ASI, WC, 1900, p. 69, No. 2923. The stone is now in Victoria Museum, Udaipur (Mewar).
³ Same as mod. Visalpur or Baisalpur.
⁴ Noticed in ASR, Vol. VI, p. 156, Plate XXI. Also in ASI, WC, 1921, pp. 55-56.
⁵ RMR, 1911-12, p. 2.
These inscriptions range from V. S. 1236 to 1245 corresponding to c. 1179 to 1189 A. D. Besides these records, silver and billion coins of the usual 'Bull and horseman' type, which were first imitated by his father, have also been discovered for his reign.¹ I have elsewhere² discussed the stories of Prthviraja's hostility with the Candratreya Madanavarman and the Gahaḍavala Jayacakendra. The story of the Svayamvara of the latter's daughter Samyogita and her abduction by Prthviraja as told by the Prthviraja Raso of Cand Bardai,³ reads more like romance than history. The chronology of this Hindi Epic has been shown to be full of absurdities,⁴ and undoubtedly in its present state it contains much unhistorical matter. Nevertheless there is good ground to believe that the facts narrated by him, though exaggerated, have an historical kernel. Thus the Madanpur inscriptions of Prthviraja really show that he was on hostile terms with the Candella monarch, and had invaded and plundered, if not annexed, a large portion of the Candella territory beyond the Betwa. Whether Prthviraja actually captured Mahoba and plundered Kalinjar, as Cand says, is more than can be admitted at present. But I have shown from the Candella records that there was friendship between the Gahaḍavalas and the Candellas,⁵ and the struggle which according to Cand was opened with the battle on the Pahuj may well have been a duel between these two allies on one hand and the Cāhamānas on the other. The Vīyoga Pārtha-parākrama indirectly refers to hostilities between the Cāhamāna Prthviraja and the Caulukya Bhima II (c. 1178-1241

¹ CCIM, pp. 261-62.
³ The Benares edition (1913) of this work, brought out by Mohanlal Vishwanath Pandia and Shant Sunder Das, is useful but a more-critical edition, with historical and geographical notes and an index, would be very valuable for the history of this period.
⁴ See Kaviśa Syamal Das in JASS, 1937, Vol. LV, pp. 5-65; also Halder in JBRAS, 1927, pp. 293-311.
A.D). We are told that the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa, a feudatory of the lord of Anahilla-pāṭaka repulsed a nocturnal attack of the king of Jāṅgala.¹ The Prthvīrāja-vījaya mentions a victory of the Cāhamāna prince over one Nāgārjunā, who had besieged Gudpur. Unfortunately neither the prince nor the locality mentioned can at present be identified. But it contains significant allusions to the rise of a 'beef-eating mleccha named Ghorī' in the North-West who had captured Garjani (Ghaznī).

The last of the Yaminīs, Khusrau Malik Tāj ud-Daulah (1160-86 A.D.) whose dominion had so long separated the leader of this new horde of invaders from the Cāhamānas, had been removed. The Ghūrtl and the Cāhamāna now stood face to face. The Muslim knew that the wealth of the rich cities and temples in the Jumna-Ganges valley and beyond could only be secured by the destruction of this Hindu power which held the key of the Delhi gate. The Cāhamāna knew, and expected no quarter. The Prthvīrāja-vījaya tells us that hearing of the activities of the 'Mleccha Ghorī,' he vowed to exterminate the Mlecchas. The Muslim chief, we are told, hearing of this vow, sent an ambassador to Ajmer. This man "had a wide forehead but no hair on his head. The colour of his beard, eyebrows and the eyelashes was of the grapes that came from Ghazni, and his speech was like that of the wild birds; it had no cerebrals. His complexion was like that of a leper, and he wore a long coqa. Rājās took shelter in fortress in fear of him. When these fiends in the shape of men took possession of Nadūl (Nadol), the warriors of Prthvīrāja took up their bows and arrows and the emperor became angry and resolved to lay the Ghorī's glory in the dust." But his Pratihāra soon brought the welcome news that the king of Gujarat had utterly destroyed the 'Ghorī' forces.² This Muslim invasion is no doubt the same as that which was undertaken by Mui′z ud-Dīn Ghūrtī in A. H. 574 (A.D.

² JRAS, 1913, p. 279.
and which was beaten back by the young Bhîma, the Caulukya king of Anhilvada. It is clear from the account of the royal praśastikāra that the Cāhamāna offered no material assistance to his cousins at Naḍḍūla or to the Caulukya king Bhîma. It was very fortunate for the Hindu principalities that the Muslims were beaten back this time. But this policy of the Indian States which kept their efforts against their common foe isolated and prevented them from offering a concerted front, was soon to bear disastrous results. According to the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāširi, in 587 A. H. (1191 A.D.) Sulṭân-i-Ghâzî (Mū'izz ud-dīn) "caused the forces of Islâm to be organised, and advanced against the fortress of Tabarhindah and took that stronghold, and made it over to the charge of the Malik Žiyā-ud-dīn, the Ḍār al-Muḥammad-i-ʿ Abd-us-Sallām, Ṯīwī, Ṭūlakī...... They selected 1,200 horses from the forces of Hindūstān and Ghaznīn, all men of Ṭūlak and the whole of them were ordered to join his khayl (band or division) and were located within that fortress under the stipulation, that they should hold it for a period of eight months, until the Sultan-i-Ghāzî should return again from Ghaznīn; but the Rāc Kolah, however had arrived near


2 See TN, Vol. I, p. 457, fn. 3. Some MSS. have Tabarhind. But Raverty notes that the printed text has Sirhind. The TA, Miq'rât-i-Jahân-Namâ and Khulâsot-ut Tawârikh also have Sirhind. According to Thornton’s Gazetteer of India, London, 1856, (p. 872), Sirhind is the name of the tract consisting of the N. E. portion of the plain which intervenes between the Jumna and the Sutlej rivers. It includes the British Districts of Umballa, Ludhiana and Firozpur, together with the native States of Patiala, Jind and Nahha; in the historical sense it embraces the level plain between the Himalayas and the desert of Bikanor, the Sutlej and the Jumna.3 Badānī has Tarhindā, and says it was Jaipal’s capital. Fīrâshī has Pathndhā or Bhatindhā. The Lubb ut-Tawârikh-i-Hind says ‘Tabarhindah, now known by the name of Bīrbandh.’ Considering all these facts, it seems probable that the fortress meant was really located at Bhitinda, in the Patiala State.

3 On this see TN, Vol. I, p. 458, fn. 6. Raverty shows that golak (corrupted into golah or kolah) means an illegitimate offspring. According to the Tāj-ul-Ma’ṣḥīr Kolah was the son of Pithora. Raverty holds that Mînâḥî has apparently confused the two names; and this seems more likely, because he has not said a single word about Pithora’s son having been set up by the Muslims at Ajmer. The TA (Trans., p. 38) has ‘Pithora, the Râq of Ajmer.’
at hand and the Sultán marched to Tarā'in to meet him. The whole of the Rānas 1 of Hind were along with the Rāe Kolah. When the ranks were duly marshalled the Sultán seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Govind Rāe, Rāe 2 of Dhill, was mounted, and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sultán-i-Ghāzī, who was the Ḥaidar of the time, and a second Rustam, charged and struck Govind Rāe on the mouth with his lance with such effect that two of that accursed one's teeth fell into his mouth. He launched a javelin at the Sultán of Islām and struck him in the upper part of the arm and inflicted a very severe wound. The Sultán turned his charger's head round and receded, and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islām so that it was irretrievably routed, and the Sultán was nearly falling from his horse. Seeing which a lion-hearted warrior, a Khalj stripling, recognised the Sultán and sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the battle. On the Musalmān forces not seeing the Sultán, lamentation broke from them, until they reached a place of safety where the defeated army was safe from pursuit by the infidels.**

The Muslim army thus returned to Ghazni, seemingly without being seriously troubled by the pursuit of the victorious

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1 In some MSS. Rāe; others perhaps with more truth have 'a number of Rajput princes.' TN, Vol. I, p. 469, fn. 8.
3 TN, Vol. I, pp. 457-83. TA, Trans., pp. 38-39; TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 171-78. Briggs (Firista) gives the place of battle as "Narain now called Tiwhory on the bank of the Sooratti, 14 miles from Thanesur, and 80 miles from Delhi." But Raverty (TN, Vol. I, p. 459, fn. 7) pointed out that Briggs had committed a mistake. The name on the lithographed edition of the text of Firista, revised by Briggs himself, is clearly given as 'Tarai,' as in the TN. It is not unlikely that Briggs meant by his 'Tiwhory,' the place mentioned by Mīrāb Mughal Beg on the royal road from Karnal to Thanesar as 'Agimkâli-Di-Talkāwî.
Cāhamānas. This was a great blunder. Prthvīrāja soon after his victory invested the fort of Tabarhindah, and after a siege of 13 months compelled the Qāzi of Tūlak to capitulate and hand it over. After this success Prthvīrāja pitched his camp 'in the neighbourhood of Tarā'īn.' In the meantime Mu'izz ud-Dīn had completely reorganised his forces, and 'in the following year' (i.e., A.H. 588 = A.D. 1192) appeared in the field of Tarā'īn with a cavalry force one hundred and twenty thousand strong, 'arrayed in defensive armour.' Minhāj tells us that the Sūltān left 'the centre division of the army, the baggage, the standards and banners, his canopy of state and elephants,' several miles in the rear. He then advanced in a leisurely manner with the more mobile section of his troops. "The light-armed and unencumbered horsemen he had directed should be divided into four divisions, and had appointed them to act against the infidels on four sides; and the Sūltān had commanded, saying: 'It is necessary that, on the right and left and front and rear, 10,000 mounted archers should keep the infidel host in play; and when their elephants, horsemen and foot advance to the attack, you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse's course in front of them.'" The Musulmān troops acted according to these instructions, and having exhausted and wearied the unbelievers, Almighty God gave the victory to Islām, and the infidel host was overthrown. Rāē Pithorā, who was riding an elephant, dismounted and got upon a horse and fled from the field until in the neighbourhood of (the) Sarsuti,² he was taken prisoner, and they

1. The object was no doubt to harass the Indians and to induce them to break their order. Raverty quotes from another authority, that the Sūltān divided his army into 5 divisions, four of which with 10,000 light and horse-mounted archers were to attack the enemy from all sides, often pretending flight. This went on from 9 a.m. to the afternoon, when, finding the enemy tired and worn out, he charged them with the fifth division of 12,000 horses, the flower of his army, and carried everything before him. TN, Vol. I, p. 468, fn. 2. TP, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 176.77.

2. Sarsuti, probably the river of that name, see Thornton, Gazzetteer, p. 820. It rises in the Sirmur State in Lat. 30° 23', Long. 77° 19', and flows through Ambala and Karnal. There was also a city of this name on its banks; see TD, Trans., p. 39, fn. 2.
despatched him to hell; and Govind Rāe of Dihli was slain in the engagement. The Sultān recognised his head through those two teeth which had been broken. The seat of government, Ajmir, with the whole of the (territory), such as Hānsī, Sursuti, and other tracts were subjugated. These events took place, and this victory was achieved, in the year 588 H.; and the Sultān placed Malik Kūṭh-ud-Dīn, Ibak, in the fort of Kuhราม, and returned home."

Hasan Nigāmī, almost a contemporary, adds some interesting details of this conflict. We are told that on reaching Lahore Mu‘izz ud-Dīn sent an officer calling upon Pithora Rāe "to embrace the Musalmān faith and acknowledge his supremacy. The Chohan prince sent an indignant reply; and having received aid from most of the Rājas of Hind, with 300,000 horse....advanced to meet him....Pithora Rāe sent a message to the Sultān, saying 'It is advisable thou shouldst retire to thine own country, and we will not follow thee.' The Sultān in order to deceive him, and throw him off his guard, replied: "It is by command of my brother, my sovereign, that I come here and endure trouble and pain: give me sufficient time that I may despatch an intelligent person to my brother, to represent to him an account of thy power, and that I may obtain his permission to conclude a peace with thee under the terms that Tarhind (Tabarhindah), the Panjāb, and Multān shall be ours, and the rest of the country thine.' The leaders of the infidel forces, from this reply, accounted the army of Islam as of little consequence, and, without any care or concern, fell into the slumber of remissness. That same night the Sultān made his preparations for battle, and, after the dawn of the morning, when the Rājputs had left their

1 Ibn-i-Bāṣṭānah calls Sursuti a great city. In Akbar's time Sursuti was one of the Mahallas of Bikrand Sambhal. TN, Vol. I, p. 468, fn. 3.
camp for the purpose of obeying calls of nature, and for the purpose of performing ablutions, he entered the plain with his ranks marshalled. Although the unbelievers were amazed and confounded, still in the best manner they could, they stood to fight and sustained a complete overthrow." As Hasan Nizami was almost contemporary, and as the story is also repeated in Firishta, I am disposed to believe that there may be some truth in it. It is quite possible that Mu'izz ud-Din really attacked the Hindu camp during a truce which the Câhamâna generals accepted as genuine.

This battle practically put an end to the sovereignty of the Câhamânas of Sâkambhari. After this battle Quṭb ud-Din appears to have captured Ajmer from 'Kola,' who according to Elliot's interpretation of Tâj-ul-Ma'âthir was the 'natural son' of the Râi of Ajmir. He appears to have been taken prisoner but 'managed to obtain his release or at least immunity from punishment.' But on account of his 'ancient hatred against the Musulmans' which was deeply rooted and concealed in the bottom of his heart, he 'appears to have been detected in some intrigue.' Orders were therefore issued for his death and 'the diamond-like sword severed the head of that abandoned wretch from his body.' "The son of Râi Pithaura," continues Hasan Nizami, "in whose qualities and habits the proof of courage and the indexes of wisdom were apparent, and who, both abroad and at home, exhibited familiarity with rectitude, and prognostications of goodness was appointed to the government of Ajmir." Delhi and Meerut were captured soon after. Everything seemed to have been settled now so far as the Câhamânas are concerned. But Nizami tells us that Quṭb ud-Din soon received intelligence "from Rantanbor that Hiraj, the brother of the Râi of Ajmir, had gone into rebellion and had turned his face towards the siege of the fort of Rantanbor and that the son

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2 TF, Briggs' Trans., Vol. 1, pp. 175-76.
of Pithaurā, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime court, was in a state of extreme danger. On receiving this intelligence, "Kuṭb ud-Dīn......departed for Rantanbor, passing over hill and desert like a wild ass or an antelope. When Hirāj heard of the arrival of the auspicious standards.........he placed the hand of weakness in the skirts of flight, and for the fear of the blade of the scimitar fled like the wind with his resurrectionless army.......The son of Rāi Pithaurā was favoured with a robe of honour and other kindesses; and in return for his friendship, he sent abundant treasure for the service of the state, together with three golden melons, which with extreme ingenuity had been cast in moulds like the full moon." 1 "The Rāi who had fled from Delhi had raised an army of idolatrous, turbulent, and rebellious tribes, the vapour of pride and conquest having entered his thoughtless brain. Kuṭb ud-Dīn pursued him and when the wretch was taken, his head was severed from his body and sent to Delhi, which had been his residence and capital." 2

The statement of Ḥasan Nizāmī shows that a son of Prthvi-rāja had been installed to succeed his father as the feudatory of the Muslims. The yoke of bondage, it seems, did not fit in well with the pride and traditions of the Cāhamānas. The rebellions of ‘Hirāj,’ the brother of Prthvi-rāja, and of ‘the Rāi’ from Delhi were the last attempts of the Cāhamānas of Sambhar to regain their independence. The Rāi who raised the standard of rebellion after escaping from Delhi was probably a scion of Govinda, presumably the feudatory of Prthvi-rāja who was killed in the second battle of Tarā’in. Unfortunately the Muslim chroniclers do not give us the names of either this prince of Delhi or of the son of Prthvi-rāja who became a feudatory of the Muhammadans. There are also discrepancies about the correct name of the brother of Prthvi-rāja who gave so much trouble

to his nephew. Firishta gives the name of the prince as Hemrāj, and states that he 'expelled Gola, or natural son, of Pithow Raj, from Ajmer '? He has apparently mixed together two distinct episodes. Ḥasan Niẓāmī refers to two separate expeditions by Quṭb ud-Dīn. One of these, as we have seen, was undertaken against 'Kola,' the other when Prthvīrāja's son was in great distress at Ranthambhor owing to the rebellion of 'Hirāj.' Elliot perceived that 'Hirāja' is not a common Indian name and suggested that it was probably an abbreviation of the Sanskrit hirāj, a potentate." The Hammira-mahākālya of Nayacandra however seems to indicate that the name of this prince was really 'Harirāja.' That Someśvara had another son named Harirāja is proved by the Prthvīrāja-vijaya. According to Nayacandra, Prthvīrāja was succeeded by Harirāja, who ruled for sometime before he was destroyed by Shihāb ud-dīn. The Tantotti image-inscription discovered in the estate of the same name, in the district of Ajmer, dated in V.S. 1251 (c. 1194 A.D.), in the reign of Harirāja shows the correctness of the tradition recorded by Nayacandra. It is engraved on the pedestal of an image, which is broken off, and contains four lines. It records that the village of Tamūthi (mod. Tantoti) was in the sief of Pratāpadevi, the queen of Harirāja. Nayacandra also seems to indicate that the name of Prthvīrāja's son who was ousted by Harirāja, was possibly Govindarāja.5

3. IA, Vol. VIII, pp. 61-72. Firishta (Briggs' Trans., Vol. I) also says that Hamrāj was killed in the second engagement.
5. Sarda accepts Govindarāja as the name of Prthvīrāja's son, see JRAS, 1913, p. 968, fn. 16. In his Hammira-mahākālya, Nayacandra seems to describe Govindarāja as the 'grandson (putra) of Prthvīrāja,' who was banished from the kingdom by his father; Text, Ed. by N. J. Kirtane, Bombay, 1879, p. 28, IV, 24; IA, Vol. VIII, p. 62. But I have a suspicion that he has committed a mistake. The verse of Nayacandra is as follows:

Tabāsati Prthvīrājaśyā prak pūrto nīrāśitaḥ
Pautro Govindarājākhyāḥ svaśamarthyaautta-caidhacoḥ.
(5) Cāhamānas of Ranastambhapura.

According to the Hammira-mahākārya of Nayacandra the Ranastambhapura (Ranthambhor) branch of the Cāhamānas was established by Govindarāja after the death of Harirāja. I have quoted from Ḥasan Nīzāmī to show that Hiraj (Harirāja), after throwing off the yoke of the Muslims, besieged his nephew in the fort of Ranthambhor. When Qutb ud-Dīn recovered Ajmer after defeating Harirāja, Govindarāja apparently continued to rule in Ranthambhor as a feudatory of the Muslims. The Hammira-mahākārya, of course, does not hint at these differences between Harirāja and Govindarāja, though it makes some disparaging remarks about Harirāja’s fondness for pleasure and dancing girls, which, it is alleged, made him an easy prey to ’Sahābadīna.’ When attacked by the Muslim-prince he was so enfeebled that he could not resist him and committed Sak with his whole family. He left no son, and so his followers and retainers retired and assembled round Govindarāja at Ranthambhor.1

According to Nayacandra, Govinda was succeeded by his eldest son Bālhaṇa and the latter by his eldest son Prahlāda. The Manglana stone-inscription dated in (V.) S. 1272 (c. 1215 A.D.) seems to show that Vallāqadeva (i.e., Bālhaṇa) was still a feudatory of the Hammira Samasadāna (Shams ud-Dīn Ilṭutmish) of the city of Joginī. The marble stone bearing this inscription was found at Manglana, 19 miles W. of Maroṭā in Marwar. It records the construction of a step-well by Vallāna’s feudatory, the Dadhica Mahārāja-putra Mahāmandaleśvara Jayatrasimha,2 Prahlāda’s younger brother Vāgbhata served him as his prime-minister. Prahlāda died in a lion-hunt, and was succeeded by his

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1 Text, III, 73-82: IV, 1-10. J.A., Vol. VIII, p. 61. I have already pointed out that Kirtane’s summary mentions Govindarāja as the grandson of Prthvirāja but probably he was the unnamed son of Prthvirāja mentioned by the Muslims. See EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 86, fn. 1.

son Viranārāyaṇa, who is reported by Nayacandra to have been decoyed to Yoginīpura (Delhi) and poisoned the Saka (Muslim) prince Jallāładīna. I am unable to identify this Delhi Sultān. The only prince bearing that name in the 13th century is Firūz (A.D. 1290-96), the first of the Khalji kings of Delhi; but his date forbids identification with him. It seems extremely probable that by 'Jallāładīna Nayacandra really meant Shams ud-Dīn Ilututmish (1211-36 A.D.), whose officers according to the Ṭabāqāt-i-Nāṣirī took the impregnable fort in 628 A.H. (1226 A.D.).¹ Vāgbhāṭa, Viranārāyaṇa's uncle, we are told, was absent from Ranthambhor at the time of his nephew's tragic death; he had been insulted by him, and consequently he had retired to Malwa in dudgeon. The Muslim king, according to Nayacandra, sent instructions to the prince of Malwa to kill Vāgbhāṭa, but the latter was too much for him. Having learned the evil intentions of the Malwa ruler, Vāgbhāṭa killed him, and with the assistance of the 'Kharphūrās' attacked and captured Ranthambhor, which was presumably in Muslim hands at the time. This must have happened during the weak rule of the successors of Ilutmish. According to Nīgām ud-Dīn the fort was recovered by the Hindus during the reign of Sultān Raziyā (1236-40 A.D.), shortly after the death of Ilutmish.² It is difficult to identify the Malwa prince slain by Vāgbhāṭa, for the history of that area during the last quarter of the 13th century is extremely obscure. I am also unable to suggest the region where these 'Kharphūrās' dwelt. The name bears resemblance to the name of the Khara Parika tribe who are reported by Hariṣena to have paid taxes and obeyed the commands of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta.³ Kirtane seems inclined to accept them as Khakars, a Mongol tribe who invaded India about this time. There is as yet no means to verify all the details of the above account of the successors of Prthvirājā given by Nayacandra.⁴ But that Vāgbhāṭa, a descendant of Prthvirājā actually ascended the throne

⁴ See above Mangiana inscription (1215 A.D.) of the time of Bāḥaṇa.
of Ranthambhor is proved by the recently discovered Balvan stone-
inscription of Hammūra, the last Cāhamāna of this line. This Vāghbhaṭa has been identified with 'Bāhar-deo' (Bāhādā-deva) of Ranthambhor, who is described by Minhāj as 'the greatest of the Rāis of Hindūstān.' He was attacked in A.H. 646 (A.D. 1248) by Ulugh Khān, who met with indifferent success, losing one of his nobles, Malik Bāhā ud-Dīn Aibak in a battle under the fort of Ranthambhor. The Khān's soldiers, we are told, "showed great courage and fought well; they sent many of the infidels to hell, and secured great spoil, after which they returned to the capital." This happened in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir ud-Dīn Māhmūd (1246-66 A.D.). The attack seems to have been renewed in A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253), when Ulugh Khān led a Muslim force from Nāgor in the direction of Ranthambhor and Chitor. Minhāj relates that "Bāhar Deo, Rāi of Ranthambhor, the greatest of the Rāis, and the most noble and illustrious of all the princes of Hindūstān, assembled an army to inflict a blow on Ulugh Khān. But......although the Rāi's army was large and well appointed with arms and horses it was put to flight, and many of its valiant fighting men were sent to hell. The Musulmāns obtained great spoil and captured many horses and prisoners (burda). They then returned safe with their booty to Nāgor, which in consequence of Ulug Khān's presence, had become a place of great importance." It is clear from these accounts that the Cāhamānas of Ranthambhor, being aided by the weak rule of the successors of Iltutmīsh (1211-36 A.D.), had again consolidated their position to such an extent that their chief was regarded as the most powerful of all the Hindu princes of Hindustan.

3 A title of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Balban, who acted as the Vizir of Nāṣir ud-Dīn, and, then succeeded him as Sultān of Delhi in A.D. 1266. See TP, Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, p. 223.
According to Nayacandra, Vāgbhaṭa died after a reign of 12 years.¹ His successor was his son Jaitrasimha. According to the Bālvan inscription of Hammtra, Jaitrasimha harassed a certain Jayasimha of Maṇḍapa and killed the Kurma king (Kurma-kiṭiṣa) and a king of Karkarālagiri.² He is also said to have defeated hundreds of brave warriors of the king of Mālava at Jhampāthaghaṭṭa, and kept them as prisoners at Rānastambhapura³ (Ranthambhor). I have suggested elsewhere that this Jayasimha of Maṇḍapa (Mandu) was possibly the Paramāra (?) Jayavarman II, for whom we have the dates ranging from c. 1256-60 A.D.⁴ The Kurma king may have been a member of the Kacchapaghāṭa (or Kacchapāri) family, an off-shoot of the Gwalior branch, which was slowly carving out a principality round Amber in the Jaipur State.⁵ According to Nayacandra, Jaitrasimha had three sons, viz., Hammtra, Surat rāṇa, and Vīrama. Of these the eldest, Hammtra was born from his beautiful queen Hirādevī. In course of time ‘finding that his sons were now able to relieve him from the burden of government, Jaitrasimha one day talked over the matter with Hammtra, and, after giving him excellent advice as to how he was to behave, he gave over the charge of state to him, and himself went to live in the forest. This happened in Samvat 1339 (A.D. 1283).’⁶

We have the following published records for Hammtra’s reign:

(1) Bālvan stone-inscription.—Found engraved on a stone slab built into a niche of the reservoir in front of the temple

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¹ If we may believe the Muslim chroniclers, then Ranthambhor was captured by the Hindus, possibly under Vāgbhaṭa’s leadership shortly after its unification’s death in 1236 A.D., during Basiya’s reign (1230-40 A.D.). Twelve years’ reign from the last year of Basiya would give Vāgbhaṭa a reign-period extending from 1240-52 A.D. But see ante. Bihār Deo was fighting with Ulugh Khān in 1239 A.D.
⁵ It has been suggested that he may be a descendant of Pajuna, who according to tradition was a vassal of Prthvīrāja III. see *EI*, Vol. XI, p. 47. In this connection Dr. Barnett points out that Kūrmāsala or the like is a regular term for Kumāon.
⁶ *IA*, Vol. VIII, p. 94. The text is nava-vahini-vahini-bhū. 1280 A.D. is apparently a printer’s mistake.
of Kavālji (Kapūlēvara), in the Balvan estate of the Kotah principality of Rajputana. It contains 39 lines of writing which open with invocations to Ganesa and Kapūltēvara (Siva). Then follows a description of the surroundings of the temple, close to which, we are told, flow the rivers Cakralaṁini,1 Mandākini 2 and Kētumukhā. Next follows the name of the Cāhamāna Prthvirāja (Vs. 4-5): In his family was Vāghbhatadeva (V. 6); after him (tato) Jaitrasimha (Vs. 7-8); then came Hammtra (Vs. 9-12). The next verses describe the family of the Kātāriyā Kāyastha Narapati, who had originally migrated from Mathurā and had served as the chief minister (mantri-mukhya) of both Jaitrasimha and Hammtra (V. 35). Their pedigree is as follows:

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  Ananta
   |  Sēdhā
   |  Sridhara
   |  Lakṣmana
   |  Pūṇapāla
   |  Yamunāpāla  Devarāja
   |    Somana = Somaladevi
    |  Narapati = Nayaśri
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  Padmasinīha  Thirū  Lola  Lakṣmidhara  Soma
   |  Mokṣasinhā  Gāṅgadeva  Jayasimha
   |    Keśava  Sodha

Both Narapati and his wife Nayaśri were eminent for their many acts of charity. The prāṣasti was composed by
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1 Modern Chākana which flows to the left of the Kāvalji’s temple: Hl. Vol. XIX pp. 45-47.
2 Modern Madākana which flows behind the temple, ibid.
Vaijāditya, who was the Paurānika in the court of Hammira (V. 39). Then come the date (V.) Saincat 1345 (c. 1289 A.D.), and lastly the name of the Śūtradhāra Gajuka, who had engraved the record.¹

(2) Gadha memorial-tablet.—This was found at Gadha, in Sheopur District, Gwalior State. It belongs to the reign of M. Hammira-deva.²

According to Nayacandra, Hammira ascended the throne in V.S. 1339 (A.D. 1283), and was killed by ʿAlā ud-Dīn (A.D. 1296-1316) in the 18th year of his reign (A.D. 1301). He is represented by the author as a great conqueror.³ During the course of his warlike expeditions he is said to have defeated Arjuna of Sarasapūra, the prince of Gaḍhamanḍala⁴ and Bhoja of Dhārā, 'the friend of poets.' After defeating Bhoja he is said to have reached Ujjain, where his army bathed in the Kṣīprā (Sipra?), and he offered his devotions at the shrine of Mahākāla. From Ujjain Hammira marched to Citrakoṭa (Chitor) and after ravaging Medapāta (Mewar) went to the Arabudāri (Mt. Abu). Here he worshipped at the temple of Rṣabhadeva, and having bathed in the Mandākini paid his devotions to Acaleśvara. The king of Abu, though a brave warrior, had to submit to Hammira. Leaving Abu, he arrived at Vardhanapura (Wadhwan), which he plundered. Then he proceeded by way of Ajayameru (Ajmer) to Puṣkara, where he worshipped the Adivarāha. From Puṣkara he repaired to

³ Sārūgadhara in his Paddhati refers to the Cāhursaka king Hammira. Of Sākambhari-deva as follows:— Purā Sākambhari-deva Śrīmaṇ Hammira hāṭapati Cāhuraṇāṁśayā jātoḥ bhūtaḥ saurgyāḥ sarjunaḥ; Sārūgadhara-paddhati, Ed. by Peter Peterson, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXXVII, p. 1. Sloka 2. I am indebted for this reference to Prof. G. Majumdar of the Presidency College, Calcutta. The anthology was composed in 1339 A.D. Sārūgadhara's grandfather Rāghava-deva was a courtier of Hammira. Sārūgadhara is credited with the composition of a Kāya named Hammira-rāja; but no copy of this work has yet been discovered.
⁴ Must be the Gond ruler of that place, see CHI, Vol. III, p. 516; also DHNI, Vol. II, p. 785.
Sākambhari, and after plundering some other places on the route reached his capital, where the great officers of the State, headed by Dharmasiṃha, received him. After finishing this triumphal march of conquest and after consultation with his spiritual guide Viśvarūpa as to the efficacy of the Koṭi-yajña, he performed that sacrifice and sumptuously feasted the Brāhmans and gave them liberal daksīṇās. In the meantime Allāvadīma (‘Alā ud-Dīn), who had ascended the throne of Delhi, finding that Hammīra had ceased to pay the tribute which Jaitrasimha used to pay, instructed his brother Ullukhāna (Ulugh Khān) to invade the Cāhamāna territory. Nayacandra then describes in great detail the various conflicts between the armies of ‘Alā ud-Dīn and the Cāhamānas. In one of the early conflicts, after gaining some minor advantages, Bhīmasimha, one of Hammīra’s two generals, was defeated and killed by Ulugh. The other general, Dharmasiṃha, whom the king accused of deserting Bhīma, was disgraced, blinded, and castrated. He was then superseded by Bhoja, a natural brother of the king. This was the beginning of dissensions and treachery in the Cāhamāna court. When Dharmasiṃha, through the assistance of the courtesan Rādhādevī, succeeded in recovering his position, Bhoja was disgraced, and in disgust joined the Muslim side. Treachery combined with the repeated attacks of ‘Alā ud-Dīn at last brought about the downfall of Hammīra. He was killed, after a desperate resistance, in the month of Śrāvaṇa, in the 18th year of his reign.

Nayacandra’s story of Hammīra’s victories is unsupported by reliable evidence, with the possible exception of one incident, his victory over Arjuna of Sarasapura. In his Balvan inscription mentioned above, Hammīra is credited with a victory over one Arjuna, ‘thither depriving Mālava of the fame and glory which it then enjoyed.’ Probably the Arjuna of the

1 IX, 15 ff.
2 IA, Vol. VIII, 64 ff.
Hammira-mahākāvya is identical with the Arjuna of the inscription. I have already tentatively accepted him as a Paramāra ruler, and probably the predecessor of Bhoja II of Dhārā. But it is not impossible that both of them were contemporaries ruling over different portions of the disintegrated Paramāra dominions.

But though there is hardly any evidence for the alleged victories of Hammira, Nayacandra's account of the conflicts between Hammira and 'Alā ud-Dīn and the tragic end of the Cāhamāna after a stubborn resistance, is, substantially attested by Muslim evidence. A contemporary Amīr Khusrau in his Ta'rīkh-i 'Alāz describes in some detail the siege of Ranthambhor. The 'Saturnian Hindus,' says the writer, 'bravely resisted all the attempts of the Muslims to capture the fort,' till 'no provisions remained in the fort, and famine prevailed to such an extent that a grain of rice was purchased for two grains of gold.' Seeing no hope of success, 'one night the Rai lit a fire at the top of the hill, and threw his women and family into the flames, and rushing on the enemy with a few devoted adherents, they sacrificed their lives in despair. On the fortunate date of the 3rd of Zīl-Ika'da A. H. 700 (July, 1301 A.D.), this strong fort was taken by the slaughter of the stinking Rai. Jhājn was also captured, 'an iron fort, an ancient abode of idolatry, and a new city of the people of the faith arose. The temple of Bāhir Deo, and the temples of other gods, were all rased to the ground.' The account of the desperate resistance of Hammira is also found in Barani's Ta'rīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī. Barani relates that the attack on

2 Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 74-76.
3 Ibid, pp. 146 ff. and 171 ff. Both Barani and Niẓām ud-Dīn (TA, Trans., p. 163) use the word nābah to express the relationship between 'Hamir Deo' and 'Rai Pithaur of Delhi.' It is usually translated as 'grandson.' Elliot (Vol. III, p. 171, fn. 2) pointed out that it is probably loosely used to mean a 'descendant.' See also TA, Trans., p. 163, fn. 2.
Ranthambhor began as early as the reign of Jalāl ud-Dīn Firūz (1290-96 A.D.). The Sultān in A.H. 689 (A.D. 1290) led an army to Ranthambhor. The Rāi of the place with his Rāwats and followers, together with their wives and children, all took refuge in the fort of Rantambhor. The Sultān wished to invest and take the fort. He ordered manjaniks to be erected, funnels to be sunk and redoubts to be constructed, and the siege to be pressed...... But after reconnoitring the fort, he found that it could not be taken without sacrificing the lives of many Musalmans............ So he raised the siege and next day departed for Delhi." 'Alā ud-Dīn (1296-1316 A.D.) soon after his accession renewed the efforts of his uncle to take the fort. The immediate cause of his attack was the asylum which Hamīr Deo, its chief, gave to a body of 'new Musalmāns' who had rebelled against the Sultān after the conquest of Gujarat in 1297 A.D. During the first attempt in 1300 A.D., when Ulugh Khān and Nuṣrat Khān were besieging the fort, the latter was fatally wounded by a stone shot from a maghribi in it, and died two or three days after. It was only after repeated attempts that "the Sultān succeeded in reducing Rantambhor............. with much bloodshed and difficulty. He slew Hamīr Deo, the Rāi, and all the new Musalmans, who had fled from the rebellion in Gujarat, and had taken refuge with him. The fort and all its territories and appurtenances were placed under the charge of Ulugh Khān, and the Sultān returned to Delhi." 1 This account is fully corroborated by Firishta, 2 who adds the information that after the death of Nuṣrat Khān, Hamīr Deo 3 "marched out from the fort, and gave battle, having collected within a short time 200,000 men.

1 Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 176-79. For a Rajput tradition that Hamīrā had a son, who fled to Mewar after the capture of Rantambhor by 'Alā ud-Dīn, see Māhārāṇā-prakāsa, pp. 14-15; also IHQ, 1931, p. 291 and fn. 2 on the same page.
3 Briggs spells the name as 'Humbur Dew.'
With this force he compelled Aluf Khan to fall back to Jhayan,' with great loss."

Before concluding the account of the Cāhamānas of this branch, I would briefly refer to the prince called by Minhāj, 'Chāhar-i-Ajār,' who ruled contemporaneously with Nāṣir ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Sultān of Delhi (A. D. 1246-66). Minhāj describes him as 'the greatest of all the Rāes' in the tract of country known as, 'Gwashyūr, Chandīrī, Nūrwur and Mālwhā.' He had 'about 500 horsemen well trained to arms, and 200,000 footmen.' The Hindu prince, we are told, was defeated, 'and the fortress which had been constructed by him, among defiles and passes was taken and plundered.' This happened in A. H. 649 (A. D. 1251). Firishta names the newly built fort 'Nurwar.' This prince has been identified by Cunningham with Cāhaḍa Deva of Narwar, for whom as well as for his son Asaladeva, we have inscriptions in the fort of Narwar. The coins of Cāhaḍadeva, discovered by Cunningham, range from V. S. 1294 (?) to 1311 (c. 1237-54 A. D.). The coins of his son Asaladeva range from V. S. 1311 to 1336 (c. 1254-79 A. D.). The Kuharas Sattī pillar-inscription of his time is dated in V. S. 1327 (A. D. 1270). The names of two successors of Asaladeva, his son Gopaḷa and his grandson Gaṇapati, are known from the Narwar inscription of the last prince, dated in V. S. 1355 (A. D. 1298). Cunningham guessed that Gaṇapati's principality must have been annexed to the Muslim empire during the vigorous reign of 'Alā ud-Dīn (c. A. D. 1296-1316). The family name of Cāhaḍa and his descendants was unknown to Cunningham. It seems now to be revealed by the fortunate discovery of the fragmentary Rataul grant of Mahākumāra Cāhaḍadeva,' found by

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1 Jhain (Ujjain).
2 TNP, Vol. I, pp. 590-91; also fn. 1 on p. 590.
3 TP, Brigg's Tracts, Vol. I, p. 239. Briggs spells the king's name as 'Jahir Dow.'
5 Edited by D. R. Sahni, EI, Vol. XII, pp. 221-24.
diggers at the village of Rataul, Tahsil Baghpur, District Meerut. The preserved portion of the genealogy mentions the Cāhamāna Arṇorāja and Prthvīrāja. The last verse preserved begins with 'Prthvīrājasya.' As the name of Mahākumāra Cāhaḍādēva is engraved on the top of the plate, he was apparently the donor of the grant, and may possibly have been a descendant of Prthvīrāja III. In the annals of Tod, one Cāhaḍādēva is given as the brother of Prthvīrāja. At present it would perhaps be idle to try to guess the exact relationship, but it seems possible that the Cāhaḍādēva of the grant and that of the coins and inscriptions of Narwar are identical, and were probably connected by blood with the Cāhamānas of Sākambharī. Sahni has pointed out the resemblance of the coins of Cāhaḍādēva and the Cāhamānas. I am unable to say what connection, if any, Cāhaḍādēva had with the Ranthambhor line.

(6) Cāhamānas of Naddūla

The existence of this branch, which is generally known as the Nadolīā, and its connection with the Sākambharī family was first established by Kielhorn, on epigraphic foundations by the publication of a number of valuable inscriptions. Since then Bhandarkar has made additions to our stock of knowledge by his supplement to the work of the German scholar. The epigraphic records of this branch trace its genealogy to one Laksāmaṇa, who is said to have established himself at Naddūla. The Nadol grant of Rājaputra Kirtipāla (V. S. 1218)

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2 EI, Vol. XII, p. 224.
informs us that Laksmana was the son of the Cāhamāna king Vākpatirāja of Sākambhari. As Kirtipāla is 11th in lineal descent from Vākpatirāja, the latter is undoubtedly identical with the first prince of that name in the Sākambhari branch, who ruled about the middle of the 10th century A. D. The connection of Laksmana with this branch is also established by the fact that he is called Sākambharindra in the Sundha hill inscription of Cāciga (V. S. 1319). The epithet may mean prince of Sākambharti, as Kielhorn supposed; but it may contain a veiled hint that he was also a claimant for the ancestral throne when his brother Simharāja succeeded their father. This may be one of the reasons which led him to migrate from his ancestral home in search of a new dominion. No inscriptions of Laksmana have yet been published. But Tod refers to two of his records dated in V. S. 1024 (c. 967 A. D.) and 1039 (c. 982 A. D.). An inscription on the Sūraj-pol at Nadol, which is reported to have been erected by him, contains his name, showing the authenticity of the tradition that he really established himself in that town. The fort of Nadol, which bears his name, and which is also said to have been constructed by him, also connects him with Naddula.

Laksmana was succeeded by Sobhita who is stated in the Sundha hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of Himadri-bhava (i.e., Mount Abu.). This probably indicates that he won victories over one of the predecessors of the Paramāra Purnapāla (c. 1042-45 A.D.) The next prince was Sobhita's son Balirāja, who claims to have defeated an army of Muñjarāja, no doubt the Mālava Paramāra of that name (c. 974-95 A. D.). This conflict, as I have already pointed out, must have

1 El, IX, pp. 68 ff.
2 Ibid, pp. 70 ff.
3 Also known as Sobhita, SŚhiya and Sobhita; see El, Vol. IX, pp. 64, 67, 68, 71 and 80.
4 El, Vol. IX, p. 75, V. 7; see fn. 6 on p. 71 for Himadri-bhava-nātha.
5 Ibid., p. 75, V. 8.
taken place when Muñja invaded this area, attacked Medapāta and destroyed Āghāta. ¹ Balirāja was succeeded by his cousin Mahendra,² the son of his paternal uncle Vigrahapāla. This Mahendra has rightly been identified with the prince of that name who is reported to have been protected by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhavaḷa of Hastikunḍi ³ (c. 997 A.D.) when the former was harassed by the (Caulukya) Durlabhāraṇa (c. 110-22 A.D.). According to the Dvārakāya of Hemacandra, Durlabhā and his brother Nāgarāja married two daughters of the Naddūla prince Mahendra. ⁴ This matrimonial alliance was probably intended to put an end to the growing hostility between the two powers, caused no doubt by the expansion of Caulukya power in Marwar. Mahendra was followed by his son Asvapāla. The Siva temple of Āsāleśvara or Āsapāleśvara was probably either founded by him or named after him by one of his successors. ⁵ The next ruler was his son Ahila, who according to the Sundha hill inscription defeated an army of the Gurjara king Bhīma ⁶ (c. 1022-64 A.D.). This shows that the conflict between the two powers was again renewed. Ahila was succeeded by his paternal uncle Apahilla, a son of Mahendra. The hostilities with the Caulukyas apparently continued during his reign. The Sundha hill-inscription ⁷ credits him with having defeated a king named Bhīma, no doubt the Caulukya Bhīma I. In addition to this, he is also reported to have taken Sākambhar, killed Śāḍha, a general (Dvārakādīśa) of the Mālava king Bhoja (c. 1110-55 A.D.) and the Turūṣka. ⁸ The simultaneous struggle with these three powerful neighbours,

² Also called Mahindu, see EI, Vol. IX, p. 75, V. 9.
⁴ The bride of Durlabhāraṇa was named Durlabhādevi. IA, Vol. VI, pp. 112 113; also DHNI, Vol. II, supra, chapter on the Caulukyas, p. 945; and fn. 5 on the same page.
⁵ EI, Vol. XI, p. 40, lina 30; also ibid, p. 66.
their cousins at Sambhar, the Caulukyas of Anhilvada, and the Paramāras of Malwa, must have been a terrible strain on the Cāhamānas of Nadol; and it was not long before they succumbed to one of them. The claim of victory over the Turuṣka, must refer to some minor success which Anahilla possibly achieved when, in 1024 A.D., Maḥmūd of Ghazni was advancing towards Patan on his way to Somnath through the Luni and the Sukri valley. The temple of Śiva Anahileśvara was probably built and named after himself by Anahilla.

Anahilla was succeeded by his son Bālaprasāda. The Sundha hill inscription states that he forced king Bhīma to release from prison a prince named Kṛṣṇadeva.1 Kielhorn has suggested that this Kṛṣṇa is to be identified with the Abu Paramāra Kṛṣṇarāja II, the successor of Purnapāla, for whom we have inscriptions dated from 1060-67 A.D.2 This incident may indicate that the Paramāras of Abu and the Cāhamānas of Naddula were trying to act in concert so as to check the progress of Caulukya imperialism. Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother Jindurāja.3 Only one record, dated in (V.)S. 1132 (c. 1075 A.D.), and discovered in the Kāmesvara Mahādeva temple at Āuwā in the Sojat district of Jodhpur State, has so far been referred to his reign.4 The name of the prince in this Āuwā temple inscription is unfortunately written as Khindrapāla, which in the opinion of some scholars is a mistake for Jindrapāla a variant of the name of Jindurāja. According to the Sundha hill-inscription he 4 fought victoriously at Sandera,5 which place is identified with modern Sanderāo in the Jodhpur State, S. W. of Nadol.6 The name of the defeated prince is however unknown; and in view of the hostile relations of this branch with practically all their powerful neighbours, it is useless to make

1 Ibid., p. 76, V. 18.
3 Also known as Jesaladeva, Jímāda, Jindrarāja and Jindrapāla.
4 Noticed in EI, Vol. XI, pp. 68-89 and fn. 9, p. 68. If the identification is accepted then this must be the earliest inscription of the Naddula Cāhamānas.
5 EI, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 76, V. 20.
any guess. The temple of (Śiva) Jendrarājeśvara was apparently founded by Jindurāja.1 His successor was Prthvīpāla, who is reported to have defeated an army of the Gurjara king Karna2 no doubt the Caulukya prince of that name who ruled in Anhilvada (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). Prthvīpāla was succeeded by his brother Jojalla3 who appears to have continued the successful war against the Caulukyas. The Sundha hill-inscription tells us that he occupied by force Anahillapura, the capital of the Caulukya Karna to which I have referred elsewhere.4

The two following inscriptions are known for his reign:

(1) Sadadi stone-inscription.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgeśvara at Sadadi, in Desuri district, Godwar division, Jodhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing, and refers to the management of the festivals of the gods Lakṣmanasvāmin5 and others. It is dated in (V.)S. 1147 (c. 1091 A.D.), in the reign of Mahārāja Jojaladeva and records a king’s order, that when a festival (yātrā) of any particular god commences, the ladies (pramadākula) attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their Śūlapālas.6

(2) Nadol stone-inscription.—Incised on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol, in the Desuri district, Godwar division, Jodhpur State. Contents almost identical with No. 1; same date. The title of the king is here given as Mahārājā-
dhirāja. It contains 13 lines of writing.7

3 Also known as Yojaka or Jojaladeva.
4 See ibid, chapter on the Caulukyas, p. 965.
5 Probably named after Lakṣmanā, the founder of the Nadol branch.
6 First noticed by Kielhorn, EI, Vol. IX, p. 153; then edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in EI, Vol. XI, pp. 26 ff. The editor suggests that the temple where this inscription was originally attached, was in Nadol.
7 Noticed and edited as No. 1 above.
CĀHAMĀNAS OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA AND GUJARAT 1109

Jojalla was succeeded by his brother Āśārāja, also called Āsarāja, Āśvaraja (II) or Āśvaka. Of his reign we have the three following inscriptions:

(1) Sevadi stone-inscription (i).—Incised on the lintel of the doorway of a subsidiary shrine in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sevadi, a village about 5 miles to the S.E. of Bali, the principal town of the district of the same name in Godwar, Jodhpur State. It contains only 3 lines, and is dated in (V.)S. 1167 (c. 1110 A.D.), when Āśvarāja was the Mahārājādhirāja and Kaṭukarāja, the Yuvarāja. It records a grant of barley equal to one kāraka from every one of the wells (arhaṭa) belonging to the villages of Padrāḍa, Medraṭa, Chechaḍiya and Maddadī for the daily worship of Dharmanāthadeva in the temple of Samvipaṭṭī by the Mahā-Sāhāniya Uppalārka.

(2) Sevadi stone-inscription (ii).—Incised on the lintel of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Māhāvīra at Sevadi. It contains 8 lines of writing, opening with the invocation of the Jain Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha. It then traces the genealogy of Kaṭukarāja from the Cāhamāna Anahila through Jinda and Āśvarāja, his son and grandson, and records that Kaṭukarāja made an annual grant of 8 drāmas on the Śivarātri day in (V.)S. 1172 (c. 1115 A.D.), to the Jain Thallaka, belonging to the Shanderaka-gaccha, for the worship of Śāntinātha in the Khaṭṭaka (niche) of Balādhipa Yaśodeva, the grandfather of the donee. Śāntinātha was apparently

1 According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is connected with the Marathi word Āḥār, a large basket often used in measuring corn.
2 Mod. Chechli, about 4 miles to the north of Sevadi.
3 Mod. Sevadi. The donee was probably established in the temple where the inscription is incised.
4 According to D. R. Bhandarkar it is connected with the deśī word Sāhāṇi, meaning master of stables.
6 Mod. Sanderav, 10 miles N. W. of Bali.
established in the temple of Viññātha (Mahāvīra), which, we are told, was situated in the bhukti¹ of Kaṭukarāja.²

(3) Bali stone-inscription.—Engraved on the lintels of the pillars of the Sabhā-maṇḍapa of the temple of the Bōlā, alias Bahuguṇa-māṭī. It contains 6 lines. It is dated in the victorious reign of M. Jayasimhadeva in (V.) S. 1200 (c. 1143 A.D.) and refers to Mahārāja Āśvaka as 'subsisting on his lotus-feet.'³ On this date the village of Vālahi,⁴ was being enjoyed as grāsa by the Rājāi Tihuṇaka. The grant of 4 drammas by one Bopaṇavastabhana in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahu-ghrṇa and some other endowments which are not quite clear, are recorded.⁵

These three inscriptions give us dates from 1167 to 1200 V.S., corresponding to c. 1110 to 1143 A.D., for Aśārāja. The third inscription shows that he was a feudatory of Jayasimha, no doubt the Caulukya Siddharāja⁷ Jayasimha of Anahilapātaka (c. 1094-1144 A.D.). All his three inscriptions, it will be observed, were found around Bali. When Bhandarkar wrote his paper on this branch he accepted Aśārāja as the successor of Jojalla at Naddula. Since then the publication of the Sevadi grant of Ratnapāla has shown that Naddula was in possession of this prince in V. S. 1176 (c. 1119 A. D.). This inscription was also found at Sevadi, in the Bali district of Godwar. It contains 60 lines, incised on 3 plates. It opens with an obeisance to the god Brahman. Then follows the following genealogy of the donor:—

From a person who issued from the eye of Indra, the lord of the east, the Cāhamāṇa-pamāṇa:

¹ This shows that Kaṭukarāja was still a Yavarāja. The temple of Viññātha is apparently the temple of Mahāvīra where the inscription was found.
² Ed. B. Bhandarkar, Str. XI, pp. 30-32.
³ Mod. Bali, in Godwar.
⁴ Mod. Girā, signifying the landed possession of a ruling tribe.
In this family:

Lakṣmaṇa
Schita...called Dhārāpati
Baliḍa: Then,

Vigrāhpāla
Mahendra
Aṇahilla
Bālaprasāda

Jesaladeva
Prthvīpāla
Ratnapāla

We are then told that when Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapāla was reigning at Nāḍūla, he renewed from his camp at Nāhuragrama when (V.) S. 1176 (c. 1119 A.D.) had elapsed, the grant of the Brāhmaṇa village of Guṇḍakurcā in Sapta-sata-Viṣaya to the Brāhmans resident in that village. The grant was originally made by Mahārāja Jendrarāja.

It is thus clear that Ratnapāla had either ousted his uncle Āśārāja from Nādol sometime between c. 1110 and 1119 A.D., or that he had succeeded his uncle Jojalladeva sometime after c. 1090 A.D. In the former case, which appears more likely, we have an adequate motive for his subordination to Jayasimha. Apparently from his base round Bali he was trying to recover his throne with the assistance of the Caulukyas. The following inscriptions of his son the Mahārājādhirāja Rāyapāla,

1 May mean that in a conflict with the Paramāras, he temporarily occupied Dhārā in Mālava. His son and successor Baliḍa actually claims victory over Mušja, see ante, pp. 1105-06.
2 Mod. Bambakan-ru Nāḍū, in Jalore district, 11 km west of Gundoch.
3 Mod. Gundoch.
4 Same as Jesaladeva of the genealogical table, see ante, p. 1107, fn. 3. The inscription was edited by Ramkarna in 'IJ, Vol. XI, pp. 904-13.
bearing dates from 1189 to 1202 V.S. (c. 1132-1145 A.D.), which were discovered not far from Nadol, seems to indicate that this prince held it during those years.

(1) **Nadrai stone-inscription (i).**—Found engraved on the lintel of two pillars in the *Sabhā-mandapa* of a Jain temple of Ādinātha at Nadrai, 8 miles to the N. W. of Desuri in Gōdwar. It contains 6 lines. It is dated in (V.) S. 1189 (c. 1132 A.D.), and records a grant made by Rudrapāla and Amṛtapāla, sons of the M.-Rāyapāla, in conjunction with their mother the Rājāi Manaladevi. The gift consisted of 2 *palikās* of oil from out of the share due to the royal family from each oil-mill (*ghānaka*). The donee were the (Jain) ascetics in and outside of Naḍūladāgikā.

(2) **Nadrai stone-inscription (ii).**—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Neminātha at Nadrai. It contains 26 lines. After obeisance to Neminātha, it gives the date, (V.) S. 1195 (c. 1138 A.D.), and refers itself to the reign of M.-Rāyapāla over Naḍūladāgikā (Nadrai), and then records the gift of one-twentieth part of the income (*abhāvyā*) derived from the loads leaving or entering Naḍūladāgikā by the Guhila Thakura Rājadeva for the worship of Neminātha. Then comes the sign manual of the donor, Rāu (ta) Rājadeva.

(3) **Nadol stone-inscription (i).**—39 lines, engraved on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol, about 10 miles N. W. of Desuri, in Gōdwar. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1198 (c. 1141 A.D.), in the victorious reign of M.-Rāyapāla, and then refers to 16 Brāhmaṇ representatives, 2 from each of the 8 wards of the town of Dhālopa, with Devāica as intermediary (*madhyaka*), who solemnly promised to find out by means of Caukādikā (*pañcāyat system*) whatever should be lost

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3. *Mod. village of the same name, 4 miles S. W. of Nadol.*
or snatched away from the Bhāta, Bhaṭṭaputra, Daucārika, Kārpaṭika, Vanijjāraka and others on their way. If the goods were lost in any particular ward, the representatives of that ward were to find out the lost property. Mahārāja Rāyapāla supplied the money and arms necessary for carrying on the investigations.¹

(4) Nadlai stone-inscription (iii).—Engraved in the temple of Ādinātha at Nadlai. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 (A.D. 1143) in the reign of M.-Rāyapāla when the Rāuta Rājadeva was the Thakura of Nadulādāgikā. It records some benefactions to the temple of Mahāvira.²

(5) Nadol stone-inscription (ii).—8 lines; found at Nadol. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 (1144 A.D.) in the reign of M.-P. Rāyapāla.³

(6) Nadol stone-inscription (iii).—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Someśvara at Nadol. It is dated in (V.) S. 1200 in the reign of Rāyapāla and records that Bhanana, a Karnāṭa Rāṇaka freed the dancing girls (pramadākula) of all the gods of Usapappattana from dāsa-bandhā, which was possibly a kind of tax equal to one-tenth of their income.⁴

(7) Nadlai stone-inscription (iv).—5 lines engraved on a lintel in the temple of Ādinātha. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1200 (c. 1143 A.D.), in the reign of M.-Rāyapāla, and records that Rāuta Rājadeva made a grant of one vimśopaka⁵ from the pāilās⁶ accruing to him and 2 palikas from the pulas of oil due to him from every ghānakā.⁷

(8) Nadlai stone-inscription (v).—5 lines, on the same lintel as No. 4. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1202 (c. 1145).

³ Noticed by Kielhorn in EI, Vol. IX, p. 159.
⁴ Noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in ASI, WC, 1908-09, p. 45.
⁵ Probably a kind of coin.
⁶ A kind of weight 4 pāilā = 1 pāguli; 5 pāguli = 1 māṇḍa; 4 māṇḍa = 1 sēr; 2 sēr = 1 mar.
⁷ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XI, pp. 41-42.
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1145 A. D.) in the reign of M. Rāyapāla, and when the Rāuta Rajadeva was the Thakkura of Nadula-dāgikā.¹

These eight inscriptions, as we have said, show that during the period c. 1132-45 A. D. Rāyapāla held Nadol and the neighbouring districts. The relationship of Rāyapāla with Ratnapāla (c. 1119 A. D.) is indicated by a Mandor stone-inscription² which gives the following genealogy of one Sahajapāla:

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Prthvipāla
  \__________/
  |          |
  |          |
  |          |
  |          |
  \__________/
    Aśvarāja
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The identification of this Rāyapāla with the Rāyapāla of Nadol shows that he was probably the immediate successor of his father Ratnapāla. The efforts of Aśvarāja (c. 1110-43 A.D.) to recover Nadol therefore appear to have been futile. But the Sevvati stone-inscription of his son Kaṭudeva³ dated in (Simha) Samvatsarta 31 (c. 1143 A.D.) shows that the latter succeeded in capturing the ancestral seat, at least for some time between c. 1141 and 1143 A.D. This inscription was found incised on a piece of stone surmounted by the figure of a cow and her calf at Sevvati, near a house in front of the Jaina temple of Mahāvira. It contains 11 lines. The record is mutilated, but gives the date (Simha) Samvatsarta 31, when M. Kaṭudeva was reigning at Naḍula and while Šamipāṭi was being enjoyed by (his son) the Yuvarāja Jayasthīha.⁴ The use of the Simha era seems to indicate that Kaṭudeva was, like his father, under the influence of the Caulukyas. But the fact that he omits the name of his sovereign lord Jayasimha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) may indicate a tendency to

¹ Edited by same, ibid, pp. 42-43.
² Noticed in EI, Vol. XI, p. 69, fn. 1; also ibid, p. 307.
³ Same as Kaṭukarāja of the records of Aṇḍrāja; see ante, p. 1109.
⁴ Edited by D. R. Bhardacar, ibid, pp. 33-34.
assert his independence. If this was so, it met with immediate punishment; during the period V. S. 1203 to 1218 (c. 1146-61) not a single inscription of the Cāhamānas has been discovered in Godwar, and instead of them we find the records of one Vaijalladeva (V.S. 1210-1216), the Dandanayaka of the Caulukya Kumārapāla (1144-73 A.D.) ruling at Nadulā (Nadol). It has been suggested that the Cāhamānas were supplanted for their partiality towards the Sākambhāri prince Arporāja (c. 1139 A.D.), with whom Kumārapāla was on hostile terms. In any case, the inscriptions of the Caulukya sovereign and those of his officer clearly testify that the power of the Nadol Cāhamānas was for some time in abeyance, if not suppressed. But by the year A.D. 1161 they again appear in possession of their ancestral capital. The course of events seems to be indicated by the following inscriptions of Alhanadeva, also known as Alanadeva, and Aihādana, the son of the Naddulā Cāhamāna Aśārāja (1110-43 A.D.):

(1) Kiradu stone-inscription.—Found in a Saiva temple in the ruins of Kiradu near Hathma, about 15 miles N. N.W. of Barmere, the principal town of the Mallani district, Jodhpur State. It contains 21 lines, opening with the date (V.) S. 1209 (c. 1152 A.D.), when M.-P.-Umāpati-vara-labda-prasāda-praudha-pratāpa Kumarapāla (Kumārapāla) was reigning and Mahādeva was carrying on the business of the seal. We are then told that (Mahā) rāja Alhanadeva, who had obtained Kirātakūpa, Lātarhada and

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1 Also named Vaijā and Vayajaladeva. He was also a Cāhamāna but his relationship with the Nadol branch is unknown, see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas, pp. 981, 1000 and 1003.
3 Prof. Bhandarkar suggests that Rayapāla may have been supplanted for this reason by Kumārapāla, EI, Vol. XI, p. 70.
4 Note his inscriptions at Kiradu, Pall, Rataopur and Bhatnath (1303-11 V. S.); see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas, pp. 978 ff.
5 Modern Kiradu.
6 Modern Raddhada, which was the original name of the district round Nagor-Gundha in Mallani, Marwar.
Sivā through the favour of his sovereign (prabhu), on the above date, which was a Sivarātri day, issued injunctions to the mahājanas, tāmbulikas, and other subjects forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the 8th, 11th, and 14th days of both fortnights of every month in the three towns mentioned above, on pain of capital punishment. This edict, which is called Amāri-rūḍhi (edict of non-slaughter), then specified a scale of punishment for Brāhmans, priests, ministers and others. It was issued by the king with the approval of Mahārājaputras Kelhāna and Gajasimha.1

(2) Nadol grant (i).—Found at Nadol. It contains 38 lines, opening with Om namaḥ Savaṇjñāya and a verse addressed to Mahāvīra. It then records the genealogy of the Cāhamānas of Naddūla from Lakṣmana to Ālhanadeva, omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla. In the formal part it registers that Mahārāja Ālhanadeva of Naddūla in (V.) Sam. 1218 (c. 1161 A.D.), after worshipping the sun and Iśāna and making gifts to Brāhmans and gurus, granted to the (Jain) temple of Mahāvīra in the Saṇderaka-gaccha at the holy place (Mahāsthāna) of Naddūla a monthly sum of 5 drāmmas to be paid from the custom-house (Sukha-maṇḍapīkā) in the Naddūla-talapada. The Dūtaka of the grant was the Mahāmātya Lakṣmidhara of the Prāgvāta race. It was composed and written by Śrīdhara, and ends with the sign-manual,2

(3) Nadol grant (ii).—Found at Nadol; 34 lines, incised on two plates, opening with Svasti and invocations, to Brahman, Śrīdhara (Viṣṇu), and Saṅkara, who always free from passion, are famous in the world as Jinas. It then traces the genealogy of the Naddūla Cāhamānas from Vākpatirāja of Śākambhari to Rājakula Ālhanadeva (omitting Ratnapāla and Rāyapāla) and his three sons Kumāra Kelhanadeva, Gajasimha and Kīrtipāla

1 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XI, pp. 43-46.
by his Rāṣṭrauda Queen Analladevi. We are then told that Ālhaṇa and Kelhaṇa were pleased to give to the Rājaputra Kirtipāla 12 villages, appertaining to Naddulai (mod. Nadrai in Godwar). In (V.) S. 1218 (A.D. 1160), after bathing at Naddula and worshipping the Sun and Maheśvara, Kirtipāla granted a yearly sum of two drammās from each of his 12 villages to the Jīna Mahāvīra at Naddulai.¹

(4) Jhamvarā stone-inscription.—Found inscribed on a pillar of the inner shrine of an old Vaiṣṇava temple lying outside the village of Jhamvara, about 12 miles to the west of Jodhpur. Contains 15 lines of corrupt Sanskrit, opening with date (V.) S. 1219 (c. 1162 A.D.). It mentions the Mahāraṇa-putra Gajasimha in connection with the city of Māṇḍavyapura (mod. Mandor). It records that his general the Saulunik Jasadhavala, son of Dāmodara, granted to the god Vāsudeva one dramma from the income of his generalship of Jhamara (mod. Jhamvara). In its concluding portion, the epigraph records the grant of one kalaša of oil from the oil-mills for lighting a light in the temple by the same donor. The grant (together with another record of the time of Kelhaṇa) were made in the presence of four representatives of the 4 padaras of Māṇḍavyapura.²

Of these four inscriptions the first shows Ālhaṇa as a feudatory of the Caukulka Kumārapāla. In the Sundhahill inscription he is stated to have aided the Gurjara king in putting down disturbances in the mountainous parts of Saurāṣṭra (Girau Saurāṣṭre).³ It was probably for this faithful service to his sovereign that he got a small principality in the region now known as Mallani. His second inscription shows that by the year 1161 A.D. he had so much pleased Kumārapāla as to be restored to his ancestral principality of Nadal. Though his grant does not mention

¹ Edited by Klausner. EI, Vol. IX, pp. 66-70.
² Edited by Tassiter, JASB, 1915, pp. 101-02.
³ St, IX, pp. 72 and 77, Va. 52-33; also Nadal grant of Kirtipāla, EI, Vol. IX, pp. 67 and 69, V. 5. See also DHNI, Vol. II, supra, chapter on the Caukulakas, p. 992.
Kumārapāla’s name, we must assume that Ālhaṇa still continued to be subservient to him. His humble title of Mahārāja is inconsistent with sovereign authority. This recovery of Nadol must have occurred sometime between V. S. 1216, the last date of Vaijalladeva in Godwar, and V. S. 1218, the date of Ālhaṇa’s Nadol grant.

Ālhaṇa was succeeded by Kelhaṇa, his son by his queen Annalladevi,1 a Raṣṭrauda (Rāṣṭrakūṭa) princess probably of the Hathundi branch in Godwar. The following inscriptions are known for Kelhaṇa’s reign:

(1) Bannera grant (i).—A single plate, reported to have been found at Bannera in the Jodhpur State, about 7 miles from Erinpura railway station, while the foundations of a building were being dug. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1220 (c. 1163 A. D.), in the reign of Kelhaṇa, son of M.-Ālhaṇadeva. It registers a grant of land by Ajayasimha, son of Mahārājaputra Kumārasītha, to a Brāhman named Nārāyaṇa at a place called Koreṭaka,2 the Dūtaka being Cāmunḍarāja. It ends with the sign-manual of Rājaputra Kirtipāla.3

(2) Sanderāv stone-inscription (i).—4 lines, engraved on a lintel in the Sabhā-mandapa of the temple of Mahāvira at Sanderāv, about 10 miles north-west of Bali, in Jodhpur State. It is dated in V. S. 1221 (c. 1164 A.D.), in the reign of Kelhaṇadeva, and records that Annalladevi, the queen-mother (Maitr-rajñīti), granted one plough (hāela) of land4 to the Tirthaṅkara Mahāvira, Mūla-nāyak of the Śaṅderaka-gaccha.5

(3) Bannera grant (ii).—Found as No. (i) above ; 13 lines, incised on one side of a single plate. It is dated in V. S. 1223 (c. 1166 A. D.) in the reign of M.-Kelhaṇadeva, the ruler of Naḍūla-Mandala, and registers the grant of a well situated

1 The same as Analadevi.
2 Mod. Korta, a village, some distance to the north of Bannera.
4 As much as could be ploughed in a single day by one plough.
5 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. IX, pp. 46-47.
in the property of Rājaputra Ajayarāja in Koramtaka\(^1\) to the donee Nārāyaṇa. The sign-manual is that of M.-Kelhaṇadeva.\(^2\)

(4) Bāmnera grant (iii).—Found as No. (i) above. It refers itself to the reign to M.-Kelhaṇadeva, and registers the grant of a well (ṭhīko) to the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa at Koreṇṭakasthāna by Ajayasīha, son of Rāja Kumārasīha, on the holy occasion of the Deva-utthāpani-ekādaśī. It is undated.\(^3\)

(5) Nadol stone-inscription.—9 lines, engraved on the Suraj-pol in the centre of the village of Nadol. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1323 (c. 1167 A.D.) in the reign of (the Cāhamāna) Kelhaṇa reigning at Naḍūla. The last 5 lines of the record is rather illegible but it contains the date (V.) S. 1039 for Lākhaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa), founder of the Naddūla branch of the Cāhamānas.\(^4\)

(6) Jhamvara stone-inscription.—10 lines, engraved on a pillar of the inner shrine of an old Vaiṣṇava temple, outside the village of Jhamvara, 12 miles to the west of Jodhpur. It is written in corrupt Sanskrit and opens with the date (V.) S. 1227 (c. 1171 A.D.) in the reign of M.-P.-Kelhaṇadeva at Naḍūla, the chief town in the Saptasāṭa-bhāmi. Next it mentions the rule of Mahārājaputra Cāmuṇḍarāja over Māṇḍavyapura. Lastly it registers the grant of one dramma made by the Rāṣṭāuda Nāmaṇḍa from the amount of some cess at Jhāmara (mod. Jhamvara), one the four pādras in the bhāmi of Māṇḍavyapura.\(^5\)

(7) Ndalai stone-inscription.—Found near the temple of Mahādeva, about a mile south-west of Ndalai. It contains

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\(^1\) Mod. Kota, north of Bāmnera.

\(^2\) Edited by Garde, EI, Vol. XIII, pp. 298-10. Kielhorn probably notices this grant in ibid, Vol. IX, p. 61, fn. 1, from a rubbing.

\(^3\) Edited by Garde, EI, Vol. XIII, pp. 210-11.

\(^4\) Noticed by D. B. Bhandarkar, ASI, W.C., 1908-09, p. 45.

\(^5\) Edited by Tessitori, JASS, 1916, Vol. XII (N.S.), pp. 103-04. Saptasāṭa-bhāmi of this record is the same as Saptasāṭa-reṣṭya of the Serādli grant of Rasnapāla, see supra, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1111. According to the editor "the expression designated the whole of the territory then held by the Cāhamānas; but I would like to qualify this by the Naddūla branch only."
3 lines, which open with the date (V.) S. 1228 (c. 1171 A.D.), during the reign of Kumévarapála (Kumárapála), while Kelhaña was ruling at Naḍúlya, and the Ráṇā Lakhmaṇa at Varipadýaka, and Anasíha was the Thákura of Sónáñá. It records that the manḍapa, akṣasáma and damá of the temple of Bhivaḍéśvara were constructed by Páhíni, son of the Sátrudhára Mahaḍúśa, at a cost of 330 drammas.¹

(8) Lalrai stone-inscription (i)—Found amongst the ruins of the Jain temple at Lalrai, 5 miles south-east of Bali. It contains 18 lines of damaged and fragmentary writing. It is dated in (V.) S. 1233 (c. 1176 A.D.), when Kelhañadeva was ruling at Naḍúla, and states that the Rájaputras Lakkaṇapála and Abhayapála, the owners (bhoktr) of Sínánavá and sons of Kírtipála, made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahibaladeví, in the presence of the village pácákula, for celebrating the festival of the god Sántinátha. The grant consisted of barley weighing one háraka as used in (the country of Gurjaratrá, from the well (aragháta) of the village Bhádiyáuva.²

(9) Lalrai stone-inscription (ii).—Found as No. 8 above; contains 13 lines. It is dated in (V.) S. 1233, and speaks of the Rájaputras Lákkaṇapála and Abhayapála as the bhoktris of Sámnánaka. It then records that the cultivators Bhivaḍá, Ásadhara and others granted for their spiritual merit four Svis of barley from (the field called) Khádisíra to the Tirthánkara Sántinátha in connection with the festivals of the Gujars.³

(10) Sanderav stone-inscription (ii).—Found as No. 2 above; incised on a pillar in the Sabha-manḍapa of the temple. It is dated in (V.) S. 1236 (c. 1179 A.D.), in the reign of M.-Kelhañadeva of Naḍúla, and records the gift of 4 columns and a house to the Tirthánkara Pársvánátha, worshipped at Sándérraka (Sanderav), in the Bhúkti of the queen Jálhaña ·by Rálha

and Pālhā. Those residing in the house must pay 4 drāēlas to the God.¹

(11) Paladi stone-inscription.—Found at Paladi in the Sirohi State. It is dated in the reign of Kelhāna in V. S. 1249 (c. 1192 A. D.).²

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1220 to 1249 V. S., corresponding to c. 1163-1192 A.D. Inscription No. 7 shows that Kelhāna was in c. 1171 A.D. still a feudatory of the Cau-lukya Kumārapāla (1144-73 A. D.). During his rule, as in the reign of his father, his brother Kīrtipāla apparently shared in the administration of the kingdom. This is evident from the Nadol grant of Kīrtipāla dated in V. S. 1218 (c. 1160 A. D.) and the Bāmnnera grant (i) of Kelhāna dated in V. S. 1220 (c. 1163 A. D.). The second inscription ends with the sign-manual of Kīrtipāla. The Sundha hill-inscription states that Kelhāna defeated the ‘Southern king Bhilima,’ who has rightly been identified with the Devagiri Yādāya Bhillama (c. 1187-91 A. D.), whose Gadag inscription is dated in A. D. 1191.³ The dates on the records of Kelhāna show that he was also a contemporary of Mu‘izz ud-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī (1173-1206 A.D.). He may therefore possibly have come into conflict with Mu‘izz ud-Dīn in A. H. 574 (A. D. 1178), when the latter advanced from Multan through Rajputana on his way to Gujarat.⁴ Niĝām ud-Dīn relates that Mu‘izz ud-Dīn marched through the desert before he was met and defeated by the Cau-lukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A. D.).⁵ The Prthvarājā-vijaya actually states that before the Muslim invader was defeated by the Gujarāt king, he took possession of Nadūla, and that all the princes on his route of advance took shelter in forts.⁶

² Noticed in El, Vol. XI, p. 73.
⁵ T4, Trana, p. 96.
⁶ JRAS, 1913, pp. 275-79; see also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas, p. 1066.
Kelhanā's conflict with the Muslims is further attested by the Sundha hill-inscription which states that the Cāhamāna prince, "after destroying the Turuškas, erected a golden toraṇa, like a diadem for the abode of the holy Someṣa."

Apparently then Kelhanā may have won some success against the hosts of Mu'izz ud-Dīn when the latter was disastrously defeated by the Caukulya Bhima II and retreated to his capital amidst considerable difficulties. We may assume that Kelhanā recovered his capital after the departure of the Turuškas. But it seems that he was not allowed to end his days in peace. Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak, the general of Mu'izz ud-Dīn after his capture of Ajmer in c. 1194 A.D. from the Cāhamāna Harirāja, came into hostile conflict with the Caukulya Bhima II. In the first battle, which took place in A.H. 591 (A.D. 1195), Quṭb ud-Dīn was severely defeated and driven back into the fort of Ajmer. After receiving reinforcements he again advanced towards the Gujarat frontier from Ajmer in A.H. 593 (A.D. 1197). Ḥasan Nīgāmī relates that when "he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandūl, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musalmāna and had collected under their leaders Rāī Karan and Dārābaras in great numbers at the foot of the Mount Abu and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested the identification of these two generals of Bhima II with the Abu Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa (c. 1164-1219 A.D.) and the Naddula Cāhamāna Kelhanā. Whether we accept the identification of "Rāī Karan" with Kelhanā or not, it is certain that after the victory of Quṭb ud-Dīn the position of the Cāhamānas became increasingly difficult, and before long they were compelled to abandon Nadol and seek a new base for their struggle with the Muslims. For all practical purposes I am

1 Eli, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77, V. 34.
disposed to regard Kelhana as the last prince of this line who ruled from Nadol. Bhandarkar has however pointed out an inscription of his son Jayatatha (Jayantasimha) dated in V. S. 1251 (c. 1194 A.D.), which is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jagesvara at Sadad in the Desuri district of Jodhpur, and which according to him 'originally belonged to some temple at Nadol.' In this inscription the prince is given the epithet Maharaadjadhira. Another inscription discovered in Bhinmal gives to the Maharaajaputra Jayatatha the date V. S. 1239 (c. 1182 A.D.). If we are to accept Bhandarkar's conclusion that Jayatatha succeeded his father at Nadol sometime before 1194 A.D., we must give up his suggestion that "Rai Karan" is the same as "Kelhana," for the former was one of the leaders of the Caukukya forces in 1197 A.D., and is reported by Hasan Nigam to have escaped from the battle-field after the defeat of his army. The subsequent history of the descendants of Kelhana and Jayantasimha is not clear. In V. S. 1283 (c. 1226 A.D.) we find the region now known as the Bali district in Godwar under the Cahama (Cahamana) Dhan-dhaladeva, son of Visadhavala who was a feudatory of the (Caukukya) Bhyivadeva (Bhima II). It is at present uncertain whether these two rulers had any connection with Kelhana and Jayantasimha.

(7) Cahamanas of Javalipura.

The Cahamanas of this branch, who are generally known as the Sonigaras, trace their descent to Kirtipala, also known as Kitu. He was a brother of Kelhana, and, as I have noticed, already enjoyed some control in the administration of his father and brother. His Nadol grant, dated in

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1 El, Vol. XI, p. 73 and fn. 2 on the same page.
4 Sometimes spelt Sogir, or Sonagar. The name is said to be derived from Songar (Suwarpagiri), the name of the hill fort of Jal; El, Vol. XI, p. 79.
V. S. 1218 (A.D. 1160), which was issued during his father's reign, shows that he at that date held 12 villages, appertaining to Naddūlá (mod. Nadlai in Godwar). The Sundha hill-inscription tells us that 'he defeated a Kiratakūṭa chief named Āsala and at Kāsahrađa routed an army of the Turuška.' 1 Kiratakūṭa has been identified with modern Kiradu, a small village about 16 miles N.N.W. of Barmer in the Māllani district of Jodhpur State. In V. S. 1235 (c. 1178 A.D.) Kiradu region was under the rule of Madanabrahmadeva, a feudatory of the Caułukya Bhośma II. 2 It is uncertain whether this Āsala was related to Madanabrahma. The other place, Kāsahrađa, where Kirtipāla is said to have defeated 'an army of the Turuška,' has been identified by Bhandarkar with Kayadram, or Kasadram, a village in the Sirohi State, at the foot of Mt. Abu. 3 The same scholar has also suggested that this conflict with the Turuškas was the engagement which Quṭb ud-Dīn fought with the Caułukya armies in A.D. 1197. It is however not unlikely that Kirtipāla's success was achieved in the earlier expeditions which was undertaken by Mu'izz ud-Dīn in A.D. 1178 when the Muslims were defeated. The Sundha hill-inscription, after referring to his victory over the Turuškas, makes the significant statement that 'as ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla' Kirtipāla took up his residence at Jāvālipura. 4 This shows that Kirtipāla, who appears to have died sometime before 1182 A.D., and was therefore a contemporary of his brothers Kelhaṇa 5 (c. 1163 to 92 A.D.), removed his seat of residence to Jaler during the latter's life-time. If so, then his claim to have taken up his residence at Jaler as 'ruler of the kingdom of Naddūla' may indicate that he

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1 EI, Vol. XI, pp. 72 and 77, V. 38.
3 EI, Vol. XI, p. 72; see also Vol. IX, p. 73.
4 EI, Vol. IX, pp. 72 and 77. V. 38. Jāvālipura (sometimes spelt Jāhālipura) is mod Jaler.
5 The Sundha hill-inscription omits Jayantasimha; EI, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.
was a claimant for the throne of Nāḍōl. According to Muhamota Nainsī he took Jalar from the Paramāras.¹ An unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription seems to indicate that Kirtipāla temporarily ousted the Medapāta Guhila Sāmantaśimha sometime between c. 1171 and 1179 A.D., but was himself driven out of Mewar by Sāmantaśimha’s brother Kumāra with the assistance of the king of Gujarat.² It is possible that these incidents took place after his capture of Jalar.

Kirtipāla was succeeded by his son Samarasiṃha. He had two other sons, viz., Lākhanaḍāla and Abhayapāla and a daughter named Rudaladevi who built a temple of Siva at Jalar. The two following inscriptions of the reign of Samarasiṃha are so far known:

(1) Jalar stone-inscription (i).—7 lines, incised on two lintels of an old mosque, now used as the topkhānā, and opens with an invocation to Nābheya (Ṛṣabhanātha). It is dated in (V.) S. 1239 (c. 1182 A.D.), in the reign of Mahārāja Samarasiṃhadeva, son of Mahārāja Kirtipāla and grandson of Mahārāja Ālahaṇa. It records that a mandapa was constructed by the Seth Yasovīra of the Śrīmāla family who was joined in this work by his brother and all the members of the Gosthi.³

(2) Jalar stone-inscription (ii).—Incised on a lintel in the second storey of the same mosque as above. It contains the statement that the Kuvara (Kumāra)-cīhāra was rebuilt by the Bhāṇḍārī Yasovīra in accordance with the orders of the Cāhāmāna Mahārāja Samarasiṃha in (V.) S. 1242 (c. 1185 A.D.).⁴

² See infra, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Guhila-putras. The identification of Kiltu of this inscription with the founder of the Jalar branch of the Cāhāmānas was first made by Ojha, HH, II, pp. 401 ff.
³ Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, EI, Vol. XI, pp. 89-84.
These inscriptions give the dates c. 1182 and 1185 A.D. for Samarasimha, and show, as I have already noticed, that his father Kirtipala must have established himself in Jalor sometime before 1182 A.D. and must have died sometime before that date. According to the Sundha hill-inscription, Samarasimha built extensive ramparts on the Kanakacala or 'golden hill,' and founded the town of Samarapura. The latter place has not yet been identified; but Ojha's suggestion that Kanakacala is the name of the fort of Jalor is generally accepted. This conclusion is supported by the phrase Sri-Jabali-puriya-kakanca-giri-gadhasyopari which occurs in Samarasimha's second inscription. Kielhorn identified this Samarasimha with the Cahu(mana)-rana(ka) Samarasiha, whose daughter Liladevi was married to the Caulukya Bhima II.

According to the Sundha hill-inscription Samarasimha was succeeded by his son Udayasimha. But an Abu inscription speaks of Manavasimha, son of Samarasimha, as the eldest brother of Udayasimha. Possibly this brother preceded Udayasimha as ruler of Jalor. The Devda (Deora) branch of the Chamanas trace their descent to Manavasimha, who is also known as Mahanasimha. From his grandson Vija Da-Dasasyandana, known in the bardic chronicles as Vija Da and Devaraja, the name of this section of the Chamanas is said to be derived. The Abu inscription noticed above is built into the wall outside the porch of the Acalasvara temple on Mt. Abu. It contains 32 lines, and gives the following genealogy of Manavasimha's descendants:

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1 El, Vol. IX, p. 73.
2 Locally known as Sonalgarh or 'golden fort.'
3 El, Vol. XI, p. 85, line 1; ibid, p. 74.
7 Ibid, fn.
8 I omit the names of the predecessors of Samarasisinha given in the inscription.
1. Samarasimha

2. Mānavasimha

3. Udayasimha.

4. Pratāpa

5. Vijāda, also called Daśasyandana (i.e., Daśaratha)

6. Lāvanyakarna

7. Lundha, also called Lakṣmana Lūnavarman
   Lundigadeva, Lundiga, Lundbhāgara and Lundigāgara.

It is dated in V. S. 1377 (c. 1321 A.D.), in the reign of Mohārajakula Lundigāgara, who resided at (Vū?)hundha, belonging to Candrāvatī; and it definitely states that Lundiga 'conquered and ruled all countries particularly Candrāvatī and the divine territory of Arbuda'. I have already pointed out elsewhere that it was about this period that Lundiga and his kinsmen supplanted the Paramāras of Candrāvatī. The Devdā Cāhamānas are up to the present day the rulers of Abu (Sirohi State).

The Devdā branch was probably founded by Vijāda-Devarāja some time after the succession of Udayasimha about 1262 V. S. (c. 1205 A. D.). The history of the Sonigara branch continued uninterrupted through Udayasimha and his descendants. The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Udayasimha:

(1) Bhinmal stone-inscription (i).—14 lines, incised on the upper face of the lower square section of a pillar (of the temple

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1. Edited by Kielhorn, RI, IX, pp. 79 ff.

Lāvanyakara Lūniga (1816-21 A.D.)

Tejasimha (c. 1331-36 A.D.)

Kānhaśadeva (c. 1338 A.D.)

Tihupāka
of Jagṣvāmi) at Bhinmal. It opens with Om namaḥ Śūryāya. Then comes the date, (V.) S. 1262 (c. 1205 A. D.), in Sṛmālā, in the reign of M.-Udayasimhā, during the term of office of the Paṅc committee consisting of Aśvapati and others. It records the grant of 40 drammās by Viḷhāka, the Veṭaka in the treasury of the god Jayasvāmi.¹

(2) Bhinmal stone-inscription (ii).—8 lines, incised on a pillar on the west face of the third right-hand pillar in Bārāji’s rest-house at Bhinmal. It is dated in (V.) S. 1274 (c. 1218 A. D.), in the reign of the same as in No. 1, during the term of office of the paṅc consisting of Saśa Depāla and others. The inscription is damaged, but records a grant for the offering of a naivedya to the god Jagasvāmi.²

(3) Bhinmal stone-inscription (iii).—15 lines, damaged, on the south face of the fifth right pillar on the right hand of Bārāji’s rest-house. It is dated in (V.) S. 1305 (c. 1249 A. D.), in the reign of the same as in No. 1 during the term of office of the paṅc consisting of Mahaśa Gajasītha. It records the grant of 50 drammās to the treasury of the god Jagasvāmi.³

(4) Bhinmal stone-inscription (iv).—25 lines, in the walled enclosure of Nilakaṇṭha Mahādeva, about 3 miles from the town of Bhinmal, in the Jaswantpura district of Jodhpur State. It is dated in (V.) S. 1306 (c. 1249 A. D.) in the reign of the same as in No. (1) during the term of office of the Mahanta Gajasimha and others. It registers two gifts of 55 drammās to the god Jagatsvāmi.⁴

The inscriptions noticed above range from 1262 to 1306 V. S., corresponding to c. 1206-1249 A. D. Udayasimhā apparently was the most successful ruler of this branch. The Sundha hill-inscription⁵ tells us that he ruled over Naddulā,⁶

² Edited ibid, pp. 478-79, No. VIII.
³ Edited ibid, pp. 476-77, No. IX.
⁵ SI, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 79, V. 43.
⁶ Mod. Nadol. This place as well as others mentioned on the next page are in Marwar.
Jāvālipura, Māṇḍavyapura, Vāgghaṭamerry, Sūrācaṇḍa, Rāṣṭahra, Kheḍa, Rāmasainy, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura, Satyapura and other places. This list of places indicates that his territories extended from Sanchor and Jalor in the south to Mandor in the north, including Nadol, the old seat of his ancestors. The Sündha hill-inscription further informs us that he curbed the pride of the Turūṣka, was not conquered by the Gurjara kings and put an end to the Sīndhu-rāja. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly conjectured that he is identical with the Marwāri Udayasimha who is mentioned in the Hammīra-mada-mardana as assisting the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavala (c. 1219-44 A.D.) against a Muslim invader. Sīndhu-rāja has also been identified by the same scholar with the Lāṭa Cāhamāna Sīndhu-rāja, whose son Satigrāmarāja is represented in the same drama as in league with the Yādava Siṁhaha (c. 1210-47 A.D.) and the Parāmara Devapāla (c. 1218-36 A.D.) against Vīradhavala. The conflict of Udayasimha, who extended his territories as far north as Mandor, with the Turūṣkas was inevitable. I have already suggested that the invasion of the Mīlacchikāra in the Hammīra-mada-mardana was probably the military campaign of the Delhi Sultaṇ Ilutumīsh (1211-36 A.D.), which he undertook in A. H. 624 (c. 1226 A. D.) and in which he

1 Mod. Jalor.
2 Mod. Mandor, north of the Jodhpur town.
3 Mod. Barmer in Mallani.
4 Mod. Surasand.
5 Mod. Kher, between Tilwara and Balotra.
6 Mod. Ramsen.
7 Mod. Bhimtal.
8 Mod. Ratampura.
9 Mod. Sanchor.
10 EJ, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 78; V. 46.
11 EJ, Vol. XII, p. 76; see also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1031.
12 Ibid.; see also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas, p. 1031. The word Sīndhu-rāja may also mean king of Sīndhu which country was not very far from the boundary of Udayasimha’s kingdom.
captured 'Mandawar (Mandor) within the limits of the Siwālikh (territory).’ But Udayasimha appears to have also come into conflict with the Delhi Sultān earlier than that date. Ḥasan Nigāmi relates that sometime between 1211 and 1216 A.D. ‘they represented to his Majesty (Shams ud-Dīn) that the inhabitants of the fort of Jālewar (Jalor) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, ‘and once or twice mention of evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne.’ Shams ud-Dīn accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by ‘a number of the pillars of the states such as Ruku ud-Dīn Hamza, ‘Īzz ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Nasīr ud- in Mardān Shāh, Nasīr ud-Dīn ‘Alī and Badr ud-Dīn Saukar- tīgīn,’ valiant men and skilful archers, took the way to Jālewar... By reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design. ‘Uḍī Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewar, an extremely strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror.’ When the place was invested by Shams ud-Dīn, Uḍī Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his foot were demolished. He came ‘with his head and his feet naked and placed his forehead on the earth ’ and was received with favour. The Sultān granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rāi presented respectfully an hundred of camels and twenty horses in the name of tribute and after the custom of service. The Sultān then returned to Delhi.‘

But the struggle still went on, and about 1226 A.D. Iltutmish undertook another campaign, in which he is reported to have captured Mandor, which according to the Sundha hill-inscription

was one of Udayasimha’s possessions. According to the Sundha inscription, Udayasimha was a scholar, conversant with the great works of Bharata and others, and built two Siva temples at Javālipura. His queen was Prahlādanadevi who bore him two sons Cācigadeva and Cāmunḍarāja. A Bhinmal inscription shows that Udayasimha had another son named Vāhādasiṃha, while the Jain writers indicate that he had also a daughter who was married to Vīrama, the eldest son of the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavala. A MS. of Rāmacandra’s Nirbhayabhīma-vyāyoga is dated in (V.) S. 1306, in the victorious reign of Mahārājakoḷa Udayasimhadeva. At the end of his work entitled Vīcekavilāsa, Jina-deva tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of Dhanapāla of the Vāyaḍa family, who was looked upon as son by Devapāla, the treasury minister of Udayasimha of the Cāhavāna dynasty and the lord of Javālipura.

According to the Sundha inscription Udayasimha was succeeded by Cācigadeva, also known as Cāca. This record describes Cāciga as “destroying the roaring Gūrjara lord Vīrama, hating the enemy Salya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking Pātuka, depriving of his colour Saṅga and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara.” Kielhorn has suggested the identification of the ‘Gūrjara lord Vīrama’ with the elder son of the Dholka Caulukya Vīradhavala, who according to the Jain writers Rājaśekhara and Harṣa Gaṇi was prevented from succeeding his father Vīradhavala by the intrigues of the minister Vastupāla. As these writers assert that he was

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1. **PIs., Bharata’s Nāṭya-śāstra**.
2. **EI, Vol. IX, pp. 73 and 78**.
4. **IA, Vol. VI, p. 190**.
6. **EI, Vol. X, p. 76; Bhandarkar’s Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1883-84, p. 156**.
7. **EI, Vol. IX, pp. 75 and 78, v. 50**.
poisoned at his father-in-law Udayasimhã's court at Jãvâlipura, and as Vitrâdavâla died when Udayasimha was still reigning, it has been suggested that Cãciga, may have brought about his death during his father's reign. The other princes cannot be satisfactorily identified.

The following inscriptions are known for the reign of Cãciga:

(1) Sundha hill stone-inscription.—Found on the Sundha hill, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura, in the district of the same name in Jodhpur State. It contains 50 lines of writing. The record opens with two verses invoking the moon on the forehead of Sambhu (Siva) and Pârvatî, and then traces the genealogy of the family from 'the hero Cãhamâna, a source of great joy to the Rśi Vatsa' to Cãciga. It is a praśasti of Cãciga composed by the Jain Sûri Jayamañgala, and is dated in (V.) S. 1319 (A. D. 1262). Cãciga is stated to have remitted certain taxes at Srîmâla, granted funds at Râmasainâya for the worship of the god Vigrâhâditya, and visited the Sugandhâdri, where he established a mañdopa at the temple of the goddess Cãmundâ, known by the name of Aghaṭeśvarî.

(2) Kareda stone-inscription.—Found at Kareda in Mewar: It is dated (V.) S. 1326 (c. 1269 A.D.) in the reign of Cãcigadeva.

(3) Bhinmal stone-inscription (i).—Incised 'on the south face of the lower square section of the western side of the north pair of dome pillars (of Jagasvâmin's temple) at Bhinmal.' It contains 24 lines, and is dated in (V.) S. 1330 (c. 1274 A. D.). It records some donations to the god Jayasvâmi by one

1 EJ, Vol. XI, p. 76.
2 For suggestions, see ibid.
3 In the inscription it is called Sugandhâdri.
Subhaṭa for the spiritual benefit of Rājādhirāja Udayasimha and himself.¹

(4) Bhimnāl stone-inscription (ii).—25 lines, incised in a fallen pillar on the bank of Jaikop lake at Bhīmāl, and is dated in V. S. 1333 (c. 1277 A.D.) at the holy Srimāla, in the reign of Mahārājākula Ca(? )cigadeva, during the term of office of the Pañc consisting of Maha. Gajasīha and others. It registers some grants by the Naigama Kāẏastha Subhaṭa for worship and services to the Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra.²

(5) Bhimnāl stone-inscription (iii).—13 lines, incised on the north face of the lower square section of the eastern of the north pair of dome pillars (of the temple of Jagasvāmi) at Bhīmāl. It is dated in (V.) S. 1334 (c. 1278 A.D.), in the reign of the same as in (4), and records donations to the treasury of the god Jagasvāmi by one Maha. Dedaka.³

These five inscriptions give us dates from V. S. 1319 (A. D. 1262) to 1334 (c. 1278 A. D.) for the reign of Cācīga. From an inscription originally found at Burtra (Budhatra), but now deposited at the Ajmer Museum it appears that Cācigadeva, or Cāca, as he is called, had a queen named Laksīmedīvī from whom he had a daughter called Rūpādevī.⁴ There is some doubt as to his successor. We have inscriptions dated in the years 1339 to 1355 V. S. (c. 1282-1298 A. D.) for a prince named Sāmantasimha which were discovered at Bhīmāl, Sanchor, Jolor and the neighbouring regions.⁵ But unfortunately none of these mention the name of his father. Rajput

¹ BG, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 478-80. The record is damaged, and though it evidently belongs to the reign of Cācīga, does not mention his name. Another Bhīmāl inscription (iv) of Cācīga, dated in V. S. 1328, is noticed in EI, Vol. XI, p. 77.
³ Ibid, pp. 481-83, No. XIII.
bardic traditions however unanimously speak of Sāmanta-
sitā as the son of Udayasitāha. ¹ As the dates and proven-
ance of his records also show that he must have suc-
cceeded Udayasitāha in the region over which the latter ruled, he
may be accepted as his son. Rūpādevī ² of the Burtra inscrip-
tion (V. S. 1340=A. D. 1284) was therefore a sister of Sāmanta-
sitāha. A Jalor inscription of Sāmantaśīrma, dated in V. S. 1353
(c. 1296 A. D.) gives the name of Kānhaḍadeva "as subsisting
on the lotus feet" of the Čāhamāna prince "and bearing
the burden of administration." ³ This probably indicates that Kānhaḍa
was a son of Sāmantaśīrma who was acting as the Yuvarāja at
the time of the inscription. This conclusion is supported by the
bardic chronicles of Rajputana. ⁴ This Kānhaḍadeva is certainly
to be identified with "Kaner Deo," the Raja of Jalor who was a
feudatory of 'Alā ud-Din Khalji (A. D. 1296-1316). ⁵

(8) Čāhamānas of Satyapura.

The existence of this branch, the Sāncorūs, was known from
the Khyāta of Muḥanota Nainsī, ⁶ who traced their descent from
'Rāva Lāhana' through Vijaist, the son of Alhaṇa. This last
prince must be identified with the Ālhaṇa of the Nadol branch
(c. 1152-1160). According to Nainsī it was Vijaist who first
conquered Sanchor; and he gives the following list of Vijaist's
successors:—

¹ EI, Vol. XI, p. 77.
² She married Tejasitāha, possibly the Guhila prince of Āghaṭa of that name and
had by him a son named Kṣetrasitāha; EI, Vol. IV, pp. 312 ff.
⁴ Ibid.
⁵ See EI, Vol. XI, p. 77, TF; Briggs' Trans., Vol. I, pp. 270 ff. According to this
authority Nahr Deo (Kaner Deol) was killed and his fort was taken sometime before 709
A. D. (A. D. 1300). See also CHI, Vol. III, p. 111. For the successors of Kānhaḍadeva, com-
piled mainly from Muḥanota Naipa, see D. R. Bhandarkar in EI, Vol. XI, pp. 77 ff. Two
inscriptions one of Vanavira (V. S. 1894) and one of his son Ranaavira (V. S. 1443) are known,
see ibid, pp. 62-64.
⁶ Muḥanota Naipa ki Khyāta (Prathama bāga), Hindi Trans., by Rāmanārāyaṇa
Dugāja, pp. 171 ff; also EI, Vol. XI, p. 79.
Vijaiśi (Vijayassinha)
Padama-sī (Padmasinīha)
Sobhraṇa
Sālo
Vikāma-sī
Pātō

This Pātō has been identified with the Cāhamāna Pratāpasinīha whose stone pillar-inscription dated in (V.) S. 1444 (c. 1387 A. D.) was found at Sanchor.¹ This inscription gives the following genealogy of Pratāpasinīha, whom it represents as reigning at Satyapura (mod. Sanchor):

In the family of the Cāhamāna king
Lakṣmaṇasinīha of Naḍūla.

Virasīha of
Karpūrādhārā.

Sobhita

Sālha...liberated the people of
Srimala from the Turuṇkas.

Vikramasinīha

King Mākaḍa

Vairisālya

Subhaṭa
(Suhāḍaḍaśālya)

Sangrāmasinīha

Bhima.

Kāmalladevi = Pratāpasinīha

It will be seen on comparing this list with that supplied by Nainśī that the two generally agree; the only differences are that the latter omits Sangrāmasinīha, the father of Pratāpasinīha (Pato). Combining the two documents we may conclude that like Kṛtīpāla, another son of Āḷhaṇa, who conquered Jāvalipura (Jalor) and founded the Sonigarā branch, Vijayassinha conquered Satyapura (Sanchor) and became the founder of the Sāncorā branch of the Cāhamānas. The Sundha inscription shows that during the reign of the Sonigarā

Udayasimha (c. 1206-49 A. D.) Satyapura was within his dominions. A stone inscription of Sāmantasimha, Udayasimha's grandson, dated in V. S. 1345 (c. 1288 A. D.), has also been found in Sanchor. We may therefore conclude that during this period (c. 1206-88 A. D.) the Sāncorās were feudatories of the Sonigarā branch.

**Genealogical Tables**

*(Dates approximate.)*

1. **Cāhamānas of Lāṭa.**
   - Maheśvaradāma
   - Bhimadāma
   - Bhartrvaddha I
   - Haradāma
   - Dhruvāśa (Dhruvabhaṭa ?)
   - Bhartrvaddha II (766 A. D.).
   - Sīrāha
   - Sindharāja
   - Samgrāmarāja (Samgrāmasimha) alias Sāṅkhu (c. 1215-45 A. D.)

2. **Cāhamānas of Dhavalapura.**
   - Isuka
   - Mahiṣarāma
     - = Kanhullā
     - Cauḍamahāsena, or Cauḍa (842 A. D.)

3. **Cāhamānas of Partabgurk.**
   - Govindarāja
   - Durlabhāraṇa
   - Indrārāja (842 A. D.)

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1. Princes whose names are in *italics* did not reign. Uncertain relationship is ordinarily indicated by vertical dots.
(4) Cāhamānas of Sākambhari.

Vāsudeva

Sāmantarāja (also known as Ananta?); after him

Purnatalla?

Jayarāja (Ajjayapāla and Jayantarāja)

Vigraharāja I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candrarāja I</th>
<th>Gopendrarāja</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>(Gopendraka)</td>
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Durlabhharāja I

Govindarāja alias Güvaka I

Candrarāja II (Saśinṛpa)

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<th>Güvaka II</th>
<th>Kalavati = King of Kanauj</th>
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Candanarāja

| Vākpatirāja I (Vappayarāja; also known as Vindhyanpati?) |

Simharāja

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<th>Vatsarāja</th>
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Lakṣmaṇa (The founder of the Naddula branch)

<table>
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<th>Vibharāja II</th>
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<td>(973 A.D.)</td>
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Durlabhharāja II alias Durlaṅghya-meru (A.D. 999)

Govindarāja

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Govindarāja II (Gundu)

| Vākpatirāja II |

Viryārūmi

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<th>Cāmupdarāja</th>
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Durlabhharāja III alias Dūsala (7) and Virasirīha

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vibharāja III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alias Viśala and Viśvala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= Rājadevi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II—60
Prthvirāja I
Rāsalladevi = (1106 A.D.)

Ajayarāja alias Salhana
(Jayadeva, Jayaraklı)

Arnorāja (1139 A.D.)
Sudhava = Kāneanadevi

Jugadeva ?
Prthvibhata
(Prthvīrajha II)
(1167-69 A.D.)
= Suhava devi

Vigrahamāraja IV
alias Visala
(1153-64 A.D.)

Apara-Gāngeya,
or Amara-Ga*

Someśvara (1170-77 A.D.)
= Karpūradevi

Prthvirāja III
(1179-92 A.D.)

Govindarāja
(Founder of the Raṇaṣṭambhapura branch)

Harirāja
= Pratapadevi
(1194 A.D.)

Govindarāja (son of Prthvirāja III ?)

Bālhaṇa

Prahlāda

Viranārayaṇa

Vāgbhata
(Bahada)

Jaitrasimha
= Hiradevi

Hamimra
(1288-1301)

Suratrāṇa

Virāma
(6) Cāhamānas of Narwar (?).

Prthvirāja III

Cāla [c. 1237-54 A.D.]

Asaladeva [c. 1254-79 A.D.]

Gopāla

Gaṇapati (1298 A.D.)

(6) Cāhamānas of Naddula.

Lakṣmapa (son of Vākpatirāja I of the Śākambhari line)

Sobhitā (Sobhitā, Sohiya, and Sobhitā)

Vigrahapāla

Balirāja

Manendra (Mahindu)

Aśvapāla alias Asala

Anahilla

Ahila

Bālaprasāda

Jindurāja (Jendrarahāja, Jesaladeva, Jindha, or Jendrapāla) (1075 A.D.)

Prthvipāla

Ratnapāla (1119 A.D.)

Rāyapāla (1182-45 A.D.) = Mānalaidevi

Rudrapāla Amṛtapāla Sahajapāla (Ruler of Mandor ?)
(7) Cāhamānas of Jāvalipura.

Kirtipāla (son of Ālhaṇa of the Naddūlia branch) (Kitu)

Samarasimha (1182-85 A.D.)

Rudaladevi

Abhayapāla

Lakhaṇapāla

Mānavasimha (alias)

Mahanaśimha

Pratāpa

Vijaya-Daśasvandana (alias Devarāja (Founder of the Devda branch, now ruling in Sirohi)

Udayasimha (1206-49 A.D.)

Mūladevi = Bhima II (Caulukya)

Vāhaṇarasimha.

Cāciga (Cāca) (1262-38 A.D.)

Bhādaṅgarāja

Sāmantasimha (1282-98 A.D.)

Rūpadēvi = Tejasimha (Guhila)

Kānhaṇḍadēva
(9) Cāhamānas of Satyapura.

Vijayasimha (son of Alhana of Naddūla branch)

   Padmasimha

   Sobhita (Sobhrāma)

   Sālha (Sālo)

   Vikramasimha

   Sangrāmasimha

   Pratāpasimha (1387 A.D.)

   Bhima
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CHAPTER XVII

THE TOMARAS (TUARS) OF DELHI

The Tomaras,¹ are recognised as one of the 36 celebrated Rajput tribes. According to the bardic tradition, 'Anangpal Tuar' founded Delhi in V.S. 792 (A.D. 736)² and established the Tomara dynasty, which came to an end when the 20th prince, another Anaṅgapāla, abdicated in favour of his grandchild the Cauhān Prthvīrāja (c. 1182-92 A.D.).³ It is difficult to estimate the element of truth in this tradition. But the statement that Delhi passed under Cāhamāna control in the reign of Prthvīrāja is certainly wrong. The Delhi Siwalik pillar-inscriptions of Vīsaladeva-Vigrahārāja IV of Sākambhārī show that Delhi was already under the rule of the Cāhamānas in 116 A.D.⁴ It is however likely that the Tomaras were in control of the region round Delhi before Vīsaladeva conquered it in the middle of the 12th century. A Delhi Museum inscription dated in 1328 A.D. in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq (1325-51 A.D.), tells us:

"There is a country called Hariyāna,⁵ a very heaven on earth: there lies the city called Dhīllikā⁶ built by the Tomaras. Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Cāhamāna kings intent on protecting their subjects established a kingdom, in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

¹ Also known as Tuar and Tomar; see AR, Vol. I, p. 104.
⁶ Identified by Kielhorn with mod. Hariyana in the Hisar district of the Punjab.
Thereupon the mleccha Sahāvādīna,\(^1\) having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force.\(^2\)

The Palam Baoli\(^3\) inscription dated in V.S. 1337 (c. 1280) in the reign of Balban (1266-87 A.D.) also says:

"The land of Hariyānaka was first enjoyed by the Tomaras and then by the Cauhānas. It is now ruled by the Śaka kings. First came Sāhavadīna, then came Khuduvadīna,\(^4\) then Asamasadīna,\(^5\) then Pheruja-sāhi,\(^6\) became king.\(^7\)"

On the basis of these inscriptions we may perhaps conclude that the Cāhamāna Visaladeva conquered Delhi from the Tomaras sometime before 1164 A.D. and that it was the Tomaras who really founded Delhi. The capture of Delhi by Visaladeva in the middle of the 12th century was probably the culmination of a series of struggles between the Tomaras and Cāhamānas. This is revealed by the Harṣa stone-inscription of Vigrarāja, dated in V.S. 1080 (A.D. 973).\(^8\) We are told that his great-grandfather Candana (c. 900 A.D.) secured the fortune of victory by slaying on the battlefield the proud Tomara lord (Tomareśa), king (bhūpa) Rudrena.\(^9\) The struggle between Tomara and Cāhamāna did not apparently cease with the death of Rudrena. For we are told further on in the same inscription that Simharāja (c. 950 A.D.) Vigrarāja's father, defeated another Tomara leader (Tomara-nāyaka).\(^9\)

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1. Shihāb ud-Dīn Ghāfūr (died March 15, 1206 A.D.).
2. From the village of 'Boher' in the Rohtak district, Punjab. Hence sometimes called Boher Palam Baoli inscription.
3. Qaṭb ud-Dīn Aḥbāk (1206-1210 A.D.)
5. Rehū ud-Dīn Firūz (1290 A.D.).
9. See EI, Vol. II, p. 121, fn. 34, and p. 127, V. 19. It must be clearly understood that my assumption of the connection of these Tomaras with Delhi is mere guess. There is no definite proof.
An earlier inscription which seems to show the settlement of Tomaras in the Karnal district of the Punjab is the undated Pehowa praśasti of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla (c. 893-907 A.D.). Verses 6-19 of this record gives the following account of a local Tomara family who were apparently feudatories or officials of the Pratihāra emperors. The pedigree of the family is given as follows:

In the exalted Tomara-varna.

Rājā Jāula (Vs. 6-8)
  Vajraṭa = Mahgaladevi (Vs. 9-10).
  Nāyikā = Jaijuka = Candrā (Vs. 11-13)

Gogga (V. 14) bhūnātha.

Pūrṇarāja (Vs. 15-16)

Devarāja (Vs. 17-19)

As Jāula is called a rājā and is said to have ‘obtained prosperity by looking after the affairs of a king,’ it is possible that he was either a petty feudatory chief or a high official, in the employment of some powerful king. The identity of this sovereign is very doubtful, as we do not know how many generations intervened between him and the next mentioned prince, Vajraṭa. But from the statement that his race continued to be the ‘home of joyful prospering intimates of princes’ we may perhaps conclude that the successors of Jāula continued to prosper. Vajraṭa, we are told, ‘gained a lofty exaltation through the most pure business transactions.’ It seems likely from the subsequent description of the record that Jaijuka with his three sons entered the military service of their sovereign. We are next told that Jaijuka’s three sons founded at Prthūdaka,

1 Ancient Prthūdaka, in Kurukṣetra. It is situated in Lat. 29° 50’ N and Long. 75° 36’ E, in Kaithal tahsil, Karnal district, 16 miles west of Thanedar; IGI, Vol. XX, p. 100.
on the bank of the Sarasvati, a triple temple of Viṣṇu, in the reign of Mahendrapāla.

This inscription seems to show that these Tomaras were settled in the Karnal area and were in the employ of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla. But, as Kielhorn noticed long ago, it is impossible to be positive, "for Prthūdaka was a place of so great sanctity, that even pious men from distant countries may have built temples there; and if strangers did so, their inscriptions as a matter of course would mention the ruling king of the country." It is again impossible to venture any definite opinion about the relationship of these Tomaras with the Tomaras of Delhi who were defeated by the Cāhamānas. But in view of epigraphic fact and bardic tradition, which connect the Tomaras with Delhi, we may perhaps be allowed to guess that members of Jāula's family were residents of the area formerly known as the Delhi Division of the Punjab.

From the above discussion we may conclude that the Tomaras were settled in the district round Delhi from at least the 9th century A.D. During the reign of Bhoja (c. 836-82 A.D.) and Mahendrapāla (c. 893-907 A.D.) they came into the orbit of the mighty Pratihāra empire. But soon after, about the beginning of the 10th century, as the Pratihāra power began to decline, a section of the tribe probably founded an independent principality round Delhi. With the rise of the Cāhamānas of Sākambhari they soon came into conflict with them. The struggle practically ended with the capture of Delhi by Visaladeva some time before 1164 A.D.

If these conclusions are correct, it seems likely that before the middle of the 12th century the Tomaras had to dispute with

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1 KI. Vol. I, p. 244.
2 The Delhi fragmentary stone-inscription of Bhoja was found incised on a small piece of stone built into the 9th step inside the Pāndavān-kā kilā : Rajputana Museum Report, 1924, p. 3. In the opinion of some scholars this shows that the Tomaras ruled in Delhi after the Pratihāras. I agree with them if they mean by 'rule,' rule as sovereigns.
3 According to an authority cited by Raverty in A. D. 998-9. But other dates are also recorded : see OH, 1928, p. 196, fn. 1.
the Muslim invaders the passage of the ‘Delhi gate.’ The king of Delhi who tried to prevent Mahmūd of Ghazni’s sack of Thanesar in A.D. 1014,1 was very possibly a Tomara. Another occasion when the Tomaras appear to have come into conflict with the Yamínis was when Majdūd, the brother of Maudūd (1040-49 A.D.), captured Thanesar and was waiting about 1041-42 A.D. at Hansi for an opportunity to attack Delhi.²

Before we conclude this meagre account of the Tomaras of Delhi we must take note of the following 5 kings whose names with approximate dates have been placed by Cunningham under the caption ‘Tomaras of Delhi and Kanauj’:


Their names were all taken from legends of coins which are of the usual ‘Bull and horseman’ or the ‘Seated goddess’ type. I do not know the reason that led him to identify them with the Tomaras. His attempt to prove that the ‘Bauṇāra’ king of Kanauj mentioned by the Arab chroniclers were ‘Tovara or Tomara’ princes is hardly convincing.³ I have shewn elsewhere⁴ that ‘Bauṇāra’ probably was a corrupt form of the word ‘Prathṭhāra,’ members of which dynasty ruled in Kanauj at the time of the visit of the Arab writers mentioned above.⁵ In support of the identification of one of these princes, named Anāṅgapāla, some feeble evidence seems to be contained in the bardic

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1 TF, Trans. by Briggs, Vol. 1, pp. 626f.; see also CHI, Vol. III, p. 18. If there is any foundation in Firuzshah’s statement that the prince of Delhi helped Anandapāla against Mahmūd in 1008 A.D. (DHNI, Vol. I, pp. 91-93) that prince must also be assumed to be a Tomara: TF, ibid, p. 46.
3 For these coins see CM1, p. 85; CCIM, pp. 256, 259-60.
4 CM1, p. 80.
6 Mas ‘udī (943 A.D.); Elīot, Vol. I, pp. 22-23. Read with this the statement of Sulaimān (c. 916 A.D.) about the king of Jurs, ibid, pp. 4-5.
tradition about the three Tomara princes of that name and the statement of Amīr Khusrau that he "heard a story that in Delhi about five or six hundred years ago, there was a great Rāi called Anangpāl." Cunningham identified this Anangpāl of Amīr Khusrau with the traditional founder of Delhi, and the Anangpaśāla of the coins with the second prince of that name in the bardic lists of the Rajputs.

1. CMI, p. 34.
2. Died 1525 A.D.
3. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 865; Cunningham (CMI, p. 81) finds a verification of the date of Anangpāla I given by the bards and Khusrau in the inscription on the Iron Pillar of Delhi: (G?) Sam 418 (A.D. 736) Raja Tumur Ādi Anang. But neither Kielhorn nor Bhandarkar refer to this inscription in their list of Northern inscriptions, BI, Vol. V, VIII and XX.
Genealogical Tables.

Anaṅgapāla c. 740 A.D. (?)

Rudrena (Rudrapāla ?)
cy. 900 A.D.

Line of Jāula.

Jāula

Vajraṭa = Maṅgala-devī.

Nāvikā = Jajjuka = Candrikā.

Pūrṇarāja

Devarāja

Gogga
(c. 890-910 A.D.)
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CHAPTER XVIII

THE GUHILA-PUTRAS (GUHILOTS) OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA AND KATHIAWAR.

The rise and early history of the Guhila-putras,¹ are shrouded in mystery, and still remains a subject of great controversy. According to the bardic tradition, the Guhila-putras belong to the Solar line,² and are direct descendants of Rāma³ through Sumitra, Kanakasena and Silāditya (the last of the Valabhi princes of Gujarat). The story runs 'that after the fall of Valabhi in 524 A.D., Puspavati, the daughter of the Paramāra prince of Candrāvattī and queen of Silāditya⁴, who had escaped the tragic fate of her husband, was delivered of a son in a cave (guhā). The child grew up in charge of Kamalāvati, the married daughter of a Brāhman of Birnagar. When the child grew up, he came to be known as Guhila (cave-born), and was elected king by the Bhils of Idar.⁵ The Bhils however in time


³ Raṅgaśaṅkha, derived from a predecessor of Rāma. Note also that Abū’l Faṣl (AAK, Vol. II, p. 268) says that the Raṅgas of Mewar consider themselves as descendants of the Sasanian Naḥhirvān (c. 531-79 A.D.), king of Persia, also AR, Vol. I, pp. 271 ff. See also BG (Vol. I, Part I, p. 102) which considers a marriage connection with the Valabhis and the fugitive daughter of the last Sasanian (A.D. 651) as 'not impossible.'

⁴ No doubt the State of that name in the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency, east of Vadnagar.
grew tired of foreign rule, and rising in rebellion killed the 8th prince of his line, Nāgāditya. His son Bappa was at that time an infant, only three years of age. The descendants of Kamalāvatt, who had become the hereditary priests of Guhila's successors, again came to the rescue of the family. Under their protection Bappa was removed to the hilly region known as Nagindra\(^1\) (mod. Nagda, near Udaipur). While tending cows in this retreat he found favour with a sage named Hārita, a devotee of the god Ekalinga (Śiva). Hārita accepted the boy as his disciple and through his favour Bappa obtained invulnerability and other supernatural gifts. When Hārita went to heaven, Bappa entered the service of his uncle, the Mori (Maurya)\(^2\) prince of Chitor. After successfully repulsing a 'barbarian' expedition from 'Gajni,' he dethroned the Mori king and seized the crown. Thus was laid the foundation of the Guhila dynasty in Mewar.\(^3\)

Scholars are unanimous that there are some elements of truth in this tradition. For instance, it is accepted that the ancestors of the Guhila-putras originally migrated from Gujarat. The close association of the early founders with the Brāhmans is also taken to be true. But while one school is still trying to prove the descent of the family from the kings of Valabhi,\(^4\) others\(^5\) have pointed out literary and epigraphic evidence to show their origin from the Brāhmans of Anandapura\(^6\) in Gujarat. The difficulty of connecting the origin of the Guhila-putras with the death of Silāditya VII of Valabhi is obvious. For the latest known date for the latter is A.D. 766,\(^7\) and we have an inscription dated in A.D. 646 for Sila,\(^8\) the fifth prince

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\(^1\) Also known as Nāgadrāhā or Nāgadrāha.
\(^6\) Mod. Vadnagar, in Baroda State.
\(^8\) JASB, 1909, p. 181.
of the Guhila-putra family. Assigning a period of twenty years for each reign, we must place Guhadatta or Guhila, the first prince, to about the middle of the 6th century A.D., clearly two centuries before his supposed father. The attempt to connect the reigning family of Mewar with Śilāditya VII and the fall of Valabhi must therefore be given up. In the Atpur inscription of Śaktikumāra, dated in V. S. 1034 (c. 977 A.D.), his ancestor Guhadatta is described as a Mahīdeva and Vīpra-kula-nandana, who had emigrated from Anandapura.\(^1\) It will be observed that this Anandapura, which is the modern Vadnagar in Baroda State, is quite close to Idar, which according to bardic tradition was the original seat of power of Guhila. The Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya (about the 10th century) describes his ancestor Bhartṛpaṭṭa as being, like Rāma (Paraśu-Rāma), endowed with both priestly and martial qualities (brahma kṣatrántita).\(^2\) In the Mt. Abu inscription of Samarasingha dated in V. S. 1342, Bappa or Bappaka, the founder of the Guhila-varṇa, is said to have obtained regal splendour (kṣātram mahaḥ) in the guise of an anklet after he had bestowed on the sage priestly splendour (brāhmaṇya) under the guise of his devotion. In the Rasika-priyā, a commentary on Jayadeva’s Gītā-govinda by Rāṇā Kumbhakarna, Bappa is referred to as dvija-pungava and as belonging to the Vaijāvāpa gotra.\(^3\) A verse cited by the Brāhmans of Mewar, in giving the description of the Rāṇās’ family, says that the gotra is Vaijavāpa, the pravaras are three and the Veda is Yajus.\(^4\) The Gotra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba\(^5\) gives Vaijavāpi as the name of a pravara, and Ātreya, Gāvīsthira and Paurvātitha as names of three gotraḥṣis. Hence it may be concluded with reasonable certainty that the ancestors of the ‘Guhila-putras’ of Mewar were originally Brāhmans of Anandapura in Gujarat. Very possibly, like the founders of the Kadambas in the South and the Senas in the North-East, the

\(^1\) J. A. Vol. XXXIX, pp. 180 ff.
\(^2\) JASB, 1900, p. 173.
\(^3\) Ibid.
\(^4\) Mysore Govt. Oriental Series, p. 44.
\(^5\) El. Vol. XII, pp. 10 ff.
ancestor of the Guhila-putras may have changed his priestly occupation for that of arms, and in due course laid the foundations of a State, which is still ruled by his descendants in Mewar. The statement in the bardic annals that Bappa founded his dynasty by supplanting the Moris (Mauryas) of Chitor seem to be based on fact. The Dabok inscription of Dhanika, one of the ancestors of the Guhila Bālāditya, of the (Gupta) year 407 (c. 725 A.D.), is dated in the victorious reign of Pā. M.-P.-Dhaivalappa-deva, who has been with some probability identified with the Maurya prince Dhavala referred to in the Kanaswa (Kotah State, Rajputana) inscription dated (V.)S. 795 (c. 738 A.D.). The Nausari grant of the Čalukya prince Pulakesi Avanijanaśraya informs us that sometime before 730 A.D. an army of Arabs (Tājikas) advanced as far south as Navasārikā in Gujarāt after destroying on its way Saindhava, Kacchella, Saurāṣṭra, Cāvoṭaka, Maurya and Gurjara princes. Possibly the bardic tradition about the barbarian invasion from "Gajni" is only a later distortion of this Arab expedition from Sind, which took place sometime before the end of the fourth decade of the 8th century A.D. Bappa, who may have distinguished himself by his bravery in this crisis of the fortunes of his Maurya masters, may have later appropriated the royal power.

This brings us to the discussion of Bappa's date and his position in the genealogy of the Guhila-putras. In the Atapur inscription of Saktikumāra (V. S. 1034), the earliest epigraphic record which supplies a regular genealogy of the family, the name of Bappa does not occur at all. It traces the family's pedigree

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1 I reserve for Vol. III a fuller discussion on the 'origin of the Rājputa.'
2 Referred to as 'Dhāj (Udaipur State, Rajputana), now Victoria Hall, Udaipur Inscription' in EI, Vol. XX, Appendices, p. 137, No. 1371; through it is stated in ASI WC, 1905-06, p. 61, that the record was 'originally found at Dabok.' The epigraph is so named probably because Dhanika held Dhavagara (med. Dholi).
3 ASI, WC. 1906, p. 61; EI, Vol. XII, pp. 11-12. Ojha does not accept this identification and proposes to read the date of the Dabok inscription as 207, which he refers to the Hariṣe era, see HR, I, p. 421, fo. 1. IA, Vol. XIX, pp. 65 ff.
from Guhadatta. This does not however prove the non-existence of Bappa. For it is recognised that Bappa is not really a proper name. Tod held that "it signified merely 'a child,'" while Crooke is of opinion that 'it is the old Prākrit form of bāp (father)' D R. Bhandarkar has suggested that it is the same as 'Bāpā' or 'Bāvā,' a respectful term for ascetics. This designation attached itself to the real founder of the Guhila-putras because he was a disciple of the Śaiva ascetic Hārītarāsi and the 'Diwan' of the god Ekalīnga. Crooke's view however seems to be supported by the fact that in Pallava history, the earliest known ruler is designated by the title Bappa-deva in the Hirahadgalli grants of his son Śivaskandavarman. Whatever may be the value of these various suggestions, we accept the view that Bappa was only a biruda and not the prince's real name. Who was then this ruler and what was his position in the family's pedigree? Certain inscriptions of the 14th century and later place Bappa or Bappaka just before Guhila. This must however be wrong for a stone inscription of Naravāhana, dated in V.S. 1028 and found on the wall of the 'Nātha's māndir' near Ekalīngaji's temple, near Udaipur describes Bappaka the ruler of Nāgahrada as the 'moon amongst the princes of the Guhila family' (Guhila-gōtra-narendra-candra). It is therefore impossible that Bappa was a predecessor of Guhila.

3 JASE, 1909, 189 ff. The suggestion was originally made by Bhagvanlal Indraji in BG, Vol. I, Part I, p. 84.
7 Also called Nāgadrāha, see RMR, 1925, p. 2; WZKM, pp. 143 ff.; Called 'Nagendra' (Nagendra) in AR, Vol. I, p. 200. It is modern Nagda, 14 miles north of Udaipur, at the foot of a hill on which stands the temple of Ekalīngaji. JBRAS, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.
The Kumbhalgarh inscription of Rāṇā Kumbha, dated in V.S. 1517 (A.D. 1460), mentions Bappa as the fifth prince between Nāga and Aparājīta.1 As this place is given to Śila by the Atpura and all other records, including the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1494), the conclusion seems to be forced upon us that this praśastikāra of Kumbha’s reign really believed that Bappa was a biruda of Śila. Tod accepted the identity of these two princes, though on somewhat different grounds.2 But there are certain difficulties in accepting this identification. An Udaipur inscription gives the date V.S. 718 (661 A.D.) for Aparājīta, the son of Śila.3 But the Ekalāṇga-māhātmya, composed during the reign of Kumbha (Vs. 19–20), gives V.S. 810 (c. 753 A.D.) as Bappa’s date. In another work bearing the same name which was composed during the reign of Kumbha’s son Rāyamalla, the same year is given as the date of Bappa’s abdication in favour of his son. As in the first work the verse begins with Yad uktam purātanaiḥ kavibhiḥ. D. R. Bhandarkar thought that the date was copied from some older record, and as such deserving of some credence. “As the date for Aparājīta is V.S. 718 and for Allāta V.S. 10:0 we have 292 years for 12 generations; it gives 24½ years for each generation. The difference between Allāta’s 718 and Bappa’s 810 is 92 years; if we assign 24½ years for each generation we find that Bappa is placed in the 4th generation from Aparājīta.” In the Atpura list this is Khommāṇa I.4 Bhandarkar therefore thought that Bappa must be identical with this Khommāṇa.5 Recently however G. H. Ojha has arrived at the conclusion that Bappa was the biruda of Khommāṇa I’s father Kālabhoja.6

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2 *AR, Vol. I*, p. 270. He proposed the date of accession of Śila-Bappa, and hence of the foundation of the Guhilot dynasty in Mawar, as V.S. 784 (A.D. 728), see ibid pp. 268–69.  
3 *Bt, Vol. IV*, pp. 29–33.  
4 This name is sometimes spelt as “Khommāṇa” and “Khummāṇa.” But the form Khommāṇa which occurs as early as c. 942 A.D. seems to be the oldest.  
5 *JASB*, 1902, pp. 159–66.  
6 *HR, I*, p. 402.
rightly rejected the view of Kavirāja Śyāmal Das, who proposed to identify Aparājitā's son Mahendra with Bappa. For, as the Kavirāja accepted V.S. 810 as the year of Bappa's abdication, a period of nearly one hundred years must accordingly be assigned to two consecutive reigns, which is unusual and cannot be accepted without the support of stronger evidence. Ojha points out that in the Rāja-prāsūti-mahākāvya as well as the Khyata of Nainī, 'Khummāna' is given as the name of the son of 'Boppa.' As in the Atpur inscription Kālabhoja is given as the name of Khommāna's father, Ojha is certain that Bappa must be the biruda of Kālabhoja. It is unwise to be dogmatic in regard to either of these two views. But it seems to me that Bappa should be referred to the period between 739 A.D., the approximate date of the destruction of the Maurya principality by the Arabs, and 753 A.D., the traditional date for Bappa's abdication. Now we have the date 661 A.D. for Aparājita. The period between this date and 753 A.D. is 92 years which can be covered by 3 or 4 generations. But as Mewar tradition is unanimous that Bappa had a very long reign we can accept that it was probably covered by three generations. This would tend to support the identification of Bappa with Kālabhoja.

On this view, the first seven Guhila-putras, from Guhadatta (Guhila) to Mahendra II (c. 550-720 A.D.), either were subordinate princes of the Mauryas, or otherwise held a very unimportant position. It may be that, as tradition says,

3. More recently, the identification of Bappa with Khummāna has been urged by Prof. S. Dutt. For his arguments see IHQ, 1923, pp. 726-97. He points out that the Guhilots of Mewar in the inscriptions of the 12th century and later are described as belonging to Bapparājā; while in earlier inscriptions they are referred to as Khummāna-rājās. That Khummāna loomed large in Guhilot tradition is also proved by the fact that of the first 20 Guhilots as many as 3 bore that name and 'the most ancient poetic chronicle of Mewar' probably 'written in the 9th century...and...recast during the reign of Pratapasinhha' (1572-98 A.D.) is designated Khumma-Rājā.
the first eight of them held a principality somewhere in
the upper Sabarmati valley, portions of which are now includ-
ed in the State of Ídár and S. W. Mewar. The principality
appears to have been founded by the Bráhman Guhadatta
(Guhila), who migrated from Ánandapura. Inasmuch as in
ancient days there was no bar to intermarriage between the
Bráhmans and the Ksatriyas, Guhadatta may possibly have claim-
ed some relationship with the Valabhis of Gujarat. As I have
already remarked, instances are not wanting in India where
Bráhmans have founded dynasties. When the 7th prince
Mahendra, who is wrongly mentioned as the 8th and named
Nágáditya in tradition, was killed by a rising of the Bhils or
non-Aryan inhabitants of the State, his son Kālabhoja escaped
and subsequently became the chief disciple of Hāritarāṣī, the
powerful Saiva priest of the shrine of Ekāliṅga at Nāgahrada.¹
After Hāritarāṣī’s death he succeeded his spiritual guide as the
head of the Saiva temple. When the Arabs invaded the Maurya
kingdom sometime before 739 A. D., they seem to have threat-
ened the shrine of Ekāliṅga at Nāgahrada, following their usual
practice. Like the monks of mediaeval Europe Kālabhoja-
Bappa could probably wield a sword with as much dexterity as
a sacrificial ladle. The destruction of the Maurya State gave
him the opportunity to found a dynasty of his own.

Besides this line of Guhilas, there appears to have been at
least one other branch of the family in that region, further to
the north-east, which was distinct from the dynasty of Bappa.
The founder of this line was Bhārtrpatṭa of the Guhila lineage,
who is reported to have been endowed like (Parāśu-) Rāma with
priestly and martial qualities. As Dhanika, the fifth prince of
his line, appears to have left an inscription dated in Gupt-
Samvat 407 (A.D. 725),² we can approximately place the date
of Bhārtrpatṭa to c. 625 A.D. He therefore seems to have

² *Ia.* Vol. XXII, p. 80ff.
³ *AsI,* Vol. 1906, p. 61; *El,* Vol. XII, pp. 11-13.
branched off earlier than Kālabhoja from the common stock in the upper Sabarmati valley. There appear to have been other branches besides these two. Some of them were connected with the Medapāta family. The relationship of others is obscure. For convenience we collect the account of the various Guhila families under the following heads: (1) Guhila-putras of Medapāta, (2) Guhila-putras of Chatsu and Dabok, (3) Guhila-putras of Saurāśtra, (4) Guhila-putras of Āsikā, (5) Guhila-putras of Naḍuladdāgikā, (6) Guhila-putras of Sesoda, (7) Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgaḍa).

Before giving an account of all these various branches I would add, by way of introduction, that none of them appear to have held any considerable power till nearly the second half of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century A.D. We have seen that according to traditional and epigraphic evidence they were feudatories of the Mauryas in the 8th century A.D. In the 9th they must have gradually come into the orbit of the mighty Prathāra empire, which extended from Kāthiawar to Northern Bengal. The annals of the bards are silent on this point; but the Chatsu inscription of the Guhila Bālāditya refers to the inevitable fact. One of his ancestors Harṣarāja, we are told, conquered princes in the north and presented horses to Bhoja, who, as we shall see, must be identified with the first Pratihāra prince of that name (c. 836-82 A.D.). Again, the Partabgarh inscription of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla II, shows that in V.S. 999 (c. 942 A.D.) the Medapāta Guhila Bhartṛpaṭa II, son of Khommāna III, still acknowledged the sovereignty of the Kanauj emperor. There is no doubt therefore that from about the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 10th century the Guhilas occupied the position of feudatories of the powerful

1 For the names of the traditional list of the 24 Śūkhās of the Guhilotas see Ar, Vol. I, pp. 99-101; Census Report, Rajputana, 1911, I, 255. See also the Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V. S. 1343) which refers to the numerous branches and the sub-branches of the Guhila-putras, IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.  
2 EI, Vol. XII, pp. 10 ff., V. 19.  
3 EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 176 ff., Part III.
Pratihāra empire. From the middle of the 10th to the end of the 12th century most of the region occupied by the Guhilas either directly came into the possession of the three powerful kingdoms, the Caulukyas of Anhilvada, the Paramāras of Mālava and the Cāhamānas of Sākambharti, which sprang up on the ruins of the Kanauj empire, or became the bone of contention between them. Some of the branches, as those of Āsikā and Saurāstra definitely figure as vassal chiefs of Caulukyas and the Cāhamānas respectively. The early attempts of the Medapāta branch to secure a sovereign position were speedily frustrated by the growing strength of these three powers. One of the Medapāta chiefs, Ambāprasāda, who probably ruled in the first quarter of the 11th century, lost his life in the hands of the Sākambharti Cāhamāna Vākpati-rāja II, while the Chirwa inscription of the Guhila Samarāsimha (V. S. 1330) shows that the Mālava Paramāra Bhōja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) was in possession of the fort of Chitor itself. The Atru (1127-28 A.D.) and the Talwara inscriptions of the Caulukya Jayasimha and the Chitorgadh inscriptions (c. 1150 A.D.) of his successor indicate that the triangular area between Kotah, Mewar and Banswara was included within the Caulukya dominions during the first half of the 12th century. It seems very likely that after the second half of the 12th century, when the power of the Caulukyas and the Paramāras had declined, the Guhilas of Medapāta found opportunities to establish themselves as sovereigns. But by this time the Turks were in possession of Delhi and Ajmer, and the temples and cities of Mewar were not seldom visited by their plundering bands. Aided by their hills, the Guhilas kept up a desperate resistance against Delhi. Their efforts were not always successful. Often

\[1\] Hanai inscription of Pṛthvirāja II (A.D. 1167); IA, 1912, pp. 17-19; see DHNI, Vol. II, supra, pp. 1078-79, and infra, pp. 1201-03.

\[2\] Mangrol inscription of Kumārespāla (A.D. 1146), BI, pp. 158-60. See also DHNI, Vol. II, supra, p. 977, and infra, pp. 1199-1200.


\[5\] Ibid., chapter on the Caulukyas, pp. 965, 967 and 978-79.
when the throne of Delhi was occupied by an able military leader, as in the reign of 'Alā'ud-Dīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.), their fortunes sank very low. But they recovered their strength during the weak reigns which often followed. The halo of romance and dignity with which tradition has invested the history of the Guhila-putras is due to this struggle often against enormous odds to save Hindu independence from being completely submerged in Northern India by the Turkish and Timurid floods. Their history before the 13th century lacks the dramatic element and seems to contain nothing which could fire the imagination of poets and bards. The bulk of the bardic annals about the Guhila-putras therefore grew up very late, certainly not before the 14th century. This explains their frequent divergence from fact when they deal with the early history of their heroes' family.

(1) Guhila-putras of Medapāta.

As I have previously suggested, the first seven princes of the Guhila-putra family who preceded Kalabhoja-Bappa, probably the real founder of the Medapāta line, lived and died rather ingloriously, ruling over a small principality somewhere in the upper Sabarmati valley, which is now occupied by the southwestern portion of Mewar and Idar. The Atpur inscription of Saktikumāra supplies the following names of the predecessors of Kalabhoja:

Guhadatta: In his family
Bhoja
Mahendra I
Nāga
Sīla
Aparājita
Mahendra II.

1 The Timurides are also Turkish and not Mughul in origin; but it has become customary to separate them from the earlier Turk sovereigns.
No epigraphic records have yet been discovered of the first four members of the family. Certain small silver coins bearing the legend Śrī-Guhila or Guhila-Śrī, ¹ in an ancient western form of the Sanscrit character,' which were dug up at Agra,² have been referred by some scholars to the reign of the first prince.³ But, as we shall see later, it is more than likely that they were issued by a prince of the same name who belonged to the Chatsu branch. There is at present no sufficient reason to suspect that the dominions of Guhadatta really extended from the upper valley of the Sabarmati to the neighbourhood of Agra.⁴ His principality appears to have included only portions of the present State of Idar and S. W. Mewar. As we have an inscription for Śīla dated in V. S. 703 (c. 646 A.D.),⁵ we may safely place him about the middle of the sixth century A.D. He may have been at first a feudatory of the Valabhīs of Gujarāt. The only thing known about the next four princes is the tradition recorded in the Khyātas that Nāgahrāda or Nagadraha (mod. Nagda) was founded by Nāga,⁶ the fourth prince. But Ojha has rightly pointed out that this admittedly ancient place may have been named after the Nāgas, who it is well known ruled in Rajputana and Mathura in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.⁷ The Khyātas also give the name of Bhoja as Bhojaditya (or Bhogaditya), and that of Nāga as Nāgaditya ⁸ while the Abu

¹ The number of coins is given by Carliyle as 'upwards of two thousand.' ASR, Vol. IV, p. 95. Another coin found in Narwar, bearing the legend Śrī-Guhilapati (JASS, 1895, p. 132), is also referred by some scholars to a prince of the Guhila family, see HR, I, p. 400, fn. 1.
² Carliyle in ASI, Vol. IV, p. 95; Ojha in HR, I, p. 400; ibid, p. 401.
³ As Ojha has done. He is of opinion that after the fall of the Hūpa Mihirakula, nearly the whole of Rajputana and the neighbouring countries came under the possession of Guhadatta. The doubtful evidence of the Agra and Narwar coins and of the Chatsu inscription does not, in my opinion, support such a sweeping conclusion. See ibid.
⁵ HR, II, p. 402.
⁶ Raychaundhril, Political History of India, 1932, p. 323.
⁷ HR, II, p. 402.
inscription of Samarasisima (V. S. 1342) mentions Bhoja as a devotee of Viṣṇu. For the reign of the fifth prince Śīla, also called Śilāditya, we have the Samoli stone-inscription dated in V. S. 703 (c. 646 A.D.). This was found in the village of Samoli in the Bhumat district of Mewar (not far from Vasantaṭaḍāḥ, in the Sirohi State). It records the construction and dedication of a temple by one Jeka, a mahājana from Vaṭangara. Ojha states that he has seen a copper coin of this prince. On one side of this coin, according to him, appears the name of Śīla; the writing on the other side is illegible. Śīla was succeeded by Aparājīta, for whose reign we have the Nagda stone-inscription dated in V. S. 718 (c. 661 A.D.). The stone bearing the inscription is reported to have been found near the temple of Kundaśvara at Nagda, near Udaipur. It contains 12 lines of writing. The first two verses invoke Viṣṇu under the names Hari and Sauri. We are next told that Rāja Aparājīta of the Guhilāṇayu chose for his leader (of troops) the Mahārāja Varāhasimha, the son of Śiva (śimha ?). The inscription records that Yaṣomatī, the wife of Varāhasimha, built a temple of (Viṣṇu) the enemy of Kaitabha. The praśasti was composed by Dāmodara, and incised by Yaśobhata. The prose part states that on the above date, the temple of Vāsudeva was inaugurated. The inscription ends with Namah Puruṣottamāya.

The above inscription unfortunately records no incident of political interest, besides the date, for the reign of Aparājīta. The reign of the next prince, Mahendra II, is also a blank, having left no epigraphic or numismatic records. But if there is any historical basis in the Rajput tradition recorded by Tod, he

1. See above, chapter on the Paramāra, p. 910 and in. 4 on pp. 910-11.
2. Kielhorn suggested its identification with Vasantaṭaḍāḥ in Sirohi; see note, pp. 910-11, fn. 4.
3. HR, II, p. 403 and fn. 5. It is reported to be in the possession of one Sbhālal of Udaipur.
may have been, as I have previously suggested, the prince who lost his life in a rising of the aboriginal Bhils, who formed the bulk of the population in the Guhila State. His successor was Kalabhoja, who probably bore the biruda Bappa or Bāpā. We have already discussed the circumstances which may have helped him to rebuild his ancestral state on a stronger foundation by the assimilation of the Maurya State of Chitor. I have tentatively assigned for his reign the period c. 739-753 A.D., and noticed his close association with the influential Saiva ascetic Hārītarāśi, the chief priest of the shrine of Ekalīṅga at Nāgahrāda (Nagda). The ending -rāśi seems to indicate that he belonged to the Lakūṭhīa sect of the Pāśupata ascetics. A Chitor stone-inscription dated in V.S. 1331 tells us that it was through the favour of the sage Hārītarāśi that Bappa became lord of Medapāta and its town Nāgahrāda. The Mt. Abu inscription of Samarasmīha dated in V.S. 1342 also states that Bappa obtained 'regal splendour' through the favour of the same sage practising penance in the town of Nāgahrāda. These statements may indicate that his association with this ascetic must have materially assisted him in reviving his power. This conclusion is supported by the recent discovery of a gold coin which in the opinion of Ojha belongs to Bappa. On the top of the obverse of the coin is the legend Śrī-Voppa; below this to the right is a trident; by its side is a liṅga (representing the God Ekalīṅga at Nagda). To the right of this is the bull couchant (Nandin) and below the bull the figure of a monkey lies prostrate on the ground. This represents according to Ojha

1 See supra, DHNI, Vol. II, pp. 1157-58, and fn. 3 on p. 1158.
2 Ojha however disbelieves in the unanimous tradition about this break and revival of Guhila power, see HR, II, 418 ff. He believes that the Guhilas ruled from Nagda uninterruptedly from Guhadatta downwards.
3 For some of these names ending in -rāśi, see JBRAS, 1905-06, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.; also EI, Vol. I, pp. 521 ff.
4 IA, Vol. XXII, pp. 80 ff.
5 IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff.
6 ASI, WC, 1921, pp. 57-58; also JASR, 1927, Numismatic Supplement, pp. 14-18.
Voppa (i.e., Bappa), the founder of the Mewar line, who is considered to be Nandi-gaṇa of Siva. He points out that according to the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa Nandin has the face of a monkey. On the reverse of the coin there is a folded Cāmara, a cross enclosed in a circle; to the right of this symbol is the handle of a chatra; below this is the representation of a cow suckling its calf; below the cow are parallel lines ending on the right with a fish. There is also a pot or vase to the right of the cow and four dots below the parallel lines. According to Ojha the cow and the calf represent the cow of the sage Ḥāritarāṣṭi, which according to the Muhanota Nainsi he tended for 12 years before he attained royalty through his favour. If the coin is genuine, and this interpretation of the symbol is correct, it supports the epigraphic and bardic tradition which ascribes his royal power to the favour of the sage. With the exception of this coin there are no records of the reign of Kālabhoja-Bappa. The only incident ascribed to his reign is that mentioned in the late Abu inscription of Samarasiṃha (V.S.

1 Dr. Barnett points out that ‘Nandi is different from the Gaṇas or goblins. See Elements of Hindu Iconography, by Gopinath Rau, Madras, 1914.
2 Dr. Barnett is not convinced. He demands better evidence to prove that Nandin had a monkey’s face. He rightly points out that a monkey’s face is not a monkey’s body.
3 *HR*, II, p. 417. For two more coins, one ascribed to Bappa, the other to Kālabhoja, see NC, 1933, pp. 138-42.
4 This coin is said to be in the possession of the prince of Siroki, Mahārāj Kesari Siwell. It should be carefully examined. Is it not rather strange that we should have no gold coins of some of the greatest kings of this period, in comparison with whose power, prestige and extent of dominions, Kālabhoja-Bappa’s position seems rather insignificant and shadow? I am doubtful about Ojha’s interpretation of the ‘square enclosed in a circle’ as the symbol for the sun. He finds in it a sure evidence of the Solar origin of the Guhilas. But it is significant that unlike some other dynasties, the epigraphic records of the Guhilas even as late as the 14th century A.D. never trace the genealogy of the family to the sun, nor do they even hint at a solar origin while earlier inscriptions trace the pedigree back to the Anandapura Brāhmaṇa Guhadatta, later records trace it to Bappa and refer to his connections with the sage Ḥāritarāṣṭi. It is only in records which are considerably later than A.D. 1300 that the sun or the moon are mentioned. It therefore seems to me that either the symbol has not been properly read or that its interpretation is wrong. But if Ojha has been right in his reading and interpretation of the symbol then it raises serious doubts as to the genuineness of the coin itself.
1342), viz., an invasion of peninsular India by him in the course of which he is said to have punished the ruler of Karnāta and put an end to the pleasure of love of Cōḍa women.¹

Practically nothing is known about Khommāṇa I,² Mattāṭa, Bhattṛṛpatṭa I,³ Simhā, Khommāṇa II, Mahāyakas, and Khommāṇa III, who according to the Atpur and other inscriptions are said to have ruled in succession after Kālabhoja. Tod quoting from Khummāṇa-Rāsa, gives a description of the conflict between the Mewar prince ‘Khummāṇa’ and the Muslim leader ‘Mahmud Khorasan Pat’ when the latter invaded the Guhila territories.⁴ Tod identified ‘Khummāṇa’ with the first Guhila of that name, and thought that the name of the Muslim chief is a mistake for that of the Abbasid Caliph Al-Ma’mūn (813-33 A.D.). If there is any historical foundation to this story, it is more probable, as Ojha suggests, that the prince who came into conflict with the Arab invaders was Khommāṇa II (c. 810-30 A.D.), and not the first of that name (c. 753-73 A.D.).⁵ The 3rd Guhila bearing the name Khommāṇa has been rightly identified with Khommāṇa, the father of Mahārājādhirāj Bhattṛṛpatṭa, the feudatory of the Kanauj emperor Mahendrapāla II (946 A.D.). The Partabgarh inscription of

¹ IA, Vol. XVI, 245 ff.
² But see ante, p. 1157, fn. 4.
³ Ojha (HR, II, pp. 430 ff.) has identified this prince with Bhattṛṛpatṭa the founder of the Chau branch of the Guhilas. This however seems to be improbable, if not impossible, even if we accept the reading of his date of the Dabok inscription of Dhanika (Harṣa year 907 = V.S. 870 = A.D. 813). For Bhattṛṛpatṭa of the Chaua inscription, being the 6th prince counting backwards from Dhanika, must be referred approximately to c. 713 A.D. But we have seen that the period of Kālabhoja-Bappa, the 4th, counting backwards, from Bharrṛṛpatṭa of the Nagda branch, is approximately 789-93 A.D. Thus it is absolutely impossible to identify these two Bharrṛṛpatṭas. It may be added that Ojha himself believes in V.S. 810 (c. 733 A.D.) to be the date of Kālabhoja-Bappa’s abdication. This is also clear from another calculation. Ojha accepts the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja (c. 886-911 A.D.) as being the Bhoja who was a contemporary of Harṣarāja, the 9th prince from Bhattṛṛpatṭa of the Chau branch. This fixes the period of the latter roughly about the first half of the 8th century, which was the period of Bappa.
⁵ HH, II, p. 430.
this last prince records that M.-Bhartṛpaṭṭa granted in perpetuity a field named Vavvulika (Babbulika) situated by the side of the river Nándyā in the village of Palāsa-Kūpikā to the (Sun) god Indrarājāditya-deva of Ghoṇṭāvarṣī in V.S. 999 (c. 942 A.D.). Ojha would identify Palāsa-Kūpikā with Parāśia, which is about 15 miles south of Mandasor, and Ghoṇṭāvarṣī with Ghotarsi, about 7 miles east of Partabgarh. Another fragmentary stone-inscription which supplies a date for Bhartṛpaṭṭa, the son of Khummāṇa III, was discovered at Ahar near Udaipur. It is dated in V. S. 1000 (c. 943 A.D.), in the reign of Bhartṛ (Bhartṛbhata), and registers the construction of a temple of Ādirāha (Viṣṇu) at the Gaṅgodbheda-ṭhāta by a person named Ādirāha. It may be inferred from the Partabgarh inscription that during the period c. 800-950 A.D. the Guhilas of Nāgahrada were the feudatories of the Pratihāra rulers of Avanti and Kanauj. According to Ojha, it was Bhartṛpaṭṭa II who founded the city of Bhartṛpura, identical with the modern village of Bhatavara, which has given the name Bhartṛpuriya to one of the Jaina gacchas.

Bhartṛpaṭṭa II was succeeded by Allata, his son by the queen Mahālakṣmī. The Ahar Sāraneśvara temple-inscription of Allata contains the dates V.S. 1008 (c. 951 A.D.) and 1010 (c. 953 A.D.) for his reign. It is incised on a slab of white marble attached to two pillars in front of the Raṅga-mandapa of the Saiva temple near the burning ground at Ahar in Mewar. It contains 6 lines opening with an invocation to Hari. It then mentions the Rājū Mahālakṣmī, his son the king (medini-pati) Allata, and his son Naravāhana. It then speaks of the Amāṭiya Mārmata, the Sāndhīvīgrahika Durlabharāja, the

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2 Noticed in RMA, 1914, p. 3; HR, I, p. 425. BI, Vol. XIX. Appendix (p. 11, No. 60) seems to doubt the reading of the date.
3 Mod. Gaṅgodbeb at Ahar.
4 HR, II, p. 426.
5 Known in local annals as Ālu Bāval, ibid.
Aṣṭapātalakas Mayūra and Samudra, the Vandipati Nāga and the Bhiṣagadhirāja Rudrāditya. It registers the construction of a temple of the god Murāri (Viṣṇu), which was begun in V.S. 1008 and completed in V.S. 1010 and records various endowments for its maintenance, on the sale of an elephant one *dramma*, on that of a horse two *rūpakas*, a horned animal *drumārdha-vimśaka* (i.e., \( \frac{1}{40} \) *dramma*), etc. Contributions were also levied upon various other traders of the locality, including even the gamblers. It is also laid down that the merchants of Kārṇāta, Lāta, Madhyadeśa and Ṭakka should pay contributions to the temple.

Practically nothing is known about the political incidents of Allaṭa's reign. But Ojha mentions an unpublished damaged and fragmentary inscription in a small Jain temple at Ahar, near Udaipur, which says that Allaṭa killed in flight his powerful enemy Devapāla, and also mentions the Aṣṭapātalika Mayūra, whose name occurs in the Sāranāvara inscription referred to above. Though at present there is no evidence it is not impossible that this Devapāla is identical with the Kanauj Prathhāra of that name.  

Allaṭa was succeeded by Naravāhana, his son by the Hūṇa queen Hariyadevi. The Atpur inscription of Saktikumāra tells us that 'her fame shone forth in the form of Harṣapura.' This probably indicates that she founded a city of that name. Only one inscription, dated in V.S. 1028 (c. 971 A.D.) has so far been published for the reign of Naravāhana.  

This is his *Ekalingaji*  

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1 *HR*, II, p. 428.
2 *HR*, II, p. 428, fn. 2. See supra, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 687 ff. According to Barrois this identification is 'possible but not very probable.' Though at present there is no definite evidence that the Pratihāra emperor Devapāla was killed yet it is certain that he was not a very powerful prince. Dissensions within and invasions hastened the decline and break up of the Pratihāra empire. It is therefore not impossible that like Bājīapāla (c. 1010 A.D.), he may have also been killed in trying to put down internal foes who were often the feudatories of the Kanauj empire.
4 *BI*, pp. 69-71; then edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in *JBRAS*, 1906-08, Vol. XXII, pp. 166-87. In the account of the contents of the inscription I have followed this later version of the record.
stone-inscription, which was discovered in the temple of Nātha, 14 miles north of Udaipur. It is incised on a slab in the proper right-hand niche in the outside wall facing east of the Sabhā-mandapa of the temple. It contains 18 lines, and opens with obeisance to Lakulīśa. The first verse is damaged; the second praises Sarasvatī, and the next two eulogise the city of Nāgarhada. Verse 5 tells us that in that city flourished the prince Bappaka, who was a moon amongst the kings of Guhila lineage. The following verse probably mentioned the name of Allata, the father of Naravāhana, to whose reign the inscription refers itself (Vs. 7-8). The inscription then supplies an account of the Lakulīśa sect of the Śaivas. We are told that in the country of Bhrgukaccha (Broach), through which flows Narmadā, the daughter of Mekala, the sage Bhṛgu being cursed by Murabhid (Viṣṇu), propitiated the god Śiva. The latter in the presence of that sage incarnated himself in a form characterised with a club (läkula) in his hand. The place where Śiva thus descended to the earth was called Kāyavarohana. In this place, the inscription tells us, Śiva did not remember his Kailāśa. Then follows an account of Kuśika and other sages who were conversant with the Paśupata-yoga, and who resorted to the use of ashes, bark, and matted hair. Then follows a statement that there were certain sages whose fame had spread from the Himalayas to Rāma’s bridge who worshipped the god Ekāliṅga. It was by them that this temple of Lakulīśa was raised on Mt. Āśvagrāma. The next verse states that the prākāsti was composed by the poet Amra, the pupil of the celebrated dialectician the sage Vedāṅga, who had silenced the disputants of the Syādvādu (Jaina), Saugata (Buddhist), and other sects. V. 19 gives the date V.S. 1028. At the end occur the names of

1 Lakulīśa was believed to be an Āśvāra of Śiva.
2 Mod. Nagda, about 14 miles north of Udaipur.
3 Mod. Khovan in the Dabhoi Taluka of Baroda prānt, Baroda State.
Supūjitarāsi and Viniścitarāsi and others who erected a temple and dedicated it to Lakulīśa.\footnote{For an account of the Lakulīśa sect see Bhau Dharwar’s introduction to his edition of this record. See also Gaya-Kāśīkī of Bhāsavajjik (Bhāva Sarvajjik). Date of the author about the second half of the 10th century. \textit{Ed.} by C. D. Dalal, \textit{GOS}, No. 15, 1930.}

Apart from the dates supplied by this inscription, very little is known about Naravāhana’s reign. The Atpur inscription of Saktikumāra only praises him in vague and general terms which mean nothing. It however mentions the fact that he married the daughter of a Cāhamāna named Jejaya. Ojha noticed an unpublished Ahar inscription which mentions the name of Naravāhana’s Aksapaṭalādhuśa, Srīpati, son of Mayūra, who held the same post in the previous reign. Naravāhana was succeeded by his son Sālivāhana,\footnote{Ojha believes that the Kethikawar Guhilar are descended from this prince, see \textit{HR}, II, pp. 431-433 and fn. 2 on p. 431; also \textit{DHNI}, Vol. II, \textit{infra}, pp. 1199 ff.} who had a short reign and was in turn succeeded by his son Saktikumāra some time before V.S. 1034 (c. 977 A.D.). Sālivāhana’s reign therefore falls between V.S. 1028 (c. 971 A.D.), the last known date of his predecessor, and V.S. 1034 (c. 977 A.D.), the first known date of his son. This makes him a contemporary of the Mālava Paramāra Muṇja-Vākpati II (c. 974-95 A.D.), who is said in the Bijapur inscription of the Hastikundī Raṣṭrakūṭa Dhavala (V.S. 1053) to have ‘destroyed Āghāta the pride of Medapāṭa.’\footnote{\textit{El}, Vol. X, pp. 18 and 20-21, V. 10. The capital of the Guhilar had probably been transferred by this time from Nāghadra to Āghāta. This latter town appears from the Sarsapāvara temple inscription of Allaṣa (V. S. 1008 and 1010) to have already become an important trading centre in Medapāṭa. According to Mewar tradition Alū Hāval (Allaṣa) founded the city of Ḍha (i.e., Khāḍa, Āghāta, Ahar, etc.). The existence of the place as a holy site before the reign of Allaṣa is however proved by the Ahar inscription of his father Bhartipcīṭa II (V. S. 1000). It is likely that the development of the site as a commercial entrepot began in the reign of Allaṣa, who later may have even transferred his residence to that town. See \textit{HR}, II, pp. 427-28.} I have already suggested elsewhere that one of the princes, who was defeated on this occasion and whom Dhavala claims to have protected was
possibly the Guhila Sālivāhana, or his son Saktikumāra. The following inscriptions are known for the reign Saktikumāra:

(1) Atpur stone-inscription (i).—Found by Tod at Atpur (Ahar), near Udaipur in Mewar. It opens with the date (V.) S. 1034 (c. 977 A.D.), and records the erection of a temple to the god Nānigasvāmi. Next it gives the genealogy of the Guhila family from the Anandapura Brāhmaṇa Guhadatta to Saktikumāra.

(2) Ahar stone-inscription (ii).—Discovered in the village of Ahar (Ahar) near Udaipur. It was incised on a piece of marble built into some steps leading to the terrace of a Jaina temple. It appears from the inscription that during the reign of Saktikumāra 'the previously existing practice of offering each year 14 drammās to the sun-god (tapana) was continued.' It mentions the name of Aksapatalika Mattāta.

(3) Ahar stone-inscription (iii).—Incised in a Jaina Devakulikā at Ahar, near Udaipur. It is damaged and fragmentary. It probably contained a panegyric on Saktikumāra and some of his officials, and seems to mention Mattaṭa and Gundala, the two sons of Aksapatalika Śripati, as the two arms of Saktikumāra.

Nothing is known about the incidents of Saktikumāra's reign. He was succeeded by his son Ambāprasāda, also known as Āmraprāśāda. The Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342) and the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1496) omits

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2 For different interpretation of Mahidera (Brāhmaṇa) and Vipra-kula-nandana, see Mohanlal Vihānmal Pandia in JASB, 1912, pp. 63 ff.
4 Edited by C. Bendali, Jour. of Raj., p. 92; see also HR, II, p. 434.
5 Noticed in ASI, WC, 1906, p. 69; also in HR, II, pp. 434 and 437.
6 Also sometimes spelt as Ambāprasāda.
7 IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 246 ff.
8 BI, pp. 113 ff.; also ASI, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff. The record is sometimes called 'Ranpur inscription.'
him and places his brother Sucivarman immediately after Saktikumāra. But the Chitor inscription of the Guhilas, dated in V. S. 1331,1 and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1517)2 mention him as successor of Saktikumāra and predecessor of Sucivarman. A damaged unpublished inscription found at Ahar mentions his queen as belonging to the Caulukya-varaṇa. Unfortunately her name is lost.3 Ambāprasāda seems to have had a tragic end. The Prthvirāja-vijaya claims that the Sakambhari Cāhamāna Vākpatirāja II sent Ambāprasāda, the lord of Āghāta, with his army to the abode of Yama.4 The epithet Āghāta-pati applied to the Guhila prince shows that the royal residence was now definitely transferred from Nāgarhada to this place. In the Atpur inscription of Saktikumāra he is described as having 'established himself at Atapura,' which is generally taken as another form of the name of Āghāta or modern Ahar. Probably the Guhila princes had begun to prefer this new city as their place of residence even earlier.5

Ambāprasāda was succeeded by his brother Sucivarman, for whose reign only one inscription is known. This is his Hastamalā temple-inscription at Ahar.6 Unfortunately this epigraph which is cut on one of the steps leading to the entrance to the temple, is much mutilated. In the beginning it mentions king Sucivarman as son of Saktikumāra. Its object was probably to register the foundation of the temple to the god Rāhileśvara. It also mentions one Śoduka of the Caulukyakula and his daughter Mahimā; but owing to its damaged state their relationship with the other persons mentioned cannot be determined. The history of the Guhilas after Sucivarman is rather obscure. From the inscriptions of the 14th century and

1 IA, Vol. XXII, pp. 80-81.
2 HR, II, p. 440; see also ASI, WC., 1905-06, p. 81, No. 2214.
3 HR, II, p. 498, fn. 1.
4 Va. 29-30; see also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Cāhamānas, p. 1008.
6 BR, pp. 72-74; see also HR, II, p. 442, fn. 1.
later we may perhaps be allowed to conclude that Naravarman (alias Nṛvarman), Anantavarman, Kṛtivarman (alias Yaśovarman), Yogarāja and Vairāṭa succeeded Sucivarman, one after the other, on the throne of Medapāṭa. The Chitor inscription dated V.S. 1331,1 and the Abu inscription dated V.S. 13422 of Samarasimha mention Naravarman as the successor of Sucivarman. The unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription has the following verse:3

NṛvarmanAntavarman ca Yaśovarman mahīpatis, 
trayop'py Ambāprasadasya jajñire bhrātaro'sya ca.

This may indicate that these three brothers of Ambāprasadāda probably succeeded Sucivarman. The Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342) however mentions after Naravarman the names of only Kṛtivarman and Vairāṭa.4 But the Sadadi inscription of Kumbha places Kṛtivarman, Yogarāja and Vairāṭa in succession to Sucivarman while the Kumbhalgarh inscription of the same king dated in V. S. 1517 gives Nṛvarman, Yaśovarman, Yogarāja and Vairāṭa after Ambāprasadāda.5 The above shows that there was considerable confusion in the 14th century and later regarding the order of succession and the names of the rulers who came after Naravarman. No records either epigraphic or numismatic, are known to refer themselves to these princes, and the only important information about them is contained in the unpublished Kumbhalgarh inscription which tells us that after Yogarāja Vairāṭa, a descendant of Allāṭa, occupied the throne.6 This certainly indicates that the princes

1 IA, Vol. XXII, pp. 80, 81. The names after Naravarman are lost.
2 IA, XVI, pp. 345 ff. 3 Quoted in HR, II, p. 430, fn. 1.
3 IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 ff. 4 Bil, pp. 113 ff.; see also ASI, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff.
5 HR, II, p. 440.
6 Tatāt ca Yogarāja 'bhūn-Medapāṭe mahīpatiḥ, 
apī rāṣṭe sthite tasmātu tascāḥ-(no divāḥ) gotāḥ. 
padeśā Allāṭa-nāṭāṃs Vairāṭa-'bhūn narēcaraḥ.—HR, II, p. 443, fn. 9.

But Muhanota Naināl in his chronicle (17th century) describes Vairāṭa as the son of Yogarāja (Yogarājarā), see Muhanota Naināl ki Khāṭo (Prathams bhāga). Hindi Trans. by R. Dugaṭa, p. 90.
from Vairaṭa downwards belonged to a separate line, which claimed descent from Allāṭa. Whether this Allāṭa is the Guhila prince of the same name who ruled in V. S. 1008-10 is uncertain. I have already accepted the conjecture of Ojha that the names Kṛtivarman and Yaśavarman being synonymous, probably belonged to the same person. We do not know the exact relationship between this prince and Yogarāja, though there is no reason to doubt that he was closely connected with him. We may tentatively suggest the following order of succession after Allāṭa

(1) Allāṭa

(2) Naravāhana

(3) Sālivāhana

(4) Saktikumāra

(5) Ambāprāśāda (6) Sucivarman (7) Naravarman (8) Anantarvarman (9) Kṛtivarman

alias

Yaśavarman

(10) Yogarāja

(11) Vairaṭa

(Descending of Allāṭa?)

As we have the dates V. S. 1034 for Saktikumāra and V. S. 1173 for the fourth from Vairaṭa, we may roughly fix the period V. S. 1050-1125, corresponding to c. 993-1068, as that during which the seven princes from Nos. 5-11 may have held sway in Medapāṭa, or in portions of it. This gives each of them a reign of little less than 10½ years. There is reason to suspect that during most of this period a large part of Medapāṭa was conquered by the Paramāras of Mālava. The Chirwa stone-inscription of Samarasiṃha (V. S. 1330) tells us that Madana, who was appointed his Talara in the fort of Citrakūṭa, composed
hymns of praise in honour of Śiva in the temple of Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa raised by Bhoja-rāja. This Bhoja has rightly been identified with the Paramāra Bhoja who ruled in Malāva from c. 1010 to 1055 A.D. I have shown elsewhere that Bhoja was in possession of Vāgaḍa, the area now occupied by the States of Dungarpur and Banswara, and that his armies maintained contact with the Cāhamānas of Naddula. It may therefore indicate that before they could recover from their defeat at the hands of the Sākambhārī Vākpati, Medapāṭa was invaded and practically conquered by the Paramāras. But following their usual practice, the Guhilas perhaps maintained their independence in the more hilly and inaccessible portions of Mewar. Whether the Mewar territories of the Paramāras after the death of Bhoja passed under the control of the Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) is more than we can say at present. But there is sufficient evidence to show that the Caulukyas during the rule of Jayasiṁha (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) and his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) dominated a large part of Mewar. The Chitor inscriptions of the latter prince show that, like Bhoja, he was in possession of Chitor c. 1150 A.D. It is therefore not surprising that the later prāstāvikāras of the Guhilas found it rather difficult to give a satisfactory account of the Guhila princes who ruled in the 11th and early 12th centuries. It is very significant that the Chitor inscription of the Caulukya Kumārapāla dated in V. S. 1207 refers only to his campaign against the rulers of Sākambhārī, and does not even hint at the existence of the Guhila kingdom. It is therefore possible that the Guhilas during this period had either become feudatories of the Caulukyas or otherwise occupied so insignificant a position as to deserve omission in a record of royal victories. It should also be noted that not a single inscription of Śaktikumāra’s (V. S. 1034) nine successors survives and even later up to the time of Jaitrasimha (V. S. 1270-1309) the epigraphic records of the

\[1\] WEKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142ff.

Guhilas are extremely rare. This remarkable scarcity of epigraphic documents, when considered with other facts detailed above, tends to support our conclusion as to the comparative insignificance of the Guhilas of Mewar during the 11th, 12th, and even the 13th centuries A.D.

According to the Sadadi (V.S. 1496) and Kumbhalgarh (V.S. 1517) inscriptions of Rāṇā Kumbha, Vairāṭa was succeeded by Hāṃsapāla, and the latter by Vairisimhha. According to the Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342) Vairisimhha was followed by Vijayasimhha. The accuracy of this order of succession is fortunately verified by the Bheraghat inscription of the reign of the Pāhala Kalacuri Narasimhadeva, dated in the Kalacuri year 907 (c. 1155 A.D.). It gives us the following genealogy of his mother Alhanadevi:

Gobhila-putra

Hāṃsapāla................Prāguṭa 'vanipāla

Vairisimhha   Mālava (Paramāra)
          Udayāditya (c. 1060-87 A.D.)

Vijayasimhha=Syāmaladevi

Alhanadevi=Gayākarna (1151 A.D.)
Pāhala Kalacuri.

This matrimonial connection between Udayāditya and Vijayasimhha suggests an alliance between the struggling Paramāra and Guhila dynasties against the imperialism of the Caulukyas, who under Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the fall

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1 HI, pp. 118 ff.
2 HS, II, p. 440.
3 Given as Vadhāpāla in the Sadadi epigraph. This is clearly a mistake of the scribe.
4 Given as Vrasisimha II, by the two inscriptions of Kumbha mentioned above. See HI, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 100, No. 784.
of Bhoja I (c. 1055 A.D.). Only one inscription was so far known for the reign of Vijayasimha. This is his Paldi stone-inscription dated in V.S. 1173 (c. 1116 A.D.). It was found in the temple of Kārttikāsvāmin near Paldi about 4 miles north of Udaipur. But recently Ojha claims to have discovered a grant of this prince in the village of Kadmal. According to him it is incised on two plates and contains the genealogy of the Guhīlas from Guhadatta to Vijayasimha of Nāgahrāda. It is dated in (V.S. 1164 (c. 1108 A.D.).

Nothing is known about the next three princes, Arisimha, Coḍa (or Coḍasimha) and Vikramasimha (or Vikramakesari). Even their relationship to each other is uncertain. Thus while the Abu inscription of Samarasiṃha (V.S. 1342 mentions) Vikramasiṃha as the son of Coḍa the Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha (V.S. 1517) refers to Vikramakesari as the elder brother (āgraṇa) of Coḍa. According to the Sadādi and Kumbhalgarh inscriptions of Kumbha Vikramasimha was succeeded by his son Raṇasimha. Bhandarkar has identified this prince with the Mahaṃdālaśvara Rājakula Raṇasīdeva reigning at Camdapallī, whose Ajahari stone-inscription is dated in V.S. 1223 (A.D. 1167). It was found at Ajahari, Jodhpur State, Rajputana. The Ekalīga-mahāmya, composed in the reign of Rāṇa

1 Noticed in RMR, 1915-16, p. 9.
2 Noticed in HR, II, pp. 445-46. The genealogy from Guhadatta to Allāṣa is the same as the Abu inscription of Saktikūhāra (V.S. 1034). See ibid, fn. 1. Ojha has not been able to decipher the inscription fully. See also Rajputana Gazeteer, Vol. II A (Mewar Residency), 1908, p. 14.
3 See EI, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 28, No. 176. D. R. Bhandarkar is inclined to refer the Piped, Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription of Rāṇa Śri-Rājakula[Vijayasimha reigning in V.S. 1394 to this prince, see EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 49, No. 226.
4 IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 f.
5 HR, II, p. 446, fn. 3.
6 HR, II, p. 440; EI, pp. 113 f. This name is omitted in the Abu inscription of Samarasiṃha, IA, Vol. XVI, pp. 345 f.
7 According to D. R. Bhandarkar ‘probably the same as Candrāvatī.’
8 Noticed in ASI, WC, 1910-11, p. 39. See also EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 49, No. 4; also fn. 1, on the same page. This would place him before Vijayasimha if we accept Bhandarkar’s identification in ibid, p. 49, No. 226. See above, fn. 3 on this page.
Kumbha, gives the name of this prince as Karṇa which appears to be another name of Raṇasimha. This work tells us that from the reign of 'Karṇa' the Guhilas branched off into two sections, one of which was known as Rāval (Rājakula), and the other as Rāṇā. In the Rāval branch flourished Jitāsimha (Jaitrasimha), Samarasiṁha and Ratnasiṁha, while in the Rāṇā branch there were Māhapa, Rāhapa, etc. The Rāvals ruled in the fort of Citrakūta, while the Rāṇās were the chiefs of Sesoda under the former, and became known as the Sesodia clan. It was Hammira of this line who recovered Chitor from the Muslims after it had been taken from the Rāval Ratansimha in 1303 A.D. and revived once again the power of the Guhilas in Mewar.

Raṇasimha (Karṇa) was succeeded by his son Kṣemasiṁha, who is represented in the Kumbhalgarh Prābasti as the younger brother of Mahana. This may indicate that Mahana was passed over in favour of the younger son Kṣemasiṁha, a not unusual incident in the history of the Rajput dynasties. Nothing is known about Kṣemasiṁha. He was succeeded by his son Sāmantasimha, for whose reign we have the following seven inscriptions:

(1) Jagat stone-inscription.—Incised on a pillar in the temple of Ambādevī at the village of Jagat, in the Chapan district of Mewar. It is dated in V.S. 1228 (c. 1172 A.D.), in the reign of Mahārāja Sāmantasimha, and records the gift of a Suvarna-kalasa to the local temple.  

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1 Ht, II, p. 447. The Ekādiṣa-māhātmya gives the name of Karṇa's father as Śri-Puṣṭa, which is taken by Ojha as another name of Vikramasiṁha. Ojha points out that the author of the Māhātmya, in trying to exaggerate the importance of Karṇa, describes the princes of most of the countries known to him as paying homage to him.

2 The Māhātmya does not mention the name of the 6 princes (Kṣemasiṁha to Padmaśiṁha) who ruled between Raṇasimha (Karṇa) and Jaitrasimha.

3 Sadur (V.S. 1496) and Kumbhalgarh (V.S. 1517) inscriptions; see also Ht, II, p. 440.


5 Noticed in RMR, 1914-15, p. 8; Ht, II, p. 449. See also IA, Vol. LIII, p. 100, n. 2.
GUHILA-PUTRAS OF THE PUNJAB, RAJPUTANA & KATHIAWAR 1181

(2) Solaj stone-inscription.—Incised on the door of the temple of Boreśvara Mahādeva near the village of Solaj on the bank of the Mahi in the Dungarpur State, Rajputana. It is dated in V.S. 1236 (c. 1179 A.D.), in the reign of the same as in No. 1 above.¹

(3) Uthman (Sirohi State, Rajputana) inscription of the time of Sāṃvatasimha (Sāṃrantasimha, dated in V.S. 1256 A.D. 1200). It is incised on a pilaster of a temple of Mahādeva at Uthman about 11½ miles NE. of Sirohi. Language is Mārvārī.²

(4) Bāmnera (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription (i) of Mahārāja Sāmantasimha, dated in V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). It is incised on a porch pillar of a temple of Sūrya at Bāmnera, about 7 miles from Erinpura railway station.³

(5) Bāmnera (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription (ii) of the time of M.-Sāmantasimha dated in V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). Incised and found as No. 4.⁴

(6) Sanderav (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription of the time M.-Sāmantasahadeva dated in V.S. 1258 (A.D. 1202). Incised on a pillar of a Jain temple of Mahāvīra at Sanderav about 10 miles NW. of Bāli.⁵

(7) Bāmnera (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) inscription (iii) of the time of M.-Sāmantasimha, dated in V.S. 1258 (AD. 1202). Incised and found as No. 4.⁶

¹ Noted in RMR, 1014-15, p. 3; HR, II, p. 440.
² Noted in ASI, WC, 1916-17, pp. 65-66; also EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 64, No. 441.
³ Ibid, 1909-09, p. 82; also EI, Vol. Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 64, No. 444.
⁴ Ibid; also EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 64, No. 445.
⁵ Ibid; also EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 64, No. 446.
⁶ Ibid; also EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 64, No. 447. Though from the notices of the inscriptions No. 3-7 in the ASI, WC, it appears that the dynastic name of the ruler is not specifically mentioned. Bhandarkar accepts him as a Guhila (EI, XX, Appendix). In the opinion of some, however, the provenance of these records seem to create some difficulties in the acceptance of this Sāmantasimha as belonging to the Guhila dynasty. The Ustrā (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) devī inscription recording that the Guhilaśtri Rāṣṭra Maṭijavārak was followed Sati by his wife, a Mohill in V.S. 1248 (A.D. 1199) must be referred to this reign. See ASI, WC, 1911-12, p. 53.
The seven inscriptions noticed above give the dates V.S. 1228-1258, corresponding to c. 1171-1202 A.D., for Sāmantasimha. But they supply no details of the incidents of his reign. He has however been identified with the Sāmantasimha who is mentioned in an inscription in the shrine of Neminātha on Mt. Abu dated in V.S. 1287 (1230 A.D.) as contemporary with Prahlādana, the younger brother of the Candrāvatī Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa (c. 1168-1219 A.D.). This inscription tells us that Prahlādana, apparently during the administration of his brother, defended the Gurjara king when his power had been broken by Sāmantasimha. I have already suggested the identification of the Gurjara king with the Caulukya Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.), the nephew and successor of Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). Kumārapāla, as we have seen, was in possession of the fort of Chitor and a large portion of Mewar. It is possible that Sāmantasimha, taking advantage of the trouble that followed Kumārapāla’s death c. 1173 A.D., tried to recover Chitor or otherwise to strengthen his position. The Abu inscription and the provenance of his records show that he at first gained considerable degree of success, but Ajayapāla partially recovered his position with the help of his feudatory’s brother. There is reason to believe that Ajayapāla took such drastic steps against Sāmantasimha that the latter for some time at least had to take shelter in the hills of Vāgada, which lies to the east of the Mahi, and is now known as the State of Dungarpur. The Abu inscription of Samarasisimha (V.S. 1342) relates that Kumārasimha, the successor of Sāmantasimha, “made the earth possessed of a good king after having taken it away again from the possession of the enemy.” The unpublished

1 When edited properly they may reveal some important data.
2 *El*, Vol. III. pp. 290-94 and 360-19; see also ante, pp. 918 and 1014.
3 See ante, *DHNI*, Vol. II, chapter on the Caulukyas, pp. 100 ff. See also ibid, chapter on the Paramāras, p. 918.
Kumbhalgarh inscription of Kumbha says that after Sāmanta-
simha his brother Kumārasimha ousted from the country the
enemy prince Kīṭu, who had seized his kingdom, and after
pleasing the Gurjara king became king at Āghāṭapura. This
Kīṭu has been identified with Kīrtipāla, a younger brother of
the Naddūla Cāhamāna Kelhāna (c. 1163-92 A.D.), the reputed
founder of the Jāvālipura Cāhamānas. I have shown elsewhere
that Kelhāna was a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumārapāla
about 1171 A.D., and it is not unlikely that he continued to
acknowledge the sovereignty of his successor Ajayapāla. The
principality of Kīrtipāla assigned to him in his father
Āhana's reign (c. 1152-62 A.D.) appertained to Naddūlai,
modern Nādlai in Godwar (Jodhpur State), not far from the
frontiers of Mewar. It is therefore quite likely that on the
instructions and with the assistance of Ajayapāla, Kīrtipāla
invaded Mewar and occupied it on behalf of the Caulukya king.
This possibly happened sometime after c. 1171 A.D., the date of
the Jagat inscription of Sāmantaśimha, and before c. 1179 A.D.,
the date of his Solaj inscription. The former was found in the
state of Udaipur and the latter in the State of Dungarpur
(Vāgāḍa). According to Muhaṅota Naṁsi, Sāmantaśimha
voluntarily abdicated his throne of Chitor in favour of his
younger brother, in reward of his devoted service to him, and
having ousted and killed Caurasimalaka, the prince of Vāgāḍa,
established his line in that region. We can well believe the

1 Sāmantaśimha-nāma bhūpatir bhūtale jātah. Bhratā Kumārasimha 'bhūt svarūpā-
grāhīnām param, daśāṁ niśkāsanāmāsa Kīṭa-sahāṁ nṛpatām tu yaṁ, cakrāñm Āghāṭa-purān
Gurjara-nṛpatām prasādaya. See HR, II, p. 451, fn. 2.
3 HR, Vol. XI, pp. 47-48; also ante, DHNI, chapters on the Caulukyas and Cāha-
mānas, pp. 984-85, 987-88, 1119-20 and 1121.
4 HR, Vol. IX, pp. 96-70.
5 Also called Muhotap Nāpa or Māṭa Nāpa, the author of the yet unpublished Khyāta,
a valuable chronicle of the history of Raiputana. The author lived in the court of the
Kathop prince Jaswant Singh (A.D. 1688-79) of Marwar. Recently a Hindi translation of a
part of the work has been published. See Bibliography at the end of the chapter.
6 HR, II, pp. 453-54.
chronicler as regards his statement about the retirement of Sāmantasimha from Mewar to Dungarpur, for this is supported by the Solaj stone-inscription of the Guhila prince. But what he writes about the voluntary abdication, when read with the statements of the tradition contained in his successor’s inscriptions, seems clearly to be wrong. It appears that after the defeat of Sāmantasimha, when the country was occupied by the Jalor Cāhamāna Kitu, his brother Kumārasimha succeeded in pacifying the wrath of the Caukulya sovereign and with his assistance got himself installed on the throne of Āghāta-pura (mod. Ahar), from which his brother had been ousted. Kitu seems to have retired to his Jalor principality after peace had thus been restored between the two powers. Kumārasimha, we may assume, must have acknowledged the supremacy of the Caukulyas. As we have inscriptions of Kṛtipāla’s son Samarasiṃha dated in 1182 A.D., the restoration of the Guhila power appears to have occurred sometime before this date. The contemporary Caukulya prince may have been Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76), or any of his two immediate successors, Mūlarāja II (c. 1176-78 A.D.) and Bhimadeva II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.). The inscriptions Nos. 3-7 of Sāmantasimha, if they really belong to him, seem to indicate that he took full advantage of the weakness of the Caukulyas during the period c. 1176-1202 A.D. to recover his power to some extent and even extend his authority across the Aravalli Range into the Sirohi and Jodpur States.

According to the Abu inscription of Samarasiṃha¹ (V.S. 1342) and the Sadadi² (V.S. 1496) and Kumbhalgarh³ (V.S. 1517) inscriptions of Kumbha, Kumārasimha was succeeded by his son⁴ Mathanasimha and the latter by his son Padmasimha.⁵ No inscriptions are known for the reigns of these two princes. The only

¹ IA, XVI, pp. 346.
² BI, pp. 113 ff.; ASI, 1907-08, pp. 214 ff.
³ HR, II, p. 440.
⁴ The Abu inscription does not specify relationship, but see HR, II, p. 458.
⁵ Ibid.
light upon the subject comes from the Chirwa inscription of Samarasilha (V.S. 1330). This states that Mathanasimha appointed Uddharaṇa of the Tāṁtaradha family to the post of the Talārakṣa of the city of Nāgadraha (Nagda). His duties are probably indicated by the words duṣṭa-duṣṭa-sīkṣana-rakṣana-dakṣatva used by the praśastikāra to praise him. Uddharaṇa, we are told, had 8 sons, of whom the eldest, Yogarāja, was appointed as Talāra in the same city by Padmasimha.

Padmasimha was succeeded by his son Jaitrasimha. The following dates and records are known for his reign:

(1) Eklīngaji stone-inscription.—On a stone near the Nandi in the courtyard of the temple of Eklīngaji in Mewar. It is dated in (V.S.) 1270 (c. 1213 A.D.), in the reign of M. Jaitrasimhadeva.

(2) Nandesama stone-inscription.—Engraved on a pillar in the temple of Śurya (the Sun) at the village of Nandesama in Mewar. It is dated in V.S. 1279 (c. 1223 A.D.), when M. Jayatasimha was victoriously reigning at Nāgadraha, and while Mahām Duṅgarasimha was administering the treasury (Śī-karūṇa).

(3) MS. of the Daśavaikālikā-sūtra.—Written by Hemacandra in (V.)S. 1284 (c. 1227 A.D.) at Aghāṭa-durqa in the reign (kalyāṇa-pijaya-rājye) of Samasta-rājacakā-samalaṅkarṭa-M. Jaitrasimha, while the Mahāmātya Jagatsimha appointed by him, was carrying on the administration of the seal (samasta-mudrā-vaṇpurāṇa paripanṭhayati).

1 WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.
3 For the figures Talāra and Talārakṣa, see ibid, pp. 146-47.
4 "An example of the figure Yathaśāṭikha" (Barnett).
6 Apparently also known as Jayatasimha, Jayasimha, Jayachasimha, Jitasisimha, Jayatal and Jjesala.
7 Cf, p. 106 fn.; HR, II, p. 470, fn. 2; also Bhāṣya Prācina-vadha-astagraha, p. 47, fn.
8 Noticed in RMR, 1925, p. 9; see also HR, II, p. 470, fn. 9.
9 Peterson’s Third Report (1884-85), Appendix, p. 52. The date is quoted by Kielhorn in IA, Vol. XIX, p. 185, No. 86; see also HR, II, p. 471, fn. 1.

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(4) Jharole stone-inscription.—Engraved on a lintel of the temple of Vayajnanatha (Vaidyanatha-Siva) at Jharole. It is dated in (V.)S. 1308 (c. 1251 A.D.), in the reign of the illustrious Maharájakaula (Mahârâval) Jayasimhadeva, while he was ruling over Vâgâda. It registers the erection of the temple by one Khetaka and two others.¹

(5) MS. of the Pâkṣika-vṛtti.—Written by Tâkkura Jayatara in Äghāta in (V.)S. 1309 (c. 1256 A.D.), in the reign of M. Jayatasimha and that of his dependent (ásrita) Jayasimha, while Talhana was transacting the business of the seal.²

The above records give dates ranging from V.S. 1270 to 1309, corresponding to c. 1213-1256 A.D. As we have the date V.S. 1317 (c. 1260 A.D.) for his son and successor, his reign certainly ended some time between c. 1256 and 1260 A.D.³ The titles and epithets of Jaitrasimha seem to indicate that he very nearly succeeded where his predecessors had failed. Though the title Mahârajadhâvira is no sure indication of sovereign rank, the facts of his reign, as we shall presently see, seem to show that he had won a larger degree of independence than any of his predecessors. His success was no doubt due to a large measure to the fall of the Câhamânas of Sâkambhart and the decline of the Paramâras of Málaya and the Caułukyas of Anhilvada. In the latter kingdom the intrigues and treason of Vîradhavala and other high officials of the State had paralysed foreign policy. It was at this opportune moment that the reign of Jaitrasimha came; and he was not slow to take advantage of his position. In the Guhila inscriptions he is unanimously praised for his military success against his various neighbours and the Muslims. Thus the Ghaghsha inscription of his son Tejasimha (V.S. 1322) tells

¹ Noticed in RMR, 1925, p. 2.
² HR, II, p. 471, fn. 2.
³ But see ASI, WC, 1905-06, p. 61. No. 2292, which records a Chitoragadh inscription dated in (V.)S. 1322, coroa Kârtika sadi 12, which is apparently dated in the reign of the Guhila prince Jaitrasimha. Strangely, it speaks of Jaitrasimha as a brother of Padmâsiha. It is now in Udaipur. BI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 81, does not notice this record.
us that the lords of Mālava, Gurjara, Śākambharī and the Turuṣkās were unable to humble his pride. The Chirwa inscription of his grandson Samarasimha (V.S. 1330) asserts that his pride was never brought low by the princes of Mālava, Gurjara, Jāṅgala, and the Mlecchas. The Abu inscription of the same prince (V.S. 1342) declares that his arm “completely eradicated Naḍūla, and he proved a very Agastya to the Turuṣka army. Even now the mistresses of the goblins were tottering about intoxicated with the blood of the Sindhubhā (?) army.” The conflict with the Gurjaras must refer to his struggles with the Caulukya Bṛhma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), or with his feudatory the Dholka Rānā Viradhavala. GeiGER however would identify the Rāṇaka Tribhuvana mentioned in the Chirwa inscription with the Caulukya Tribhuvanapāla, who appears to have succeeded Bṛhma II, at Aushillapātaka before V.S. 1299 (c. 1242 A.D.). The inscription relates that Bāla, the grandson of Yogarāja, the Talāra of Nagda in the reign of Padmasimha, went to heaven fighting in front (purataḥ) of Jaitrasimha to capture Koṭṭadaka from the Rāṇaka Tribhuvana. The mention of a struggle with the rulers of Śākambharī and Jāṅgala seems to point to a conflict between Jaitrasimha and the Cāhamānas, who were the traditional rulers of these places. But as both

1. *RMR*, 1927, p. 3.
   
   Na Mularīgona na Gaurjarena
   na Maravelena na Jāṅgalema
   Mlecchādināthena kadāpi māno
   mānāma na ninya’ samiparyya yasya. (V. 6.)
5. Bālākaḥ Koṭṭahaka-
grahaḥ Śrī-Jaitrasimha-arpa-purataḥ,
   Tribhuvana-rāṇaka-yuddha,
jayāma yuddhā param lokam (V. 19).

Prthvirāja III (c. 1179-92 A.D.) and his brother Harirāja (1194 A.D.) were ousted from those regions sometime before his accession. I am led to conclude that these wars must refer to Jaitrasimha's hostilities with the successors of the Cāhamānas in those territories, viz. the Muslims. This guess is supported by the references to his conflict with the Turuśkas, which probably first took place when he attacked Nadol. The Naddula Cāhamānas had once lost that fort to Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī in 1178 A.D. It again fell into the hands of Qubr ud-Dīn in A.D. 1197; and it probably remained in the possession of the Muslims during part of Jaitrasimha's reign. The Abu inscription of Samarasimha, by associating Jaitrasimha's destruction of Nadula with his victory over the Turuśkas, seems to lend support to Bhandarkar's conjecture that his attack took place when Qubr ud-Dīn was in possession of Eastern Marwar including Nadol. But Ojha has recently expressed the opinion that the conflict at Nadol was not with the Turuśkas but with the Jāvālipura Cāhamāna Udayasimha (c. 1206-49 A.D.), who is credited in the Sundha hill-inscription with having ruled over Naddula, and who was also a contemporary of Jaitrasimha (c. 1213-56 A.D.). The Chirwa inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1330) seems to indicate that Jaitrasimha also fought with the Paramāras of Mālava. It tells us that Madana, the grandson of Yogarāja, an officer of Padmasimha, fought in the battlefield of Uttunaka on behalf of Jesala against the Pañcaguhā Jaitramalla. Ojha would identify Jesala with the Guhila Jaitrasimha, and Jaitramalla with the Mālava Paramāra Jaitugideva (c. 1239-43 A.D.), who were both contemporaries of each other. The Abu inscription of Samarasimha (V.S. 1342), which mentions Jaitrasimha's victory over the Sindhuka army, probably

2 EI, Vol. XI, p. 73.
3 HR, II, pp. 461-62.
4 Mod. Arthuna, in Banswara State, Rajputana.
5 According to Ojha a title, but what does it signify?
refers to a possible conflict with the rulers of Sind on the West.¹

But the most important trial of Jayasimha's strength took place when the Muslims invaded his territory and devastated Nagadraha (mod. Nagda) and perpetrated terrible brutalities on the population of Medapata. This is revealed by the Hammirmadama-mardana of Jayasimha,² which gives the details of the invasion of the territories of Jayatala, the lord of Medapata, by the Tursaka-viras under the Mleccha-cakravartin 'Milacchikara.' We are told that even the children were butchered and people threw themselves in the wells rather than fall into the hands of the invader. The author tells us that the enemy was only compelled to retreat northwards to his territories by the advance of the victorious legions of the Dholka chief Vtradhavala and the intrigues of the spies of his minister Vastupala. The reality of this Muslim invasion is proved by the Chirwa inscription referred to above, which tells us that Pampara, a son of Yogara, the Talara appointed by Padmaisimha at Nagadraha, was killed when that city was destroyed by the soldiers of the 'Suvarana.'³ It seems probable that both Jayasimha and the composer of this record refer to the same invasion. Rai Bahadur Ojha thinks that 'Milacchikara' of Jayasimha is but a Sanskritization of the word Amir Shikar which was conferred by Qutb ud-Din on his slave Iltutmish (1211-36 A.D.).⁴ Whatever may be the value of this identification on phonetic grounds, I have shown elsewhere that Sultan Iltutmish really undertook a number of expeditions to Rajputana. He captured Jalor sometime between 1211 and 1216 A.D., and Mandor about 1226 A.D. In one of these he may have overrun Mewar. The raid on Nagda may possibly have been undertaken for plundering the treasures of

¹ This ruler of Sind was possibly a Sunra chief, see ante, DHNI, Vol. I, Dynastic History of Sind, pp. 31ff. See also Ojha, HR, II, pp. 468-69.


⁴ See ante, p. 1021, fn. 8; also HR, II, p. 467.
the temple of Ekaliṅga. But it is strange that the Muslim historians should not refer to any conflict with Jaitrasimha. This does not indicate that the Mewar prince was considered a very important ruler of the time. Ojha however concludes from the silence of the Muslim chroniclers that Il tumish was defeated by Jaitrasimha, thus justifying the poet’s description of the latter as a veritable Agastya to the Turuṣka army. The same scholar throws out the suggestion that it was after the capture of Nāgadrāha by the Muslims that the Guhilas definitely transferred their capital to Chitor. Another invasion of Mewar by the Muslims appears to have taken place in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir ud-Dīn (1242-46 A.D.). Firishta narrates that the king’s brother, Jālāl ud-Dīn, when summoned from his government of Kanauj, became ‘ apprehensive of a design against his life ‘ and so fled to the hills of Chitor with all his adherents. The king pursued him; but finding, after eight months, that he could not secure him returned to Dehli.” It is again curious that the Muslim historian does not mention the name of the Mewar prince.

Jaitrasimha was succeeded by his son Tejasimha. The following dates and records are known for his reign:

(1) MS. of Srāvaka-pratikramana-sūtra-cūrṇi.—Written by Kamalacandra, disciple of Rāmacandra, a resident of Aghāta, in (V.)S. 1317 (c. 1260 A.D.), when the M.-P.-Pb.-Umaṭi-vara-labdha-pratāpa-samalāṅkṛta-Srī-Tejasimhadeva was reigning victoriously at Aghāta-durga, and while his Mahāmātya Samudvara was carrying on the administration of the Seal (Mudrā vyāpārān paripanthyayati);

1 HR, II, pp. 467-68. See CHI, Vol. III, map facing p. 64, in which Mewar is included within the kingdom of Delhi in 1336 A.D.
2 HR, p. 469.
4 Petermann’s Report, p. 23; HR, II, p. 473, fn. 4. Dr. Barnett also drew my attention to this MS.
(2) Ghaghsa stone-inscription.—Found in the village of Ghaghsa near Chitor. It contains 28 lines of mutilated writing. The first two verses praise Mahādeva Somanātha, while verses 3-8 trace the genealogy of Tejasimha from Padmasimha. The prātasti then describes the family of the Mahājana Ratna, belonging to the Īndu family, who built the well where the inscription was originally found. It is dated in (V.)S. 1322 (c. 1265 A.D.), and was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri of the Chaitra-gaccha.¹

(3) Chitor stone-inscription.—Incised on a stone fixed on an arch of the bridge on the Gambhiri river near Chitor. The stone is reported to have originally belonged to the temple of Mahāvīra, at the Talahaṭṭika ² of Citrakūṭa-mahādurga. The record is dated in (V.)S. 1324 (c. 1267 A.D.), in the reign of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Tejasimhadeva. It mentions Hemacandra Sūri and others of the Caitra-gaccha.²

The above records give us dates from V.S. 1317 to 1324 (c. 1260-67 A.D.) for Tejasimha. The assumption of imperial titles, as well as the epithets which were formerly found on the records of the Caulukyas of Anhilvada, seems to indicate that Tejasimha completed the process which began in his father's reign of asserting his complete independence. It seems significant that the epithet Umāpativara-labdha-praudha-pratāpa should appear on his records so soon after the end of the reign of Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241) and his successor Tribhuvanapāla (c. 1241-44 A.D.) It is to be noted in this connection that the Vāghela Vīsaladeva (c. 1244-62 A.D.), who apparently succeeded Tribhuvanapāla at Anhilvada about 1244 A.D., claims to be

¹ Noticed in RMR, 1927, p. 3. The epigraph is now deposited in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.
² Talahati, a town at the foot of the hill of Chitor, of which there is at present no trace.
³ First noticed by Syamasadas in JASB, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 46-47; then in RMR, 1929, p. 3. The record is sometimes called 'Citorgadh inscription,' EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 81, No. 570.
Medapâta-deva-kalûsa in his Kadi grant, dated in V.S. 1317\(^1\) of Tejasimha. It is therefore probable that Tejasimha came into conflict with the newly founded Vâghela principality of Gujarart.

That the two princes were contemporaries is further proved by the claim of Ratnaprabha, composer of the Chirwa inscription (V.S. 1330), that he was honoured by Viśvaladeva and Tejasimhadeva.\(^2\) One of the queens of Tejasimha was Jayatalladevi, the mother of his successor Samarasiṁha. Ojha is of opinion that he had another queen named Rûpadevi, who was a daughter of the Jalor Câhâmâna Câcigadeva (c. 1262-68 A.D.).\(^3\) I see however no ground to agree with him that this marriage must have taken place in the reign of Tejasimha’s father Jaitrasimha.

Tejasimha was succeeded by his son Samarasiṁha. The following dates and records are known for his reign:

(1) Chirwa stone-inscription.—Incised on the outside of the door of the temple of Viśṇu at the village of Chirwâ, about 10 miles north of Udaipur and 2 miles east of Nagda. It contains 51 Sanskrit verses, opening with Om namah Śrî-Mahâdevâya and verses in praise of Yogarâjesvara (Siva), and then tracing the genealogy of Samarasiṁha from Padmasimha. The latter was born many years after Bappa of the Guhilângaja-vamsa. The inscription then gives the genealogy and history of the various members of a family who claimed to belong to the Tântaraṇa family (jâtau-Tântaraṇa-jâtau) who served in various capacities in the Guhila administration from the time of Mathanasimha onwards. The object of the inscription is to record that in the village of Cirakûpâ, near Nâgahraḍa,\(^4\) Yogarâja, the talâra of Padmasimha in the city of Nâgadhraḍa,\(^5\) raised a temple to (Siva) Yogarâjesvara and his consort Yogarâjesvari. Before this Uddharaṇa

\(^2\) WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142 ff.
\(^3\) HR, II, p. 462. See also DHNI, Vol. II, chapter on the Câhâmânas, p. 1133.
\(^4\) Mod. Chirwa.
\(^5\) Mod. Nagda.
\(^6\) Same as Nâgahraḍa. See WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 150 ff., Vs. 10, 12, 16, and 14.
had also erected a temple in the same place to (Viṣṇu) Uddharaṇaśvāmin. Madana, grandson of Yogarāja, and his mother Hirū granted two fields situated at the back of the Kālebāya lake and to the north of Citrakūṭa-nagara-durga, to the temples after having divided them into two equal parts. The prāṣasti was composed by Ratnaprabha Sūri. It is dated in (V.) S. 1330 (c. 1273 A.D.).

(2) Chitor stone-inscription (i).—54 lines, incised on a large stone near the burning-ground in the neighbourhood of the Kirti-stambha of Kumbha. It contains only the first portion of the inscription; the second is lost. The opening verses invoke (Siva) Candraśa and Gaṇeśa. It then eulogises the Guhila-vamśa of Medapāta and its capital Nāgaradra. Next it traces the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who won Medapāta through the favour of Haritarāśi to Naravāhana. It was composed by Veda Sarman. Its date (V.) S. 1331 (c. 1274 A.D.), shows that it must belong to the reign of Sarvasimha.

(3) Chitor stone-inscription (ii) —Engraved on a lintel belonging to a Jaina temple in the fort of Chitor. It records the construction of a temple of Śyāma-Pārśvanātha by Jayatalladevi, queen of Tejasimha. It is dated in (V.) S. 1335 (c. 1278 A.D.), in the reign of Mahārājakula Sarvasimhadēva, the ornament of the Guhila family, and records a grant of land by him for the construction of a monastery for Pradyumma Sūri.

(4) Abu stone-inscription.—In a monastery adjoining a temple of Acaleśvara (Siva) near Achalgarh on Mt. Abu. It contains 48 lines. The inscription was composed by the same as in No. 2 above. It is dated in the reign of Sarvasimha or Samara of Modapāta in (V.) S. 1342 (c. 1285 A.D.), and records that he repaired a maṭha on Mt. Arbuda (Abu) at the

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1 Edited by Bernhard Geiger, WZKM, Vol. XXI, pp. 142-62.
2 BI, pp. 74 ff. Cunningham published a photographograph in ASR, Vol. XXIII, plate XXV. Then edited by Kielborgh, IA, XXII, pp. 80-81; see also HR, II, p. 479.
request of the Pāṣupata ascetic Bhāvaśankara. Its main value is that it supplies the genealogy of the family from Bappa, who first gained royalty through the favour of Hāritarāśi, practising penance at the town of Nāgarādra.

(5) Chitor stone-inscription (iii).—Engraved on a pillar about a mile or so from Chitor. It is dated in (V.) S. 1344 (c. 1287 A.D.) in the reign of Mahārājakula Samarasimha, and records some grants to the temple of Vaidyanātha built on a tank called Citrāṅga (mod. Chitrang Moris tank) at Citrakūṭa.

(6) Dariba stone-inscription.—Engraved on a pillar of the temple of Mātāji at Dariba, about 10 miles from Sunwar station of the Udaipur-Chitor Railway. It is dated in (V.) S. 1356 (c. 1299 A.D.), in the reign of Mahārājakula Samarasimhadeva, when his chief minister was Nimbā. It records the gift of 16 drammas to the temple by two persons named Karanā and Sohadā.

(7) Chitor stone-inscription (iv).—Incised on a loose stone slab on a platform built round a tree in front of the Rampol gate at Chitor. It is dated in (V.) S. 1358 (c. 1301), in the reign of M.-Samarasimhadeva. It is damaged, but seems to register the erection of a prakūti in the neighbourhood of the 'terrace' of Bhogāvāni (Bhogavānideva-jagati) by Rāja Dharasimha, the son of Mahārāvat Rāja Pāta of the Prathāra family.

(8) Chitor stone-inscription (v).—Found incised on the 9th arch of the bridge over the Gambhīri near the fort of

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3 Noticed in RMR, 1927, p. 8.
4 Noticed in RMR, 1921, p. 1. The report identified 'Bhoja' in the compound Bhogāvāni as the Paramārā ruler of that name. Dr. Barnett suggests that jagati is an architectural term, something like 'terrace.' Bhandarkar however translates the word jagati by 'grounds,' see EI, Vol. XX, Appendix, p. 92.
Chitor. It seems to record the grant of some land by Samarasisimha for the good of his mother Jayatalladevi. The portion containing the date is hidden and the record is much damaged.1

The above inscriptions give dates for Samarasisimha from V. S. 1330 to 1358, corresponding to c. 1273-1301 A.D. Not much is known about this long reign of about 30 years. The Abu inscription dated in V. S. 1342 (c. 1285 A.D.) seems however to contain some information of his conflict with the Muslims. We are told that "like unto the primeval boar, having the sword for his flashing tusk, he in a moment lifted the deeply sunk Gurjara land out of the Turuška sea." As Ghiyath ud-Din Balban (1266-87 A.D.) was at the time of the record the Sultan of Delhi, this may refer to a conflict with him. Jina-prabha in his Tīrtha-kalpa tells us that when Ulugh Khan, the younger brother of 'Alā ud-Din, proceeded on his expedition against Gujarat in V. S. 1386 (c. 1299 A.D.), Samarasisimha, the ruler of Citrakūta saved his country from devastation by doing homage to him.2 Though this is not mentioned in the Muslim chronicles, Ojha rightly points out that as the Jain author was a contemporary, his statement is reliable.3 It was shortly after this incident that we find 'Alā ul-Mulk, the Kōṭvāl of Delhi, urging the conquest of Chitor amongst other places upon 'Alā ud-Din Khaljī (1296-1316 A. D.).4 The contemporary writer Amir Khusrau in his Ta'irikh-i 'Alāi4 gives the following short description of the Sultan's campaign against Chitor.

"On Monday, the 8th Jumāda-s Sānt, A.H. 702 (1303 A.D.) the loud drums proclaimed the royal march from Delhi, under-

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1 Noted by Sayamaldas, JASB, Vol. LV, Part I, pp. 18 and 47.
2 Satyapura-kalpa in Tīrtha-kalpa, p. 96, quoted in HR, II, p. 477, fn. 2.
3 Ibid.
taken with a view to the capture of Chitor." The author accompanied the expedition. The fort was taken on Monday, the 11th of Muharram A. H. 703 (August 1303 A.D.) Amîr Khusrau says:—"The Râî struck with the lightning of the emperor's wrath and burnt from hand to foot, sprang out of the stone gate; he threw himself into the water and flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword. The Hindus say that lightning falls where ever there is a brazen vessel, and the face of the Râî had become yellow as one, through the effects of fear....Though the Râî was a rebel royal mercy was conferred upon him." Ratnasimha apparently surrendered when he found the position to be untenable. After his departure Laksmanasimha (also called the Laksmasimha) of the collateral Sesodiâ branch and after his death his son Arisimha were raised to the throne of Mewar and the Guhilas under their leadership continued to resist the Muslims with the courage of despair. This must have made the emperor crimson with rage and when the citadel was at last stormed he ordered a massacre of thirty thousand Hindus in a single day. 'Alâ ud-Dîn then bestowed the government of Chitor upon his son, Khiâr Khân, and named the place Khiârâbâd. Barani and Fîrishta also refer to the capture of Chitor by 'Alâ ud-Dîn after a siege lasting for some time. Abu'l-Fazl in his A'in-i-Akbari gives the name of the prince of Chitor as Râwal Rattan, and narrates the well-known story of the causes of the war between Chitor and Delhi. It is doubtful how far the beauty of Padmînî was really responsible for the Muslim attack on Chitor. If there is any truth in the story, which is

1 For a tradition of the capture of the Râî, his imprisonment in Delhi for two years and his rescue from Delhi by his followers, see CHI, Vol. III, pp. 106 and 111.
2 Text, pp. 67-68; Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 76-77. S. Dutta pointed out (IHQ, 1931, p. 293, fn. 2) that Elliot's translation of the relevant parts is wrong. I have compared the text with the translation and have found that Dutta is right. For a better English rendering of the text see Journal of Indian History, 1939, pp. 369-73.
3 Elliot, pp. 169-89.
not directly mentioned by any contemporary writers, it may have been used only as a pretext to crush the rising power of the Guhilas.

Only one inscription of Ratnasimha, the son of Samarasimha has as yet been found. This is his Dariba temple-inscription dated in (V.) S. 1359 (c. 1302 A.D.). It is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Mātāji at Dariba and records the gift of 16 drammās to the temple when the Mahārājakula Ratnasimha was ruling over Medapāṭa and while his chief minister was Mahānaśtha. The possession of Chitor by 'Alā ud-Dīn Khaljī is proved by two inscriptions in that city dated in A. H. 705 (1306 A. D.) and 709 (c. 1310 A.D.) in his reign.

(2) Guhila-putras of Chatsu.

The existence of this branch of the Guhilas is mainly known from the Chatsu stone-inscription of Balāditya, which was discovered about 26 miles south of the City of Jaipur in Rajputana. Another record of one of the earlier members of the family, was found at Dabok, in the Jahazpur district of Udaipur. It has therefore been concluded that the principality of this line probably extended from Dabok in Udaipur in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north. Bhandarkar suggested that their capital was probably at Dhavagarta, modern Dhod in Jahazpur district. But he himself quotes a tradition which may indicate that it was further north, at Chatsu. The tank where the

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1 Ojha (Udogpur Rāja kā Itihāsa) and, following him Haldar (IA, 1929 and 1930) and Qaunqo (Prabhārī, Phālguṇ, 1937 B. E.) hold the view that the Padmīnī episode is not directly or indirectly mentioned by any contemporary or reliable piece of evidence. But see IHQ, Vol. VII, 1981, pp. 297 ff., where Dutta tries to demonstrate that Amir Khurram indirectly refers to the Padmīnī episode in his Taʿrīkh-i-ʿAlā and that the Kumbhalgarh inscription (V. S. 1617 = Saka S. 1382 = A.D. 1460) also hints at it.

2 Noticed in BMR, 1927, p. 3.

3 Noticed in ibid, 1926, p. x. For the subsequent history of the Guhilas see IH, pp. 496 ff.

4 EI, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.

5 Rāgā shoḍē Cātā, jo cāy-so 'le ( The Rāgā has forsaken Cātā; whoever wants it may take it).
inscription was found is even now known as Gholerās-talān, or the tank of the Gubila-rāja.

The founder of this line was Bhartrpaṭṭa, who is stated in the Chatsu inscription to have flourished in the Gubila family. He is also said to have been like Rāma (i.e., Paraśu-Rāma) endowed with priestly and martial qualities. I have already commented upon the true meaning of this statement. The praśastikāra apparently wanted to say that though Bhartrpaṭṭa was a Brāhman, he adopted the life and profession of a Kṣatriya. I have approximately calculated his date as c. 625 A.D., and have ventured to guess that he was an earlier immigrant from the principality established by the Brāhman Gubila of Anandapura. Nothing is definitely known about his next three successors, his son Tánabhaṭa, his grandson Upendrabhaṭa, and his great-grandson Gubila I. Gubila’s son was Dhanika, who, as I have elsewhere said, is probably identical with Dhanika of the Dabok stone-inscription dated in Gupta Sāmvat 407 (c. 726 A.D.). The inscription is dated in the victorious reign of the Ph.-M.-P.-Dhavalappadeva, who has with some probability been identified with the Maurya prince Dhavala of the Kansuvam inscription dated in V. S. 795 (A.D. 738). Ojha however demurs to this identification, and regards the question of the family of Dhavalappa as still open. Nothing is known about the next two successors of Dhanika, viz., his son Āuka and grandson Kṛṣṇa-rāja. Kṛṣṇa’s son Saṅkaragana is stated to have conquered Bhaṭa, the Gauḍa-kṣitipati, and made a present of the latter’s kingdom
to his overlord (prabhu). Saṅkaragaṇa's son by his queen Yajjā, Harṣarāja, succeeded him. This prince is called a dviṣa, which, as Bhandarker points out, usually denotes a Brāhman in the inscriptions of the period. He is also stated to have conquered kings in the north and presented horses to Bhoja. This Bhoja has been identified with the Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj of that name who ruled about 836-90 A.D.; if so, the prabhu of Harṣarāja's father was possibly Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 815-33 A.D.), the grandfather of Bhoja, or his son Rāmabhadra. But who could be the Gaṇḍa king who was defeated by Saṅkaragaṇa? Bhandarker's suggestion that Bhaṭa may be the Pāla ruler Sūrapāla seems to be wrong. I am inclined to regard Bhaṭa rather as a biruda or an epithet of Dharmapāla (c. 769-815 A.D.), who was a contemporary and rival of Nāgabhaṭa II, the predecessor of Bhojā I.

Harṣarāja was succeeded by Guhila II, his son by the queen Sillā. Guhila married Rajjhā, a daughter of the Paramāra Vallabharāja (V. 24). I am unable to identify this prince. The Chatsu inscription tells us that Guhila II created the impression that he was Guhila I come to life again to destroy his foes (V. 22). We are further told (V. 23) that with excellent horses he vanquished the Gaṇḍadhinātha and levied tribute upon the princes of the east (prācyā). I am inclined to identify this lord of Gaṇḍa with Devapāla (c. 815-54). If this is accepted, we must conclude that the expedition of Guhila II was undertaken in the interest of his overlord, who was still probably Bhoja I (c. 836-90 A.D.). It seems likely that the small silver coins bearing the legend Śrī-Guhila or Guhila-Śrī which were dug up in Agra in 1869 really belonged to this prince.

Guhila II's son was Bhaṭṭa. He is stated to have led an expedition of conquest against the kings of the south (V. 26).

1 See DHNI, Vol. I, p. 287.
2 ASR, Vol. IV, p. 95; see also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1163.
He married Purāśa, the daughter of one Viruka, and had by her a son named Bālāditya, also known as Bālārka and Bālabhānu, who succeeded him. The Chatsu stone-inscription emanates from this prince. It is incised on a slab of black stone built into the side wall of the steps leading down into a great tank, at the bottom of which it was originally found. The tank is situated at Chatsu, the principal town of a takṣila of the same name in the Jaipur State, about 26 miles south of Jaipur. The record contains 27 lines of writing in the northern type of alphabet of about the 10th century A.D. It opens with Oṁ namaḥ and two verses addressed to the goddess Sarasvatt and Murāri (Viṣṇu). Next follows the genealogy of the Guhila-vamsa, from Bhartrupatā to Bālāditya. This latter married Rattavā, the daughter of the Cāhamāna king Sīvarāja, and had by her three sons, Vallabhrāja, Vigrahāra and Devarāja. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Murāri (Viṣṇu), by Bālāditya, in memory of Rattavā, who had died. The praṇāśa was composed by the Kuraṇika Bhānu, a Vaiṣṇava, and engraved by the Śūtradhāra Bhāilla.1

Nothing more is known about Bālāditya or any of his descendants. It may be that their principality was gradually swallowed up by the growing power of the Cāhamānas of Sākambharī.

(3) Guhila-putras of Saurāṣṭra.

The princes of the modern States of Bhavnagar, Palitana, Vala, and Lathi in Kathiawad claim to be Rajputs of the Guhila tribe. The rulers of Bhavnagar trace their descent from Sālivāhana of Paithan. A descendant of this ruler, we are told, settled in Khera-gadh on the banks of the Luni in the Jodhpur State.

1 Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, SI, Vol. XII, pp. 10-17.
2 IG1. Vol. VIII, p. 93; Vol. XVI, p. 154; Vol. XIX, p. 360. The ruling family of Rajpipla, in Gujarat (Bewa Kantha) also claims Guhila descent, and is apparently connected with the princes of Bhavnagar, see ibid., Vol. XXI, p. 89.
The last prince of Khera, Mohadāsa, was killed by Śiājī, grandson of the Rathoda 'Jayacandra' of Kanauj. Sejakī,1 Mohadāsa's grandson, then migrated to Saurāṣṭra about 1250 V. S. with his followers, and entered the services of the Soraṭh king Mahīpāla, whose capital was at Junagarh. He obtained 12 villages around Sāpur, and from his progeny were descended the Guhilas of Kathiawar and the neighbourhood.2 Recently Ojha has advanced the theory that Śālivāhana, the ancestor of Sejakī, was really the prince of that name in the Medapāta branch of the Guhilas, who was the predecessor of Saktikumāra (977 A. D.).3 He is of opinion that the person who really migrated from Khera in Jodhpur was Sahajiga who is mentioned in the Mangrol stone-inscription of the Guhila Thakkura Mūlaka. This record was found incised on a slab of black stone attached to the wall of a well in the town of Mangrol in Junagarh, in South Kathiawar. It contains 25 lines, opening with Om namaḥ Sīvāya and invocation of Hara (Siva). It then praises the Caulukya Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A. D.), the successor of Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A. D.). Next follows the following genealogy of a family of Guhilas:

In the Guhila family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sāhāra</th>
<th>Sahajīga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mūlaka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We are next told that Somarāja set up an idol of the god Maheśvara and named it, after his father, Sahajīgeśvara. Mūlaka granted one Kā(ṛṣāpana?) from the custom-house

1 Sometimes called Sejaki. He is reported to have founded Sejakpur, while his son 'Bān Gobāl' founded Bānpur in (V.) 8. 1201 (c. 1144 A. D.). Somnath and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawād, by H. Cousens, 1931, p. 5.
(Sulka-mandapika) of Mangalapura (mod. Mangrol) and other gifts for the service of the god. The record is dated in (V.) S. 1202 (c. 1145 A. D.) and Siṃha Saṃvat 32. The inscription was composed by the Pāṣupata teacher Prasārvajña. ¹

This record shows that Mūlaka was a feudatory chief under the administration of Kumārapāla. Ojha has suggested that Sahajiga first migrated from the Luni valley and took service under Jayasimha Siddharāja, and having distinguished himself in his war against the chief of Soraṭh was appointed to a principality in that region. ² Though there is at present nothing to support this guess, it is not beyond the range of probability. Sahajiga is described in the inscription as a commander of the Caukulīya forces; and it is possible that he was a contemporary of Jayasimha. His sons are described as capable of protecting Saurāṣṭra (Saurāṣṭravakṣa-kaṇa) and one of them, Mūlaka, is called Saurāṣṭra-nāyaka.

No other record is at present known that throws any light upon the history of this branch.

(4) Guhila-putras of Āsikā.

The existence of a Guhila chief at Āsikā or Hansi, in the Hisar district of the Punjab, is known from the Hansi stone-inscription of the Sākambhari Cāhamāna Prthvīrāja II (c. 1167-69 A. D.). ³ This was found on the wall of a building at Hansi. It contains 22 lines of writing. The opening verse invokes Murāri (Viṣṇu). It then mentions Kilhaṇa, the maternal uncle of the Cāhamāna Prthvīrāja, who belonged to the Guhilaūta clan. We are next told that as Hammīra had become a cause of anxiety to the world, the king put Kilhaṇa in charge of the fort of Āsikā. The object of the inscription is to record that Kilhaṇa

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¹ BI. pp. 159-60; ARB, pp. 179-80; see also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 977. Inscription No. 1 of Kumārapāla.
² HB, II, p. 432 fn.
³ IA, 1913, pp. 17-19.
erected a prati (gateway) and near it two Kosthakas (granaries). The flag which Kilhana set up on the prati, we are told, 'set Hammira as it were at defiance.' The Guhila chief is stated to have burnt Pañcapura, which has been identified with 'Pachapatana' on the Sutlej. The inscription is dated (V.) S. 1224 (c. 1167 A. D.).

It is clear from this inscription that the Guhila principality of Asikā was established by the Cāhamānas of Sākambhari, specially to check the advance of the later Yamnis, and must have been practically swept out of existence when the Turks under Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghūrī captured Hansi after the second battle of Tarā'in in 588 A. H. (A. D. 1192).

(5) Guhila-putras of Naḍuladāgikā.

The existence of this small principality of the Guhitas is known from the Nadlai stone-inscription of the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rājyapāla (c. 1132-45 A. D.). The inscription was found incised on a pillar in the temple of Neminātha at Nadlai. It contains 26 lines, and opens with salutation to Neminātha. It then gives the date, (V.) S. 1195 (c. 1138 A. D.), and refers itself to the reign of Mahārajadhīraja Rājapāla over Naḍuladāgikā (Nadlai in Godwar, Jodhpur State). We are then told that for the worship of Neminātha, the Thakkura Rājadeva, son of Rauta (i. e., Rājaputra) Uddharaṇa, of the Guhila family granted 30th part of the income derived from the loads going on their way or coming to Naḍuladāgikā. It ends with the sign-manual of the donor—Seahasty'ya Rān Rājadeva.

Two other Nadlai stone-inscriptions dated in V. S. 1200 and 1202, under the Naddūla Cāhamāna Rājapāla, also record

2 Ibid, p. 1080.
3 Ibid, pp. 1089 ff.
gifts by one Rāuta Rājadeva. In one of these he is described as the Thakkura of Naṭḍulādągikā. There is therefore little doubt that this Rāyapāla is the same person who is described in the inscription dated in V. S. 1195 as the son of the Guhila Uddhasrāpa.

Nothing is at present known about the subsequent history of this principality.

(6) Guhila-putras of Sesodā.

I have already recorded the statement of the Ekaliṅga-mahātmya that in the reign of the Medapāta Guhila Karna (alias Runasiṃha) the Guhils became divided into two branches, the Rāvals, and the Rāṇās.1 The former or the elder branch continued to enjoy sovereign power in Mewar. In the latter branch flourished Māhapa, Rāhapa, etc. Māhapa and Rāhapa were the two sons of Karna and held in succession the fief of Sesoda, which was assigned to them by their father. The descendants of Rāhapa came to be known as Sesodias from the name of their jāgīr, and ultimately revived the Gubila power in Chitor after it was crushed by the armies of 'Ala ud-Dīn Khalji (1296-1316 A. D.). Ojha2 gives the following list of Rāhapa's descendants mainly from the bardic chronicles:

1. Rāṇā Rāhapa
2. Narapati
3. Dinakarna (Dinakara)
4. Jassakarna (Jasakara)
5. Nāgapāla
6. Purapāla (Purapāla)
7. Prthvīpāla (Rāṇā Prathama)

As mentioned above this line of chiefs seems to have always remained feudatory to the main line of Chitor. Lakṣmaṇasimha and his son Arisimha took their share in the defence of Chitor against 'Alā ud-Dīn and were killed in 1303 A.D. The Kumbhalgadh inscription (V.S. 1517-A.D. 1400) of Kumbhakarṇa seems to indicate that Lakṣmaṇasimha after the surrender of Ratnasimha to 'Alā ud-Dīn was raised to the throne of Mewar and so he and his son Arisimha both reigned for very brief periods before their deaths. Tradition records that Lakṣmaṇasimha died along with seven of his sons in trying to maintain the defence of Chitor (EI, Vol. XXI, p. 281, V. 180). It was his grandson (?) Hammīra who restored Guhila power in Mewar by capturing the fort of Chitor from Jesā or Jayasimha. Jesā was the son of the Jalar Cāhamāna Māladeva who was placed in charge of the fort by 'Alā ud-Dīn after the administration of Khīr Khan. According to Muhanoṭa Nāinsī the Cāhamāna Māladeva ruled at Chitor for 7 years. The capture of Chitor by Hammīra seems to have happened some time after the reign of Ghiyāth ud-Dīn Tugluq (c. 1320-25), for whose reign we have a Persian inscription in Chitor.

1 Sometimes called 'Lakṣmaṇasimha.'
2 Tasmin gats has been rightly taken by S. Dutta to mean 'departure.' For this interpretation he depends on the contemporary authority of Ta'rīkh-i-Ālā of Amir Khurān. See IHQ, 1931, p. 293, fn. 1. See also ante, DHNI, Vol. II, p. 1196.
3 RR, II, pp. 902-03.
4 Ibid, p. 901 and fn. 2. See also CHI, Vol. III, p. 326; AAK, Vol. II, pp. 269-70. From the line of Lakṣmaṇasimha (Lakṣmaṇasimha) the appellations Sosodia and Mahārāṇa came to be applied to the rulers of Mewar.
(7) Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgada).

The ruling princes of the State of Dungarpur claim to be descended from the elder branch of the Guhila family now ruling in Mewar. I have already quoted the story of Muhañota Nainśī which tells us that the Medapāta Guhila Śāmantasimha voluntarily abdicated his crown in favour of his younger brother Kumārasimha, and established his line in Vāgada. I have also mentioned elsewhere the circumstances that led to the expulsion of Śāmantasimha, by the Caułukyas of Anhilvada and recovery of the principality by his brother Kumārasimha through the assistance of the kings of Gujarāt. Apparently Śāmantasimha, when driven out of Mewar, took refuge in Vāgada, and his line continued to rule in that region ever afterwards. His Solaś inscription shows that in V.S. 1236 (c. 1179 A.D.) he was already established in his new kingdom. The present rulers of Dungarpur appear to be descended from him. It is likely that this branch of the Guhilas finally ousted the successors of the Banswara (Vāgada) Paramāra Vijayarāja (1108-09 A.D.)

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.
(Dates approximate.)

(1) Guhila-putras of Medapāta—

Guhadatta or Guhila (c. 550 A.D.)
Bhoja
Mahendra I
Nāga or Nāgāditya
Sila or Silāditya (646 A.D.)
Aparājita (661 A.D.)
Mahendra II

1 IGII, Vol. XI, p. 360. The story that the family is descended from Mahup, son of Karpa, appears to be wrong in view of the statement of the chronicle of Muhañota Nainśī which is generally reliable.
Kālabhoja alias Bappa? (739-53 A. D.)
Khommāṇa I (also called Khummāṇa)
Mattaṭa
Bhartṛpaṭṭa I
Śimha
Khommāṇa II (also called Khummāṇa)
Mahāyaka
Khommāṇa III (also called Summāṇa and Khummāṇa)
Bhartṛpaṭṭa II
(942-43 A. D.)
= Mahālakṣmi (Rāṣṭrakūṭa)
Allāṭa = Hariyadevi (Huṇa princess)
(Ālu) (951-53 A. D.)
Naravāhana (971 A. D.)
= Cāhamāṇa princess (Daughter of Jejaya)
Śālivāhan (Probably the ancestor of the Junagarh branch)
Saktikumāra (A. D. 977)

Aṃbāprasāda Sucīvarman Naravarman Anantavarman Kṛtivarman alias Nṛvarman (Yaśovarman)

Yogarāja

Vairāṭa (Probably a descendant of Allāṭa?)
Hamsapāla
Vairisirīha

Vijayasiṁha (A.D. 1108, 1116) = Syāmaladevi
Alhaṇadevi

Arisiṁha? Coda or Codaśiṁha? Vikramasiṁha? (= Vikramakesari; also known as Puṇja?)
Ranasiṁha (alias Karṇa?)
(A.D. 1168?)
Kṣemasimha  Māhapa  Rāhapa (Founder of the Secodia line)

Sāmantasimha (c. 1171-79 A.D.)
(Founder of the Dungarpur line)

Kumārasimha
Mathanasimha (also called Mahaṇasimha)
Padmasimha
Jaitrasimha (c. 1213-56 A.D.)
Tejasimha (c. 1260-67 A.D.)
Samarasimha (c. 1273-1301 A.D.)
Ratnasimha (c. 1302-08 A.D.)

(2) Guhila-putras of Chatsu—

Bhartrpaṭṭa (c. 626 A.D.)
Iśānabhaṭa
Upendrabhaṭa
Guhila I
Dhanika (725 A.D. ?)
Auka
Krṣṇarāja
Saṅkaragana = Vajjā
Harṣarāja = Sillā
Guhila II = Rajjā (Paramāra princess)
Bhaṭṭa = Purāśā
Bālāditya (Bālārka or Bālabhānu)
(8) Guhila-putras of Saarāṣṭra—

Sāhāra
  └── Sahajiga
    ├── Mūlaka
    └── Somarāja
(1145 A.D.)

(4) Guhila-putras of Asikā Hansi—

Kilhaṇa (and his successors ? )
(1167 A.D.)

(5) Guhila-putras of Naḍuladāgikā—

Uddharaṇa
  └── Rājadeva (1138 A.D.)

(6) Guhila-putras of Sesodā—

Rāṇā Rāhapa (son of Raṇasairha aīśa Karṇa of the Medapāṭa line)

  └── Narapati
      └── Dinakarṇa
          └── Jasanakarṇa
              └── Pūrṇapāla
                  └── Pythvipāla
                      └── Bhuvanasairha
                          └── Bhimasairha
                              └── Jayasairha
                                  └── Mahārāṇa (also called Lakṣmaṇasairha) Lakṣmaṇapāśairha
                                      (1303 A.D.)
                                          └── Mahārāṇa Arisairha
                                              └── Ajayasairha

Mahārāṇa Hammira (c. 1326-64 A.D.)

(7) Guhila-putras of Dungarpur (Vāgaḍa)—

Line of Sāmantasairha (1171-79 A.D.) and his descendants.

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CHAPTER XIX

CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to give an account of the more important dynasties which ruled in Northern India during the period of transition that intervened between the decline of the Hindu power and the gradual conquest and consolidation of the country by the Muslims. The conquering zeal of the Arabs was checked by the impenetrable bulwark of the Gurjara-Pratihara empire, and languished in the sands of Sind. The Muslim conquest did not really begin till the decline of the Pratihara empire and the arrival of the Turk on the Indian frontier in the 10th century A. D. Before the Turks' conquest of Northern India was completed, new tribes began to pour through the gates of the Hindukush and challenged their authority. It was only an accident that the religion of some of the new comers happened to be Islam.

Analytical study of all the Hindu dynasties that ruled during the period under survey reveals no central theme in their political history. Kanauj was on the decline and its hegemony challenged on every side. I am rather sceptical about the stories of the later writers that they ever showed any genuine appreciation of the danger threatening their independence and religion sufficient to unite them in a common effort to check the advance of the enemy. They failed to produce a ruler like Candragupta Maurya, who could merge the various conflicting interests under one flag by the prowess of his sword and oppose the invader with the resources of an empire. Nor like the Greeks could they devise any machinery for acting in concert under a common leader against the invaders. For the greater part of this period we have to deal with separate units whose only political contact with
their neighbour was when they fought with each other or combined to destroy a hated and powerful rival. For practical purposes we may divide the period under survey into the following five heads:

(1) The period c. 915 to 998 A.D.

From the decline of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire to the accession of Maḥmūd of Ghazni.

(2) The period c. 998 to 1030 A.D.

Age of Sultān Maḥmūd.

(3) The period c. 1030 to 1179 A.D.

From the death of Maḥmūd to the accession of Cāhamāna Prthvīrāja III.

(4) The period c. 1179 to 1200 A.D.

Age of Prthvīrāja and the passing away of Hindu ascendancy in the Madhyadeśa.

(5) The period after 1200 A.D.

Gradual penetration of Islamic power into the outlying parts of India.

During the first period (c. 915-98 A.D.) the power of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj steadily declined. The outlying provinces slowly broke away from the imperial structure and set up independent governments. The period of transition and political readjustment which had always intervened between the fall of one imperial power and the rise of another in India had already begun. Among the many tribes and princes struggling to capture the sceptre of the effete Pratihāra princes we notice the two outstanding figures of the Paramāra Vākpati Muṇja (c. 974-95 A.D.) and the Candella Dhaṅga (c. 954-1008 A.D.).
Both literary and epigraphic records are unanimous in testifying to the military ability of Muñja. Before his death he had unquestionably made himself the most important prince in Western India. But the promise of a brilliant and unifying force in the troubled history of India was destroyed when he met his tragic fate in one of his campaigns beyond the Godavari. There was however still some hope in the growing power of the Candellas, who were slowly building up a strong kingdom in the South-Central portion of Northern India. During his reign of nearly half a century Dhaṅga had gradually extended his authority over the whole tract lying to the south of Jumna and bounded roughly on the east and west by the Son and the Chambal. But before this power had time to spread itself in the North-West the Turks had established themselves on the Indian frontier. Alp-tigīn (c. 933-63 A.D.) founded his principality in Ghazni in c. 993 A.D.; and during his lifetime his general Sabuk-tigīn had already commenced his predatory incursions in the provinces of Lamghan and Multan. When the latter ascended to the throne in 977 A.D. the Turkish attack was developed on a more ambitious scale. The Sāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab were brave and plucky fighters; but they proved no match for the new enemy. In spite of the bold resistance of their kings and their allies they were gradually pushed out of Afghanistan, and by the year 997 A.D. when Sabuk-tigīn died, the Turks were masters of Lamghan and Peshawar.

With the accession of Mahmūd, the son of Sabuk-tigīn, in A.D. 998, the second period begins. The two outstanding personalities among the Indian princes are again supplied by the Paramāras and the Candellas. In the former dynasty flourished Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.), who gradually won back the position which had been lost after the defeat and death of Muñja, while in the latter Vidyādharā ruled. Vidyādharā's grandfather Dhanga seems to have outlived Sabuk-tigīn and probably witnessed the practical downfall of the Sāhis in
1008 A.D. Vidyādhara ascended the Candella throne some time before 1019 A.D. At that date he had become so prominent as to be described by Muslim historians as the most powerful Indian prince of the time. There seems to be sufficient evidence to indicate that the Candellas made a bold bid to grasp the crown of Imperialism which had fallen from the heads of the unworthy successors of Mahendrapāla I. If fortune had been favourable, they might perhaps have once again combined a substantial portion of Northern India under their rule, and thus created some unity in the confused currents of its history during this period. But this was not to be. Unfortunately for them, they were confronted by one of the greatest military leaders that the Turks had ever produced. Under the able generalship of Mahmūd the Turkish bands with their insatiable lust for plunder and destruction were organised into one of the most efficient engines of war. For more than thirty years they pillaged, burned and devastated the rich plains, cities and temples of the Indus and the Ganges valleys. Even the distant temple of Somnath had to yield up to them its hoarded treasures. The Paramāra Bhoja seems not to have come into serious conflict with the Muslims and the brunt of the attack fell upon the Sāhis and Candellas. The former were exterminated as a power in the Punjab, while the latter, though saved from complete destruction, found themselves unequal to the task of offering effective resistance to the vandalism of the Turk. Vidyādhara, in spite of his undoubted military ability, seems to have failed to achieve any practical results in the open field. Though Mahmūd could not capture Kalinjar and failed to penetrate into the plains of Kashmir, and though most of his expeditions were for plunder and not for conquest, yet the Turkish power during his reign had gradually advanced into a permanent position in the Western Punjab and Northern Sind. Multan and Lahore became the two outposts of the Muslims in the valley of the Punjab rivers.

The period (c. 1030-79 A.D.) which followed the death
of Mahmūd in 1030 A.D. was marked by a gradual weakening of Turkish pressure on the plains of India. Though the Yāmīnīs certainly continued to raid the territories of the neighbouring princes—and once—about 1033 A.D., in the reign of Masʿūd I (1030-40 A.D.)—are reported to have advanced as far east as Benares, they failed to produce during the period a single king or general who could even approach Maḥmūd in military skill and leadership. In the east the same thing happened in the kingdom of the Candellas. The successors of Vidyādhara lacked the ability of their illustrious predecessor and the vision of an empire-builder, and failed to profit by the weakness of their neighbours. The position that they occupied in the South-Central portion of Northern India gradually slipped into the hands of the Dāhala Kalacurī, who in Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya (c.1030-41 A.D.) and Lakṣmi-Karṇa (c. 1041-70 A.D.) produced two men of outstanding personality. The latter formed an alliance with the Caulukya Bhīma I (c. 1022-64 A.D.) and the Karṇaṭas and defeated and probably killed the Paramāra Bhoja (c. 1010-55 A.D.) of Dharā. By unceasing military activity Lakṣmi-Karṇa extended his dominions from Western Bengal to the borders of Gujarāt. In the North he suppressed the independence of the Candellas, and became the unquestionedarbiter of a large portion of the Ganges-Jumna valley. Indian history seemed at last to find a personality who could emulate the achievements of the Puṣyabhūtī Harśa or the Gurjara-Pratīhārā Nāgabhaṭa II and Bhoja I, but again this hope was unrealised. The edifice of the Kalacuri empire, it seems, was built on unstable foundations; and when Lakṣmi-Karṇa was overwhelmed by a series of defeats, his empire like that of Napoleon, collapsed with him. The position left vacant in the Ganges-Jumna valley by the fall of the Kalacurī was then occupied by the Gāhadaḍavālas. Govindaśandra of this dynasty ascended the throne in the first decade of the 12th century, and for nearly fifty years ruled over a strong kingdom which seems to have included almost the whole of the modern U. P.
and Behar. He was sufficiently powerful to offer effective resistance to the feeble attempts of the Yaminis to penetrate into the Ganges-Jumna valley but neither he nor his dynasty showed any outstanding vigour or ability. In the South-East the dynasties of Orissa and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts of the Madras Presidency were welded into a single administration by the Ganga king Cōḍaṅga- Anantavarman (c. 1076-1147 A.D.). His dominions seem to have sometimes extended from the lower courses of the Godavari to the Ganges; but here also there is no sign that either he or his successor wished or had ability to plan a North Indian Empire. In the Western portion of North India the fall of the Paramāras synchronised with the rise into importance of the Caulukyas of Anahilapattaka and the Cāhamānas of Sākambhart. In the first half of the 12th century the former in the reign of Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144) united under their sway, in addition to Gujarat and Kathiawar, large portions of Central India and Rajputana. The success of Jayasimha was fully maintained by his successor Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.) During the first half of the 12th century the Cāhamānas had also established a strong kingdom in Rajputana with Sākambhart as their capital. They were undoubtedly the most considerable power in Rajputana during this period, and maintained contact with the growing kingdom of the Caulukyas on their southwestern frontier. Sometime before 1164 A.D. they advanced into the Punjab and appear to have included under their sway most of the territories which now lie to the east of the Sutlej. This brought them into conflict with the declining Yamini Sultanate of Lahore and Ghazni and the Gāhadavālas of Kanauj and Benares. In the first half of the 12th century the position of the former was growing precarious owing to the pressure both of the Cāhamānas on the east and of the rising of the Shansabānīs of Ghūr. Before this period was over, fresh bands of Turks under the leadership of the princes of Ghūr had begun their depredations in India. In 1175 A.D. Mu'izzud-
Din Muḥammad ibn Sām had captured Multan and Uch, and though repulsed in 1178 A.D. in his attempt upon Anahilvada, had recovered sufficiently to capture Peshawar in the following year (1179 A.D.) from the Yamīnī Khusrau Malik (c. 1160-86 A.D.).

The accession of Prthvirāja III (c. 1179-92 A.D.) to the throne of Śākambhari in about 1179 A.D. brings us to the next period (c. 1179-1200 A.D.). The records of this period seem to indicate that Prthvirāja was the most important figure in the last quarter of the 12th century. His dominions included most of modern Rajputana and extended roughly from the Sutlej to the Betwa and possibly to the Ken, skirting the river Jumna on the north. The activities of the Cañukyas were paralysed by intrigue and dissensions, while the Senas and the Gaṅgas were far distant from the North-Western frontier of India. By his victories over the Cāndellas and the Gāhādavālas and his command over the cis-Sutlej districts, he had constituted himself the main barrier against the advance of the Turks from the Indus Valley. If the Yamīnīs could have held the new body of Turks in check for some time, there was just a possibility that Prthvirāja with his undoubted military ability, might have so consolidated his dominions, as to be able to offer an effective check to the advance of the new invaders. But the descendants of Mahmūd were too enfeebled to be able to save themselves from destruction. In A.D. 1186, Muʿizz ud-Dīn captured Lahore from the last representative of the Yamīnīs, and the Shansabānīs and Cāhāmānas stood face to face. The victory in the second battle of Tarāʿīn in 1192 A.D., which appears to have been won by superior generalship as well as by perfidy, practically put an end to the domination of the Madhyadeśa by the Hindus. The defeat of the Gāhādavālas was only a matter of detail.

In the period that followed, the Turks issued from their bases in the Madhyadeśa under intrepid and able adventurers to bring about the downfall of the dynasties that ruled in more distant parts of Northern and Peninsular India. As I have
already noticed, this process took a long time to complete, and was not attended with uniform success. Before it was finished, fresh bands from Central Asia had burst through the North-Western gates and were challenging the authority of the Muslim conquerors of India. The latter at last fell before these new-comers, and it was a mere accident, as I have said, that their conquerors were again Muslims. So history once more repeated itself.

As to the causes that lead to the success of the Muslims and the downfall of the Hindus, various reasons have been advanced by various scholars. Indian climate, deadening effect of the caste system, the demoralising influence of the cult of ahimsâ; preached by Buddhism and Jainism, a false sense of chivalry and other factors have been held to contribute to the overthrow of the Hindu dynasties. I am unable to discuss this question without a thorough analysis of the administrative, economic, religious and social systems of the period, which I hope to undertake in the third volume of this work. I would therefore reserve the discussion of the question for the present. But whatever factors are found by later investigations to have contributed to the downfall of the Hindus and the victory of Islam, it appears to me that the vigour and the insatiable thirst for plunder and destruction of the roving and hungry bands of Central Asia, which was strengthened by their own interpretation of Islam, and the superior generalship of their leaders, must have played a large part in the success of the Turks. The Indians were not less brave; but they failed to produce a Mahmüd or a Mu‘izz-ud-Dîn.¹

¹ Prof. Dodwell very kindly suggested that I should expand these concluding remarks into the size of one of my bigger chapters—say of about hundred pages or more. This would make my conclusions on the period accessible to the students of some of the British Universities who have not got enough time to go through all these details. Unfortunately the size of the two volumes has already become rather inconveniently large. So I am preparing a small volume entirely devoted to a synthetic survey of the period to suit the requirements of these students.
APPENDIX

Dynasties and the Territories controlled by them chronologically arranged.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. D.</th>
<th>Dynasties</th>
<th>Territories.¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 500—600:—</td>
<td>1. Guhila-putras (Guhilotas).</td>
<td>Ídar State in the North Division of the Bombay Presidency (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Cāhamānas (Cauhans).</td>
<td>Sambhar (Śākambhari) region in Rajputana (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 600—700:—</td>
<td>1. Guhila-putras (Guhilotas): Two branches.</td>
<td>(i) Mewar (Medapāta), Rajputana; Centre of power Nāgradāra or Nāgarāda (mod. Nagda).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) From Dabok in Udaipur (Mewar) State in the south to Chatsu in Jaipur on the north, in Rajputana: Capital probably Dhavagarta (mod. Dhod) in Jahazpur District, Udaipur or at Chatsu, Jaipur, Rajputana.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Cāhamānas</td>
<td>No change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 700—800:—</td>
<td>1. Guhila-putras (Guhilotas).</td>
<td>No change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Cāhamānas (Cauhans)</td>
<td>No change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Haihayas (Kalacuris).</td>
<td>Round about Kahla in Gorakhpur, U. P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. Tomaras (Tuars)</td>
<td>Delhi (Yogini-pura, Ṛhilikā) and neighbouring regions (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ The territories must in every case be taken as only a rough indication. Exact delimitation of boundaries is not possible at this stage of our knowledge.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Dynasties</th>
<th>Territories</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 800—900</td>
<td>1. Guhila-putras (Guhilots).</td>
<td>No change.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|       | 3. Haihayas (Kalacuris): Two branches. | (i) Round about Kahla in Gorakhpur, U. P.  
(ii) Jubbulpore Division and the neighbouring regions (Dāhala) in C. P.; Capital Tripuri (mod. Tewar). |
|       | 6. Tomaras (Tuara). | No change. |
|       | 2. Cāhamānas (Cauhans): Three branches. | (i) Almost the whole of Marwar and Jaipur States and neighbouring regions, in Rajputana (Sapādalakṣa): Capital Sākambhari.  
(ii) Naddāla (mod. Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Godwar, Marwar in Rajputana.  
(iii) Partabgarh and the neighbouring regions in South Rajputana States Agency and C. I. |
<table>
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<tr>
<th>A.D.</th>
<th>Dynasties</th>
<th>Territories</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 900—1000</td>
<td>3. Haihayas (Kalacuris)</td>
<td>(i) Round about Kahla, in Gorakhpur, U. P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Two branches</td>
<td>(ii) Jubbulpore and Chhattisgarh Divisions of C. P., portions of Baghelkhand and neighbouring regions in C. I.: Capital Tripuri.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. Kacchapaghātās (Kachwāhas)</td>
<td>Portions of both Gwalior Residency (C. I.) and Bharatpur State, Rajputana.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6. Paramōras (Pāvāra)</td>
<td>Western portions of the Northern Division and Khandesh of Bombay; Indore Residency, Bhopawar and portions of Bhopal Agencies in C. I.; and portions of Aurangabad Division of Hyderabad; Centre of power Ujjayini (mod. Ujjain).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Caulukyas (Solañkis)</td>
<td>North Gujarat, Cutch and Kathiawar in Bombay; and Sanchor District (Satyapura-manufala) in Marwar, Rajputana; Capital Anahilapataka (mod. Anavada, 3 miles from Patan in N. Gujarat).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8. Tomaras (Tuars). No change.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. 1000—1100:— 1. **Guhila-putras** (Guhilots).

2. **Cāhamānas** (Cauhans):
   - Two branches.

3. **Haihayas** (Kalacuris):
   - Four branches.

4. **Candrātreyas** (Candellas).

**Dynasties.**

**Territories.**

Some hilly and inaccessible portions of Medapāla (Mewar), Rajputana.

(i) Nearly whole of Marwar (or Jodhpur) and Jaipur States and portions of Mewar in Rajputana. Capital Sākambhari.

(ii) Naddīla (mod. Nadol) and the neighbouring regions in Marwar, Rajputana.

(i) Kahla and (ii) Kasia branches in Gorakhpur, U. P.

(iii) The Ḍhala branch: (In the last quarter of the century) practically the whole of C. P. and C. I.; the Ganges-Jumna valley (U. P.), Tirhut Division and Shahabad District of Bihar, portions of Chhota Nagpur and Western Bengal: Capital Tripuri.

(iv) **Tuṁmāna** branch in Chhattisgarh Division of C. P.; Centres of power Tuṁmāna (mod. Tumana in Lapha Zemindari) and Ratnapura (mod. Ratnapur); both in Bilaspur District, C. P.

[During the 1st quarter of the century:—] Bundelkhand and portions of Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior and Bhopal Residencies in C.I.; Allahabad, Jhansi, Benares and possibly Meerut and Fyzabad Divisions in U. P.; portions of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Kotah, etc.) and Saugor and Damoh Districts in C. P.
A.D. | Dynasties | Territories
--- | --- | ---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c. 1000–1100</td>
<td><a href="#">Partial eclipse in the 2nd quarter and complete eclipse in the 3rd.</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Kacchapaghātus** (Kachwāhas): Three Branches.

- Gwalior Residency, C. I., and portions of Eastern Rajputana States Agency (Bharatpur, etc.): Centres of power of the three branches—(i) Gwalior, (ii) Dubkund and (iii) Narwar.


- (i) Portions of Rajputana (Sirohi, Mewar, Banswara, Kotah, Bundi, etc.); Central and portions of Northern Divisions of Bombay (Khandesh to Konkan); Hyderabad (north of Godavari), Narbudda Division, C. P.; and Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies of C. I.: Centres of power Ujjayini and Dhārā. [Almost complete eclipse during c. 1055–60 A.D. Partial revival in the 2nd half of the century.] Other branches in (ii) Sirohi State (centre of power Candrāketī), (iii) Banswara State (Vāgada).
- (iv) Round about Jālor (Jālālipura) and (v) Kiradu (Kirāṭakupa): all four in Rajputana.
c. 1000—1100:— 7. Caulukyas (Solañkis).

Northern Division (north of Narbada), Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch of Bombay; Sirohi and the neighbouring regions in S. Marwar in Rajputana; Capital Apahila-pâlaka.

8. Tomaras (Tuars). No change.

c. 1100—1200:— 1. Guhila-putras (Guhilotas); One main and four minor branches.

Power still under partial eclipse.] (A) comparatively inaccessible portions of Mewar, Marwar and Dungarpur; Centre of power Aghata (mod. Ahar). (B) Minor branches: (i) in Saurashtra (Kathiawar), (ii) Nodulâdâgika (mod. Nadlai in Jodhpur State), (iii) in Dungarpur (Vâgada), and (iv) at Sesoda (in Mewar).

2. Câhumânas (Cauhans); One main and four minor branches.

(A) Ambala Division, Patiala, Nabha and portions of Simla Hill States in the Punjab; Jaipur, Alwar, Bikaner, most of Marwar, portions of Mewar, Bundi, Kotah, Tonk, Jhalawar, Karauli, Dholpur, and Bharatpur States in Rajputana; portions of Gwalior Residency and Bundelkhand Agency in C. I.; and Jhansi Division in U. P.; Centres of power Sâkambhari (mod. Sambhar) and Ajayameru (mod. Ajmer). (B) Minor branches at (i) Ranastambhapur (mod. Ranthambhor) in Jaipur State, (ii)
A.D. Dynasties. Territories.
c. 1100—1200:—

3. Haihayas
(Kalacuria): One main and two minor branches.

(A) Dāhala branch in Jubbulpur Division (south of Bhanrer Range), C.P. and Baghelkhand Agency in C. I.: Centre of power Tripuri (mod. Tewar).
(B) Minor branches: (i) Gorakhpur, U. P. (Kasia branch); (ii) Tūmāna branch independently held the Chhattishgarh Division and the neighbouring regions (Mahā-Kosala, Dūṣṭa-Kosala or Kosala): Centres of power Tūmāna (mod. Tumana in Lapha Zamin-dari of Bilaspur District) and Ratnapura (mod. Ratanpur in Bilaspur District).

4. Candrātreyas
(Candellas).

Portions of Jhansi Division of C. P., Bhopal, Bundelkhand and portions of Baghelkhand Agencies (north of Kaimur Range) of C. I.; and Saugar and Damoh Districts, in C. P.: Centres of power Kalinjar (Kalanjara), Mahoba (Mahotsavanagara), Ajai-garh (Ajayadurga) and Khajraho (Kharijura-vahaka).

[Power partially eclipsed in the last quarter of the 13th century.]
c. 1100—1200:— 5. Kacchapaghātas
   (Kachwāhas):
   Two branches.

   Portions of Gwalior Residency in C.I.: (i) Narwar and
   (ii) Gwalior (?) branches. The latter possibly shifted
to Eastern Rajputana in the 2nd quarter of the
century with Daosa and then Amber as the centres
of its power.

6. Paramāras
   (Pāvars): One
   main and three
   minor branches.

   (A) (i) [During c. 1100-1142
   and c. 1192-1200 A.D.]
   Indore Residency, Bhopa-
   war, Malwa and portions
   of Bhopal Agencies in C.I.
   and portions of Kotah,
   Tonk and Jhalawar
   in Rajputana: Centres of
   power Ujjainī and Dhārd.

   (ii) [During c. 1142-92 A.D.]
   Power of the main line
   broken into fragments:
   (a) one fragment probably
   ruled in portions of Kotah,
   Tonk and Jhalawar, in
   Rajputana and the other
   (b) probably in portions
   of Bhopal Agency, C.I.

   (B) Minor branches in (i)
   Sirohi (capital Candra-
   vāti), (ii) Jalor (Jāvālīpura)
   and (iii) Kiradu (Kirāt-
   kūpa) in Rajputana.

7. Caulukyas
   (Solaṅkis).

   Portions of Sind, Cutch,
   Kathiawar, Gujarāt, and
   portions of Konkana in
   Bombay; almost the whole
   of Rajputana; and portions
   of Agra Division in U. P.;
   portions of Gwalior and
   and Indore Residencies,
   Malwa, Bhopawar and
   portions of Bhopal Agen-
   cies in C. I.: Centre of
   power Anahila-pāṭaka.
A.D. | Dynasties. | Territories.
---|---|---
1100—1200 | Guhila-putras (Guhilots): Two branches. | [During the 4th quarter of the century the area became much reduced by the loss of control in Konkana in Bombay, portions of Rajputana, and C. I.]
1200—1300 | 1. Guhila-putras (Guhilots): Two branches. | (i) Mewar and the neighbouring regions, portions of Sirohi and Marwar: Centres of power Nāgarāha (Nagda), Aghāta (Ahar) and Citrukāta (Chitor).
 | 2. Cāhamānas (Cauhans): Four branches | (ii) Feudatory branch at Sesoda in Mewar.
 | 3. Haihayas (Kalacuriyas). | (i) Region round Ranthambhor (Ranastambhapura) in Jaipur State, Rajputana; (ii) Region round Narwar in Gwalior Residency, C. I. (?) ; (iii) Region round (iii) Jādālipura (Jalor); and (iv) Satyapura (Sanchor) in Marwar, Rajputana.
 | 4. Candrātreyas (Candellas). | Round Tuśmāna (mod. Tumana), Bilaspur District, Chhattisgarh Division (Mahēkosala), C. P. (?) Also in portion of Jubbulpore Division (Dihala) [as a minor power].

[ Eclipse of power during the first few years of the century: Then revival in] Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand Agencies and portions of Gwalior
c. 1200—1300:—

5. **Kacchapaghātus (Kachwāhas)**

Region round Amber in Jaipur State, Rajputana: Centre of power Amber.

6. **Paramāras (Pāvras)**: (i) Indore and portions of Gwalior Residencies, Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies in C. I.; Saugor, Narsingpur, Hoshangabad and Nimar Districts of C. P.; and portions of Gujarat along the lower courses of the Narbada up to the Sae (including Broach): Centre of power Dhārā and Māndu. [During the 2nd half of the century Paramāra power rapidly declined]; (ii) Minor branch in and round Sirohi: Centre of power at Candrōvati.

7. **Caulukyas (Solaṅkis)**

Portions of Gujarat, Kathiawar, and Cutch in Bombay; portions of Marwar and Sirohi in Rajputana: Centre of power Anahila-pātaka. [About the 2nd half of the century Caulukyas lose control in Rajputana.]

c. 1300—1400:—

1. **Guhila-putras (Guhilota)**

Mewar and the neighbouring regions: Capital Citrakūṭa (Chitor). [Power eclipsed c. 1208 A.D.]

**Territories.**

Residency in C. I. Also portions of U. P. (Jhansi Division): Centres of power Ajaigarh (Jaya- durga) and Kalinjar (Kālaśjara).
A.D. 1300—1400:— 2. Cāhamānas (Caubans): Four branches.  
   (i) At Jalor (Jāvalipura),  
   (ii) in Sirohi (capital Candrāvatī, (iii) at Satypura (Sanchor) and (iv) in Bundi: [All in Rajputana].  

   Haihayas (Kalacuris). Portions of Jubbulpore, and Chattishgarh Divisions of C. P. [in a decadent condition].  


6. Paramāras (Pāvars). Indore and portions of Gwalior Residency; Malwa, Bhopal and Bhopawar Agencies (?).  

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Kharana was a significant term in the history of the region.

Kharana was also known as Khurana in some historical records.

Kharana was a common name among the local population.

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Campapunyadova, I, 6; I, 8; II, 1—28N. 84E.
Candrahsága, I, 3, 32N. 74E.
Candrahsidop, I, 5, 6—24N. 90E.
Carmayat, R., II, 1; II, 2, 30N. 75E.; II, 4, 5—25N. 75E.
Cedi, I, 3, 26N. 60E.
Che-ik-to-lo (Garitra?), I, 6; I, 7, 28N. 68E.
Citarakut (mod. Chitar in Mewar), II, 1, 2, 3; II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 7, 26N. 74E.; II, 9, II, 10, 26N. 70E. (mod. Citarakut in Banda district, U.P.); II, 3; II, 3, 32N. 80E.
Citrotpala, I, 7, 22N. 84E.

D
Dehalu, II, 1, II, 2, II, 4, II, 6—24N. 78E.
Dhavala, R., II, 2, 26N. 89E.
Dhiknsa-Kosala, I, 6; I, 1, I, 2, II, 3, 24N. 83E.; I, 9, II, 10—25N. 80E.; I, 1, 26N. 82E.
Dhiknsapara, I, 3, 32N. 75E.
Dumondasolu, I, 2, 34N. 74E.
Dhup-bhukti, I, 5; I, 7, 28N. 86E.
Dhajka, II, 1, 22N. 74E.; II, 2, 30N. 74E.
Dantapura, II, 3, 20N. 84E.
Darabedina, I, 3, 34N. 74E.
Darabhisaguru, I, 3, 24N. 74E.
Dasaguru, I, 9, II, 10—22N. 78E.; II, 1, II, 3; II, 4, II, 5, II, 6, II, 8, 26N. 74E.; II, 3; II, 6, 26N. 76E.; river, II, 1, II, 2, II, 6—26N. 78E.
Dawar, I, 3, 32N. 64E.
Daybul, II, 1, II, 2, II, 9, II, 10—25N. 65E.

E
Ekamra, II, 1, II, 4, 20N. 74E.: II, 10, 26N. 75E.
Dharaasana, I, 3, 34N. 74E.
Dhavanakajal, I, 7, 30N. 80E.
Dhare, II, 1; II, 2; II, 4; II, 5; II, 8—24N. 74E.; II, 10, 25N. 76E.
Dhavalakopanid, II, 2, 30N. 76E.
Dhirikalu, II, 3; II, 6, II, 8—30N. 76E.; II, 7, 29N. 70E.; II, 9, II, 10, 30N. 75E.
Div-kot, II, 10, 29N. 86E.
Doraasundura, II, 10, 15N. 75E.
Dyadavall, II, 6, II, 7—30N. 74E.
Dudhsai, II, 1, 26N. 78E.
Dugilaghattra, I, 3, 32N. 74E.
Dugilaghaithru, I, 3, 32N. 74E.
Dvára, I, 3, 32N. 74E.
Dváraga, II, 4; II, 5, 24N. 68E.
Dváranâth, I, 3, 32N. 73E.

F
Fa-la-râna, I, 2, 32N. 68E.
Farghânah, I, 2, 42N. 70E.

G
Gâdhubilara, I, 3, 25N. 80E.
Gâdhipura, I, 3, 25N. 80E.
Gambharí, I, 3, 34N. 75E.
Gandhára, I, 2, 30N. 75E.; I, 3, 34N. 75E.; I, 9, 10—30N. 70E.
Gangâkôpâ-lolapara, II, 10, 15N. 75E.
Gorâ-bata, I, 1, II, 2, II, 5—26N. 78E.
Gorâ-Mandâli, II, 1, II, 2, II, 5—34N. 80E.
Gauja, I, 3, 26N. 80E.
Gharâpur, I, 1, 4, 20N. 72E.
Gharâpur, R., II, 3, 26N. 80E.
Gharâ-sab-Sâr (Gharîjstân), I, 2, 26N. 64E.
Gharîjstân, I, 2, 26N. 64E.
Ghazâna (also spell Ghazân), Ghazâl and Ghazân, I, 3, 32N. 65E.; I, 2, 34N. 64E.
Ghazân, II, 9, II, 10—30N. 65E.
Ghôr, II, 10, 25N. 65E.
Girânagare, II, 4, 22N. 70E.
Godâvarî, II, 2; II, 4—20N. 78E.; II, 5, 20N. 74E.
Gondâwana, II, 2, 34N. 78E.
Gopâla (Gwarek), I, 1; II, 3; II, 6; II, 8, 26N. 78E.; II, 9, II, 10, 26N. 75E.
DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA

Gopādāri (i.e. Kashmir), I, 3, 35 N. 74 E.
Gosagiri (Gwalior), I, 8; II, 1; II, 3; II, 6; II, 8; 38 N. 78 E.; I, 9; 1, 10; 30 N. 75 E.
Gopālapsura, I, 2, 34 N. 75 E.
Gopālikāra, II, 2, 38 N. 78 E.
Gulams-Gulge, I, 7; II, 2; 20 N. 80 E.
Gowardhana-Khara, II, 4, 32 N. 74 E.
Gowardhāna, II, 4, 32 N. 72 E.
Gurjarsatā, I, 9; 1, 10; 25 N. 70 E.; II, 3; 24 N. 72 E.
Gwāliyūr, II, 1, 26 N. 78 E.

H
Haramuktā, I, 3, 35 N. 74 E.
Harikels, I, 5, 24 N. 90 E.
Haripūna, I, 7, 29 N. 75 E.
Hari Rūd, I, 2, 36 N. 80 E.
Rāmpūrāvra, I, 6, 38 N. 90 E.
Hasakunđi, I, 9, 30 N. 70 E.
Hastinapura, II, 6; II, 8; 30 N. 73 E.
Herāū town, I, 2, 36 N. 62 E.; river, I, 3, 38 N. 60 E.
Hidamba, I, 5, 36 N. 92 E.
Hindumand, I, 2, 36 N. 64 E.
Ho-e-ns (Chasnā), I, 2, 34 N. 68 E.
Hukkapura, I, 5, 36 N. 74 E.

I
Indraprastha, I, 8; II, 3; II, 6; II, 8; 30 N. 75 E.

J
Jabal Qufla, I, 1, 25 N. 60 E.
Jambeti, I, 1; II, 3; 28 N. 82 E.
Jambhottā, I, 1, 28 N. 83 E.
Jāgalant ağır, II, 2, 32 N. 82 E.
Jallāndhāra, I, 2, 29 N. 75 E.
Jāmali, I, 3, 36 N. 72 E.
Jāmali, I, 3, 36 N. 72 E.
Jāmalkot, I, 3, 36 N. 72 E.
Jāmalspura, II, 3; II, 4; II, 5; II, 6; II, 9; 35 N. 78 E.
Jamares, I, 2, 42 N. 68 E.
Jayanagara, II, 2, 36 N. 60 E.
Jayapura, I, 3, 36 N. 74 E.
Jayapuradurgā, II, 1, 26 N. 30 E.
Jayasuranagpīla, I, 2, 24 N. 82 E.
Jayhūn, river, I, 2, 36 N. 66 E.
Jejū bhakti, I, 8; II, 1; II, 2; II, 3; II, 4; II, 6; 36 N. 78 E.
Jirangāpurā, II, 4; 20 N. 72 E.

K
Kābāl, I, 1; II, 2; 25 N. 66 E.
Kābuli, I, 2, 36 N. 66 E.
Kachhā, II, 4; II, 5; 24 N. 68 E.; II, 8; 24 N. 70 E.
Kajara, I, 3, 26 N. 60 E.
Kajūrāhā, I, 6; II, 1; 26 N. 78 E.; I, 10, 26 N. 78 E.
Kakṣajāgha, II, 1; II, 4; 25 N. 78 E.
Kākṣaya-veda, II, 2, 36 N. 80 E.
Kakrānā, II, 1; II, 2; 26 N. 78 E.
Kaalātūjā, I, 5, 36 N. 86 E.
Kalānd, II, 1; II, 3; II, 6; 28 N. 78 E.; II, 6, 28 N. 76 E.
Kalāndā-산ayū, I, 4, 28 N. 78 E.
Kalīgūpta, I, 4, 32 N. 80 E.; I, 9; 1, 10; 28 N. 80 E.; II, 1; II, 2; 28 N. 80 E.
Kalitangasara, I, 7; II, 2; II, 9; 10; 29 N. 84 E.
Kalijagura, I, 8; II, 1; II, 1; II, 9; III, 7; III, 8; II, 9; II, 10; 29 N. 80 E.
Kalpi, II, 2, 36 N. 78 E.
Kalyāṇa, I, 9; II, 10; II, 10; 28 N. 75 E.; same as Kalyāṇa.
Kalyāṇ (near Bombay, II, 4, 20 N. 72 E.
Kalyāṇapurā, I, 3, 36 N. 74 E.
Kalyāṇpurā, same as Kalyāṇa, see above.
Kāmakhā, I, 5, 36 N. 90 E.; II, 9; II, 10; 30 N. 90 E.
Kāmarūpa, I, 5; II, 9; 26 N. 88 E.; II, 9; II, 10; 30 N. 85 E.
Kamboja, I, 9; II, 10; 28 N. 70 E.
Kāmpilya, II, 3; II, 6; II, 7; 28 N. 78 E.
Kāśi, I, 5; II, 9; 15 N. 80 E.
Kāndāp, I, 3, 36 N. 75 E.
Kāntānarpura, I, 3, 36 N. 74 E.
Kāntāpurā, I, 2; 28 N. 84 E.
Kan-to-lo, I, 2, 36 N. 79 E.
Kāñjakūba, I, 4; I, 8; II, 1; II, 3; II, 5; II, 7; 35 N. 78 E.; I, 9; II, 9; II, 10; 30 N. 76 E.
Kapajāvarā, I, 3, 36 N. 73 E.
Kapilavatthu, I, 4, 36 N. 82 E.
Kāpilā, I, 3, 36 N. 70 E.
Kārmānta, I, 5, 36 N. 90 E.
Kārmāda, I, 3, 35 N. 78 E.
Kāṛpaṇvarpa, I, 6, 25 N. 88 E.; II, 9, 25 N. 88 E.
Kārānajā, I, 9; II, 10; 20 N. 72 E.
Kāṛpavat, K., II, 1; II, 3; II, 6; 26 N. 80 E.; town, II, 2, 24 N. 76 E.
Kāśī, I, 6; I, 8; II, 1, 36 N. 89 E.; II, 9; II, 10; 30 N. 80 E.
Kāśī, I, 9; II, 25 N. 89 E.
Kāśmīra, I, 9; II, 10; II, 9; 35 N. 78 E.
Kāśmīrapāla, I, 4, 28 N. 84 E.
Kāśīhāvā, I, 2, 34 N. 74 E.; I, 3, 35 N. 75 E.
Kātaka-hūk, I, 7, 28 N. 84 E.
Kaukāntī, I, 8; II, 3; 28 N. 80 E.
Kauśākē, I, 4; I, 6; I, 8; 28 N. 86 E.
Kāval, II, 9; II, 10; 10 N. 75 E.
Kendavilvā, I, 6, 24 N. 86 E.
Keral (in Orissa), II, 2, 28 N. 84 E.
Keral, II, 10, 10 N. 75 E.
Kharīdrāvāhaka, I, 8; II, 10; II, 1; II, 2; II, 3; II, 4; II, 6; 28 N. 76 E.; II, 9, 25 N. 76 E.
Khesālī, I, 3, 36 N. 78 E.
Khabāsī, R. I, 1, 30 N. 60 E.
Khetānarpura, I, 4, 36 N. 78 E.
Khurākā, I, 9, 38 N. 60 E.; II, 9, II, 10, 30 N. 60 E.
NAŚPURA, II, 3; 26N. 76E.
NABARISYA, I, 2; 40N. 70E.
NABIR MUKH, I, 1; II, 9; II, 10; 30N. 65E.
NABIR MUKH, I, 2; 36N. 62E.
NAGARKOT, I, 2; 24N. 76E.
NAKIELO, I, 2; 26N. 70E.
NÁLANDÁ, I, 6; 26N. 86E.
NAŠAPA, II, 1; II, 3; II, 5; II, 6; 26N. 76E.
NÁSAPA, II, 1; II, 3; II, 4; II, 5; II, 8; 24N. 74E.
NASTA, I, 2; 40N. 86E.
NAVASRI, I, 1; 25N. 70E; same as Navasri below.
NAVASRI, II, 4; II, 6; II, 6; 22N. 72E.
NEPALA, I, 4; II, 6; II, 8; 36N. 84E; I, 9; I, 10; I, 10; 30N. 85E.
NİLEB, I, 2; 24N. 70E.
NÜRWAR, II, 10; 30N. 75E.

ODRA, II, 2; 22N. 84E.
ODGA, R, I, 7; II, 1; II, 2; 22N. 82E.
OZEN, river, I, 1; I, 2; 40N. 65E.

PADMASURA, I, 3; 35N. 74E.
PADMÝAVATI, B, I, 6; 26N. 86E.
PÁL, II, 2; 24N. 76E.
PAČÉLA, I, 1; II, 3; II, 7; 28N. 75E; I, 4; 28N. 75E; I, 6; 30N. 75E; I, 9; I, 10; 30N. 75E.
PAČÉLÁDÁRA, I, 3; 34N. 74E.
PAŁCAGHAVARA, I, 6; 34N. 74E.
PAKÝDYA, II, 1; II, 10; 10N. 75E.
PARÍBÁŠAG, I, 3; 35N. 74E.
PARÝYÁRA, mountain, I, 1; 34N. 74E; II, 4; II, 5; II, 8; 26N. 79E.
PARÝÁRA (or VÁRAŚDÁ), II, 1; II, 3; II, 4; II, 5; 26N. 74E.
PARÝTÁ, I, 1; II, 3; 34N. 74E.
PARÝTÁVAR, I, 2; II, 9; II, 9; 10N. 70E.
PARÝUPÁ, I, 6; 34N. 76E.
PATÁLÍPUTRA, I, 6; 24N. 84E; II, 9; 30N. 85E.
PÁVA, I, 4; 26N. 84E.
PÁVÝCÍ, I, 1; II, 2; II, 4; II, 5; 23N. 76E.
PÁVA, I, 1; II, 17; 26N. 86E.
PATÝIRA, I, 7; 18N. 86E.
PITIL, I, 8; 26N. 86E; I, 10; 28N. 86E.
PIIT-ŠIHLIB, I, 1; 30N. 65E.
PRÁCHÁSSÈ, I, 4; II, 5; 22N. 70E.
PRÁŚIYOTÁSÍ, I, 5; 26N. 86E.
PRÁŚIYOTÁSÍ, II, 3; II, 4; II, 5; 29N. 80E.
PRÁYÁGA, I, 1; II, 2; II, 3; 26N. 80E.
PRÝTHIÁK, I, 8; II, 7; II, 8; 30N. 76E.
PRÝDIÁRA, I, 6; 26N. 86E.
PRÝDIÁRÁVARÁDIÁRA, I, 5; I, 6; 26N. 86E; I, 9; I, 10; 30N. 85E.
PRÝDIÁVARÁDIÁRA, I, 5; 35N. 74E.
PUTÝÁGÁDHIŚHÁNA, I, 3; 35N. 74E.
P getResult, II, 1; 20N. 84E.
PUŠKA, II, 3; II, 4; II, 5; 28N. 76E.
PUŠYOTÁMÁ, I, 3; II, 9; II, 10; 20N. 76E.
PUŠÝÁNÁMÁJA, I, 3; 34N. 74E.

Q
QÁNABAL, I, 1; 30N. 65E.
QÁNDÁ, I, 1; 30N. 65E.
QÁNDÁHÁR, I, 3; 30N. 65E.
QAMÁZHÁR, I, 1; 30N. 65E.
QÁNÚJ, I, 1; 8; I, 10; 28N. 85E.
QÁZÁDÁR, I, 1; 30N. 65E.

R
RÁDÁ, I, 6; 24N. 86E; I, 7; 24N. 86E; I, 9; I, 10; 23N. 81E.
RÁJÁRÁHÁ, I, 6; 21N. 84E.
RÁJAMÁHENDRÍ, II, 1; 20N. 80E.
RÁJÁRÁ, I, 3; 34N. 74E.
RÁMÝAVÁTÍ, I, 6; 26N. 85E.
RÁMÝÁYÁTA, R, I, 3; 34N. 74E.
RÁŞTÁMÁDHÁBÁPURA, II, 3; II, 7; 26N. 76E; II, 8; II, 10; 24N. 76E.
RÁŠTÁMÁDHÁBÁPURA, II, 7; II, 9; II, 10; 20N. 85E.
RÁTNIÁPURA, II, 1; II, 2; II, 10; 24N. 86E.
RÁVÁ, I, 1; 23N. 88E; II, 1; II, 3; II, 4; 10; 24N. 76E.
RÁVÁ, II, 1; II, 3; II, 8; 24N. 76E; sometimes spelt RÁVÁVAR.
RÁVÁVAR, II, 4; II, 5; 24N. 76E; sometimes called RÁVÁVAR.
RUKHYÁHÁ, I, 1; 35N. 65E; I, 2; 32N. 61E.

S
SÁHYÁ, I, 8; II, 10; 20N. 10E; II, 4; II, 4; 22N. 74E.
SÁKÁLÁ, I, 3; 38N. 74E.
SÁKÁMÁHÁRÁHÁ, II, 3; II, 6; II, 6; II, 8; 26N. 74E; II, 10; 30N. 75E.
SAHÁMÁ, I, 3; 35N. 74E.
SÁMÁTÁ, I, 5; I, 6; I, 10; I, 10; 34N. 90E.
SÁNCHÍ-PÁLÓ, I, 2; 34N. 7E.
SÁNCHÍRÁPURA, I, 3; 35N. 74E.
SÁRAKÁSHI, I, 5; 26N. 86E.
SÁPADÁLÁKÁ, in RÁJPUTÁNA, II, 3; II, 7; II, 8; 29N. 74E.
SÁPADÁLÁKÁ, II, 9; 22N. 85E.
SÁRAKÁSPÁLÁ, II, 9; 22N. 85E.
SÁRÁVÁRA, B, in N. GUJÁRTÁ, II, 3; 24N. 73E; II, 4; II, 5; II, 6; II, 8; 24N. 70E; River in the Punjab and RÁJPUTÁNA, II, 7; 30N. 74E.
SÁRÁYÁ, B, II, 3; 28N. 80E.
SÁPÁJÁTHÁ, I, 4; II, 4; II, 5; 20N. 76E.
SÁTÁVARÁPA, II, 4; II, 6; 26N. 70E.
SOUDÁYÁPURA, II, 2; 24N. 76E.
SÁVARÁ, I, 9; I, 10; 25N. 70E; same as SÁVARÁ.
SÁVARÁ, I, 9; I, 10; 26N. 85E.
SÁVARÁ, I, 7; 22N. 76E.
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Varādā, I, II, I; II, 2, 33N, 78E; II, 4, II, 5, 22N, 78E.

Vārāhamuñi, I, 3, 33N, 74E.

Vārāpaṇi, I, 8, 9, II, 1, II, 2, 21N, 82E; III, 9, III, 10, 30N, 90E.

Vārāhamāna, II, 4, II, 5, III, 6, 24N, 70E.

Vārāhānapura, I, 10, 25N, 70E.

Vairāṇti, I, 6, 6, 20N, 88E.

Vārāṇḍura, II, 1, 25N, 80E.


Vartula, I, 3, 34N, 75E.

Vāṭāpī-pura, I, 9, 1, 10, 30N, 78E.

Vatsa, I, 8, II, 3, 25N, 80E.

Vayiragār, I, 7, II, 2, 22N, 80E.

Vāngi, town, I, 7, II, 9, III, 10, 20N, 80E; country, I, 7, II, 9, III, 10, 20N, 80E.

Vasāli, I, 4, 22N, 84E.

Vetravatī, II, 1, II, 2, II, 3, III, 4, III, 5, III, 6, 22N, 78E.

Vidarbha, I, 6, 24N, 94E; II, 7, 22N, 80E; III, 8, 22N, 76E; III, 9, 25N, 76E.

Vidisha, I, 4, 6, I, 8, 26N, 84E; I, 9, I, 10, 20N, 86E.

Vijayapura, I, 5, 24N, 88E.

Vikramapura, I, 6, 24N, 90E; II, 10, 25N, 90E.

Vindhyā, name loosely applied to the whole chain of hills ranges from Gujarāt to Rajmahal, lying on both sides of the Narmadā, II, 1, II, 3, II, 41, II, 5, 24N, 74E; strictly speaking it denoted the range of hills lying to the south of Narmadā, II, II, 4, II, 5, 22N, 76E.

Vīrānaka, I, 3, 35N, 73E.

VīgālāŚā, I, 3, 34N, 78E.

Vīsakā, I, 3, 34N, 75E.

Vīsmātā, I, 3, 34N, 78E.

Vīsaṣṭā, I, 3, 34N, 78E.

Vīśānta, I, 3, 34N, 78E.

Vidambāna, I, 2, 30N, 78E; I, 9, I, 10, 30N, 78E.

Vṛddhāṇaga, II, 5, 24N, 73E.

Vṛaghrā, R, I, 7, 22N, 63E.

Vṛaghrapalli, II, 5, 24N, 72E.

Vṛātaka-Ratnaśrīnivāsa, I, 5, 24N, 83E; I, 6, 24N, 88E.

Wāñkēr Parab, I, 2, 34N, 69E.

Wahind, I, 2, 90N, 73E.

Wayhand, II, 9, 35N, 70E.

Yakṣādrā, I, 3, 35N, 73E.

Yasuanā, I, 1, II, 3, 28N, 76E; II, 1, II, 2, II, 8, 28N, 78E; II, 9, 36N, 78E; II, 7, 25N, 80E.

Yayāta, I, 9, 25N, 84E.

Yoginipara, II, 3, II, 6, II, 7, II, 8, II, 9, II, 10, 20N, 76E.

Zābulistan, I, 1, 35N, 66E; I, 2, 34N, 64E.

Zamin, I, 2, 32N, 64E.

Zara, I, 2, 32N, 60E.
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