
तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय
SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY
954·496
M 927

GLORY THAT WAS GURJARA DESA

(A. D. 550-1300)

BY

K. M. MUNSHI

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
CHAUPATTY, BOMBAY 7.

All rights reserved

Price Rs. 15/-

PRINTED IN INDIA

BY P. M. NAIR AT ASSOCIATED ADVERTISERS & PRINTERS, 506, ARTHUR ROAD, MATUNGA, BOMBAY 7, AND PUBLISHED BY S. RAMAKRISHNAN, REGISTRAR, BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY 7.

CONTENTS

Chapter			
	Preface	..	vii
	Foreword	..	x
	Abbreviations	..	xvii
I	Gūrjaradeśa	..	1
II.	Royal Dynastics in Gūrjaradeśa and their origins	..	18
III.	The Founding of the Gūrjara Power	..	29
IV.	Life and Culture, A.D. 500-700	..	53
V.	The Rise of the First Empire	..	74
VI.	The Zenith: Mihira Bhoja the Great	..	96
VII.	The Rise of the Second Empire	..	138
VIII.	Mediaeval India begins	..	173
IX.	The Third Empire of Gūrjaradeśa	..	231
X.	Kumārapāla	..	273
XI.	The Disintegration of the Third Empire	..	299
XII.	Downfall of the Third Empire	..	337
XIII.	Life under the Chaulukyas	..	347
	Appendices	..	366
	Bibliography	..	454
	References	..	455
	Index	..	494

MAPS

		Facing Page
(1)	**The Pratihāras c. 900, Paramāra Empire; Chaulukya Empire; Modern Gujarat**	1
(2)	Gujarat in 641 A.D. ..	4
(3)	Modern Gujarat ..	8
(4)	The Pratihāras c. 900; Imperial Gurjaradeśa ..	16
(5)	Paramāra Empire ..	172
(6)	Chaulukya Empire ..	238

PREFACE

In a sense this is the second edition of the *Imperial Gūrjaras* published in the year 1944 as Volume III in the series, *Glory That Was Gūrjaradeśa*. In another sense, it is an independent work.

The series, *Glory That Was Gūrjaradeśa*, was planned in several volumes. The first volume was published but in an incomplete form. I prepared the third volume *Imperial Gūrjaras* myself. The other volumes, however, could not be prepared for want of competent scholars willing to undertake the work. As a result, the scheme had to be abandoned. The only way to retrieve the two volumes already published was to get them revised and published as independent books.

I wrote the *Imperial Gūrjaras* in stray moments of leisure snatched from somewhat heavy professional activities to redeem an old pledge which I had made to myself. It was written in scraps, sometimes in hurry. The style was uneven and inelegant. The study of the events in continuous time was, therefore, fragmentary. The book was sent to the press in portions as they became ready. I, therefore, decided to rewrite it, except in parts which I found satisfactory.

Imperial Gūrjaras is the base of this work, but being self-contained, new introductory chapters dealing with the Classical Age and Valabhi have been pre-fixed. The different movements in Gūrjaradeśa have been presented in a continuous form. Several chapters like those on the problems of the Gūrjaras, on the age of Mihira Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, the effects of Mahmud Ghazni's raids on the life

of the country have been overhauled and re-written. An attempt has also been made to bring out the forces of integration and disintegration in a clearer form. New appendices relating to the problems of the Gūrjaras and on the four persons from Gujarat—real or fictitious—who are stated by contemporary Muslim chroniclers to have impressed their personalities on the Khilji period have also been added. For the chapter of this work on the Life and Culture in Gujarat, I have largely drawn upon the *Chaulukyas of Gujarat* by Dr. Asoke K. Majumdar which is now in the press. I am obliged to the author for the help which he has so kindly given me.

As I do not know Persian, I invited two eminent Persian scholars familiar with the period to give me notes—one on Deval Devi and the other on Sultan Khusrau. Their notes have been appended to make the discussion on this controversial matter complete.

There is one marked difference in the two books. In the *Imperial Gūrjaras* I gave as foot-notes the passages from inscriptions in the original. In the present work, I have omitted those passages as they are only useful to the students of this period who, if they care, will find them in the old book. In the absence of those elaborate notes, I am sure, the book would be found more readable.

I take this opportunity to express the deep debt of gratitude which I owe to Dr. Baini Prasad and Prof. Sri Ram Sharma for writing the notes on Deval Devi and Khusrau to assist me in my work; to Professor Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava of the Agra College, Agra for giving me a note on the authenticity of Deval Devi, a view which he holds and which, however, I found difficult to accept; to Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Pro-

fessor of History in the Lucknow University, who was good enough to help me with original Persian references and who also gave me the benefit of personal discussion on the problem; to Sri C. D. Chatterji, Reader in Ancient Indian History in the Lucknow University, for going over the *Imperial Gūrjaras* and giving me valuable suggestions; and to Dr. Asoke Kumar Majumdar, of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, who helped me a great deal in re-writing and revising the work, in re-verifying the authorities and in seeing the book through the press. I offer my thanks to all of them.

K. M. MUNSHI

Raj Bhavan, Lucknow,
December 19, 1944

FOREWORD

This work, as I pointed out in my preface to the First Volume, has grown out of an attempt to write the history of the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa, with which I had some previous familiarity. But I have no pretensions to being a historian. I confess I have little right to write on a subject on which well-known historians like Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr H. C. Ray, and Dr Ganguly have written so ably. It was timidly, therefore, that I ventured into the field of history of this period I hope this book, written in the midst of professional and public engagements, sometimes of the most pressing nature, will be forgiven its manifest shortcomings. Even if it leads competent authorities to re-examine the materials, my labours would have been amply repaid.

I have named the work "Imperial Gūrjaras" advisedly. The rulers dealt with belonged to different dynasties. They had different capitals. The boundaries of their kingdoms varied. But they had many things in common. They all came from the warrior clans who started their career between 550 and 700 A.C. in Gūrjaradeśa, of which the pivot was the region of Mount Abu. They were closely allied in blood and adventure. Each of their dynasties, Pratīhāra, Paramāra and Chaulukya, successively rose to imperial power only as a result of the decline of its predecessor, and the ultimate source of their greatness can be traced to the upsurgence of Gūrjaradeśa, modern Marwar, under Harichandra in c. 550 and the aggressive vigour which it acquired under Nāgabhaṭa I when he drove out the Arabs in c. 725 A.C.; their descendants survive today under the name of Rajputs.

These Kshatriyas had the self-same political, social and cultural traditions. Their decline began with the cataclysmic raids of Aibak; their fall, when 'Ala uddin Khilji devastated the land; and their tragic but immortal glory when, unvanquished in spirit, they laid down their lives for their land and faith during the Era of Resistance between 1199 and 1526 A.C. The people, on whose strength they founded empires, were the self same people who were one, at least from the days when Hiuen Tsang visited India in 641 A.C.; whose language was Gaurjari Apabhramśa; and whose descendants now form the residents of Rajputana, Gujarat and Malwa.

Of the several problems which confronted me, some were very intriguing. 1. Were the Gūrjaras foreigners? 2. Was the word "Gūrjara", as used in this period in the primary sense, indicative of a race or homeland? 3. Was the region from the Karnal District in the Punjab to the Saraswatī in the South known as Gūrjara or Jurz? 4. Were the people of modern Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat homogeneous between 500 B.C. and 1200 A.C.? 5. Were Nāgabhaṭa II, Mihira Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla rulers of the last great Empire of Madhyadeśa before the Turkish invasion? 6. If so, does not the orthodox notion, that Śrī Harsha was the last of such emperors, require revision? 7. Were not the Paramāras, the Chaulukyas and the Chāhamānas the hierarchs of Gūrjaradeśa and did they not carry forward the imperial tradition of Mihira Bhoja? 8. Can the times of Mihira Bhoja be reconstructed? 9. What were the causes which prevented the hierarchs of Gūrjaradeśa from resuscitating their formidable empire when confronted with Turks? 10. What was the nature and extent

of resistance offered by Gūrjaradeśa to the Turks between 1000 and 1200 A.C.? 11. What led to the downfall of Gūrjaradeśa between 1193 and 1300 A.C.? 12. What were the inspiring forces behind the 750 years of power and culture between 550 and 1300 A.C.? I have tried to present these problems and their solution, side by side with the historic reconstruction of the period, with the aid of materials most of which are set out in the notes.

The whole of the period from 550 to 1300 A.C. is organic. I found no justification for splitting it up into dynastic and regional records. It began when the Gupta Empire was dissolved, and Hūṇas had been driven out or absorbed. During its best part the dominant political factors in the country were the Kshatriya clans of Madhyadeśa. The central theme of this period in the country was the achievement of Gūrjara warriors. During the period, except in its last stage, Kanauj remained the acknowledged capital of India, attracting the ambition of the rulers of Gūrjaradeśa, Bengal, and the Deccan. And Madhyadeśa, from Abu to Benaras and Pehova to the Sarasvati, formed the compact unit from where mighty influences overspread the country.

Modern histories, by calling this period the Rajput period, still perpetuate the faulty outlook which Col. Todd constructed out of the Agnikula legend a century and a half ago. The name Rajput, given to warriors of the old Gūrjaradeśa by the Turks and Afghans, coupled with theories of their foreign origins, has created a mist which shuts out the historian's mind from a true perspective of this period. A historian of India, in pursuit of scientific research, need not reduce a living past into the classified bones of uncon-

nected dynasties and racial analysis. If it was not a synthetic and living past, the vast phenomenon of social, cultural and traditional continuity of the country from 550 to 1300 A.C. would remain unexplained, and so would remain the still greater wonder of its being preserved after 1300 A.C. in movements of all-embracing resistance which have preserved the India of today. The theory of the foreign origin of the Gūrjaras and consequently of Rajputs, so readily accepted by some of our historians, remains not only unproven but is based on a mistaken reading of certain epigraphic and literary material.

No one can say what percentage of Aryan, Dravidian or Scythian blood ran in the veins of any Indian between the 6th and 13th centuries. But at the beginning of the 6th century A.C., when the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas of Gūrjaradeśa, the ancestors of the Brāhmaṇas, Rajputs and Banias of modern Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat, emerged into history, they were steeped in the highest traditions of Aryan culture in India and knew no other origin or motherland.

Of the three great families of Gūrjaradeśa, viz. the Pratihāras, the Paramāras, and the Chaulukyas, each had noteworthy characteristics. Many of the Pratihāras were warriors, statesmen and empire builders Information about them is too meagre to supply the detailed lineaments of their character. The Paramāra kings, except perhaps Siyaka, were impulsive, generous to a fault, highly cultured, and devoted to learning; but they lacked the steely glitter which characterised the ambition of the Pratihāras. The Chaulukyas were courageous beyond measure, shrewd, irrepressible, and possessed of a tenacity which defied adverse

circumstances and powerful neighbours. They flourished for four hundred years, first in subordinate alliance to the Paramāras and then as emperors of Gūrjaradeśa. They were vassals of the Paramāras between 948 and 1044 A.C. no doubt, but enjoyed a quasi-independence, partly because of the constant preoccupations of Muñja and Bhoja in the south, and partly due to the statesmanship of Bhīma I and his minister Dāmara, the wise. But it has been with a wrench to my old conception of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat which I adopted in my historical novels that I had to surrender myself to the conclusions inevitably resulting from a general survey of materials; first, that the claim of Merutuṅga that Mūlaraja, Chāmuṇḍa and Bhīma were the peers in power and strength of Siyaka, Muñja and Bhoja is unsustainable; and secondly that between 948 and 1044 A.C. the bulk of modern Gujarat was in the hands of the Paramāras, not the Chaulukyas

During this period, the social organisation, Varṇāśramadharma, and the common law of the Smṛitis which sanctioned it, were the strands which bound life together. The collective will, as found in political action, would remain an inexplicable force until the correlated expression, through social changes and legal institutions, was traced. I have faintly tried to attempt such a correlation.

However much we may disapprove of Varṇāśramadharma in the light of our modern needs and outlook, it remains the expression of collective will of Indians through ages and Indian history, without an appreciation of this vast social synthesis, is a soulless bundle or dry twigs That it is desirable to replace it or mend it has nothing to do with the fact that it was and is a

unique experiment in the history of the human race and, as such, deserves to be studied with humility

In this volume I have also touched the fringe of the next period (1199-1526 A.C.) which, in fact, is the Age of Indian Resistance. Generally the history of this period is devoted to the achievements of the Sultanate of Delhi, as have been described by the court poets and historians of Delhi, and which, in consequence, are accorded a space and treatment incommensurate with facts. First, except during a few years under 'Ala ud-Din Khilji and Mahmud Tughlak, Delhi was but a raiding camp with a small hinterland and several scattered outposts controlled by incessant expeditions with the aid of foreign and local mercenaries and did not settle down into a political and cultural centre on account of the rapidity with which it changed masters during this period. Secondly, from the Indian point of view, it was a period of ceaseless resistance on a countrywide scale. Thirdly, the Turks and Afghan military captains, whenever they could, established independent principalities with the aid of local Hindu co-operation. Of this period, the most tragic factor was the inability of the Indian kings to organise collective resistance, on a scale sufficient to overcome the new danger. It is of the greatest importance that this period, which introduced an alien fator in the country, and which ended in producing factors of adjustment which still influence the destiny of the country, should be studied in the light of Indian materials which are now available.

Without the co-operation of the several members of the staff of the Bhavan, I could neither have completed the book nor seen it through the press in time. Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Prof. J. H. Dave, Assistant

Directors and my cousin Shri D. C. Munshi collected some references for me. The burden, of verifying the notes and preparing them for the press fell on Prof. S. D. Gyani, Professor of Ancient Indian History and my daughter Kumari Kalpalata Munshi, B.A. (Hons.) Research Scholar, who have spared no pains in bringing them upto the requisite standard of accuracy. Both of them, as also Shri P. H. Raman, B.A. (Hons.), Assistant Secretary, have helped me with proof-reading. Shri P. C. Shah, Lecturer in Sanskrit, has prepared the index. I have helped myself to the earlier labours of Acharya Jinavijaya Muni, Director and Shri Durgashanker K. Shastri, Honorary Professor of Bhagavat Dharma, who were also kind enough to go through some of the chapters. In one case, Shri V. V. Mirashi, Principal of the Morris College, Nagpur, was good enough to give me some references. I have to express my debt of gratitude to all of them.

In 1922 I had planned to write a History of Gujarati Literature and a History of Chaulukyan Gujarat. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that the pledge, which I partly redeemed by writing my '*Gujarat and Its Literature*' (Longmans, Green & Co.) in 1933, is now fulfilled by this work.

K. M. MUNSHI

26, Ridge Road, Bombay,

July 1, 1944.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAR	*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, by Col Todd.*
ACC	*Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum.*
AASS	*Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.*
AI	*Alberuni's Indica. Tr. by Sachau.*
Ait	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
ARB	*Archaeological Remains of the Bombay Presidency.*
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India*
ASIWC	*Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.*
BG	*Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Pt. I.*
BPSI	*Bhavnagar Prākrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions.*
BRW	*Buddhist Records of the Western World, by Beal.*
BV	*Bhāratiya Vidyā. (Hindi-Gujarati).*
C	*Colas by K. A. Nilkantha Shastri.*
CHI	*Cambridge History of India.*
CH	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, edited by J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888.*
CP	*Rājaśekharasūri's Chaturvimśati-Prabandha.*
DHNI	*Dynastic History of Northern India, Vols. I and II by H. C. Ray.*
DN	*Desīnāmamālā by Hemachandra.*
DV	*Dvyāśraya Kāvyam by Hemachandra.*
Devala	*Devala Smriti*
EAG	*Early Aryans in Gujarat, by K. M Munshi.*
EC	*Epigraphia Carnatica.*
EHI	*Early History of India, (IV Edn.) by V. A. Smith.*

EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
Elliot	*History of India as told by its own Historians, by H. M. Elliot & J. Dawson.*
GL	*Gujarat and its Literature, by K. M. Munshi.*
GMRI	*Gujarat no Madhyakalina Rajput Itihasa, by D. K. Shastri*
GOS	*Gaikwar Oriental Series.*
HC	*Harsha-Charita (Nirnyasagar Edn.).*
HDS	*History of Dharmasastra, by P. V. Kane.*
HIG	*Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat, edited by G. V. Acharya.*
HMHI	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India, by C. V. Vaidya*
HMM	*Hammira madamardanam, by Jayasimha Suri GOS X.*
HP	*History of the Paramāra Dynasty, by D. C. Ganguly.*
HR	*History of Rajputana, by G. H. Ojha*
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.*
JDL	*Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.*
JRAI	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.*

JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).*
JPPS	*Jaina-pustaka-prasasti-sangraha (Singhi Jain Granthe Mala).*
KC	*Kumārapāla-charita, by Charitra-sundaragani.*
KCa	*Kumārapāla-charita, by Hemachandra.*
KFB	*Baladhieri's Kitab Futuh al-Buldan, translated by Hitti & Murgotten*
KK	*Kirtikaumudi, by Somesvara.*
KM	*Rājasekhara's Kāvya Mimāmsā.*
KPR	*Kumārapāla-pratibodha, by Sreaprabha Suri (GOS)*
KUC	*Kumārapāla-charita, by Jayasimha Suri.*
KUP	*Kumārapāla-prabandha, by Jinamandana Gani.*
KY	*Kitab-i-Yamini of 'Utbi translated by Reynolds from the Persian version.*
KZA	*Kitab Zain al-Akbar of Abu-Sa'id 'Abd-al-Hay b ad-Dahhak b. Muhamad-Gardizi (c 400 AH), ed. by Muhmad Nazim.*
LP	*Lekhapaddhati.*
Manu	*Manu Smriti.*
Märkandeya	*Märkandeya Purāna*
Mbh	*Mahābhārata.*
NC	*Navasāhasānka-charita, by Padmagupta.*
OYC	*On Yuan Chwang, by Watters.*
NS	*Nirnaya Sagar Edn.*
PC	*Merutunga's Prabhandha-chintamani (SJG).*

PCa	*Prabhāvaka-charita (SJG).*
PJLS	*Prākrit Jain Lekha Saṅgraha.*
PK	*Prabhandha-kosa (SJG).*
PPS	*Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha (SJG).*
PRAS	*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey.*
PV	*Jayanaka's Pṛithvirāja-vijaya.*
R	*Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times, by A. S. Altekar.*
RMR	*Rajputana Museum Report.*
RT	*Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangiṇi, Tr. by Stein.*
Sat	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
Skanda	*Skanda Purāṇa.*
Śrimāla	*Śrimāla Purāṇa.*
TA	*Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Bibliotheca Indica, translated by B. Dey.*
Tait	*Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa.*
TF	*Ta'rikh-i-Firishta. Tr. by Briggs.*
TKA	*At-Ta'rikh-ul-Kamil of Ibn-ul-Athir*
TN	*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj ud-Din, translated by Raverty.*
Vayu	*Vayu Purāṇa.*
VC	*Bilhaṇa's Vikramāṅkadeva-charita.*
Visnu	*Vishṇu Purāṇa.*
VTK	*Vividhatirtha Kalpa (SJG).*
VVI	*Vasantavilāsa, by Bālachandra Sūri.*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift fur die kunde des Morgenlandes. Also known as Vienna Oriental Journal.*
Yājña-valkya	*Yājñavalkya Smriti.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

Chapter I

GŪRJARADEŚA

(i)

Gūrjaras

In attempting to reconstruct the early history of India certain problems need from time to time to be re-examined. This applies with particular force to the history of Gūrjaradeśa, for the very word "Gūrjara" has been so differently interpreted by scholars as to lead to a good deal of controversy. Some, for instance, are of the opinion that "Gūrjara" was the name of a tribe which migrated to India with the Huns and gave their name to the different regions where they settled; while others maintain that "Gūrjara" was once the name of the country, a part of which is included in what is known as Gujarat to-day.

Those scholars who believe that the Gūrjaras were an immigrant tribe hold that they were the Khazars who formed a part of the great horde of which the Juan-Juan or the Avars and the Epithaletes Yetas were other members; the Huns were the leading elements in this horde, and therefore the Gūrjaras must have come to India[1] with the Huns. Of the tribes which arrived in this way, the Huns settled permanently in Rajputana, but the Gūrjaras migrated to all parts of India. During their onward march they sometimes took root in isolated places which still bear either their name, or variations of it. Thus, in the Punjab the places called Gujarat, Gujaranwalla and Gurjarakhan, still retain their connection with Gūrjara. In the eighteenth century Saharanpur was

known as Gujarat, while one of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gurjaragadh. In the ninth century the northern and central part of Rajputana was called Gūrjaratrā. The Gūrjaras are found in Bundelkhand and there are Gūrjaras in the Narmadā Valley, in Nagpur and in South India, where they are said to have drifted before the ninth century.

People calling themselves Gujars are also to be found from the Indus to the Gaṅgā and from the Hazara mountains to the Narmadā. They are numerous in the Western Himalayas. A tribe of herdsmen, calling itself Gujar, is to be found at a height of over seven thousand feet in Kashmir[2].

According to many eminent scholars, this wide distribution of place names derived from Gūrjara, and the existence of scattered tribes calling themselves Gujar is an indication of the gradual spread of the foreign tribe of Khazars in its onward march across northern India. Some of them further maintain that this foreign tribe came under Brahmanical influence and divided into the four castes. Thus, the foreign Gūrjaras became Gūrjara-Brāhmaṇas, Gūrjara-Vaiśyas, Gūrjara-Kshatriyas and Gūrjara-Śūdras.[3]

Having assumed that the word Gūrjara denotes a foreign race, scholars proceeded a step further and put forward the view that the word Gūrjara-Pratihāra, applied in ancient records to designate a royal dynasty, meant the Pratihāra clan of the Gūrjara race. The evidence for this very important conclusion is an inscription of A.D. 960, where a king Mathanadeva, of a region now in Alwar, describes himself as *Gūrjara-Pratihārānvaya*.[4]

This view has been held strenuously by many

distinguished men of learning, practically ever since Indian history has come to be studied. Thus, what started as a hazardous opinion—a bold guess in the absence of any evidence—has now been elevated to the rank of a historical truth. It is, therefore, necessary to point out that except for the slight phonetic resemblance between the words Khazar and Gūrjara, there is no other evidence which supports such a far-reaching conclusion. In fact, all the other evidence, which, according to these scholars, points to a foreign origin of Gūrjara, can as well be construed quite differently.

The earliest literary work in which the word Gūrjara is found, is the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa. In this work Bāṇa describes Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harshavardhana, as "the lion to the deer which is the Hūṇa, the dangerous fever of Sindhurāja, the one who kept the Gūrjara awake, the fell disease to the elephant of Gāndhāra, the thief of the expanse of Lāṭa, the axe to the creeper of the sovereignty of Mālava."[5] This passage has often been relied upon to show the close connection between the Huns and the Gurjaras, but even a cursory examination of it shows that, of the proper nouns used by Bāṇa, only one, namely "Hūṇa", indicates a tribe. Of the rest, Gāndhāra, Mālava and Lāṭa are indisputably the names of countries. Sidhurāja might have been a personal name, or it may refer to a king of Sind. There is, therefore, absolutely no justification for concluding from this passage that Bāṇa intended Gūrjara to mean a tribe. On the contrary, on the analogy of Lāṭa and Mālava it is more likely that he intended Gūrjara to mean the king of the Gūrjara country.[6]

This seems to become clear from the Aihole

inscription of Pulakeśi II which was composed shortly after *Harshacharita*.[7] This inscription records the defeat of Lāṭa, Mālava and Gūrjara. Evidently the kings of these three countries were defeated, not the kings of the tribes so named. This also shows that the countries were contiguous, a point which is of great importance, as will be seen later.

Again, an inscription of A.D. 739 describes the conquest of the Arabs, or Tājikas as they were called, over different kings, amongst whom are mentioned Saindhava, Kachchha, Saurāshṭra, Chāvoṭaka, Mauryya and Gūrjara.[8] Though Chāvokṭaka and Mauryya are the names of royal dynasties, Kachchha and Saurāshṭra are the names of the countries used to denote their respective kings. The word "Gūrjara", therefore, need not be assumed to have been applied to the race of the king; the king was so-called because of the name of the territory over which he ruled.

This is supported by the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha, which record that when Dantidurga, the Rāshṭrakuṭa conqueror, performed the Hiranyagarbha ceremony at Ujjain, he caused the king of Gūrjara "and others" *(Gūrjareśādirājakam)* to act as his chamberlain *(Pratīhāri)*.[9]

A few more examples of this nature can be given. In c. A.D. 867, Mihira Bhoja's army is referred to as the 'army of Gūrjara' *(Gūrjara-bala)*, which may mean either the army of the land called Gūrjara, or the army of the king of such a land.[10] Again, in c. A.D. 890, Śaṅkaravarman, the king of Kashmir, is said to have defeated a king of Gūrjara *(Gūrjara-bhūbhujaḥ)*, which clearly indicates that Kalhaṇa definitely meant the word Gūrjara to indicate a coun-

try.[11] So did Hemachandra, the great grammarian.[12]

It is evident, therefore, that Gūrjara denoted a country and not a race.

(ii)

Gūrjara and Gūrjaradeśa: their Boundaries

The problem of the Gūrjaras has been created by the failure to appraise the value of two significant facts.

First, modern Gujarat does not correspond in area to the ancient or mediaeval Gūrjaradeśa, though a part of it was included in the latter. Similarly, Gūrjara-bhūmi of the Chaulukyas (940-1304), differed from the Gūrjaradeśa, or Gūrjaratrā of the Imperial Pratihāras (c. 725-940) as also the Gūrjara visited by Hiuen-Tsang (A.D. 641). Only one tract was common to all these entities before the fall of Aṇahilavāḍa in A.D. 1299. Mount Abu and the ancient city of Śrimāla, or Bhillamāla, certainly never lay outside their boundaries. Bhillamāla, therefore, is the centre from which the shifting boundaries of the region in a particular period have to be determined.

Secondly, the history of Gujarat began long before Mūlarāja, the Chaulukyan ruler of Aṇahilavāḍa.

Considerable confusion is caused in historical studies, however, between these geographical entities with which the word Gūrjara is associated at different periods of time.

The history of Gujarat first came to be written in the middle of the nineteenth century by Sir Kinlock Forbes in the *Rāsmālā*. For his purpose, he utilised Abhayatilaka Gaṇi's commentary on Hemachandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and a Prakrit work called *Ratnamālā*,

written by Kṛishṇaji. Besides these works he also used the bardic tales collected by Kavi Dalpatram. These sources mostly relate to the Chāvḍa and to the Chaulukya kings of Aṇahilavāḍa, who are assumed to have ruled over what is modern Gujarat.

The Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa had always given an honoured place in their realm to the Śvetāmbara Jainas. Amongst them, Kumārapāla had in his court, for his guide, philosopher and friend, one of the greatest Jaina monks, Hemachandra. In consequence, the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa and particularly Kumārapāla became closely associated with the Jaina tradition. To successive generations of Jaina monks, brought up on those traditions, Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya power of Aṇahilavāḍa, was "Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva."[13] The memories which they preserved in the *Prabandhas* revolved naturally, therefore, round his dynasty. This belief kept them under an impression that the history of modern Gujarat, as well as its culture and importance, began with Mūlarāja; and, if they dealt at all with an earlier period, they began from Vanarāja Chāvḍā, who, according to the Jaina traditions, was brought up by a Jaina monk. This is why Kinlock Forbes wrote of the Chaulukyas: "Their strength, and enduring claim to glory is, however, to be found in the fact that surpassing the boast of Augustus, they found their country waste and left it a land flowing with milk and honey."[14]

This view of the history of Gujarat blurs the true perspective. Forbes was essentially writing the history of the Chaulukyan Gujarat, but at no time in history were its boundaries coterminous with those of either modern Gujarat or of imperial Gūrjaradeśa.

Gūrjaradeśa, or rather Gūrjara as it was first called, stepped into history in about A.D. 500. We hear of no such country near Bhillamāla, or to its south, when the glories of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman, were inscribed on the rock of Girnar.[15] It is between A.D. 500 and 550 that Harichandra, the ancestor of its kings, emerged from obscurity. At that time and for long afterwards the land was styled Gūrjara, pure and simple. About A.D. 641, when Hiuen-Tsang visited it, its capital was Bhillamāla. Its southern boundary touched the river Sarasvati in modern Gujarāt; its northern limit was beyond modern Jodhpur.

The regions which surrounded this small kingdom, now absorbed in modern Gujarat or Rajasthan, can easily be identified. The tract from Thana to Broach (Bhṛigukachchha), was south Lāṭa; it is possible that it included a part of the Thana district. The Mahi valley, including parts of Ratlam and the districts of Panchmahals, Baroda and Kheda or Kaira, was Mālava. From the river Mahi to the Sabarmati lay Kheṭaka, modern Kheda or Kaira; a part of the Ahmedabad district was Āśāpalli, near the modern village of Aslali; north of it was Ānarta with its capital Ānandapura or modern Vadnagar. Modern Saurāshṭra was Saurāshṭra. Kachchha was so named even then. What is now eastern Mālava was called Avanti, with Ujjayini as its capital. The southern part of the old kingdom of Gūrjara is at present included in the Mehsana, Sabarakantha, and Banaskantha districts of modern Gujarat.

One hundred and fifty years later we find the region of Gūrjara, with Bhillamāla as its capital, blossoming forth in history as Gūrjaradeśa. The

homogeneous people of these regions, under the leadership of mighty warriors and statesmen who claimed descent from men who had sprung into fame within a radius of a few miles of Mount Abu, had not only enlarged the bounds of Gūrjara but had begun to found an empire. Its emperors, Imperial Gūrjaras, as I have called them, had, during this period, shifted their capital from Bhillamāla to Jalor, from Jalor to Ujjayini, from Ujjayini to Kanauj, then the metropolis of India.

Two successive invasions by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, one in A.D. 915, the other in A.D. 940, broke up this empire of Gūrjaradeśa. Its political fabric went to pieces. Every feudatory asserted his independence, and the chiefs of small principalities in Gūrjaradeśa began a fresh struggle for supremacy.

The principal fragments of Gūrjaradeśa which assumed independence were the regions of Sapādalaksha with Śakambhari, (modern Sambhar) as its capital; Gopagiri (modern Gwalior); Kiradu, near Jodhpur; Marwad, with its capital at Naddūla; Medāpaṭa, with Chitrakūṭa or Chitod as its capital; Jābālipura (modern Jalor); Abu, with its capital Chandrāvatī; Sārasvata-maṇḍala, or the valley of the Sarasvatī river, with its capital at Aṇahilavāda; Vāgaḍa, or Dungarpur and Banswara, and Mālava, with Dhārā as its capital.

When the imperial provinces and protectorates became independent, the boundaries of Gūrjaradeśa were forgotten and its linguistic unity began to be disrupted.

Between A.D. 940 and 950, Siyaka II, a Paramāra chief, ruled over a considerable portion of Saurāshṭra and the peninsular part of modern Guja-

rat as a vassal of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. His principality can be said to have included, at one time or another, Lāṭa, Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala*, modern Mālava and Saurāshṭra.

The Chandella Yaśovarman, "the scorching fire to the Gūrjaras", threw off the Pratihāra yoke and forced the shadow Emperor, Devapāla, of Kanauj to surrender. Though the Chandella acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Gūrjareśvaras till A.D. 954, a powerful conqueror amongst them, named Dhaṅga, carved out for himself the largest slice of territory from the imperial domains. The Chāhamānas of Sākambharī also asserted their independence; though, for a few years, they continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of their imperial master, they became practically independent. About the same time the Chāhamāna Vākapatirāja established the little kingdom of Naddūla, and in the year 940 the Kalachuri king of Tripuri broke with the Rāshṭrakūṭas and emerged as a great power in northern India.

(iii)

Modern Gujarat: its Boundaries

In this confused state of affairs, Mūlarāja, of the Chaulukya dynasty, captured the southernmost part of Gūrjaradeśa, now in the Mehsana, Sabarkantha and Banaskantha districts of modern Gujarat, and established himself at Anahilavāda on the banks of the Sarasvati. His principality, in the beginning not very large, was known as Sārasvata-maṇḍala and not as Gūrjaradeśa. The frontier of the Chaulukya kingdom during the reign of Siddharāja advanced northwards and the name of Gūrjara-bhūmi or Gujarat came to be applied to all territorial accretions to

their kingdom. Its southern frontier, which originally rested on the northern bank of the Sarasvati, was later shifted to the north banks of the Mahi and then to the northern banks of the Narmadā. Later still, it included for some time, the district of Thana, but ultimately receded to Daman-ganga. This territory, over which the kings of Aṇahilavāḍā ruled, was called and may be termed Gūrjara-bhūmi, or even Gujarat.

As a result, the name Lāṭa, as originally applied to the peninsular Gujarat south of the Mahi, slowly disappeared from use; and when Kumārapāla died in A.D. 1174, the southern boundary of the Gūrjara-bhūmi was the Daman-ganga. When the armies of 'Ala ud-Din Khilji captured Aṇahilavāḍa in A.D. 1299, the kingdom had come to be known as Gujarat; and later, the Sultans of Gujarat included in their Sultanate of Gujarat the districts of Thana as well as the two Khandesh districts. It was, therefore, from the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa that modern Gujarat received its name.

Even at present the term Gujarat is used in two different senses. In one, it denotes the mainland between Mount Abu and the river Daman-ganga, distinguishing it from Kachchha or Saurāshṭra on the one side and Marwad and Mālava on the other. In the second and wider sense it connotes the much larger linguistic zone in which the language known as Modern Gujarati is spoken at the present time. The boundary of this Gujarati speaking area touches Sirohi and Marwad in the north and includes Kachchha and Saurāshṭra as well as the districts of Thar and Parkar in Pakistan. The eastern limit of this region extends from the Aravalli hills along the eastern

boundary enclosing the Bhil settlements, and runs along the Vindhyas. With the sea in the west, linguistic Gujarat tapers down to a narrow strip which ends in the bilingual tracts of the Thana district and Greater Bombay. This area, in which Gujarati is spoken, may, therefore, be treated as, and termed, Modern Gujarat.

(iv)

Linguistic Limits of Gūrjaradeśa

The geographical limits of what has been referred to as Gūrjaradeśa, as distinguished from the earlier Gūrjara and later Chaulukyan Gujarat, may now be determined.

Modern Gujarati is one of the languages derived from Western Rajasthani or Gaurjarī-Apabhraṁśa. The languages or dialects of this group are spoken at present in modern Rajputana, Mālava, some parts of Madhya-Bharat and in modern Gujarat. But up to A.D. 1300 the people of all these regions spoke the same language with slight variations and were homogeneous. The area they inhabited was Gūrjaradeśa.

Vardhamānapuri, modern Wadhwan, was on the borderland of Gūrjaradeśa up to the end of the eighth century. Sārasvata-maṇḍala, the valley of the Sarasvatī, and the Satyapura-mandala to its north were certainly parts of it; so was Gurjaratrā. This was the old Gūrjara of Hiuen-Tsang.

To the south of the Sarasvati, Anarta and Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala* had lost their distinct geographical entity since A.D. 815. Medápaṭa, Pratabgarh, Dungarpur, Banswara, Dholpur, Śākambharī, and Mālava, ruled by the allied Gūrjara clans of Pratīhāras, Paramāras, Chāpas, Chāhamānas and Guhilots were part of

Gūrjaradeśa and were united in the social and linguistic unity of the people as well as in the kinship and loyalty of the ruling hierarchy which supported the Imperial Gūrjaras.

Two other provinces, Jejā-bhukti, modern Bundelkhand, and Kānyakubja-bhukti which included Kālañjara-vishaya, were imperial provinces directly governed by the Gūrjara-Pratihara emperors. This area practically corresponds to Madhyadeśa or the 'Central Region', which formed one of the five divisions into which Rājaśekhara, the court-poet of the Pratīhāras divided India. According to Rājaśekhara, Madhyadeśa extended from Abu to Banaras and from the Pehova to the Narmadā, thus including Gūrjaradeśa, as well as Avanti or eastern Mālava and the provinces of Kānyakubja, Jejā and Vārāṇasī. At the height of the empire, Kachchha and parts of Saurāshtra, not included in Gūrjaradeśa proper, were ruled by the feudatories of the emperors. Lāṭa, however, which extended from the river Mahi to the Kaveri in the Surat district, was a battleground between the Pratīhara emperors of Gūrjaradeśa and the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors of Karnāṭaka.

The Imperial Pratiharas, named by modern scholars Gūrjara-Pratihāras, considered Gūrjaradeśa as their homeland, and so came to be styled Gūrjaras or Gūrjareśvaras.

Under Mihira Bhoja, the greatest of Imperial Gūrjaras, this homeland extended from Prithudaka or Pehova in East Punjab in the north, to Mount Abu and to the mouth of the Sarasvatī in the West. It is possible that the Mahi formed its southern boundary, and North Bengal, the eastern.

All the facts point to the conclusion beyond any

reasonable doubt that the Pratihāras, the Chāhamānas, the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras were allied clans which belonged to Hindu society at a stage when Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas freely allied with each other in matrimony. They were associated with Gūrjaradeśa from about the sixth century and continued to be so till the end of the thirteenth, the period under consideration. Further, these four clans in their early days, never claimed the firepit origin, neither did they show signs of being immigrants or of foreign origin.

The history of Gūrjaradeśa during this period cannot be understood in its proper perspective, unless the important fact is realised that these four Kshatriya clans, connected by blood, tradition and by the country of their origin Gūrjaradeśa, remained closely knit in high adventure and imperial ambition throughout the period from A.D. 550 until 1300. The wars between the chieftains of these clans were merely a struggle for internal supremacy, suspended only during the period when one or other of the clans attained unchallengeable supremacy, as was the case with the Pratihāras from A.D. 740 to 940, with the Paramāras from A.D. 940 to 1055, and with the Chaulukyas from A.D. 1100 to 1250. This phenomenon was not unusual in other parts of the world during the feudal stage.

During four hundred and sixty-five out of the seven hundred and fifty years with which this history is concerned, there was a representative Gūrjara ruler in whom was concentrated, for the time being, the power, might and unity of Gūrjaradeśa. Had the imperial camp remained in one place instead of being shifted from Śrīmāla to Jhalor, from Jhalor

to Ujjayinī, from Ujjayinī to Kanyakubja and thence to Dhārā and Aṇahilavāḍa, the continuity of Imperial Gūrjaradeśa would never have been broken.

The question as to when modern Gujarat came to be called Gūrjara-maṇḍala or Gurjara-bhūmi is also connected with the question as to when the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa called themselves, or were recognised as, rulers of a region known by these names. This requires a careful scrutiny of the records between A.D. 915, when the emperor Mahīpāla of Kanauj is referred to as 'the roaring Gūrjara Emperor of Kanauj',[16] and A.D. 1139 when Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, the founder of Modern Gujarat, is referred to as the king of Gūrjara-maṇḍala.[17] During this period we have the unimpeachable testimony of al-Beruni that in or about A.D. 1030 a tract in Rajputana was called Gujarat, of which the capital was Bazan, or Nārāyana. This can be identified with a village situated a few miles from Jaipur, where old ruins are still to be found.[18] Al-Beruni thus describes the places and countries he visited in north India: "Travelling south-east from Kanauj was the kingdom of Jejābhukti, with its capital Khajuraho (where, as we know, the Chandellas ruled); next to it was Ḍāhala with its capital at Tripurī the ruler of which is now Gāngeya. Marching from Kanauj towards the south-west, you come to Āsi, 18 *farsakh* from Kanauj, Sahanyā, another 17 *farsakh*; Jandrā, 18 *farsakh*; Rājpurī, 15 *farsakh*; and Bazāna, the capital of Guzarat a further 20 *farsakh*. This latter town is called Nārayān by our people. After it had fallen into decay the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadūra."[19] Then follows a description of Mālava.

According to al-Beruni, therefore, the geogra-

phical unit known as Gujarat in A.D. 1030, was entirely different from modern Gujarat, and Aṇahilavāḍa did not form a part of it. Bazāna, its capital, was according to this traveller, a hundred and twenty-two miles south-west of Kanauj; a hundred miles north of Mewad, the capital of which was Jattaraur, i.e. Chitodgagh; two hundred and forty miles north-east of Aṇahilavāḍa; and two hundred miles east of Multan. The distances given by the author are approximate, but, making all allowance for them, Gujarat would seem to have consisted of areas which are now in the Jaipur and Jodhpur Divisions of Rajasthan. This would be approximately the Gūrjaratra-bhūmi referred to the Daulatpur plate of Mihira Bhoja.

When poets and authors write of the people they call Gūrjara during this period, they do not refer to the inhabitants of modern Gujarat, but to the inhabitants of Gūrjaradeśa, the large linguistic area in which Western Rajasthani or Gaurjari were spoken. And this use by authors of the word Gūrjara continued till the twelfth century, when the words Gujarat, Gūrjara-bhūmi or Gūrjara-maṇḍala came to be identified with the Chaulukyan territory in modern Gujarat.

Coming to the references made to the rulers prior to A.D. 915, the word Gūrjara was unquestionably applied to the Emperors of Kanauj. Even in the *Pampa-bhārata*, written many years after, Mahipāla is referred to as the "Gūrjara" king.[20] In A.D. 916 Kanauj itself is described as being situated in the country of Jurz or Gūrjar, and al-Masudi, who visited India between A.D. 900 and 940, describes the king of Kanauj as the king of Gūrjara.[21]

In the geography written by Rājaśekhara a few

years later, Gūrjaradeśa is not mentioned, but is included in Antarvedi or Madhyadeśa. Saurāshṭra, Bhṛigukachchha or Lāṭa, Kachchha, Ānarta, Arbuda, modern north Gujarat and Daśeraka (Doskroi, modern Surat) are all placed outside Madhyadeśa.

The inscription of Yaśovarman, the Chandella king of A.D. 950, applies the word Gūrjara to the emperor of Kanauj.[32]

An inscription about A.D. 953 refers to Mārasiṁha, a general of the Rāshṭrakūṭas who won several battles in the North, as being styled *Gurjarādhirāja*, the supreme lord of Gūrjara.[33] Dr. Altekar identifies Gūrjara with Śīyaka.[34]

In A.D. 960 the Rajora inscription of Mathanadeva calls him a descendant of Gūrjara-Pratihāras.[35]

About that time Padmagupta, who was a poet in the court of Muñja and Sindhurāja during the last two decades of the tenth century, describes the condition of a Gūrjara king whom Vakpati Muñja defeated.[36]

In the inscription of Hastikundi, (A.D. 997) Dhavala is referred to as the refuge of the armies of the lord of Gūrjara, who was destroyed, and of Dharaṇivarāha who had been chased by Mūlarāja.[37] A close examination of the inscription shows that the destroyed Gurjareśa cannot possibly have been Mūlarāja. On the other hand, the Gūrjareśa, the lord of Gūrjara, referred to, may be either Pratīhāra Vijayapāla or some petty ruler of Gūrjara of which Nārāyan was the capital. In accordance with the views of certain scholars, in the first edition of the present work, the identification of this Gūrjara king with Mūlarāja, the Chaulukya king of Anahillavāḍa, was accepted. However, a little later, that is to say in A.D. 999, the Chedi king refers to his grandfather

as having defeated the 'Gúrjara, the king of Kanauj'.[28]

In fact, therefore, no inscription unequivocally describes the king of Aṇahillavāḍa as the Lord of Gūrjara, Gūrjara-maṇḍala or as Gūrjareśvara. On the other hand the inscriptions of Mūlarāja invariably refer to him as the ruler of Sārasvata-maṇḍala which, as shown by al-Beruni, did not form a part of Gurjara-bhūmi even up to A.D. 1040.

The Varuṇaśarmaka grant of A.D. 988, given by his son Yuvarāja Chāmuṇḍa, only calls Mūlarāja, Śaulkika.[29] In the Kadi grant of 987 Mūlarāja is also referred to as having acquired the Sarasvata-maṇḍala.[30] In 1029 the Radhanpur grant describes Bhīmadeva as king of Aṇahilavāḍa;[31] and in no inscription is Bhīmadeva referred to as Gūrjareśvara, or as ruling over Gūrjaratrā or Gūrjara-maṇḍala.

Even when Karṇa calls himself *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka* he is not referred to as the king of Gūrjara.[32]

In the Udaipur-praśasti, which may be attributed to the latter half of the eleventh century, a distinction is drawn between Bhīma Chaulukya and Gūrjareśvara. The words are:[33]

चेदीश्वरेंद्ररक्तोत्पलजयीषमुखाःकर्णादिलब्धविजयैर्नरराड्नुरुक्तान्।
यद्भृत्यमात्रविजितानवलोक्य भोजः क्षिप्तः बलानि कुरुते न यदृङ् लोकान्॥

It follows that this inscription either refers to the emperor of Kanauj or to some ruler of Gūrjaratrā, but not to Bhīma.

The conclusion is clear, therefore, that it was only in A.D. 1139 that Jayasiṁha Chaulukya of Aṇahilavāḍa was, for the first time, incontrovertibly described in a grant as the ruler of Gūrjara-maṇḍala.

Chapter II

ROYAL DYNASTIES IN GURJARADESA AND THEIR ORIGINS

(i)

The Agnikula Myth

Certain traditions relating to the beginnings of royal dynasties have been relied upon to corroborate the theory that the Gūrjaras were of foreign origin. For instance, according to Tod,[1] who relied upon bardic tales, the Paramāras, the Pratīhāras, the Chaulukyas and the Chāhamanas belonged to the Agnikula. The sages, when harassed by demons, prayed to Mahādeva for help; the prayer was granted; and from the sacred firepit came out first the Pratīhāras, next the Chaulukyas, then the Paramāras, and lastly the Chāhamanas.

The source of this legend can be traced to *Pṛithvīrāja-Rāso* of Chand Bardai. According to another bardic account recorded by Cunningham, only the Chaulukyas came out of the firepit, the Agnikund.[2]

The earliest mention of the Agnikula origin, which, however, refers only to the Paramāras, is found in the *Navasāhasāṅka-charita* by Padmagupta[3] (A.D. 925-1025), court-poet of the Paramāra kings Vākpati Muñja and Sindhurāja. The story also finds its place in the Udayapur-praśasti of Udayāditya: "There is in the West a son of the Himalayas, that lofty mountain, called Arbuda (Abu), that gives the desired reward to those possessing (true) knowledge and (is) the place where the conjugal union of the *Siddhas* is perfect. There Viśvāmitra forcibly took from Vaśishṭha (his) cow. Through his (Vaśishṭha's)

power a hero arose from the firepit who worked the destruction of the enemy's army. When he had slain the enemies he brought back the cow; then that sage spoke: "You will be a lord (of kings) called 'Paramāra'".[4] The same story is repeated in other inscriptions.[5]

It appears that later on a further tradition linked up the traditional origins of both the Paramāra and the Chaulukya with the Agnikula myth. Relying upon these legends and upon the fact that, at one time or another the four clans were styled Gūrjaras, modern scholars considered all of them as belonging to the same Gūrjara tribe. Agreement was reached too upon the point that as the Pratihāras were Gūrjaras and therefore foreigners, the three other clans who had been associated with them must also necessarily be foreigners and that the Agnikula myth was merely a legendary survival of the purification ceremony which preceded the entry of all the four clans into the Hindu fold.[6]

This view has been successfully challenged by almost all modern scholars. *Pṛithvirāja-Rāso* is full of errors, and it is doubtful whether Chand Bardai ever wrote of the Agnikula myth or whether it was added later on.[7] But *Pṛithvīrāja-Rāso* does not suggest even indirectly that the four clans were foreigners.

(ii)

Pratihāras

As regards the Pratihāras, we now have ample material to establish that they always claimed their descent from Lakshmaṇa, the younger brother of Śri Rāma, and that they were invariably referred to by their panegyrist as belonging to Raghukula.[8] The

Chāhamānas, the earliest clan, associated with the Pratihāras from the 6th century, also claimed their descent from the Sun. The Chaulukyas claimed their origin from the palm of Brahmā and, according to Padmagupta, only the Paramāras sprang from Agnikunda. One fact remains clear that all these clans, except the Chaulukyas, rose to power from the region of Abu, that is Gūrjara.

Of the four clans, all of which were probably associated with one another from the beginning to the 8th century, the Pratihāras were the most prominent and came to power earliest. We learn from the Pratihāra records that Harichandra, a Brāhmaṇa, first established the Pratihāra power at Gūrjara. He had four sons by his Kshatriya wife, one of whom founded the Gūrjara dynasty of Nāndīpuri near Broach.[9] Harichandra lived during the middle of the sixth century.

(iii)

Chāhamānas

Of the Pratihāra feudatories known to us the Chāhamānas had the the earliest association with the Pratihāras, and this began in the time of Harichandra, the founder of the Pratihāra dynasty.

According to the Bijolia inscription,[10] Sāmanta, the first Chāhamāna in the list, was a Brāhmaṇa born at Ahichchhatrapura, which has been doubtfully identified with the capital of Jaṅgaladeśa, a region identified with Bikaner and northern Marwad. As Sāmanta also lived at the beginning of the sixth century A.D., there is no doubt that in or about A.D. 500, the Chāhamānas were settled in the Ajmer region and possibly were feudatories of the Pratīhāras.

Several other branches of the Chāhamānas have

come to light. One Vāsudeva, founded the northern branch, which was also settled in Jaṅgaladeśa, with its capital at Śākambhari.[11] Parts of it later came to be called Sapādalakṣha. Guvaka I, known too as Govindarāja, or Garuḍarāja, a descendant of Vāsudeva, rose to eminence as a feudatory of the Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II.[12] His son, Chandrarāja II, was also a feudatory. His daughter, Kalāvati, was married to the emperor of Kanauj, who can be no other than Mihira Bhoja himself. The scions of this line grew in power but remained loyal to the imperial house. Even as late as A.D. 973, when the empire of Gūrjaradeśa had been shaken to its foundation, the loyal Chāhamānas received the feeble Pratihāra Emperor, still the *Raghukula Chakravarti*, with due respect.[13] It is curious that Harichandra, Sāmanta and Vāsudeva were all Brāhmaṇas.

There were other sub-branches of the northern Chāhamanas. Among these the Chāhamāna Chaṇḍamahāsena (*c.* A.D. 842) of Dhavalapura, modern Dholpur, was a feudatory of Bhoja. Chaṇḍamahāsena led the imperial army to the north and extracted tribute from the *mlechchhas* on the banks of the Charmaṇvati, which is the modern Chambal.[14] Though the feat is attributed to the Chāhamānas, there is no doubt that it was an echo of the emperor's conquest in the north. Another Chāhamāna branch ruled at Pratabgadh and was also a feudatory of the Pratihāras.

Another branch of the Chāhamānas, who ruled at Lāṭa, was also feudatory and continued to remain so even when the emperors had declined in power.[15] The founder of the fortunes of his family, Maheśvaradāma, six degrees removed from Bharatṛivaḍḍha, can

be placed as a contemporary of Daddā I of Lāṭa, son of Harichandra. In A.D. 756 Bhartṛivaddha, the Chāhamāna, was ruling at Broach as a feudatory of Nāgāvaloka, correctly identified with Nāgabhaṭa I of the Pratihāra kings of Gūrjara.[15] But Broach was absorbed in the Karnāṭaka empire, and the southern Chāhamānas were not heard of till the twelfth century.

(iv)

Guhilaputras

The Guhilaputras (a corruption being the Guhilots of Mewad), have a still longer history. Guhila, the founder of the family, came from Ānarta and founded a small principality in the upper Sabarmati valley. He was by birth a Brāhmaṇa of Ānandapura or Vadnagar;[17] later records speak of his descendant Bhartṛipaṭṭa, as a "*Brahma-Kshatrānvita*" like Paraśurāma.[18] Bappa or Kālabhoja (A.D. 739-753) wrested the kingship of Chitod from the Mauryas. One of his descendants, Śaṅkaragaṇa's son Harsharāja, was a vassal of Mihira Bhoja[19] and as such took part in the northern campaign of the emperor and presented horses to him. At the behest of Mihira Bhoja, Harsharāja's son, Guhila II of Chatsu, led an army against Dharmapāla of Bengal. His descendants remained loyal to the Pratihāras until as late as A.D. 942.[20]

(v)

Chandrātreyas

Jayaśakti of the Chandrātreya (Chandella) dynasty, who is stated to have given the name of Jejābhukti to the area now called Bundelkhand, was a

petty feudatory of Mihira Bhoja, and so was his brother and successor Vijayaśakti.[21] The latter served in the forces that invaded the South and that must have been led by Mihira Bhoja or his son Mahendrapāla, and, even when their successors grew powerful, we find them declaring themselves, as late as A.D. 954, to be vassals of the Gūrjara emperors.[22] There is no allusion to a foreign origin in these references.

(vi)

Chaulukyas

The Chaulukyas, to which family Mūlarāja (A.D. 942-999) of Aṇahilavāḍa belonged, were also closely associated with the Imperial Pratihāras.

At least four royal dynasties and many princely families are called Chalukya or Chālukya, and several other variants of the name are known. It is usual, however, to refer to the dynasty established by Mūlarāja as Chaulukyas, as that is the form found in all but a few of their records.[23]

It is not possible to determine the origin of the word Chālukya; most probably it was a Sanskritisation of the words Solāṅki (Gujrati), Saluṅke (Marathi) or Chulkika.

As pointed out later, Bhuvaḍa from whom Mūlarāja is said to have been descended, was probably no other than the Pratihāra emperor Mihira Bhoja. Mūlarāja's ancestors were also associated with the Chaulukyas who were connected with Mathura, and the grants of A.D. 893 and 899 show that Saurāshṭra was under the Chālukya feudatories of the Pratihāra emperor, Mahendrapāla I. Mihira Bhoja himself appears to have invaded Saurāshṭra. Avantivarman's

great grandfather, Bāhukadhavala, was a feudatory in Saurāshṭra of the Pratīhāra emperor Nāgabhaṭa II.[24]

The name of Bāhukadhavala's father is not known, though his grandfather, Kalla, is described as a great king. The last-named person seems to have been the founder of the Chālukya dynasty of Saurāshṭra and was probably associated with the Pratīhāras from the middle of the eighth century, that is to say, almost from the time of the foundation of the first empire.

The association of the Chālukyas with Gujarat can be traced further back, for, in about A.D. 722, there was a Chālukya king in Kaira, in modern Gujarat, whose daughter was kidnapped by Indra, the father of Dantidurga, the Rashṭrakūṭa king.[25]

Between A.D. 731 and 738, Chālukya Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya, of the Gujarat branch, ruled over south Gujarat and drove back an Arab army which was trying to penetrate into the South.[26] The founder of his family fortunes was Pulakeśi I, the Chālukya conqueror, who came to the throne of Vātāpī, modern Badami, some time in A.D. 543. Hiuen-Tsang met his grandson, Pulakeśi II, and described him a Kshatriya.[27] The Western Chālukyas of Badami, as the dynasty is called, conquered Lāṭa under Pulakeśi II. The Chālukya Pulakeśi of the Navasari grant belonged to the imperial branch. It was probably a daughter of one of these families who was kidnapped by Indra from Kaira.

Some of the later Chaulukyan records claim that their ancestors came from Ayodhya.[28] Assuming that all the dynasties bearing the name Chālukyas, Chaulukyas, or some other variant, belonged to the same clan, it seems possible that their original home

was there, from which place the Chālukyas of Badami migrated south some time in the fifth century A.D. The Chaulukyas of Saurashtra were, therefore, either the descendants of the Ayodhya Chālukyas or they belonged to the southern branch who had thrown in their lot with the Pratihāras in the 8th century as feudatories.

In the Vadnagar-praśasti and the *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*[29] and other later works, it is stated that the progenitor of the Chaulukya or Chālukya dynasty was one Chaluky̆a, so named because he arose from the *chuluka* (palm) of Brahmā to destroy the demons.

The Chālukyas were in India long before the arrival of the Huns[30] and until the eighth century were in no way associated with them, or with the Pratihāras, or the Chāhamānas. There is even evidence to point to the existence of conflicts between the Chālukyas and the Pratihāras in the seventh century.

(vii)

Chāpas

As the Chaulukyas of Gujarat replaced the Chāpas at Anahilavāḍa in about A.D. 942, the fortunes of the latter may be examined in this connection. The earliest information that we possess about them is that in A.D. 628 a Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty was ruling somewhere in Gūrjaradeśa and continued to do so till the first Arab raid in c. A.D. 730.[31] There was a Chāpa family of Anahilavāḍa which, according to persistent traditions, was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II and Mihira Bhoja. Their fortunes will be considered later.[32]

Another Chāpa, Dharaṇīvarāha, was ruling at

Wadhwan in A.D. 914 as a feudatory of the Pratīhāra emperor. The ancestors of Dharaṇivarāha were probably also feudatories of the Pratīhāras,[33] and this association began a century earlier. The Chāpas were, at one time, considered by various scholars to have been foreigners, but the basis for such an assumption is very flimsy and the view has now been generally discarded.[34]

(viii)

Paramāras

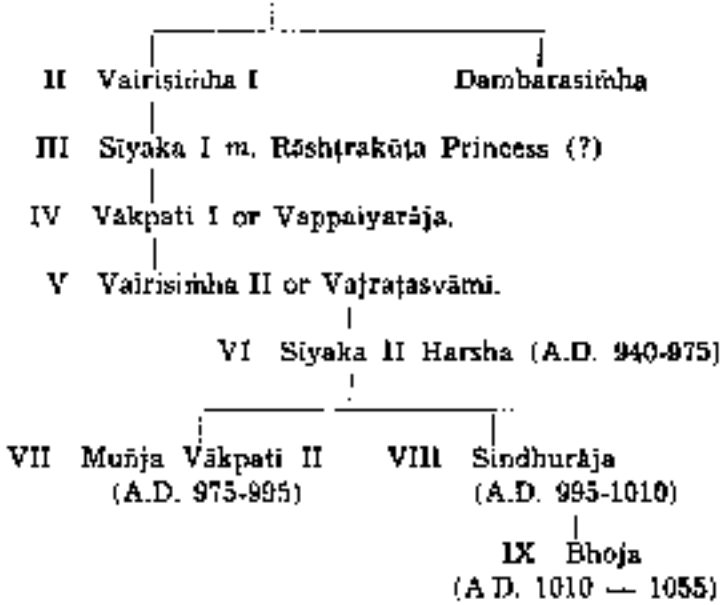
Following the downfall of the Pratīhāras, two feudatories namely Siyaka Paramāra and Mūlarāja Chaulukya attempted to carve themselves kingdoms, and the collapse of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire, within a few years, gave them their opportunity. Paramāras were regarded at one time as having been foreign settlers, but upon evidence which will not bear scrutiny. The argument runs this way: "According to legend, the Chāpas belonged to the Paramāra race; the Paramāras were allied to the Pratīhāras, the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas and were therefore Gūrjaras and, as the Gūrjaras were foreigners, the Paramāras were foreigners also."[35] On the other hand, the Ferozepur Gūrjaras preserve a tradition that they came originally from Dhārā, the capital of the Paramāras.[36] The Tehri Paramāras trace their ancestry to one Paramāra Kanakapāla, or Bhogadant, who came either from Dhārā, or Gujarat, in the ninth century. Dhārā was one of the important towns of Gūrjaradeśa, and the castes which migrated from Gūrjaradeśa and who have been settled in the South for centuries are still known as Gūrjaras or Gujjars. There is therefore no reason at all why

inhabitants of Gūrjaradeśa should not have continued to be known as Gūrjaras after they had settled in Firozpur or elsewhere.

The Paramāras founded the second empire of Gūrjaradeśa, and though they only came into prominence after the catastrophic northern raid by Kṛishṇa III, the beginning of the family can be traced back for over a century.

The earliest known inscription of the Paramāras is the Harsola grant of A.D. 949.[37] This inscription states: "*Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Akālavarshadeva-Pṛithivallabha* (Kṛishṇa II) meditated upon the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* Amoghavarshadeva. In the renowned family *(tasmin-kule)* of the sovereign was born the king Vappaiyarāja (Vākpatirāja I), who was efficient in stamping out crime and who burnt his enemy by the flame of his power. His son and successor was the famous Vairisiṁha who was succeeded by Siyaka, a brave warrior, to his enemies invincible in battle". This goes to show that Paramāra Vākpati I was descended from Amoghavarsha, but does not explain why Vākpati and his descendants called themselves Paramāras and not Rāṣṭrakūṭas, unless the Paramāras were an offshoot of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. It is, however, curious that the names of Vākpati's ancestors, which are found in later grants, are omitted here: but, if he had been descended from the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors, the fact would certainly not have been ignored by the author. The only logical conclusion, therefore, seems to be that his father had married a daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha. As the grant shows, the Paramāras were the feudatories of the Rāshṭrakūṭas up to the time of Siyaka II.

With the help of other Paramāra records we get the following genealogy of the Paramāras, who are usually referred to as the Imperial Paramāras of Mālava.



Kṛishṇarāja rose into prominence at Abu either in the time of Nāgabhaṭa II, or Mihira Bhoja, and the tradition that the latter placed them in charge of Mālava may be taken to be correct.

The Paramāras were, without doubt, a local clan of Gūrjaradeśa, and had nothing to do with the Hūṇa or the Pratihāras, and, so far as their origin is concerned, we have the contemporary evidence of Halāyudha, court-poet of Muñja, that his patron was a Brahma-kshatra,[38] or a Brāhmaṇa who had taken to arms.

Chapter III

THE FOUNDING OF THE GORJARA POWER

(i)

The Golden Age of the Guptas

In North India, however, the continuity of an imperial system had been maintained for many ages. It was a part of the cultural tradition of the people. The race memory looked back to those earliest of times, when a *chakravarti-samrāṭ* or universal emperor like Māndhātā or Bhārata held sway over the whole world. The idea was thus defined:

"The *chakravartis* are born on the earth as the essence of Vishnu. They have been in ages past and will come in the future. In all the three ages, past, present and future, even in the *Tretā* age and others *chakravartis* will be born.

"Strength, *dharma*, happiness and wealth, these wondrous blessings shall characterise these rulers. They will enjoy wealth plenty, *dharma*, ambition, fame and victory in undisturbed harmony.

"They will excel the *Rishis* in their power to achieve results, in their lordliness, in providing plenty and in discipline. And they will excel the gods, demons and men in their strength and discipline."[1]

The concept of *chakravarti* was the political and military counterpart of *dharma*. It was something like that notion of a universal emperor supported by a universal church which was so popular in mediaeval Europe, but with basic differences. The *chakravarti* was the upholder of the *dharma par excellence*, a supreme vindicator of the fundamental law of the *Smritis*, a repressor of the lawlessness of kings. He

was the crest jewel in a circlet of feudatories, *sāmanta chakra chudāmani*; sometimes he was also a *rājyochchettā*, a destroyer of kings.

Aśvamedha, the horse-sacrifice, was the symbol of his "world" conquest. A horse was let loose and the conquering army followed it. Those who dared to bar the way of the sacred horse had to give battle and when conquered had to pay tribute to the *chakravarti*. When the sacred horse, after roaming over the "earth", returned home, as did the horse of Samudragupta in fact, the *chakravarti* performed the Aśvamedha. During its lengthy sessions, which were accompanied by rituals that had been handed down from pre-historic times and were presented in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *chakravarti* distributed the wealth acquired during the conquest among the Brāhmaṇas, the poor and the distressed. The Bhāratas, Śiśunāgas, Mauryas and Suṅgas, the Sātavāhanas and perhaps the Bhāraśivas and the Nāgas, having all of them risen to the status of *chakravarti*, had provided protection for the country against foreign inroads, established security in large parts of the country and rendered the absorption of foreigners easy.

About A.D. 320, Chandragupta I, the founder of the Gupta Empire, revived the *chakravarti* ideal. It is probable that the memory of the Suṅga *chakravarti* was not entirely lost in Bihar. This Emperor's marriage with Kumāra Devi, the Lichchhavi princess which, in consequence, was annexed to Magadha, launched him on a career of conquest. Fortunately for him, there was no other rival for imperial supremacy at the time and no foreign invasion threatened the country from the north-west.

His son, Samudragupta, laid the foundation of

an irresistible military machine. By means of a large standing army he subdued the surrounding countries and made a bid for the sovereignty of an united India. His sacred horse, followed by his army, extracted tribute from the kings ruling in most parts of the country and served to bring about friendly relations with the Shāhānushāhi kings of the north-west. He performed the Aśvamedha, gave munificent donations, and reached the zenith of his power when he dropped the title of the 'Sun of Valour' and adopted that of the "Sun of *Dharma*".

His son, Chandragupta II, known as Vikramāditya, ruled for many years and left behind him the legacy of the Gupta age; the age of peace, plenty and of power integrated to a cultural renaissance; a period which has been the greatest formative influence in India's later life. Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, his two successors, also maintained the imperial tradition.

The Guptas were not content with the role of mere conqueror or emperor. They upheld the *Āryadharma* in all its aspects, enriching and vitalising its content and enlarging its scope. Unlike Aśoka, who, while claiming to improve it, stood aside from it as far as his personal life was concerned, they drew their inspiration from it and became symbols of it in men's minds. Moreover, in doing so, they carried the mass of the people with them. In their time, outsiders were allowed to benefit by, but never to destroy, the social achievements of the age. In this way, opportunity was given to the uncultured to rise in the scale of life, but never so rapidly as to endanger the stability of the existing social order.

The theory of *dharma* in the days of the Gupta emperors had been from Vedic times the over-arching

law of life. Through the *Purāṇas*, through sacred legends of rivers, mountains, cities, of royal houses and of semi-divine heroes and sages, the past had become a glorious heritage for future greatness. Historic continuity was preserved through the belief that the *Vedas* were the source of all inspiration and upon this basis was built a culture in which the perfection of the myths, traditions and rituals, language and literature, canons of conduct, ideals and modes of life, has never been surpassed. The law of the *Smṛitis* which though altered in its details to suit the exigencies of life from age to age, maintained the concept of the fundamental law upon which alone life could appropriately be founded.

The social organisation was based upon the bedrock of a family life dominated by strong patriarchal traditions; as a corollary it demanded that strict regard for feminine virtue which is so essential for the preservation of the purity of a race and of its culture. At the same time, it afforded unquestioning shelter to those members of the community who were helpless and needy.

Theoretically, this social structure envisaged a four-fold order of social groups, but it was in fact a hierarchy of such groups divided according to the standard of culture attained by each one of them individually, while at its head stood the Brāhmaṇas, devoted to learning, culture and self-discipline.

Sanskrit, a living language, perfect in structure and elastic in expression, with a rich, varied and beautiful literaray achievement, was the living embodiment of the *dharma*. It was, therefore, a living national medium of culture from Kashmir to Kanchi. A new thought or a new literary masterpiece in the

language engaged the attention of every one of the intellectual centres in the country. For instance, the works of Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, became the supreme models of literary beauty within almost a few years of his death.

Under the Gupta emperors, the *Mahābhārata* had already acquired a unique position in the lives of the people. "The essence of the four *Vedas* permeated it. When the gods first weighed it, it was found weightier than the *Vedas* themselves".[1] This great work embodied the majesty of *Arya-dharma* in all its aspects. Beautiful stories and interesting fables; moral tales and wise sayings; the fundamentals of law and civilization; attempts to co-ordinate all the activities of culture and ethics; efforts to popularise principles which made the age great; and epic records of heroic men and women who exhibited elemental greatness, all were incorporated therein. It immortalized the proud and joyous manhood of *Bhāratavarsha*. And the author of the *Vishnu-Purāna* thus expressed the eternal prayer of the Indian heart: "Even the gods sing thus: Blessed are the men who live in the land of Bhārata, like unto the high road to Heaven and to Liberation, for they are higher than gods themselves."[2]

Finally, all conduct was regulated by one supreme code of ethical values. Though running through a diversity of religious beliefs, it insisted on the observance of the great vows — *mahāvratas* — of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, continence and non-possession. The fundamental of this *dharma* was from the beginning a supreme faith in human endeavour, self-discipline *(samyama)* and asceticism

(tapas). Emphasis was laid on individual experience and becoming rather than on belief and scriptural word. Only thus could man shed his limitations and become divine in this life. At the basis of all was a living conception of Āryāvarta, the sacred land of the Aryas, impregnated with an abiding veneration for those who lived and died so that it might live on great and eternal.

In mediaeval Europe the ideas which governed the social organisation were those of a universal empire such as the Holy Roman Empire, supported by a universal social and religious order as represented by the Universal Church. The concept of *dharma* was different; it was related to Āryāvarta. Bhāratavarsha, *Karmabhūmi*, was the land of *dharma* which extended from the oceans to the Himalayas. Āryāvarta was the region where Aryas flourished, where they sprang up again and again and where, even if the *mlechchhas* overran it, they could not abide there for long.

With the spread of Aryan culture and the ideas regarding the social organization peculiar to it, the older view that Āryavarta was restricted to a region north of the Vindhyas no longer held good. The implications of Āryavarta had become more expansive. Wherever *dharma* prevailed there was Āryāvarta, without any frontier, geographical or political. A Kshatriya king of meritorious conduct could conquer even the land of the *mlechchhas*, establish *chāturvarnya* there, assign to the *mlechchhas* a position occupied by the Chandālas in Āryāvarta and render the country as fit for sacrifice as Āryāvarta itself.[3]

A chakravarti, therefore, could conquer the world, but he could do so only as a *chakravarti* of Aryāvarta pledged to uphold *dharma*, the very idea of which implied a conscious willing of India into an organic whole.

The Gupta emperors had the genius to create and maintain, for over a century, those unique traditions in which a state can be, at one and the same time, powerful, stable and happy. Their empire was not merely based on conquest; its greatness lay in its integral outlook. Its strength was based as much on military strength as on internal order and economic plenty, and its emperors drew the sap of vitality from the roots of tradition. Meanwhile, the Brāhmaṇas became the willing instruments of a moral and cultural upsurge. The Kshatriyas, hierarchs of Madhyadeśa and Magadha, loyally pledged to stability, constituted the steel-frame of the imperial structure. Nor was the splendour of the empire an isolated phenomenon surrounding the rulers. The people, having discovered in their traditional way of life something noble and splendid, saw it reflected in the greatness of their rulers. But of this integrated harmony, the emperors were only symbols. This made that age the "Golden Age of India"; life was never happier, nor culture more efflorescent than during that period.

Two or three Gupta Emperors fulfilled the ideals of a *chakravarti* as given in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*.

(ii)

The Arrival of the Hūṇas

In the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era, something resembling a volcanic eruption

took place in the history of the human race. The Huns, like a veritable stream of lava, issued from their homeland on the northern shores of the Caspian Sea and spread over Europe and Asia. Homeless and lawless, they rode their horses awake and asleep. Their fierce yells spread terror before them. They engaged all the civilized peoples of the world in fearful cataclysmic wars and, wherever they could, they killed, destroyed, burnt and devastated with demoniac ruthlessness. In Europe, Attila the Hun brought about the downfall of even the powerful Roman Empire. India, however, continued to be impregnable for about a century.

In the middle of the fifth century, Skandagupta was trying his utmost to keep his empire together, and when in about A.D. 455, the Huns began to enter India, he drove them back by a supreme effort and gave India a short spell of peace. Twelve years later he died. The outposts of the empire, already weak, could offer no further resistance. The barbarian hordes, after passing through Persia and destroying the rulers of the north-west, began to pour into India.

The northern and western zones of the country were loosely attached to the empire. In fact, the well-defended frontiers were represented by Thaneśvara, Kanauj, Gwalior and Ujjain. Anarta, Sindhu and Sauvira were considered outside the bounds of the highly-civilized core of the empire and the peoples of those areas had not been completely assimilated into the social structure. Saurāshtra, for instance, which was a province of the empire was ruled by a governor at Girinagar and a Maitraka general was stationed at Valabhī. On the death of Skanda-

gupta the latter immediately declared independence.

Budhagupta, perhaps the last emperor of the Gupta Age, died in c. A.D. 500 and the empire came to be split into two; the division became imperative as the capital at Pāṭaliputra was too far away from the threatened zone. The Eastern Empire comprised Magadha and Gauḍa the Western included Madhya Pradesh under Bhānugupta. With the break up of the empire, Saurāshṭra under the Maitrakas, Thāneśvara under the Pushyabhutis and parts of Uttar Pradesh under the Maukharis, became independent.

During the last decades of the sixth century, the Huns began their conquest of the north-western zone. By A.D. 510 Toramaṇa over-ran Mālava, which was then ruled by Bhānugupta, the feeble successor of Budhagupta, and every local feudatory tried to save as much of his territory as he could.

After Toramāṇa's death, his son Mihirakula, a veritable terror, spread fire and carnage from the Punjab to the Mahi. By A.D. 525, he was absolute master of the north-western zone.

The Indian rulers soon recovered from the shock of the barbarian impact, though the records which have survived are much too vague to indicate the nature and extent of the war of liberation which followed. Out of the fragmentary mass of references and the confusion of dates and places, however, the names of two great liberators have come down to us.

Yaśodharmana Vishnuvardhana, who was probably a feudatory of the Western Empire, threw off the yoke of the decadent empire, fought the Huns with success and liberated a large slice of territory. His swift victories arrested the progress of Mihira-

kula, who, terror though he had been, was forced to offer his allegiance to Yaśodharmana. Among other fragments of the Western Empire, Mālava was also liberated and formed part of the kingdom of the conqueror.

Mihirakula met with no less heavy reverses in his eastern campaigns. The challenge was taken up by Īśānavarman Maukhari, who is thought to have been a feudatory who ruled over parts of Madhyadeśa, modern Uttar Pradesh. He barred the progress of the Huns to the east and in the course of several encounters inflicted a shattering defeat upon them.

Mihirakula's attempt to invade Magadha also ended in disaster. Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, the ruler of the Eastern Empire, dealt him a final blow. He was sent reeling back to his dominions on the north-west frontier only to find that his brother had seized his throne. He then fell back on Kashmir, and, having captured it treacherously died soon after.

What exactly happened to Yaśodharmana Viṣṇuvardhana is not clear. But in A.D. 533 Mālava was being ruled by the governor of Īśānavarman, the Maukhari conqueror. However, two years later, Kumāragupta III, son of Bālāditya, the monarch of the Eastern Empire, was ruling there; it appears that at least for the time being, he had over-powered Īśānavarman, for he declared himself "Lord of the three seas". But about c. A.D. 550 the Gupta Empire was dissolved, two hundred years after it had been founded.

(iii)

The rise of Kanauj

Īśānavarman appears to have finally extinguished the hegemony of the Guptas. He not only overthrew the descendants of Vishṇuvardhana and conquered the Śulikas or the Chalukyas in Andhra, but emerged as the unchallenged master of Madhyadeśa including Mālava. Furthermore he frightened the Gauḍas into keeping away from his dominions and ultimately established himself at Kanauj, which thereafter was the imperial capital of India for close upon five centuries.

Śarvavarman the successor of the great liberator, maintained the supremacy of his dynasty.

The rise of Kanauj marks a distinct phase in the history of India. The pressure of foreign invasion had thrown the whole of the northern and western zones from Peshawar to the Narmadā into confusion. Out of the darkness of that period Kanauj emerged as the rallying point of a vigorous race of defenders who undertook to bring order out of chaos and re-establish the stability which had been destroyed during the fifty years of the Hun visitation.

Life in the zone, however, assumed a shape different from that of the Gupta period. The earlier homogeneity was no more. *Chāturvarṇya* was called upon to bear the strain of absorbing new-comers. The *Kshatriyas*, who had maintained their warlike traditions in the earlier years, became diluted with foreign elements whose regard for the ancient customs was weak. The Brāhmaṇas, lavishly endowed during the Gupta regime, attained a different status as "gods on earth". Heterodox cults became popular. Sans-

krit, till then the medium of culture throughout India, became the language of the learned only, and the spoken dialects began to acquire literary power.

The Golden Age became a thing of the past. The military superiority of Magadha disappeared and out of the confusion emerged a new set of dynasties; the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Pushyabhutis of Thāneśvara, the Shāhis of Afghanistan, the Maitrakas of Valabhi and the Chālukyas of Badami. The warrior clans of what is now Rajasthan, which were then living in the region of Mount Abu and claimed descent from Brāhmaṇa ancestors, emerged from obscurity as a closely-knit hierarchy with the Pratīhāras at their head.

Prabhākaravardhana was a powerful ruler of the Pushyabhūti dynasty. Grahavarman, a descendant of Īśānavarman, was married to Rājyaśri, the daughter of the king of Thāneśvara. When Prabhākaravardhana died, king Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa, in alliance with the king of Mālava, who was probably of the Maitraka or Kalachuri dynasty, invaded Kanauj. Grahavarman was killed in battle. His queen was imprisoned. Rājyavardhana, her brother, met his end while trying to relieve her.

Harshavardhana, the younger son of Prabhākaravardhana, was then called to the throne of Thāneśvara and proved a very formidable military leader. He defeated the powerful king of Mālava, rescued his sister, and the kingdoms of Kanauj and Thāneśvara were merged under his rulership. Śri Harsha does not appear to have conquered Mālava on this occasion, but he was soon to emerge as the most powerful emperor in India.

(iv)

Maitrakas of Valabhi

The founder of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, who ruled over Mālava in A.D. 609, was one Senapati Bhaṭārka. When in A.D. 455-456 Parṇadatta governed Saurāshṭra as the viceroy of Emperor Skandagupta, Bhaṭārka was in charge of Valabhipura as a military governor; the city is now a small town called Vala situated on the river Ghelo, about twenty miles west of the modern town of Bhavnagar. Under the Mauryas, Rāshṭrakūṭas and Guptas it appears to have been the headquarters of the province of Saurāshṭra

When Skandagupta died in c. A.D. 467 Bhaṭārka appears to have become more or less independent, but the Maitrakas accepted the emperors as their nominal suzerains

When in about A.D. 502, Dronasiṁha, the third Maitraka ruler of Valabhipura, was installed as Mahārāja, the 'great lord', presumably the Gupta emperor, was present. The earlier Maitrakas used the titles 'senāpati' and 'mahārāja', but in fact they were no longer officers, but crowned kings. The sixth ruler, Guhasena (A.D. 559-567), was completely independent. Their independence, however, was not won by the sword; its accomplishment was due to the incapacity of the emperors to maintain their hold over the frontier province. The Gupta era and the administrative structure continued, however, without a break. When Śrī Harsha was installed at Kanauj as the ruler of the integrated empire of the Maukharis and the Pushyabhutis, the kingdom of Valabhi had become so large that Mālava was included in it and its south-

eastern boundary extended up to the Sahya and the Vindhya mountains.

(v)

Chālukyas of Badami

At the time when the Maukharis were founding an empire which had its seat at Kanauj, Pulakeśi I, of the Chālukya family (c. A.D. 535-66) had already established a kingdom in the Bijapur district of Bombay with its capital at Vātāpi, modern Badami. At about the end of the sixth century, his son, Kīrtivarman, embarked on wars against the kings to the north of the Godavari.

In the meantime, Budharāja, the king of Mālava, in alliance with the king of Valabhī, threw off the overlordship of the king of Gūrjara. But it was a pyrrhic victory, for he at once became a helpless victim of Chālukyan aggression from the south.

It was during the time of Sendrakas that the petty rulers of the buffer region which is now represented by the districts of Surat and Khandesh lost their independence. They first became viceroys of the Chālukyas, and, by A.D. 656, had disappeared from history.

Pulakeśi II, who had already subdued the Pallavas of Kanchi, repelled the invasion of Śrī Harsha in c. A.D. 620 and adopted the style "Lord of the three Mahārāshtras containing 99,000 villages". He annexed Veṅgi, modern Godavari district, and appointed his brother Vishnuvardhana as its governor on the east coast. Four year later Vishnuvardhana became virtually independent and founded the dynasty of the Eastern Chālukyas. Pulakeśi, with his warriors and elephants which 'marched to victory

while intoxicated' thus laid the foundation of the empire of Dakshiṇāpatha.

By the beginning of the seventh century, Śrī Harsha, the emperor of Kanauj, faced Pulakeśi II, *Parameśvallabha Mahārāja*,[4] the grandson of the first king of that name.

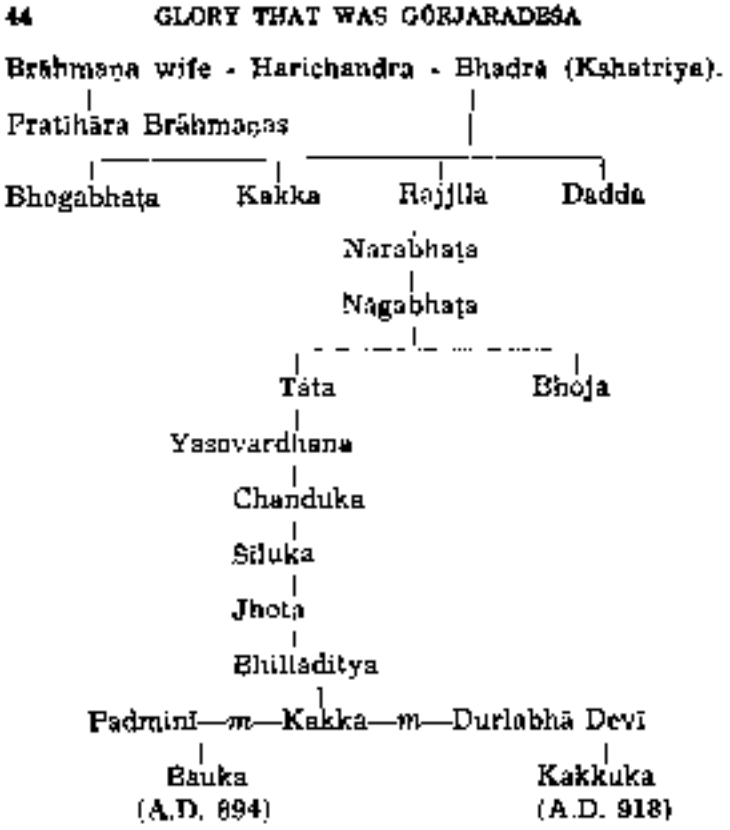
So the conflict between the empire of Āryavarta and Dakshiṇapatha began, which lasted for centuries and weakened the country laying it open in the eleventh century to the inroads of the central Asian barbarians.

(vi)

Early Pratīhāras of Gūrjara

In the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era, Harichandra established a small principality in Gūrjara, where twelve generations of his descendants were destined to rule without interruption. Harichandra's sons called themselves Pratīhāras; the dynasty, therefore, came to be known as the Pratīhāra dynasty. To distinguish them from the later dynasties bearing the same name, it is preferable to refer to them as the Early Pratīhāras.

It is difficult to say why the family of Harichandra was called Pratīhāra. No inscription of his reign or that of his immediate successors has yet been discovered. For our information regarding them, we have, therefore, to rely exclusively on the inscriptions of the two known kings of his dynasty, Bāuka and Kakkuka, dated respectively V.S. 894 and 918.[5] Calculating back from Kakkuka, and assigning to each king a period of twenty-five years, we arrive at c. A.D. 537 as the beginning of Harichandra's reign.



The inscriptions of Bāuka and Kakkuka have some interesting details regarding Harichandra. His other name was Rohilladhi; he was a Brāhmaṇa versed in the *Vedas* and *Śāstras* (*Veda-śāstrārtha-pāragaḥ*).[6] He had two wives, one a Brāhmaṇa and the other a Kshatriya. By his Kshatriya wife, named Bhadrā, he had four sons: Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda.

The dynasty established by Harichandra called itself Pratihāra. The only explanation for the adoption of this dynastic name, as given in the records

of Pratīhāra kings, is that they were descended from Lakshmaṇa, who once acted as the *Pratihāri*, that is chamberlain, to his elder brother, Rāma. It has sometimes been suggested that Harichandra began his life as a chamberlain to some king and later on carved out a principality for himself, so that the dynasty came to call itself Pratihāras. Even if this suggestion were accepted as valid, it is not easy to see why a royal dynasty should perpetuate the memory of its humble origin through its name.

From our present knowledge, therefore, it seems, that no satisfactory explanation can be given of the origion of the name Pratihara. It is probable, however, that it was a clan name, and that Harichandra was not only a Brāhmaṇa of that clan, but a highly esteemed preceptor *(Dvijaḥ Śrī-Harichandrākhyaḥ Prajāpatisamo guruḥ)*.[7] On the basis of this meagre information it has been suggested that Harichandra began "his life as preceptor in one of the peaceful settlements in the Punjab and, when the tribes once more resumed their military campaigns, his racial instincts triumphed over the veneer of his borrowed culture and changed the *Śāstra for the Śastra*",[8] a passage that points to Gūrjara as being a race, and a foreign race at that. This, as has been shown, is an unwarranted assumption.

In the case of Harichandra, there was no need for 'racial instincts' to triumph over 'the veneer of Brāhmaṇical culture'. Vāsudeva, the founder of the Chāhamānas, was a Brāhmaṇa. Both the Paramāras and the Guhilaputras have been called *Brahma-Kshatra*; and these are not the only Brāhmaṇa royal dynasties known to history. Others, for instance, were the famous Brāhmaṇa Sātavāhanas of Andhra, the

Śāhi kings of Afghanistan, the Kadambas of Kuntala (N. Kanara, in Bombay), and some dynasties in Kashmir.

This was an age when *anuloma* marriages were common, so that there is nothing surprising in that in addition to his Brāhmaṇa wife Harichandra had married a Kshatriya maiden, Bhadra, who was probably the daughter of some royal house. Whether Harichandra, who was a very ambitious man, had taken advantage of his position as preceptor to a Kshatriya clan to wield it into a well-disciplined force and to carve out a principality by its aid, or whether his sons by the Kshatriya wife succeeded to their maternal grandfather's throne, remains a mystery. From a careful reading of the inscription, however, the latter probability appears the more natural. It may, in fact, be presumed that his sons by his Brāhmaṇa wife, would, as Brāhmaṇas, have remained content with a different but more respected station in life.

The belief that the Pratihāras were descendants of the epic hero Lakshmaṇa stresses their Kshatriya origin, since a Brāhmaṇa invariably traces his descent from a Brāhmaṇa sage. It is further emphasised by the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka, who called himself Pratihāra, that not Harichandra, but his sons by Bhadrā were called Pratihāras. (*Vipraḥ Śrī Harichandrākhyaḥ patnī Bhadrā cha Kshatriyā. Tābhyāṁ te ye sutā jātāḥ Pratihārānvaye-cha tān viduḥ*).[2] This may have been due to the fact that Bhadrā belonged to the Pratihāra clan, and that one of her sons had succeeded his maternal grandfather.

Harichandra had four sons. They were called Bhogabhaṭa, Kakka, Rajjila and Dadda. They captured the fort of Māṇḍavyapura and built round it a

a strong rampart. It is possible that thenceforth Mandavyapura, which has been identified with Mandor near modern Jodhpur, was their capital.

Harichandra was succeeded by Rajjila who was probably his third son and who was also known by the strange name of Pellāpelli as a compliment, so we are told, to his prowess. The Pratihara inscriptions have nothing to say of the activities of Rajjila's two successors, his son and grandson, Narabhaṭa and Nāgabhaṭa respectively. It seems, however, that they came into conflict with the growing power of the Pushyabhuti kings of Thāneśvara. Bāṇa, referring to his patron's father, Prabhakaravardhana, tells us that he was, 'the one who kept the Gūrjara awake', from which it is clear that he was unable either to defeat or to subdue the Pratihāras. It may well be that the shifting of the Pratīhāra power to Mandor, and the building of a high rampart round its fort, were intended as precautionary measures against the attack of the Pushyabhūtis.

By the time Hiuen-Tsang visited the Pratihāra capital in the fourth decade of the seventh century, however, it had already been removed to Bhillamāla. "The king (of Gūrjara)", says the pilgrim, "is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old. He is distinguished by his wisdom and is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha and highly honours men of distinguished ability."[13] This Gūrjara king has been identified with Tāta, the son and successor of Nāgabhaṭa.

In the intervening period, that is to say, before Hiuen-Tsang's visit, it is probable that the Pratihāras had had to face Harshavardhana, the master of north India. On assuming the dual crown of

Thāneśvara and Kanauj, he had moved his capital to the latter place, which thereafter became the seat of his empire.

But the growing ambition of Harshavardhana was checked by Pulakeśi II in a single decisive battle. It is in an exultant mood that the Chālukya court-poet, Ravikirti, describes how the smile *(harsha)* of Harshavardhana melted away in fear. Ravikirti, in the manner of court-poets, bestows on Pulakeśi the entire credit for defeating the emperor of the North. But there are reasons to believe, as will be shown later, that Pulakeśi received help from his allies, one of whom was most likely the Pratihara king and another the head of its cadet branch which ruled at Nāndipuri. It was probably Nāgabhaṭa who was obliged to defend his kingdom against Harshavardhana

Nāgabhaṭa's son and successor, Tāta, was a deeply religious man. He came early to the throne, and later, considering life evanescent as lightning abdicated in favour of his younger brother Bhoja. He then retired to a hermitage where he practised the rites of true religion,[1] and where it is not improbable that he adopted the vows of *vānaprastha*.

After the death of Bhoja, however, the crown reverted to Yaśovardhana, son of Tāta, and the line continued without interruption till at least A.D 861. But, in the meantime, the Imperial Pratihāras had established themselves and the main branch was compelled to accept their suzerainty.

(vii)

The Gūrjaras of Nāndipurī (Broach)

Eight rulers of a dynasty claiming descent from a family of Gūrjara kings *(Gūrjara-nṛipati-vaṁśa)*

ruled at Nāndīpurī, modern Nandeval, near Broach. The earliest known date of the third ruler of this line is A.D. 629,[12] so that if the first two reigns covered a period of fifty years we arrive at the date A.D. 580 for the feudatory (sāmanta) Dadda who founded the dynasty. This date corresponds so exactly with that of Dadda, the youngest son of Harichandra, that the identification of the two has been accepted by scholars. It is possible that, adopting a practice which later became common under the Chālukyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Rajjila conquered parts of Lāṭa and appointed his younger brother Dadda as his feudatory.

Altogether eight rulers of this dynasty are known. Dadda I, Vītarāga-Jayabhaṭa I, Praśāntarāga-Dadda II, Jayabhaṭa II, Bāhusahāya-Dadda III, Jayabhaṭa III, Ahirole I and Jayabhaṭa IV, each of them being the son of his predecessor.[13] These eight chiefs ruled from A.D. 580 to at least A.D. 735, and are usually referred to in their records as feudatories.

An idea of the extent of the fief of these chiefs can be formed from the find spots of their grants, the places from which these were issued, and the villages given away by them in charity. Roughly speaking, it was bounded by the river Mahī in the north and the Tapti in the south, and if the plates are to be taken as being genuine, its southern limit must have been to the south of the Tapti. On the east it extended as far as Saṅgamakheṭaka (Sankheda), while the gulf of Cambay formed its western boundary.

Its capital was at Nāndīpurī, which has been identified with Nandeval, in the suburbs of Broach on the Narmada. Nandod, headquarters of the former

Rajpipla State which was thirty-four miles east of Broach, cannot be accepted as having been Nandipuri, for it is too remote and Broach, or its vicinity, has always been the capital of the principality of Bhṛigukachchha; nor is there any trace of another dynasty ruling in this capital which would have been the case had the capital of the Gūrjaras been at Nandod

This territory belonged to the Kalachuris or Kaṭachuris, the surviving dynasty of the Haihayas, who, had wrested it from the Guptas.[14] Saṅgrāmasiṁha, the last viceroy of the Guptas, is found governing the region of Broach in about A.D. 550.[15] He was defeated by Kṛishṇarāja, the Kalachuri who appointed Bhilla Nirihullaka as governor of the conquered area. Nirihullaka's fief extended at least as far as Dabhoi.[16]

The last known date of the Kalachuri family is A.D 610, while the earliest Gūrjara record is dated A.D. 629. Hence it would seem that the area of the principality of Dadda I, during the last quarter of the sixth century A.D., did not extend beyond the Mahi. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the Gūrjaras of Broach should have come into conflict with their northern neighbours and, some time after A.D. 610, should have wrested from them the region of the Mahi.

The southern territories of the Kalachuris were conquered by Chālukyas who advanced beyond the river Tapti before A.D. 643. Thus the Gūrjaras of Nāndipuri became the rivals of the Chālukyas, and, but for the common danger from the north, a conflict might have developed between them.

As already indicated the kings of Thāneśvara were the enemies of the Pratihāras and the only

armies capable of checking the rising power of Harshavardhana were those of the Chālukyas of Badami. Hence it was natural for the Gūrjaras of Nandīpurī and the Pratīhāras to seek the Chālukyan alliance. The Aihole inscription of A.D. 634,[17] which records the triumph of Chālukya Pulakeśi II over Harshavardhana, refers also to Lāṭa, Mālava and Gūrjara in terms which show that they were not subjugated by force, but that, impressed by the majesty and power of Pulakeśi II, they voluntarily submitted to him or sought his protection.

The Chālukya-Gūrjara-Valabhī alliance ended soon enough. Less than a decade after its brilliant resistance to Harshavardhana, eulogised by Ravikīrti, Pulakeśi suffered a disastrous defeat in the south at the hands of the Pallavas, his hereditary enemies. Harshavardhana, meanwhile, lured the Maitrakas of Valabhī away, by means of a matrimonial alliance, so that the Gūrjaras of Nandipurī and the main Pratīhāra branch were, for the time being, left alone. In spite of this they suffered no loss of territory, prestige or power: from the testimony left by Hiuen-Tsang we learn that both the principalities as seen by him were in flourishing condition.

It is probable that after giving his daughter in marriage to the Valabhī king, Harshavardhana felt his position in the south and west to be sufficiently secure to permit of his setting out to consolidate his empire. In the peace that followed, the Pratīhāras found safety; and it is likely that their position would not have become precarious until after the death of Pulakeśi. By that time, however, Harshavardhana was an old man with only a few more years of life

before him, and there can be little doubt that by this time the Pratiharas had firmly established in strength.

(viii)

Death of Harshavardhana

A few years after the visit of Hiuen-T'sang, Harshavardhana suddenly died and the empire of Kanauj was dissolved. The emperor, with a large army, had conquered far and wide and staged spectacular festivals. He was a generous donor and his character stood high, But he was unable to establish a stable government. He left no hierarchs, no successors. With his death the fabric he had reared fell.

The causes which led to this sudden collapse of the power which Harshavardhana had built up are to be found not only in the circumstances that brought him supremacy, but in his personal character. Kanauj and Thāneśvara, though friendly states, were rivals. When Kanauj was faced with extinction at the hands of Śaśāṅka, Śri Harsha was called, as a matter of military urgency, to a joint rulership over both states. But his hold over these states was a matter of personal domination. It is possible that the hierarchs of both kingdoms hated each other and so were unable to blend themselves in a common hierarchy for carrying forward the imperial structure. The old Kshatriya houses in Madhyadeśa were either exhausted or indifferent and Śri Harsha could not win them over.

Harshavardhana was practically a Buddhist and so could not revive the old *chakravartī* tradition, nor could he extract vitality from *dharma*. In all probability, he held aloof from his ministers, generals and the leaders of society, cold, superior and self-righteous. Anyway, he could not restore the life-

blood to the old social organisation, for he could not identify himself with its urges. The secret of establishing a military power founded on traditional strength, was not his; nor did the mass of the people feel that the conquest of Śrī Harsha was their own triumph. The internationalism for which Buddhism stood was against the building up of a compact unity rooted in the land. The way of the Guptas was, therefore, barred to him.

With Śrī Harsha gone, the empire of Kanauj simply disappeared. After him, his daughter's son, Dhruvasena IV—the ruler of the comparatively small kingdom of Valabhi—assumed the pretentious titles of an emperor.

The warrior clans of Gūrjaradeśa, however, were more fortunately situated. They were closely related to each other. They were knit together by feudal bonds which kept them allied in adventure and adversity. They were proud of their descent and they were well grounded in the traditions which they had imbibed in the land of their birth, of which Gurjara, was the centre.

Chapter IV

LIFE AND CULTURE

A.D. 500 — 700

(i)

Cultural Movements

Throughout the history of India we find two movements which indicate the process of synthesis or integration: one, originating from the pre-historic Aryan culture, the ultimate source of which was the

culture of the Vedic Aryans, was carried forward by the momentum of its own worth; while the other, based on values derived from different sources, permeated the first and modified it. The result has been that synthesis, containing vitality, vigour and variety, which is termed Indian Culture. The simultaneous operation of the two movements during many historical periods has given India strength, tenacity and a sense of mission. This process of synthesis has, however, been hindered, arrested, or overwhelmed from time to time by movements of disintegration.

One of the main factors leading to this disintegration in India has been the devastating effect of barbarian invasions. At such times the forces of integration have ceased to be dynamic. Hindu society then lost its expansive character.

But every time disintegration was slowly overcome. The impact of alien cultures but served to revitalise the old forces and to give them new forms and directions, so that the process of integration began to weave a different pattern afresh. At no time, indeed, throughout the history of India have the forces of integration been so thoroughly arrested or overwhelmed as to have completely lost their vitality.

The play of these forces of integration and disintegration has formed the basic pattern of Indian history as in continuous time, and, in the study of any particular period if they are rightly viewed as a running stream, it becomes necessary to attempt to find the volume and direction of its flow.

The invasion of the Huns was one of these disintegrating catastrophes. The northern and western zones of India up to the Narmada and from and including Afghanistan (then a Hindu territory), were

thrown into confusion. This invasion closed the classic age of the Guptas.

Wherever the effect of the Hun impact was felt, unsettled conditions followed. Dynastic rule, with well-settled and clearly-defined traditions, was, in many parts of the country, over-thrown. The forces of integration had to struggle with those of disintegration. But countrywide movement of liberation, of which Īśānavarman was leader, followed giving impetus to integrating forces.

Within a few years of the death of Mihirakula, the stirrings of a new life were visible, not only in these zones but in other parts of India as well. In a large part of the country the foundations of the life that had been shaped during the Gupta period, had remained unshaken, only its pattern had undergone a change. The hundred and fifty years under review are shrouded in relative obscurity, but there are unmistakeable signs of an impulse to revive *dharma* and to relate it to contemporary life in a fashion suited to the altered conditions.

Some aspects of this movement can easily be traced. Buddhism was vigorously eliminated; the sacrificial rituals were revived; the Purāṇas gained predominance by re-assimilating the past, investing sacred places with fresh sanctity, and re-interpreting values. This impulse was a movement of the people themselves with the new leaders and conquerors as the spear-head. So did the genius of the people seek expression through the medium of its own tradition and culture.

This integrating movement was inter-connected with the *Purāṇas* to such a degree that it might be called the Purānic renaissance.

The rise of the Chālukyas, generally known as the Western Chālukyas of Badami, synchronised with this new movement. Kirtivarman I (A.D. 578) celebrated the *agnishṭoma*, *agnichayana*, *vājapeya*, *puṇḍarika*, *bahusuvarṇa* and *aśvamedha* sacrifices. Maṅgaleśa, as described by the Nirur grant, was conversant with the code of the laws of Manu, the *Purāṇas*, the *Mahābhārata* and other *Itihāsas*. The Hyderabad grant of Pulakeśi II (A.D. 612), indicates that the dynasty claimed *Mānavya gotra*, and descent from Hāritī and that they had been nourished by the Seven Mothers of mankind and that its guardian deity was Kārttikeya, the god of war. The crest of the Chālukyas was *Varāhalañchhanā* and Vishṇu, as the Divine Boar, was the object of their devotion. Under the early Chālukyas, grants were made to many learned Brāhmaṇas whose name ended with the word *-svāmin*. Among them were three great commentators on sacrificial *sūtras*, Karkasvāmin, Devasvāmin, and Keśavasvāmin, which is an indication of the growing popularity of sacrificial rituals.

The *Purāṇas* became the gospel of the new upheaval; temples to Brahmā, Vishṇu and Maheśvara, under a variety of names, were erected in all parts of the country. The worship of Śiva, in his terrific form, became increasingly popular and, as is shown by the Nasik grant of Nāgavardhana, temples were constructed and dedicated to the deity as Kāpālikeśvara. Cave architecture was also utilised in the interests of the Purāṇic movement, as is plain from the cave temple of Badami, which is dedicated to the worship of Vishṇu.

Śaivism, which was popular even before the rise

of the Gupta Empire, now became a vigorous and powerful movement. The worship of Śiva as Paśupati is as old as Mohenjo-daro, and is referred to in both the *Mantropaniṣada* of *Yajurveda* and the *Mahābhārata*. But, as the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* shows, the new belief had undergone modification; Śiva, like Vishṇu, had his incarnations age after age; and, according to the *Paśupata* cult, Lakuleśa, (born at Kayāvarohana near Broach in Lāṭa), was the incarnation of Śiva in the present *Yuga*. By the seventh century, the new cult, which Śaṅkarāchārya called *Lakuleśa-Pāśupata*, had spread all over the country, and was the most formidable opponent of Buddhism and Jainism.

A decadent Mahāyana Buddhism was tolerated, no doubt, but Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauḍa, who invaded Kanauj, represented a strong Śaivite movement against it. Learning in the University of Nālandā had, by this time, deteriorated to the grosser forms of *tāntrik* lore. But a determined all-India movement, to displace Buddhism while absorbing some of its features, had gained momentum.

(ii)

Sanskrit as an integrating force

Sanskrit, the most powerful force working for integration, had gained in vigour. This is evident from the way in which, in his all too short life, Śaṅkara, a Brāhmaṇa from Malabar, dominated speculative thought and stimulated the movement of integration throughout the entire country. Scarcely two generations after his death, we find his works being

commented upon by Vachaspati Miśra, a scholar from Mithila.

Sanskrit continued to be the language of religion and ritual, of state-craft, learning and science. It was also the language of the *Smritis* which regulated social conduct, as well as of literature, thought, poetry and drama.

The spoken dialects of the *Dvijas* (the twice-born) were some kind of Prakrit from which Sanskrit was only a little removed. But a new change was coming over the position of Sanskrit, during the period under review. The Aryan culture had spread throughout the country. In South India, the Brāhmaṇas, who were the most advanced in education in the country knew Sanskrit well, but the languages of the people were Dravidian. Sanskrit exercised a profound influence on those languages and no doubt enriched them, but they continued nevertheless to develop along their own lines.

New elements, speaking dialects not of Indo-Aryan origin, found a place among the upper classes. In that large belt of territory on both sides of the Narmada where the southerners mixed freely with the northerners, new language forms came into existence, as they did also in the northern and western zones which had been overrun by the Huns. Cultural influences were not now represented solely by Sanskrit, but percolated to the masses through the medium of the growing dialects.

As a result of these factors, though Sanskrit was accepted as the language of culture, many among the upper-classes, did not understand it. Sanskrit lite-

rature, therefore, came to be written for the highly educated and, naturally, acquired a learned and aristocratic character. Kālidāsa was universally accepted as the supreme master and his works, as models, but he was the representative of an age when Sanskrit was easily spoken and highly appreciated.

Of the new era which was born during the period under review, the real literary representative was Bāna. His *Kādambarī*, composed in an elaborate and intricate style, became the standard by which learning was judged both in the courts of kings and in the assemblies of the learned. Thus did Sanskrit literature cease to be a living medium and become an unlettered and lowly in their own language. No home and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Smṛitis* continued to mould, inspire and direct the minds of men throughout the country.

But though it grew in volume and scope, *Purāṇic* literature remained simple and direct and its growth as an influence can be measured by its evolution from the meagre recitals of *Matsya* and *Vāyu* to the literary excellence of *Bhāgavat-Purāṇa*.

The *Paurāṇikas* were acquainted with Sanskrit, no doubt, but as it become more and more a language of the learned, there also sprang up a race of less learned *Paurāṇikas*, priests who catered for the unlettered and lowly in their own language. No home of position or wealth was complete without a *Paurāṇika* attached to it. In his mouth the *Kathā* became the most powerful educative and integrating force. In that sense, therefore, the *Paurāṇikas* were the missionaries of the new age; an agency of social uplift which brought an ever-expanding circle of adherents into the fold of culture.

(iii)

The Smṛiti Law as an integrating force

The most powerful and the most integrating force, during this period were the *Dharma-śāstras*, of which the *Manusmṛiti* was considered the most sacred. This gave detailed instructions with regard to social organisation and adjustments, and prescribed rules governing all situations in life from birth to death.

A *smārta* Brāhmaṇa, therefore, was not only an interpreter, a commentator and a lawyer, but also an expounder of *dharma*. The influence of *Manusmṛiti* was felt throughout the country. It served by degrees to reclaim many millions of backward people. Not only did communities come to be uplifted under its inspiration, but the cultural and spiritual elevation of the individual was also secured.

One of the oldest classics of Tamil literature reveals the strong influence of *Manusmṛiti* and even the Tamil kings upheld the laws of Manu. The *Dharma-śāstra* was never enforced at the point of the sword, but even the backward and the newly reclaimed peoples dropped their group-customs and usages, and adopted the social system of the *Dharma-śāstras*. Thus the rule of *Dharma-śāstras* was not achieved by the wars of rulers, or by the dictates of an hierarchy, but by its willing acceptance on the part of all those who realised that the scheme of the *Smṛitis* was designed for the betterment of spiritual, social and cultural conditions.

Dharma-śāstra, therefore, was the fundamental law of the whole country; and the symbol of the unity and continuity of *dharma* was the *Vedas*.

According to Manu, "the *Vedas* were the eternal eye of the manes, the gods and men; the *Veda* ordinance (is) beyond the sphere of (human) power, and beyond the sphere of (human) comprehension; that is a certain fact. All those traditions (*Smṛiti*) and all those despicable systems of philosophy, which are not based on the *Veda*, produce no reward after death; for they are declared to be founded on Darkness."

The Āryāvarta consciousness spread wherever the *Dharma-Śāstras* became the code of life.

During the Gupta period, the central idea of the *Āryāvarta* consciousness as embodied in the *Smṛitis* had led to the acceptance of the important concepts that India was the land of *dharma*, that the laws of *dharma* prevailed in Aryavarta and the *mlechchhas* could have no place in Bhāratavarsha.

In this context the concept of *chakravartis* was possessed of religious and cultural significance. They were the visible symbols of the march of *dharma* for universal conquest. The Āryāvarta consciousness had, therefore, two aspects. The external, that no *mlechchhas* could abide in Āryāvarta; the internal, that *chāturvarṇya* was the eternal law of Bhāratavarsha, the sacred land of heroic deeds.

During the period under review, the Aryāvarta consciousness underwent a change. The sentiment that no *mlechchha* could abide in India was deep-rooted and active;[2] equally active was the belief that *dharma* prevailed in Bāratavarsha; but the *chakravartī* idea could not but lose its validity when, small-state-mindedness, became the normal outlook. Conquests were no longer a matter of an all-India *chakravartiship*, but were merely dynastic affairs undertaken for the ends of sovereignty, or, more often, to

curb the aggressive tendencies of neighbouring kings. They were not, as in the earlier periods, the expression of a people and a culture on the move. People and culture had then been one and the *Smṛiti*-law prevailed everywhere. The foundation of empires had therefore lost its basic all-India urge.

(iv)

Brāhmaṇas: An Integrating Agency.

The leading role was played by highly learned and inspired Brāhmaṇas like Saṅkara. In a short life, he swept everything before him, eliminated Buddhism and gave the country a new outlook. Amongst them were authors such as Māgha and Bhaṭṭi, and, the greatest of them all, the author of the *Bhāgavata*, who was probably from the south and whose supreme art elevated and beautified the *purāṇic* episodes which, in translation, were to percolate to the masses. There were also '*Svāmins*', who specialised in the sacrificial law; the *Pāśupatāchāryas*, who were at all times feared and respected by the people. They wielded influence over kings and founded temples and monasteries which were to become the centres of a new and powerful socio-religious movement.

There were other classes of Brāhmaṇas who came halfway between the loftier preceptors and the humble *Paurāṇikas* and were the repositories of learning, ritual and tradition. There were Brāhmaṇa kings too; the Sāhi kings of Kabul and the kings of Sind, who were the guardians of the gates of India. Many Brāhmaṇas took to the profession of arms, and ambassadors, ministers and professional administrators were also largely drawn from this community.

Bāṇa, in an autobiographical passage, gives us a picture of the Brāhmaṇical life in the first quarter of the seventh century when he describes how he set out to meet the Emperor Śri Harsha: "He rose early in the morning; having taken his bath he put on a clean-white garment; with rosary in hand he recited Vedic *mantras* which he was to chant on his journey. He then worshipped the image of Śiva by pouring milk over it, then offering it sweet-smelling flowers and incense and pigments; he also offered ārati with a pure heart. The god of fire was also propitiated with sacrifices: he offered *ghi* and sesamum and saw to it that its flame burnt brightly and steadily the right way. Then he gave presents to the Brāhmaṇas according to his means; went round the sacrificial cow which stood facing the east and smeared his body with white powder, put on white garlands, and clothes and finally put *siddhārtha* in his hair. His elders smelt his head by way of blessing him. Putting forword his right foot first, he started from the village Pritikūṭa followed by his relatives who, with flowers and fruits in their hands, chanted Vedic *mantras*."[3]

It was during this period that the old *āśramas* disappeared. They were, however, replaced by Universities supported by the kings and by the schools attached to temples and monasteries. There, under the direction of scholarly Brāhmaṇas, learning was pursued and traditions were vitalised by intensive training. Every pandit's home was also a school, where boys and young men were educated free of charge. The village pandit drew his inspiration from the nearest city where the learned Brāhmaṇas of the locality congregated to study the teachings of the

śāstras, and to settle the problems of the *Smṛiti*-law.

Even in the small part of the country between Nasik and Bhillamāla, Hiuen-Tsang found several centres, of which at least four, Nasik, Valabhi, Bhillamāla and Ujjayini could be termed, to use a modern phrase, "University towns". During this period[4] there were Universities such as Nālandā described by Hiuen-Tsang; it is possible that Divākaramiśra's āśrama,[5] as described by Bāṇa, was the picture of some venerable institution of the seventh century.

(v)

Kshatriyas: Defenders of Dharma

A change had come over *chāturvarṇya* that was to alter the whole structure of society. During the Gupta times, the best elements in society, that is to say, the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas, were, in a sense, one community. They were taught by the same teachers, and were connected by intermarriage in the *anuloma* way, though *pratiloma* marriages were not uncommon. They were all *dvijas*, twice-born, as distinguished from 'the rest'.

But now common consciousness of *dvija*-hood had begun to disappear. Social distance had grown up between the Brāhmaṇas and others, the more and more they were becoming a caste by themselves. Though no Kshatriya or Vaiśya could be without a Brāhmaṇa preceptor and no royal house without Brāhmaṇa advisers, the community of traditions lost its strength. Each community looked upon itself as distinct, although dependent upon the others.

The history of the next seven hundred years shows how, as the social structure grew inelastic and no countrywide political sanction was forthcoming to

maintain cultural and social solidarity, the people ceased to have the power of collective resistance. During the days of Alexander, the Brāhmaṇas had been the leaders of a liberation movement of the people. That urge was gone now and crystallised in religious and social exclusiveness.

The king's primary duty lay, as of old, in upholding the *dharma*, but he was no longer the fiery leader of the community. The highest praise for a king, as in the case of Dharasena II of Valabhi, was that he saw to it that his subjects observed the rules of conduct laid down by the *Smṛitis*. Dharasena III of Valabhi is described as pleasing the learned by his pursuit of knowledge. His son, Dhruvasena II, was an expert in grammar and in the art of governance. Though Śrī Harsha, as an ardent Buddhist denied himself the power of drawing vitality from the roots of tradition, it was said of him that there were none in his kingdom who disregarded *dharma*.

The Kshatriya community had ceased to be a compact military caste as it was being infiltrated by foreign and aboriginal elements. Many Kshatriyas, however, were highly educated and well-versed in the *Śāstras*, and continued to be so in the following centuries. A study of the *Vedas* and *Smṛitis*, the *Purāṇas* and the *Upaniṣhads*, was considered necessary for a king. Most of the adventurers who founded new kingdoms, however, had no such background.

(vi)

The Seeds of Disintegration

The change in the social structure created conditions in which it became difficult to establish an imperial hierarchy. An empire could only be built

on the strength of such an agency. Indeed it was such a well-knit and flourishing hierarchy that maintained the ancient empires of Byzantium and Japan for many centuries. Such an agency alone can be interested in maintaining the authority of an emperor, however weak or helpless he may be, against ambitious neighbours or recalcitrant feudatories.

In spite of the conventional encomiums contained in the inscriptions, it is clear that a new set of conquerors was emerging from obscurity interested more in establishing dynastic power than in upholding the *dharma*. Neither by race nor by tradition did they form part of those great communities which believed the spread of *dharma* to be their God-ordained mission; they were simply new arrivals and fresh converts, and wore the responsibility in this behalf rather loosely. The tradition, however, was maintained by many kings; they had to stand by it on account of social and religious sanctions.

The army from the ancient time was divided into four sections: the elephant corps, the chariot corps, the cavalry and the infantry. As attested by *Harsha-Charita* and as recorded by Hiuen-Tsang, chariots were sparingly used. Elephants were largely employed and the king rode into battle on the back of one. An ambitious conqueror had therefore to maintain a large number of elephants, at all times a costly matter. Cavalry was widely used, but horses were generally the property of individual warriors who brought them to the battlefield. Each feudal chief was also responsible for his own foot-soldiers. Unless, therefore, a conqueror had sufficient means to maintain an effective corps of elephants and a regular

army of his own, he was dependent on his feudal chiefs and was at the mercy of their rivalries.

The feudal chiefs were mostly Kshatriyas; they had their own status; their conduct was regulated by a code of honour prescribed by tradition and the *Śāstras*. They were generally rewarded by grants of lands; the principal ones among them were often connected with the ruling family by blood. The king, except in the case of very ambitious and powerful ones, was no more than the head of 'inter-related overlordship'. Under a powerful king they could perform great deeds of valour, but they were not easily amendable to co-ordinated activity much less to collective regimentation.

An old tradition that was disregarded by very powerful conquerors, continued to assert itself, mainly as a result of the loss of the Āryāvarta consciousness. A conqueror should not annex the conquered territory to his own. A submission, a marriage alliance and tribute from the conquered ruler was all that a war was expected to yield.

The Kshatriya houses of the period were so firmly rooted in their own region that they would not submit to the Kshatriya chiefs of another locality. To annex a conquered territory would necessarily imply the elimination of the political and economic influence of the local chiefs; their replacement by feudal leaders loyal to the conqueror and his dynasty; the redistribution of the fiefs among such leaders who were prepared to be transplanted to a new and uncongenial soil; and, above all, a capacity in the conqueror to maintain his newly installed chiefs as his instruments without weakening his or their military efficiency. With the traditions which were ge-

nerally accepted, such ruthless attempts became well nigh impossible..

The regional attachment of the Kshatriyas, therefore, increased. Kingdoms became smaller. 'Small-state-mindedness', as they say in German, came into existence. The only exceptions, in this period, were the Pratihāras and the Chāhamānas; they were closely allied in marriage, family pride and tradition. The clans of the Chalukyas and the Paramāras and other warrior clans came to be allied with them. They all became a well-knit group of hierarchs under the leadership of the Pratihāras and established themselves not only in their own homeland, but in Madhyadeśa where there was power vacuum.

The humane traditions which regulated wars, in spite of the savage raids of the Huns and the reprisals which followed them, continued to impose a number of limitations. The armies might fight each other to their hearts' content, but the battle must be fought away from the habitations of men. A Brāhmaṇa, a woman and a cow were not to be injured. No religious shrine or place of learning was to be destroyed. Not even the Vaiśyas, the members of the mercantile community, were to be molested unless they had joined the army. Kings could only be put to death on the field of battle. In spite of the Hun incursions, the Indian kings tried, during this period, to maintain the older traditions, so that the horrors of war might not have a disturbing effect on society.[7]

Even conquerors had their own laws. If the vanquished submitted, gave a daughter in marriage to the victor and presented him with elephants, horses and treasure, the victor normally went home satisfied and his poets composed fulsome panegyrics. The

booty which had been won during the war was distributed among the Brāhmaṇas, educational and religious institutions, building works of public utility and gifts to the poor. In this distribution, both the victorious and the vanquished regions shared. Endowments were made for the Brāhmaṇa grantees irrespective of the place of their origin. No distinction was made between the poor or distressed of one region and the other.

When Hiuen-Tsang visited the country, there were two powers, one of the North and the other of the South. Their rivalry continued for three centuries, though the rulers claimed their ancestry from Puranic divinities, were governed by the same traditions and guided by Brahmanas who had no local sentiment and were revered throughout the country. *Chāturvarṇya* was accepted by both as the sacred framework of correct social adjustments, and the *Vedas*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Smṛitis* were the common sources which provided standards of behaviour and legal sanctions.

The wars were wars of aggrandisement or for satisfying vanity. In substance, they were mere trials of strength between warrior clans and, except on rare occasions, led to no serious upheaval which either disturbed society or interrupted the continuity of culture.

(vii)

Vaiśyas: New Disintegrating Factors

The third class was of *Vaiśyas*. Originally their cultural unity with the other two communities was complete; only their training and attainments were comparatively less intense.

The *Vaiśyas* represented a dynamic element in

the social organisation, and there was more equality between members of this community than existed in the others. The needs of internal commerce and foreign trade brought them in contact with different classes of people in the country or from outside. This induced a catholicity of outlook and a tolerant view of things. Buddhism and Jainism with their deep sympathy for the masses, had also a strong appeal for them. The sadhus of these sects, who were drawn from all sections of the society, were known more for their sympathy for the poor and the lowly rather than learning. Generally, they stood away from Brahmanical influence, though at the top the sadhus shared the highest cultural heritage of *Dharma*. This was nowhere more evident than in Gūrjaradeśa, Saurāshṭra, Ānarta and Lāṭa.

The fourth class was that of the Śūdras, who were not a race of lower men, but who constituted 'the rest'. They were the redeemables of *Dharma*. Marriages between Śūdras and the members of other communities were not uncommon. Bāṇa, the Brāhmaṇa friend of the Emperor Śrī Harsha, had himself a brother born of a Śūdra step-mother.

The most vital movement in the social organisation was the rise of little connubial groups, after undergoing the necessary cultural discipline, from a lower to a higher status. Marriages between members of the four classes led not only to a free admixture of blood, but prevented the divergence of cultural traditions. An intensive effort to retain both the purity and the vitality of culture only became necessary when a lower group by accident of war jumped higher than the next group above his own. Thus, when one of the wives of a Brāhmaṇa was a

Śūdra, as was common, her children were obliged to undergo a longer period of uplift to reach the requisite Brahmanical standard of culture.

Kshatriyas married freely, and the field of their choice was unlimited. Families which followed the profession of arms, therefore, required a more rigid cultural setting with every succeeding generation in order to keep within the traditional ambit. When aboriginal, foreign, or even Śūdra warrior tribes came to be allied with the warrior clans, they were all classed as Kshatriyas. They, however, brought with them their own beliefs, rituals and ways of life. With the spread of Aryan culture south of the Narmada, the absorbing capacity of culture was strained to breaking point.

(viii)

Administration.

Administration remained, for all practical purposes, in the hands of the same class of people, and was regulated by age-old traditions and canons of conduct. Efficiency continued to be enforced less by official pressure than by the united opinion of the respectable members of the community, who were guided in their turn by the leading Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas of the locality.

The administration in the country, as we find from the records of the Valabhī kings, did not depart very much from the canons which had been laid down by the *Smṛitis*. In spite of the invasion of the Huns, the Gupta Empire was still regarded as the supreme model.

Civil administration was regulated in a manner which left little scope for interference by the king.

The village was governed by its *panchāyat* and protected by the *chāṭas* and the *bhaṭas*, the hereditary policemen and soldiers. The headman of the village and the *akshapaṭalika* were officers whose action did not require the support of a centrally-organised police force, but only the goodwill of respectable members of the village community. The village records were kept by the *dhruva*, and the village accounts by the *mahattara*. A group of a hundred or more villages made up a *vishaya* (a modern district), over which was placed a *vishayapati* or district magistrate. There was a police station for every ten or more villages and a police officer, called a *chauroddharanika* was placed over a *vishaya*. *Vartmapālas*, stationed in sheds by the roadside, guarded the roads. The *daṇḍapāśika*, the superintendent of police, administered the police department. A *pāśika* was an ordinary police constable. The *simakarmakara* marked out the boundaries. Several *vishayas* joined together made up a *bhukti* or *maṇḍala*, that is a province, which was presided over by the *uparika* or *maṇḍaleśvara*, who was generally a feudatory prince and was supported by the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* or military governor appointed by the king. A town was in the charge of a *daṇḍika*. Magistrates were controlled by an *adhikaranika* or chief judicial magistrate [8]

Then there were the higher officers: the *śaulkika*, the superintendent of tolls and customs; the *bhogika*, the collector of revenue; and the *samudgrāhaka*, the tax gatherer. The provincial authorities over the *maṇḍaleśvaras* and the *mahā-daṇḍanāyakas* were the ministers called *mantris*, *amātyas*, *senāpatis* or generals, *sāndhivigrahikas* or foreign secre-

taries and *purohita*, the royal preceptor. Most of these officers were either hereditary or were drawn from the most deserving members of one of the leading families.

The administrative expenses, as Hiuen-Tsang testifies, were negligible.[9] The king rarely levied taxes beyond what was sanctioned by the *Smṛtis*. Even Rudradāman seems to have taken pride in the fact that he made Lake Sudarśana at Girnar without levying extra taxes, using forced labour, or demanding any other contribution from his subjects.[10] Of the various other kinds of taxes that were in force at this time, Fleet has come to the conclusion that the chief of them, *udraṅga*, was the State's share of the produce of the land.[11]

It is not clear upon what articles *uparikara*, the supertax, was imposed. But Manu has provided for the levy of a sixth share of such things as trees, flesh, honey, *ghi*, herbs, etc.[12] The tax was probably based on the price-scale of these commodities. A copper-plate of the Vākāṭaka king, Pravarasena, indicates the existence of taxes on the sale of flowers and milk.[13]

There were also heavy fines on those who committed any one of the *daśāparādhas*, or ten deadly sins; and the officer who collected these was the *daśāparādhika*.[14] Further, there is a reference to an official called *avalokika* who was doubtless in charge of the *uparika* tax.[15] *Dūtaka* is the term used to indicate the official who executed the king's orders in connection with gifts.[16]

Like Megasthenes, several centuries before, the Chinese traveller was impressed by the honesty of the people.[17] This quality was the inevitable result of Śāstric rules, which enjoined upon the masses yes-

pect for their learned and leading citizens, and required that the officials cultivate statesmanship, fortitude, modesty, compassion, liberality, Vedic learning and the capacity to keep the wicked in check and be kind to the virtuous.[18]

According to Hiuen-Tsang, serious offences were not very common,[19] though the highways and waterways were not as safe as in the time of Fa-Hien and the chances of open robbery were many. Imprisonment was a common form of punishment for serious crimes. Conditions inside jails, however, must have been pretty bad. Convicts were not regarded as human beings.[20] Following the *Smritis*, corporal punishment was inflicted[21] and went so far as the chopping off of the nose, ears and hands. Witnesses were doubtless examined in courts, and ordeals by fire and water were in vogue.[22]

Chapter V

THE RISE OF THE FIRST EMPIRE

(I)

The Arab Invasion

After Yaśovarman (c. A.D. 715-740), the patron of Bhavabhūti, Kanauj had no ruler worthy of note. A certain Rai Harischandra is mentioned as ruling there, but nothing is known about him.[1] Gopala I of the Pāla dynasty (c. A.D. 750-780) was just then restoring order in Bengal.

The Chālukyas of Badami, the successors of Pulakeśi II, were the only formidable rulers in India.

The northern boundary of their empire was probably the river Kim in south Gujarat between modern Broach and Surat. It also included parts of Madhya Pradesh. The Rāshṭrakūṭas, who were probably the feudatories of the Chālukyas, ruled over parts of Vidarbha, modern Berar. The powerful ruler Pṛithvīvyāghra held sway near the Vindhyas and described himself as *Sakalavindhyādhipati*.[2]

Under the Maitrakas, Valabhi was still a magnificent city, but in face of the growing power of the Chālukyas of Badami it was gradually losing hold over her possessions. In the year A.D. 722, Valabhi lost Kheṭaka-maṇḍala to Jayabhaṭa III, who was ruling over Lāṭa from his capital at Navsari as a feudatory of Chālukya Maṅgalarāja.[3] It is likely that the allied forces of Jayabhaṭa and Maṅgalarāja finally deprived the Valabhi kings of their mainland possessions. When the first quarter of the eighth century came to an end, therefore, Gujarat, up to and inclusive of Kheṭaka-maṇḍala was a part of the empire of the Chālukyas.

A cloud, a good deal bigger than a man's hand, had risen in the West. In A.D. 637, without the permission of Caliph Umar (A.D. 634-49), Usman, the Governor of Oman, sent an army to Thana, but had had to withdraw it under his master's order.[4] A little later, Usman sent another army to attack Broach, but Chacha, the Brāhmaṇa king of Sind, defeated the army and killed the Arab general, Abdul Aziz.[5] In A.D. 706, the general of Caliph Walir subdued Makran and converted the Baluchis to Islam which was now on the borders of India.[6] Self-contained India, however, went its way, unaware of the impending danger.

In A.D. 711, Hajjaj, the ferocious Arab governor

of Iraq, sent his son-in-law Muhammad ibn Qasim to invade Sind, then ruled by its Brāhmaṇa king, Dahir. He captured the capital, massacred the citizens, imprisoned women and children and sacked the temples. The valiant Dahir, with fifty thousand warriors, met Muhammad ibn Qasim's army, and died fighting. His army was routed. His widow led the remnants of the army to the field of battle and lost her life. Their son fled to Brahmanabad. Their two daughters, who fell into the hands of Muhammad ibn Qasim, were sent as presents to the Caliph, who, subsequently, condemned them to a violent death. One-fifth of the loot and seventy-five maidens were sent to Hajjaj as a present.

The next Caliph, Hisham, (A.D. 724-43) appointed Junayad as the governor of Sind. Junayad sent Arab forces to invade parts of Gūrjaradeśa. They defeated the rulers of Kachchha, Saurāshṭra, Chāvoṭaka, and the Saindhava, Maurya and Gūrjara kings. Meeting with temporary success, the invaders attempted to enter the Deccan. But soon their onward march was stopped. A crushing defeat was inflicted on them between A.D. 731 and 738 by the Gujarat Chālukya Pulakeśi, better known by his apt title of Avanijanāśraya.[7] This unsuccessful Arab invasion would appear to have been a vital factor in the history of Gūrjaradeśa.

After the death of Harshavardhana, the Pratihāras seem to have become the head of a confederacy. Nāndīpurī, Stravaṇī and Valladeśa, were members of this alliance, which probably also included a small principality ruled by a cadet branch of the Pratihāras

from Ujjayinī. The Arab invasion shattered this growing confederacy beyond repair and brought the Ujjayini branch to the forefront.

Muslim chroniclers have made the statement that the Arabs, under Junayad attacked Bahiraman and burnt its suburbs, "conquered Bailaman and Jurz", and "made incursions against Uzain".[8] We learn further from the Navsari grant of Avanijanāsraya that the Gūrjaras — evidently of Śrimāla — were completely defeated by the Arabs. But they merely sent incursions against Ujjain. This is a tacit admission that the Arabs failed in their attempt to capture that city; in other words, they were defeated and driven off.

This conclusion is confirmed by a passage in the Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja which says that Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the family, defeated the powerful forces of a *mlechchha* king.[9] The manner in which this fact is recorded in the praśasti shows that it was considered to be the greatest achievement of Nāgabhaṭa. Vatsarāja, the grand-nephew and second in succession from Nāgabhaṭa, is known to have ruled in Avanti, and we are aware, from a Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription,[10] that the Gūrjaras, at this time, were ruling in Ujjayinī. It is likely, therefore, that at the time of the Arab raid, Nāgabhaṭa was ruling at Ujjayinī.

It is not definitely known who was ruling Bhillamāla at the time of the Arab raid; most probably, it was Chanduka, the son of Yaśovardhana of the Pratihāra dynasty. Chanduka's son and successor, Śīluka, was, to some extent, successful in re-

trieving the family fortunes, for it is stated that he recovered Stravanī and Valla and "secured the confederacy of the Bhaṭṭis by defeating Devarāja."[11] This Devarāja has been identified with the nephew and successor of Nāgabhaṭa of the Ujjayini branch mentioned above. This however, was the last successful attempt of the Pratiharas of Bhillamala to assert their supremacy, for soon after the sovereignty of Gūrjaradeśa passed to the house of Nāgabhaṭa, whose descendants are referred to as Imperial Pratihāras, Gūrjaras or Gūrjareśvaras.

(ii)

The Rise of the Imperial Pratihāras

The founder of this dynasty was Nāgabhaṭa, who, like the sage Nārāyaṇa, rescued Ujjayini from the primeval chaos due to the devastations by the *mlechchhas*. The poet Bāladitya describes him thus:

In that family, Pratihāra called,
And which the three worlds sheltered,
Was wondrously born, Nāgabhaṭa,
Like unto Ṛishi Nārāyaṇa himself.
He crushed the mighty hosts of the *mlechchhas*,
Those foes of godly deeds;
With terror-striking weapons, as he stood
He looked like
Him of the four-arms.

There can be little doubt that Nāgabhaṭa was connected with the family of Harichandra. Both branches of the Pratihāras claimed their descent from Lakshmaṇa, the brother of Śrī Rāmachandra of Iksh-

vāku's ancient line. Strange names such as Nāgabhaṭa, Bhoja and Kakkuka are common to both the families. It is possible that the wave of conquest which carried the Pratihāras down to Lāṭa in the south, also established another branch at Avanti. Both the countries were, at one time, under the Kalachuris, and it is probable that the conflict between them and the Pratihāras ended by their ceding Avanti to the latter.

Nāgabhaṭa was succeeded by his nephew Kākustha (Kākutstha) or Kakkuka, who was succeeded by his brother Devarāja. This Devarāja is described in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja as having laid the foundation of the future greatness of this family by defeating several kings. It appears that he brought under his sway a confederacy headed by the Bhaṭṭi clan. This might have given him a hegemony over Gūrjaradeśa. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, he seems to have been defeated soon after by Śiluka, who gained ascendancy over the Bhaṭṭis.

Devarāja's successor, Vatsarāja re-conquered the Bhaṭṭis, and in so doing dealt the Bhillamāla dynasty a blow from which they never recovered. Vatsarāja, however, was obliged to match his strength against two other rival powers for the suzerainty of North India, the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the South and the Pālas of Bengal.

(iii)

The Rise of the Rāshṭrakūṭas

In the latter half of the seventh century, Dantivarman (A.D. 650-670) of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family

founded a small principality in Berar. It has been suggested that he was a scion of some family of petty rulers belonging to the Rathikas, a tribe which occupied small tracts in the time of Aśoka.[12]

One of his successors, Govinda I, (A.D. 690-710), was a proud and stubborn ruler who 'bowed to no god but Śaṅkara'.[13] Of Karka I, his son, who was a devotee of Vishṇu, little is known. Karka's elder son, Indra I, was an audacious young man. In c. A.D. 722, he forcibly abducted from the marriage hall in Kheṭaka, Bhavanāgā, daughter of a Chatukya king, and married her by the *rākshasa* form of marriage.[14] Whether she was the daughter of a Chālukya ruler of Navasari, it is difficult to say; it is more likely that the princess was the daughter of some Chālukya feudatory who had thrown in his lot with the rulers of Valabhi. From this adventurous marriage sprang Dantidurga, a military genius and the founder of an empire.

Indra I died early, for Dantidurga began his career in A.D. 745, when he was only about twenty-two or twenty-three.[15] Chālukya Vikramāditya II was then on the throne of Badami. Dantidurga first declared war on his eastern neighbours in Kośala and defeated them. Next, he turned his attention to Lāṭa, or south Gujarat and vanquished both the Gūrjara king of Broach and the Chālukya of Navsari, the successor of Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya, annexing south Lāṭa or Bhrigukachchha.[16]

Before A.D. 750 Dantidurga had conquered the region between the Mahi and the Narmadā, Kheṭaka-maṇḍala and Mālava, and placed his cousin, Karka,

the grantor of the Antroli Charoli grant, (A.D. 757), over the whole of south Gujarat.[17] Emperor Kirtivarman II, the successor of Vikramāditya II, was weak and the empire of Pulakeśi was tottering. It was, therefore, comparatively easy for Dantidurga to overthrow him.

> Assisted only by a few,
> As if by a bend of his eyebrow,
> He (Dantidurga) did subdue
> That tireless emperor, Vallabha
> Whose weapons were of undimmed edge,
> Him of restless energy whose commandments none could defy,[18]

The modern districts of Khandesh, Nasik, Poona, Satara, and the modern State of Kolhapur were immediately occupied by the conqueror. Kīrtivarman retired to a distant corner of Karnataka, and his dominions were annexed to the new empire.

Dantidurga then marched to the north and invaded Gūrjaradeśa. Nāgabhaṭa, or perhaps his son, Devaraja, wisely submitted. The conqueror lived in Nāgabhaṭa's palace at Ujjayinī in order to perform the *Hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* ceremony. He weighed himself against gold, and at his mother's request gave lands to many learned Brāhmaṇas.[19] In the year A.D. 754, Ujjayinī was, therefore, the capital of Gūrjaradeśa.[20]

Dantidurga now came into conflict with the kings of Taṅka and the Arab rulers of Sind, upon whom he

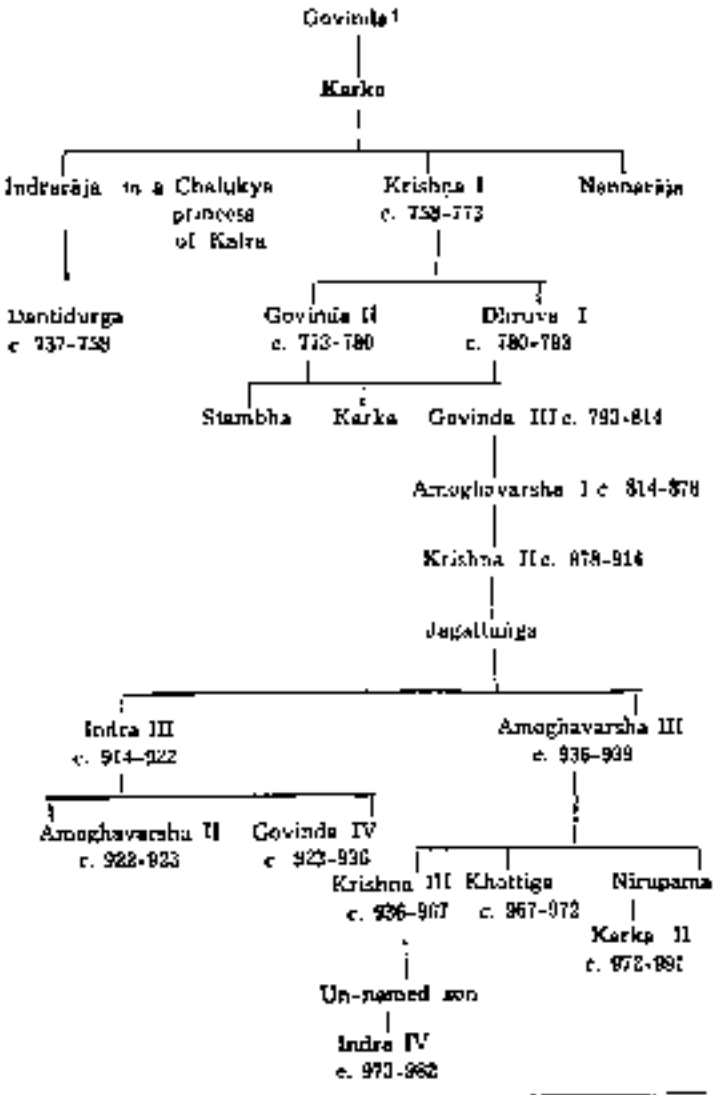
inflicted a defeat,[21] in a battle that might have been fought on the soil of Saurāshṭra.

Dantidurga went back to Ujjayinī to die. Thereupon Nāgabhaṭa seized the chance of marching to the south, crossing the Narmadā and annexing to his dominions the whole of the mainland of what is modern Gujarat up to the river Kim. In A.D. 756, Chāhamāna, king Bhartṛivaḍḍha, who ruled at Hansot in the Broach district, granted the village of Arjunadevīgrāma situated in Akrureśvara-vishaya (Anklesvara) in 'the reign of the increasing victory of the illustrious Nāgāvaloka.'[22]

Jayabhaṭa III or IV is the last known Gūrjara king of Nandipurī[23] of the old line, his last known date being A.D. 734. This dynasty, therefore, came to an end during the invasion of the Arabs or due to the conquest of Dantidurga or Nāgabhaṭa.

Dantidurga died in or about the year A.D. 757 at the height of his brilliant career when he was only thirty-two. In no more than twelve years, this young warrior, starting from his little principality in Vidarbha, had conquered the kings of Gūrjaradeśa and Lāṭa as well as the Chālukyas of Badami, thus laying the foundation of an imperial power.

The pedigree of the Rashṭrakūṭa emperors is thus reconstructed:—



1. All the dates are in the Christian era.

(iv)

The Struggle for Imperial Supremacy

Thwarted in their ambition to expand southward, the Pratihāras turned towards the north and the imperial city of Kanauj. But the passage from Ujjayinī to Kanauj was by no means easy. Time and again, they would give battle and defeat the mighty Pālas of Bengal only to find that, like a whirlwind from the south, would come their implacable foes, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, destroying the foundations they had laid. Then, as swiftly as it had come, the whirlwind would sweep southward again. With indomitable energy the Pratihāras would then restore the imperial fabric, but equally often the Rāshṭrakūṭas, having subdued the south, would march northward to destroy what had been built. For nearly two centuries this struggle of the Titans was the dominating factor in Indian history.

The available materials show that this struggle began with the Napoleonic conquests of Dantidurga Upon capturing Ujjayinī, he performed a *Hiraṇya-garbha* ceremony, as already stated. He then forced the Gūrjara king to act as his chamberlain. This Gūrjara king had been defeated by Śīluka of the main branch.

The rising power of the Imperial Pratihāras appears at this time to have received a setback from this Rāshṭrakūṭa invasion, so that Śīluka of the main branch was able with impunity to assert his independence once more and regain control over some members of the Gūrjara confederacy.

Soon after this, in A.D. 758, Dantidurga died and a palace revolution raised his uncle Krishṇa I,

the builder of the Kailāśa temple of Ellora, to the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne. This led to an inevitable weakening of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and Devarāja's second son, Vatsarāja, found himself free to carry on the policy of his father more vigorously. He first defeated the Bhaṇḍis, who were most probably the Bhaṭṭis mentioned in connection with Vatsarāja's father in the Jodhpur grant, and wrested their kingdom from them.[24] The exact benefit which was derived from this defeat of the Bhaṭṭis is not known; but the Osia stone inscription and the Daulatpura copper-plate[25] show that Vatsarāja held sway in Gūrjaratrā in central Rajputana.

Vatsarāja subsequently tried to make his southern frontier secure, an effort in which fortune favoured him, for the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire was at that time passing through a crisis. Kṛishṇa I was succeeded by his eldest son, Govinda II (c. A.D. 773-780) who soon after his accession abandoned himself to a life of pleasure and vice, leaving the affairs of his empire to his clever and ambitious brother, Dhruva. On discovering that Dhruva had been usurping the royal authority, Govinda dismissed him from office. Dhruva rebelled, whereupon the helpless monarch was probably driven to invoke the aid of his erstwhile enemy, Vatsarāja.[26] The Pratīhāra interest could best be served by a weak and indolent Rāshṭrakūṭa king, but Dhruva eventually emerged successful from the fratricidal war and displaced Govinda (c. A.D. 780).

Having consolidated his position in the heartland of Gūrjaradeśa, and feeling secure from the Rāshṭrakūṭas, at some period after A.D. 784, Vatsarāja turned east. In the Śaka year 705 (A.D. 784), while Vatsarāja ruled at Avanti, a certain Indrā-

yudha was the king of Kanauj.[27] But this Indrāyudha was probably dethroned by Dharmapāla of Bengal, for Rāshṭrakūṭa records state that Vatsarāja fought the Gauḍa king.[28] Even the enemy's records had to admit that after this victory Vatsarāja's "fame spread to the confines of the four regions".

Wielding a power weighted with fame,
This lord among valoured Kshatriyas
By the purity of his flawless acts
Inscribed his name on the roll
Of Ikṣvāku's noble race.[29]

But Vatsarāja's victory was short-lived. At some time before A.D. 788, Dhruva, after defeating southern neighbours, turned against him, won a decisive victory and forced him 'to tread the path of misfortune in the interior of Maru'.

In A.D. 783, Jinasena recorded that Vatsarāja was the king of Avanti. Five years later Udyotana Sūri composed his *Kuvalayamālā*, in which he explicitly states that Vatsarāja ruled at Jalor.[30] It is, therefore, evident that within a period of five years from A.D. 783, Vatsarāja had defeated Dharmapāla, and was in his turn defeated by Dhruva. Prof. Altekar suggests that Dhruva came to the throne in c. A.D. 780. In that case, the chronology of Vatsarāja's career may tentatively be fixed as follows:

Accession. c. A.D. 775
Defeat of the Bhaṇḍis. A.D. 775-778
Ruled at Avanti. A.D. 783
Alliance with Govinda against Dhruva. A.D. 778-80
Defeat of Dharmapāla. A.D. 786
Defeated by Dhruva. A.D. 787
Retirement at Jalor. A.D. 788

By A.D. 790, therefore, the fortunes of the Pratihāras stood, practically where they had been at the time of the death of Nāgabhaṭa I.

After defeating Vatsarāja, Dhruva marched through his empire right up to the Doab where he encountered and defeated Dharmapāla. But the whirlwind was suddenly arrested. Dhruva was called back to save his crumbling authority in the south.

In spite of his reverses, Dharmapāla of Bengal derived tremendous benefit from Dhruva's campaign. The Pratihāra menace having been removed, he was able practically to overrun the greater part of Northern India. He then presided over a large assembly of kings at Kanauj where he installed as king Chakrāyudha. He may have been a descendant of kings at Kanauj, where he installed Chakrāyudha as king, possibly a descendant of the Indrāyudha referred to by Jinasena. At the time the chiefs of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yādava, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kira 'uttered acclamation of approval, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling'.[31]

(v)

Nāgabhaṭa II

About A.D. 792, Nāgabhaṭa, the son of Vatsarāja and Sundaridevī, became the ruler of Gūrjaradeśa. "He was the primeval man born again, as once before he had been born as Nāgabhaṭa I".[32] This shows that at the time of his accession the fortunes of Gūrjaradeśa had sunk very low, and that Vatsarāja at his death had not been able to retrieve the lost position.

Two years after Nāgabhaṭa II came to the throne, Govinda III, the younger son of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Dhruva, succeeded his father. His elder brother, Stambha, refused to acknowledge his suzerainty. A war of succession, with feudatories fighting on either side, convulsed the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. This gave Nāgabhaṭa the opportunity which his father had been denied.

Nāgabhaṭa began strenuous efforts to recover the lost ground. He entered into an alliance with the kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga, who, succumbing later to his power 'as moths do unto fire', lost their independence. Sindhu represents some power ruling over a principality on the lower Indus; Andhra means, no doubt, the eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgi; while Vidarbha and Kaliṅga were the rulers of Berar and Orissa.[33] These four regions, joined to Gūrjaradeśa, formed a central belt right across the country bounded in the east by the Pāla empire, in the south by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and in the west by the Arabs of Sindh.

Nāgabhaṭa appears to have given these smaller countries protection against their formidable neighbours, and in so doing easily brought them within the orbit of his influence. He also had the support of the elder Pratīhāra branch, the representatives of which fought under him. Bāhukadhavala, the Chālukya feudatory of Saurāshṭra, Saṅkaragaṇa, the Guhilot prince and Gūvaka, the Chāhamāna, helped him actively as subordinate allies.

Having consolidated his position, Nāgabhaṭa first defeated Chakrāyudha, 'whose lowly demeanour was manifest from his dependence on others'. He then fell upon Dharmapāla and obtained a swift victory

over him in an action fought near Monghyr. The Gwalior-praśasti says: 'Nāgabhaṭa vanquished his enemy, the lord of Vaṅga, who appeared like a mass of dark dense cloud in consequence of the crowd of mighty elephants, horses and chariots; then he revealed himself, even as the rising sun, the sole source of the manifestation of the three worlds reveals himself by vanquishing dense and terrible darkness". The uncertainty that had enveloped Gūrjaradeśa during the last years of Vatsarāja, was dispelled by this great victory.

After defeating Dharmapāla, Nāgabhaṭa II turned his attention towards the subjugation of his weaker enemies. He forcibly seized the hill forts of the kings of Anarta, Mālava, Kirāta, Turushka, Vatsa, and Matsya,[34] thus restoring the whole of Gūrjaradeśa to political unity and pushing the Arabs back to their strongholds, where they probably remained a menace to his ally, the king of Sindhu. Nāgabhaṭa thus reached the zenith of his power.

Various legends concerning Nāgabhaṭa show that during his reign the whole of northern Gujarat up to Kaira was an integral part of the Pratihāra empire. According to a Brahmanical tradition, Ama, the ruler of Kanauj, who lived at Gwalior, drove out the king of Khetakapura, then the capital of north Gujarat, and occupied his land. From *Prabhāvakacharita*, a Jaina work, we learn that Nāgabhaṭa of Kanauj, the grandfather of Bhoja, was known as Ama and that he visited Prabhāsa to worship god Someśvara, travelling by way of Raivataka, Piṇḍatāraka, Śankhoddhāra, and Dvārakā.[35] The third temple of Somanātha, which was constructed of red stone, seems to have been built during this period, and might have been the work

of Nāgabhaṭa or his feudatory. These conjectures receive support from an inscription that shows Saurāshṭra to have been ruled at this time by Bāhukadhavala, a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa.[36]

Meanwhile, with Nāgabhaṭa engaged once more in his stabilisation of the Pratihāra power, Govinda III emerged successfully from the internecine struggle. He not only defeated his elder brother, Stambha, and forced him to submit to his authority, but subjugated the refractory feudatories, defeated the kings of Kāñchi and Veṅgi and consolidated his empire as well.

By the year A.D. 806, Govinda had vanquished almost all the important kings south of the Narmadā, and as his hands were now free, either in that year, or the next, the emperor of the South marched against the emperor of the North.

There are records that go to show that in the course of this campaign, Govinda sent an army under his brother Indra, to attack Nāgabhaṭa in the latter's home-province, and that Indra was defeated by Bāhukadhavala.[37] It seems more probable, however, that Bāhukadhavala and Nāgabhaṭa had not only defeated Indra, but that they had recovered from him the whole of southern Gujarat which Indra had been governing since the time of his father. Govinda, meanwhile, was too busy with the affairs in the south to come to the assistance of his brother; but after he had firmly established his position there, he rushed to his aid, and helped him to organise his northern expedition against Nāgabhaṭa.

It is probable that Govinda and Indra led two simultaneous expeditions, so that Nāgabhaṭa was obliged to divide his army and thereby to court disaster. It appears likely that he was attacked first by

Indra, for "by him (Indra) single-handed, the leader of the lords of the Gūrjaras, who prepared himself to give battle, bravely lifting up his neck was quickly caused to take to the (distant) regions as if he were a deer; and the army of the *Mahāsāmantas* of the regions of the South, were terrified and did not hold together and were in the course of having their possessions taken away from them by Śrī-Vallabha, but obtained protection from him[38] by (showing) respect."

This shows that after his initial defeat by Indra, Nāgabhaṭa was deserted by his southern allies. How those of the north comported themselves is not known. It is possible that the Arabs, whom Nāgabhaṭa had defeated a few years earlier, found the time propitious to attempt to regain their lost forts.

In the east as well, Nāgabhaṭa had enemies, and of the hereditary one in the Pālas. Dharmapāla had married Raṇṇādevī, a Rāṣhṭrakūṭa princess who was a daughter of king Parabala who may have been a relative of Govinda III. At all events, the subsequent behaviour of Dharmapāla seems to indicate that he was in league with Govinda III. Thus deserted by half his allies, Nāgabhaṭa had to face the main army of the Rāṣhṭrakūṭa invaders with a powerful enemy, the Pālas threatening his rear.

The result of this struggle was decisive. Govinda III "destroyed the valour of Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta,[39] and the vanquished Gūrjara monarch "vanished in fear, nobody knew whither, so that even in a dream he might not see battle". This indicates that though beaten in battle, Nāgabhaṭa was able to disengage his army and retreated to some inaccessible

region. He was thus defeated at some time between April 807 and July 808.

Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha then offered their submission to Govinda III. The former is likely to have realised that it would be wise to offer a token submission, for he knew that Govinda would soon be retiring to the south, leaving him free to enjoy the undisputed mastery of Northern India.

The nephew of Govinda compares his uncle to Pārtha thus:

A unique hero
Far famed in the three worlds
He uprooted monarchs of high descent
Raised loyal adherents to empires —
Achieving what he willed;
Of nobility, emulation-worthy,
He alone was justly styled
The earth's overlord.[40]

The victory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, however, was neither final nor decisive, though, for the time being, it was a disaster for the Pratihāras. Mālava and South Gujarat, at least as far as the Mahi, passed into Rāshṭrakūṭa hands.

Meanwhile, Nāgabhaṭa contrived to carry on a struggle which had assumed grim proportions. We are told in the inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa feudatory of Gujarat, that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king had caused his arm to become "an excellent door bar of the country of the lord of the Gūrjaras".[41] It is probable that Nāgabhaṭa had retired to Jhalor, as had his father in similar circumstances, and was trying to regain Mālava.

It was not long, however, before the political situation was to undergo a complete change. The Rāshṭrakūṭas were torn asunder by internal feuds, and in A.D. 812 Karkarāja of Gujarat, who guarded Mālava and Gujarat against the Pratihāras, was expelled by his younger brother. Moreover, Govinda III having died in A.D. 814, the internecine feud soon developed into an attempt to prevent the accession of Amoghavarsha I.

The subsequent career of Nāgabhaṭa is difficult to determine. The only known record, dated A.D. 815, was found in Buchkala in Jodhpur, a locality which is said to have been his own (*Svavishaya*).[42] It is probable that he gradually recovered some of his lost territories and that towards the end of his reign was able to transfer his capital to Kannauj. But he died soon after.

It is believed on the authority of *Prabhāvakacharita* that Nagabhaṭa died in V.S. 890, Bhādrapada Sudi 5th (23rd August, 834).[43] But the earliest known date of his grandson, Bhoja, is A.D. 836.[44] *Prabhāvakacharita* was written in V.S. 1334, that is about four-and-a-half centuries after the incidents recorded in it are supposed to have happened. Moreover, the death of Nāgabhaṭa (called Nāgāvaloka) is related in the work only to provide a historical background for the life of the Jaina monk, Bappa Bhaṭṭi. *Prabhāvakacharita* also contains many absurd stories relating to the Imperial Pratihāras. Hence its testimony regarding the date of Nāgabhaṭa's death cannot be accepted as conclusive. It is probable that he died much earlier and that he was succeeded sometime in c. A.D. 825 by his son Rāmabhadra.

The Gwalior-*praśasti* of Mihira Bhoja, records that his father was Rāmabhadra, the son of Nāgabhaṭa II. But according to *Prabhāvakacharita*, Nāgabhaṭa was succeeded by his son, Danduka, the father of Bhoja. The same work then goes on to relate that while Bhoja was a young boy, Danduka became infatuated with an immoral woman so that his queen left him and began to live like a commoner. Bhoja went to live with his mother. After he had grown up, he went one day to see his father and, before entering the royal audience chamber, he took three pomegranates from one of his guards. Stepping inside the hall he threw the pomegranates at his father, who died as a result.[45] The story is embellished with many incidental details. It is doubtful however if it contains even so much as a grain of historical truth.

In the absence of any corroborative evidence, it is preferable, therefore, to reject this legend altogether, rather than accuse Mihira Bhoja, one of the greatest of Indian rulers, of patricide,—a crime unknown in the Hindu royal dynasties,—and to convict his father of having led a dissolute life. The latter's energy appears to have been applied to the preservation of such fragments of the empire as had been left by Nāgabhaṭa.

The Gwalior-*praśasti* has no more than the most conventional praise for Rāmabhadra, and it is evident not only that he did not succeed in re-establishing the empire but that in all probability the Pratīhāra power declined during his reign. The Gwalior inscription of Vaillabhaṭṭa indicates that, during the reign of Rāmabhadra and the early part of the reign of Bhoja,

Gwalior was the boundary of the Pratihāra kingdom.[46] The Daulatpura plates record the renewal of a grant of land in Gūrjaratrā which was originally made by Vatsarāja and continued by Nāgabhaṭa II; the grant had fallen into abeyance thereafter so that it had had to be renewed by Bhoja in A.D. 843.[47] Evidently, the province was first held by Vatsarāja and Nāgabhaṭa II, but was lost by Rāmabhadra.

It is the Gwalior-*praśasti* of Bhoja again which records that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of a foreign soldiery which was notorious for its cruel deeds.[48] These foreign soldiers were most probably Pāla troops, for the only other power, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, is not known to have advanced towards the north during this period. Moreover, several Pāla records claim great victories for Devapāla, son and successor of Dharmapāla, at this time. It is claimed that Devapāla made the whole of northern India, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, and from the eastern to the western ocean, tributary to him.[49]

There is no doubt, however, that Rāmabhadra succeeded in freeing at least a part of his empire. That this was so is further supported by an account given in the *Kumārapāla-bhūpāla-charita* to the effect that Mūlaraja of Aṇahilavāda was descended from one Rāma, the lord of the earth and the destroyer of evil doers.[50] As shown elsewhere, this Rāma was probably identical with Rāmabhadra. He died before A.D. 836, which is the earliest known date of his son, Mihira Bhoja.

Chapter VI

THE ZENITH

MIHIRA BHOJA THE GREAT

(c. A.D. 835-888)

Rāmabhadra was succeeded on his death by Mihira Bhoja, who was destined to become not only the greatest of the Imperial Gūrjaras, but a monarch inferior to none in history, either in achievement or in character. His personal name was Mihira or Prabhāsa, for, he was born to Empress Appādevi as a result of the propitiatory rites performed in honour of the god Sūrya.[1] Later on, he came to be called Bhoja or Mihira Bhoja. Like his grandfather he was a great devotee of Bhagavati.

The accession of Mihira Bhoja must be placed before A.D. 836, as his earliest known inscription is dated in that year. His last known date is A.D. 888. At the time of his accession, therefore, he would have been about twenty or twenty-five years of age.

(i)

The Consolidation of Gūrjaradeśa

During the feeble rule of Rāmabhadra, the power and prestige of the empire had suffered. Outlying parts of the realm, such as Saurāshṭra had declared independence, and even parts of Gūrjaradeśa itself were in open revolt. On his accession, it appears, the young Emperor's writ ran no further than Kanauj and the surrounding areas and only a few royal feudatories stood by him.

The first acts of the young ruler were to restore his authority over his homeland, raise the morale of

the allied clans of Gūrjaradeśa and make them into a compact and invulnerable hierarchy. He did these so successfully that the tenacity and vigour of the hierarch families after the fall of the empire survived more than a thousand years. Many of the Rajput rulers who surrendered power in the great integration of 1947-48 were descendants of the feudatories and generals of Mihira Bhoja.

The Barah copper-plate of A.D. 836 records Bhoja's renewal of a grant of an *agrahāra* lying in the Udambara-*vishaya* of Kālañjara-maṇḍala.[2] This grant had been first given by Nāgabhaṭa II, but had fallen into desuetude during the reign of Ramabhadra. This shows that shortly after his accession, Bhoja brought Kālañjara, in Bundelkhand, firmly under his control.

The Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka is dated A.D. 837. In it, Bāuka's mother, Padmini, of the Bhaṭṭi family, is described as a *Mahārājñī*, which shows the importance of the family.[3] Bāuka is claimed to have been a great warrior and his military exploits are described in the inscription at length.

In another inscription of Bāuka's step-brother Kakkuka, dated A.D. 861,[4] reference is made to Gujjaratrā and *Maru-Mada-Valla-Tamani*. Of these, Gujjaratrā is evidently Gūrjaratrā, and Maru and Mada probably stand for Maru-maṇḍala and Mādavaka, while Valla and Tamani (most probably Stravaṇī) are the same territories as are referred to in the Jodhpur inscription. They indicate the extent of the kingdom ruled by Bāuka and other kings (*Yena sīmā kṛitā nitya Śtravaṇī-Vallodeśayoḥ*).[5] The Ghatiyela inscription of A.D. 857 and 861 also praises the achievements of Bāuka and Kakkuka.

The Daulatpura plate of Mihira Bhoja, dated A.D. 843, however, places Gūrjaratrā within his empire.[6] It has, therefore, sometimes been suggested that Bhoja brought Gūrjaratrā into submission between A.D. 837 and 843, but lost it again to Kakkuka before A.D. 861. Such an inference is clearly unwarranted. Neither Bāuka nor Kakkuka assumed any royal titles indicative of a sovereign status, and the mere laudatory description of a chief by his own panegyrist does not necessarily imply either the extent of his power or independence.

Between A.D. 843 and 861, Mihira Bhoja was going from strength to strength throughout the whole of northern India; to attribute reverses to the imperial army in the homeland of the emperor would therefore be unjustifiable. Kakkuka only ruled over the territory which, for generations, formed the dominions of the main Pratīhāra branch and it is likely that Bhoja left him undisturbed in his ancestral possessions, so long as he acknowledged his overlordship as appears from the Daulatpura plate.

This main branch of the dynasty established by Harichandra came to an end with Kakkuka, for we know nothing of his successor. It is possible that Kakkuka tried to disown allegiance to Mihira Bhoja and met with swift punishment.

Govindarāja or Garudarāja or Gōvaka I, in the line of Chāhamāna Vāsudeva, who ruled over Sapādalaksha, with its capital at Śākambharī (Sambhar), rose to eminence as a feudatory of Emperor Nāgabhata II. His son, Chandrarāja II, was also an imperial feudatory; and his daughter Kalāvati was married to the king of Kanauj,[7] who can be no other than Mihira Bhoja himself. The rulers of this line grew

in power but remained loyal to the overlords. Even so late as A.D. 973, after the Pratihāra empire was dissolved, the loyal Chāhamānas acknowledged the suzerainty of the *Raghukula-chakravarti* with pride.[8]

The Chāhamāna of Dhavalapura (modern Dholpur), by name Chaṇḍamahāsena, also was more likely to be a feudatory. It is recorded that he invaded the north and extracted tributes from *mlechchhas* on the banks of the Charmaṇvati (modern Chambal).[9] This he could have done only as a general in the imperial army. The Chāhamānas of Pratāpgarh were also loyal supporters[10] of the imperial house, and remained so till the empire was dissolved.

It is likely that the Chālukya feudatories of Saurāshṭra became independent before Mihira Bhoja came to the throne. But certain well-preserved traditions of early Gujarat[11] establish two important facts. Mihira Bhoja, called Bhuyaḍa in the tradition, of Kalyāṇkaṭaka, invaded north Gujarat upto the river Mahi and re-annexed it to the empire. The Chāvḍās of Aṇahilavāḍa were destroyed by the armies of Kanauj.

A branch of the Chāvaḍās was possibly installed by Mihira Bhoja at Wadhwan as feudatories, for we find Dharaṇivarāha of the Chāpa family ruling at Wadhwan as a feudatory of his grandson, Mahīpala in 914.[12]

Bāhukadhavala of Saurāshṭra was a powerful feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa, and there are grounds to infer that his son continued to rule over it as Bhoja's feudatory. If Mūlarāja's descent from the Emperors of Kanauj is accepted, one of these Emperors, also might have given his daughter in marriage to some ruler who might have been a Chālukya of Saurāshṭra.

The Chatsu inscription of Bāladitya states that Guhila Harsharāja conquered kings in the north, and presented horses to Bhoja.[13] Since a minor chief like Harsharāja could not have possibly over-run northern India, it is reasonable to assume that the Bhoja referred to in this inscription is the Pratihāra Emperor, in whose northern campaign Harsharāja took part.

(ii)

The Conquest of Malwa

It is difficult to ascertain when Mihira Bhoja conquered Mālava, but the conquest appears to be associated with the rise of the Paramāras. The origin of the latter clan, as already referred to, indicates that the founder of its fortunes was Upendra, also known as Krishnarāja. According to a tradition preserved by Merutunga, king Bhuyaḍa, that is Mihira Bhoja, appointed the Paramāras as the chiefs of Mālava.[14]

It has been suggested that during the reign of Govinda III, Upendra helped the Rashtrakutas and obtained Mālava as a reward; there is, however, no evidence to corroborate this suggestion. On the other hand, proof that the first three Paramāra kings were the feudatories of the Imperial Pratihāras is offered by a number of circumstances. The Paramāras indisputably came from the Abu region in Gūrjaradeśa and rose to prominence in associations with the Pratihāras and the Chāhamānas when it formed part of the dominions of Mihira Bhoja. The traditional descent of the other two clans from Agnikula of the two clans; their first appearance in tradition or history in the ninth century when Pratihāras were very powerful; the contemporary testimony that

Muñja Vākpati II was descended from a family tracing its descent from a Brāhmaṇa, and the testimony of inscriptions and of Padmagupta in the *Nava-Sāhasāṅka-charita*,[15] all point to the Paramāras as belonging to Gūrjaradeśa and being connected with the Rāshṭrakūṭas only by marriage.

Nāgabhaṭa I (c. A.D. 727-757) and Vatsarāja (A.D. 783) had their capital at Ujjayini. In the Radhanpur plates (A.D. 808) Nāgabhaṭa is referred to as the lord of Mālava. Govinda III took Mālava from him and placed a feudatory in charge of it, but Nāgabhaṭa re-captured it in c. A.D. 815.[16] From that time up to A.D. 915, when Indra III's army bivouacked in Ujjayini, no ruler of Mālava is recorded as having opposed the Gūrjara Emperors, or owed allegiance to the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The thirty years' war of Lāṭa, beginning with A.D. 836, and waged by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa against Amoghavarsha, rules out the possibility of Mālava forming part of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire. The Paramāra line of Upendra could not therefore have ruled over Vāgaḍa and Mālava between A.D. 815 and 900 except in subordinate alliance with the Pratihāras

The Paramāra records contain little information regarding the career of Upendra. It is possible that after Govinda III defeated Nāgabhaṭa II and retired to the South, Upendra seized the opportunity to carve out a principality for himself and that he occupied West Mālava, which included modern Ratlam, Dhārā, Godhra, Baroda and Kaira districts and parts of the Ahmedabad district of modern Gujarat.

The earliest known date of Vākpati Muñja, seventh in descent from Upendra is A.D. 974.[17] Assuming that each of his six predecessors, on an average, ruled

for twenty years, Upendra's reign could be placed between c. A.D. 810 and 837.[19]

Upendra was the first of the Paramāras to attain kingship, for he is said to have performed many Vedic sacrifices, adorned the earth with sacrificial posts of gold, and also reduced the burden of taxes borne by his subjects. His fame spread far and wide and 'was sung by the poetess Sītā'.[19]

Upendra was succeeded in Mālava by his elder son, Vairisiṁha, while his younger son, Dombarasiṁha, was given Vagaḍa, that is, Banswara, where his descendants ruled for a long time.[20] Vairisiṁha is described as 'having composed a song of praise in his own honour by erecting pillars of victory on the whole earth bounded by the four oceans', and as levying taxes from a large number of kings.[21] He was, in fact, a small chieftain, and it is most likely that he took part in the campaign of Mihira Bhoja's conquests. And if that were so, he might have fought the war of Lāṭa against Amoghavarsha.

Vairisiṁha was succeeded by his son, Sīyaka I, who is described as 'the foremost among conquerors whose foot-stool flashed with the radiant colours emanating from the jewel of the diadem of kings.' He is also stated 'to have submerged a crowd of enemies by the wars of his steel.[22]

(iii)

Bhoja and the Pālas of Bengal

Though the triangular contest for supremacy for northern India had ended in the weakening of all the three contesting powers, the Pratihāras were left the strongest of them.

Since the time of Nāgabhaṭa II's defeat by Rāsh-

Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III, the Pālas of Bengal had reigned supreme in eastern India. It is difficult to determine the extent of their empire; while they are credited in their records with extensive victories, not a single Pāla inscription has yet been found outside Bengal and Bihar. It is possible that, while the Pālas had led conquering raids, they were not able to establish any lasting hold beyond the confines of their kingdom.

Dharmapāla's son and successor, Devapala, probably ruled from A.D. 810 to A.D. 850. Early in his career he received a serious setback at the hands of Nāgabhaṭa II,[24] but appears to have retrieved his position during the reign of the weak Rāmabhadra. This is supported by an inscription which records that through the diplomacy of Darbhapāṇi, the Brāhmaṇa Minister, Devapāla, was able to exact tributes from the kings of the territories from the eastern to the western seas.

It appears that Devapāla was obliged to lead two expeditions to Madhyadeśa. During his first campaign while Darbhapāṇi was minister, he extracted tributes from the kings of the North. When Darbhapāṇi's grandson, Kedārmiśra, was minister, however, Devapāla merely destroyed 'the haughtiness of the Gūrjara king'[24] though he 'exterminated the Utkalas', and 'curbed the pride of the Huns'.[25]

The Utkalas were, undoubtedly, the people of Orissa. The Huns have been identified with a Hūṇa principality in Uttarapatha near the Himalayas. After defeating them, Devapāla is said to have proceeded up to Kāmboja.

Kaliṅga was one of the powers which entered into a subordinate alliance with Nāgabhaṭa II. It is

likely that Bhoja had re-established friendly relations with the Kaliṅga rulers, the old allies of his grandfather, who, thereupon, invaded Bengal. This may explain why Devapāla had to 'exterminate' the Utkalas. He was probably securing his south-western frontier against any attack from Bhoja.

Shortly after coming to the throne, Bhoja appears to have brought the region bordering on the Himalayas under his control. Possibly as a result the Hun principality came under his influence, and Devapāla had, in consequence, to send an expedition against it. Devapāla's invasion of Kāmboja may also be explained by the rising influence of Bhoja in the Punjab, though, as will be seen hereafter, a part of the Punjab was included within Bhoja's empire later. But Kāmboja which is usually identified with N. W. Punjab was also an Indian name for Tibet; it is, therefore, possible that Devapāla, after defeating the Huns, proceeded further north towards Nepal, which, at the time, was under Tibetan rule.

In spite of the inscription, it appears that Devapāla could not have possibly inflicted a severe defeat upon Bhoja in this campaign. Had it been otherwise, the panegyrist would not have rested content by recording that he only 'destroyed the haughtiness of the Gūrjara'. On the other hand, Mihira Bhoja himself 'anxious to conquer the three worlds' appears to have forced Devapāla to retire to Bengal.

The glory and brilliance of the Pāla empire did not long survive the death of Devapāla. He was succeeded by his nephew, Vigrahapāla, who, at the end of four years, abdicated in favour of his son Nārāyaṇapāla and became an ascetic. This ruler enjoyed an unusually long reign of fifty-five years (A.D. 854-908).

Neither Vigrahapāla nor Nārāyaṇapāla are credited with any military achievement in the inscription which refers to the achievements of Devapāla. Vigrahapāla's abdication, therefore, is likely to be due to a defeat inflicted by Bhoja.

Until A.D. 864, Nārāyaṇapāla held on to some parts of Magadha. He also seems to have allied himself with Amoghavarsha, the Emperor of Karnataka. But between A.D. 864 and 876 Mihira Bhoja crossed the Gandak and the Son and occupied the whole of Bihar. Nārāyaṇapāla is not known to have had any achievement to his credit.

By A.D. 876, Mihira Bhoja had conquered far and wide. He had burnt 'the powerful people of Bengal in the fire of his rage.'[26] Bhoja, evidently, obtained a decisive victory over Nārāyaṇapāla and annexed considerable parts of the Pāla dominions to his empire.

The Tibetan conqueror Ral pa-can (A.D. 817-837) ruled over Nepal from A.D. 816 to 836, but a civil war followed his death. Nepal immediately thereafter began its war of freedom, and Sārasvata-maṇḍala in the Nepal *terai* passed into the hands of Mihira Bhoja. In A.D. 879, Raghavadeva liberated the whole of Nepal; and it is not unlikely that he was supported by the Pratihāra power in Madhyadeśa.

In A.D. 897, Ramagaya was within the Gūrjara empire;[27] the Hazaribagh district was also included about the time as also other parts of Bihar.[28]

In the north, Bhoja extended his empire up to the foot of the Himalayas. The Kahla plates of A.D. 1077 found in the Gorakhpur district, record that Guṇāmbodhideva, a Kalachuri chief, obtained some land from (or for?) Bhojadeva.[29] Soḍhadeva the do-

nor, is ninth in descent from Guṇāmbodhideva, who, therefore, flourished during the middle of the 9th century. Hence, as Kielhern has pointed out, the Bhojadeva of these plates must be identified with Mihira Bhoja.

According to the Kahla plate, Guṇāmbodhideva snatched away the sovereignty of the Gauḍas. It is probable that another Kalachuri king, of Ḍāhala, might have assisted Bhoja in his expedition against Bengal. Kokalla I (c. A.D. 840-890) is said to have rendered Bhoja free from fear and to have plundered the treasuries of various kingdoms including Vaṅga.[30]

Another chieftain, who appears to have accompanied Bhoja in his campaign against the Pāla king was the Guhilot king, Guhila II, the ruler of Medāpaṭa, who is said to have defeated the Gauḍa king. His father Harsharāja, as stated above, perhaps accompanied Bhoja on his earlier campaigns, and there is little doubt that the son accompanied Bhoja in his successful campaign against the king of Bengal, and that, like many an other feudatory his panegyrist credited him with having conquered the country himself.[31]

It is not possible to determine with any exactness the eastern boundary of his empire. An inscription of Bhoja's son and successor, Mahendrapāla, has been found at Paharpur, and six inscriptions of Mahendrapāla have been found in Patna and Gaya districts. The Paharpur inscription of Mahendrapāla was issued during the 5th regnal year of his reign. These records indicate that Bhoja conquered parts of Bihar and immediately after his death Mahendrapāla was able

to extend the limit of his empire to Paharpur in north Bengal.

From a stone inscription found at Chandpurgadh in Garhwal it appears that in V.S. 945 (A.D. 888) a certain Kanakapāla, of the Lunar race, established a kingdom in that territory. Long and persistent tradition has it that this was Kanakapāla, a Paramāra of Western India. The date of the inscription shows that this principality was established about the end of the reign of Mihira Bhoja. It is quite likely that Kanakapāla was a Paramāra adventurer who, with the imperial support, will have established a kingdom in Garhwal.[32]

(iv)

Bhoja and the Rāshṭrakūṭas

One of the reasons which enabled Bhoja to pursue his career of conquest in northern India was that, during the greater part of his reign, his southern enemies, the Rashṭrakuṭas, were rendered impotent by internal dissensions.

Govinda III died in A.D. 814, and was succeeded by his son, Amoghavarsha I. Some time between A.D. 816 and 821 Amoghavarsha was deposed and confusion and anarchy shook the foundations of the Rashṭrakūṭa empire Amoghavarsha regained his throne in A.D. 821 but was forced to wage a war against the Gaṅgas, said to have lasted twelve long years. He then had to turn his arms against the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi in a contest that lasted until about A.D. 806. To this was added the revolt of his cousin of Lāṭa. Amoghavarsha had, therefore, neither the leisure nor the resources to take part in politics of the country as a whole. The dis-

turbed conditions, on the other hand, in the Rāshṭrakūṭa Empire, and the hostile relations existing between Amoghavarsha and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa provided Bhoja with the opportunity not only to re-establish the empire of Kanauj but also to annex Lāṭa (South Gujarat) to his empire.

The Lāṭa branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was established in A.D. 800 by Indra, the younger brother of Govinda III. Indra, throughout his reign, remained loyal to the main branch; so did his son and successor Karka Suvarnavarsha, who probably acted as the regent during the early years of Amoghavarsha's reign, and later took an active part in the restoration of that monarch.

In c. A.D. 830 Karka was succeeded in Lāṭa by his son, Dhruva I Dhārāvarsha, who recognised Amoghavarsha as his overlord till about A.D. 830. Soon thereafter, Dhruva became entangled in a prolonged conflict with a king called Vallabha, who is rightly identified with Amoghavarsha himself. Dhruva lost his life on the battlefield, but his son, Akālavarsha Subhatuṅga (A.D. 835-860) regained his ancestral dominions.

It is hard to imagine that the forces of Lāṭa could have kept the army of Karnataka at bay without the support of Mihira Bhojā, whose dominions extended beyond the Mahi. Akālavarsha's son and successor, Dhruva II, was obliged to continue to fight, but the alliance with Mihira Bhoja seems to have come to an end. Before A.D. 867, he had to face the Vallabha on the one side and the Gūrjara on the other; this Gūrjara could have been no other than Mihira Bhoja.

On one side the mighty Gūrjara hosts came;
On the other Śrī Vallabha had turned a foe;
Then the kinsmen turned their back;
The younger brother, even he was untrue.
But before the quake of his dazzling steel
Every one was quiet.[33]

It is difficult to say what led to this long drawn out war between Amoghavarsha and his cousins Dhruva and Akālavarsha of Lāṭa, erstwhile feudatories. But this struggle lasting for three generations kept Akālavarsha busy for twenty-five years and provided Bhoja with the opportunity which he was seeking. The panegyrist of Dhruva II claims that he defeated the Gūrjara (that is, Bhoja) single-handed,[34] but it would seem that he was merely repeating the proud boast of his ancestor, Indra, who, under entirely different circumstances, had defeated Nāgabhaṭa II. For the position was now completely reversed. His court-poet writes again:

Like the Sun (Mihira) which thought radiant,
And overspreading all quarters
Carried by rushing steeds,
Pale as when heavy clouds overcast the heavens,
Mihira attended by horsemen brave,
Ruling all quarters with his might,
Blessed by the Goddess of Wealth,
Even he,
Seeing the might of Dhārāvarsha
Was overcast with defeat,
Sinking into quietude.[35]

During this period, Bhoja was the master of northern India, and had conquered the whole of

Mālava and north Gujarat up to the Narmada. According to al-Masudi, the contemporary Arab visitor, he maintained one of his formidable armies in the south to fight the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. It is just possible that, afraid of the Pratiharas, Dhruva II come to some understanding with Amoghavarsha, and with or without his aid, managed to cling to a part of Lāṭa.

A fragmentary Pratihara inscription refers to the Narmada in connection with Bhoja's attack on Kṛishṇarāja, the grandson of Dhruva, who is obviously the king of Lata[36] and the last known ruler of the Gujarat branch of Rāshṭrakūṭas. From the Begumra plates of this Kṛishṇarāja of c. A.D. 888, which is the last known date of the Gujarat Rāshṭrakūṭas, we learn that he, along with the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor, Kṛishṇa II (A.D. 880-914), son of Amoghavarsha, defeated the Gūrjara king of Ujjayini.[37]

This is also an exaggeration, for Ujjayini and Mandu are definitely known to have been included within the territory of Bhoja's son, Mahendrapala, which he possibly inherited from Bhoja. The days when the Rāshṭrakūṭa panegyrists could write in glee that the Pratihāra king fled away nobody knew whither, had gone. According to them too, Mihira Bhoja, was ruling 'all quarters by his might'. Begumra plates of Indra III, issued in A.D. 914, refer to the vivid description given by old men of the courage and heroism of Kṛishṇa II in his sanguinary wars with the 'roaring Gūrjara';[38] this shows that Kṛishṇa II had some difficulty in his wars. It is possible that the Rāshṭrakūṭa rule in Lāṭa was put an end to by Bhoja, and Lāṭa was annexed to the Pratihāra empire. This alone offers a satisfactory explanation

as to why we hear no more of the Lāṭa Rāshṭrakūṭas after A.D. 888.

(v)

Bhoja in the West

On the north-western frontier, the Śāhi kings of Kabul (called Ratbils by the Muslim chroniclers) held sway, resisting the encroaching Arab step by step. Between A.D. 808 and 818, however, they were forced to submit to Caliph al-Ma'mum, son of Caliph al-Rashid. For a time, the Śāhi king, who was perhaps the Brāhmaṇa usurper Lalliya (A.D. 850-870), became independent, though he was obliged to offer continuous resistance to the Arabs.

An inscription of the year A.D. 882, found at Pṛithudaka (Pehova in the Karnal district of the East Punjab) records certain business transactions at the local fair of horses 'in the auspicious and victorious region of Bhojadeva.'[39] It is not possible to determine precisely, when Bhoja annexed western Punjab, though by A.D. 882, his position was unchallenged in the doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab, south of Dharavisar, and in the plains further east. The way in which the Śāhi kings successfully resisted all attempts by foreigners to enter India would indicate that they were supported by the friendly power of Kanauj.

There is also evidence to show that the Pratihāra influence was felt in Kashmir. The dynasty founded by Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa (c. A.D. 700-750) had declined in power under his inglorious successors till in A.D. 850 Avantivarman with whom the Utpala dynasty began, became its ruler. On Avantivarman's death in A.D. 883 followed a war of succes-

sion and his son, Śaṅkaravarman, with the aid of Pratīhāra Ratnavardhana,[40] succeeded to the throne. The intervention of a powerful Pratihāra in the affairs of Kashmir can only be explained by the influence which Gūrjaradeśa had over the valley.

During the lifetime of Mihira Bhoja, Śaṅkaravarman continued to be friendly with Kanauj but, as Kalhaṇa, the author of *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, states, he tried to invade the Punjab, 'wholly bent on the conquest of Gūrjara'. "He (Śaṅkaravarman, king of Kashmir) caused to be restored the dominion which had been taken away by the *Adhirāja* Bhoja, when the Thakkiya family was reduced to the condition of servants by being put to the duty of door-keepers". But Śaṅkaravarman gained nothing more than Ṭakka-deśa, the region between the Chenab and the Ravi from Alakhāna, the Gūrjara viceroy, who successfully resisted the invasion. Kalhaṇa says that Alakhāna gave up Ṭakka-*deśa* in order to preserve the country 'as a man who gives up a finger to save the body'.[41] But these events probably took place after the death of Bhoja.

Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Pratihāras was that, from the time Nāgabhaṭa I drove Arabs back when they attacked Ujjayinī, they effectually protected India against the marauding invaders.

The Arab conquest of Sind has been rightly described as 'a mere episode in the history of India which affected only a fringe of that vast country'. According to al-Beruni and the *Prabandhas*, after their raids were repulsed by Nāgabhaṭa I and Pulakeśi Avanijanāśraya, the Arab governors of Sind attacked and destroyed Valabhī in A.D. 770. No epigraphic testimony supports this story and the destruction of

that city might well have taken place between A.D. 720 and 730 during the first raids.

The growing power of Vatsarāja and Nagabhaṭa II had made the Arabs wiser, and, recognising the kings of Gūrjara as formidable enemies, they attempted no more raids of the mainland. Between A.D. 813 and 833, they held Sindan in Kachchha in temporary occupation, but their fanatical zeal was at an end.

Soon, the Hindu powers regained control of the Sind. In the time of Vatsarāja, the Arabs were forced to rest content with only a small principality in lower Sind, which they governed from al-Mansurah (near modern Hyderabad). The Hindus, who had been forcibly converted to Islam, went back to their ancestral fold. Baladhuri says that 'in the time of al-Hakim ibn Awahan, the people of al-Hind apostatised with the exception of the inhabitants....A place of refuge to which the Muslims might flee was not to be found, so he built on the further side of the lake, where it borders on al-Hind, a city which he named al-Mahfuzah (the guarded), establishing it as a place of refuge for them, where they could be secure and making it a capital'.[42]

Within a year of Bhoja's accession, Irman ibn-Musa became the governor of Sind and began an attempt to extend the Arab power, but he failed. Between A.D. 833 and 842,[43] the Arabs were driven out of Kachchha and the Caliphs lost the control of Sind a few years later.[44] Only Multan and Mansurah remained with them as the headquarters of two petty principalities.[46] That this was due to the policy of Mihira Bhoja is attested by Sulaiman, the contemporary Arab traveller who records that the king of Jurz or Gūrjara, named Baruza or Bhuḍya, was the

greatest foe of Islam.[46] Bhoja's empire extended beyond the Indus in Sind, for al-Masudi testifies to the fact that the Indus ran right through one of the cities which was within its boundaries.[47]

In A.D. 851, when Sulaiman the Arab traveller, visited India, he found that the kingdom of Jurz was at war with another kingdom called Rhumi. He says:

"The Balhara has around him several kings with whom he is at war but whom he excels. Among them is the king of Jurz. This king maintains numerous forces and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of Arabia is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Mohammaden faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land (Saurashtra). He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges are carried on in his state with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers. These three states (viz. Tafak, Balhara and Jurz) border on a kingdom called Rhumi, which is at war with that of Jurz. His troops are more numerous than those of Balhara, the king of Jurz, or the king of Tafak".[48]

In A.D. 916 Abu Zaid, by questioning travellers passing frequently between India and China, completed the *Silsilatu-l Tawarikh*, which had been begun by Sulaiman. While giving a picture of the well-settled conditions prevailing in India, he remarks: "these observations are specially applicable to Kanauj, a large country of the Jurz".[49]

It is possible that al-Masudi of Baghdad visited

India more than once between A.D. 900 and 940: he died in Egypt in 956. He states:

"One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is the Ba'udrah who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and the south, on the east and on the west; for, he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings." According to this traveller, "the king of India is the Balhara; the king of Kanauj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Ba'uüra; this is a title common to all kings of Kanauj. There is also a city called Ba'uüra after its princes, which is now in the territories of Islam, and is one of the dependences of Multan. This Ba'uüra, who is the king of Kanauj, is an enemy of the Balhara, the king of India".

Next, it is stated that "Ba'uüra, the king of Kanauj, has four armies each consisting of seventy lakhs or ninety lakhs. The army of the north fights with the Mussalmans and the prince of Multan, and the army of the south fights with Balhara, the king of Mankir (Mānyakheṭa). The Balhara possesses many war elephants. This country is also called Kamkar. On one side it is exposed to the attacks of the Jurz, a king who is rich in horses and camels, and has a large army. The military forces of the king of Tafan, who is on friendly terms with the Moslems, are less than others mentioned above i.e. Balhara, and Ba'uüra, the king of Juzr. Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahma, which is the title of their kings and generally, at the same time, their name. His dominions border on those of the kings of Juzr on one side and on those of the Balhara with whom he

is frequently at war. The Rahma has more troops, elephants and horses than the Balhara, the king of Juzr and Tafan".[50]

Rahma or Ruhmi may stand for Bengal. Tafan is difficult to identify. Juzr is Gūrjara and Balhara is Vallabharaja, the emperor of Mānyakheṭa. Ba'uūra is described by al-Masudi to be the title of the king of Juzr. There is, however, some doubt as to whether the Ba'uūra was the actual word used by Masudi. Meynard has described the word as Baorah, though it is stated that there were many variants, but Meynard's reading appears to be wrong and the word was probably a corruption of 'Bhoja'. If the word was Baurah, it was more likely the mis-pronunciation of Ādi-Varāha, spoken as 'Barūha', the epithet by which Bhoja was known. Al-Masudi came to India during the first decade of the 10th century when the great Bhoja was dead, but his description of Ba'uūra fits Mihira Bhoja so well that it is probable that the traveller was describing him and not Mahendrapala.

The last known date of Bhoja is A.D. 882,[51] and he died about A.D. 888. At the time of his death, the banner of the Ikshvāku emperor of Gūrjaradeśa flew from the Himalayas to a little beyond the Narmada, and from the east Punjab to Bengal, an empire larger than that of Śrī Harsha's. The restless south was wisely quiescent. The progress of the Arabs on the north-west frontier had been arrested. Large parts of Sindh had been wrested from them.

Northern India had regained the political unity which it had lost after the death of Śrī Harsha. Madhyadeśa was at the height of its power.

(vi)

The Extent of Bhoja's Empire

The geographical limits of Gūrjaradeśa at the height of the empire can be determined with some degree of precision. Since the days of Hiuen-Tsang, a part of the Jodhpur and Jaipur divisions of modern Rajasthan had been included in Gūrjaratrā, the homeland of the emperors. Mālava, Medāpaṭa, Pratabgarh, Dungarpur, Ranswada, Dholpur and Śākambharī, ruled by the allied clans of Guhilots, Paramāras, Chēpas, Chāhamānas and Chālukyas, formed with Gūrjaratrā, a Gūrjaradeśa, which was united by the social and linguistic unity of the people and the kinship and loyalty of the ruling dynasties to the Pratihāra Emperors.

Two other provinces, Jejā-bhukti, (modern Bundelkhand and Kānyakubjā-bhukti, which included Kālañjara-vishaya and Vārānasī-vishaya, were imperial provinces, perhaps, directly governed from Kanauj. Ḍāhala, with its capital at Tripuri, was ruled by a feudatory.[39]

Rājaśekhara, the author of the *Kāvya-mīmāṁsā*, and the teacher of the son and grandson of Mihira Bhoja, divided Aryāvarta into five divisions: the Eastern, the Southern, the Western, the Northern and the Central region, Antarvedi or Madhyadeśa.

Madhyadeśa consisted of Gūrjaradeśa, the imperial provinces and a number of other areas. In the east it was bounded by Bihar, in the south-east by Orissa, in the south by the Narmada. Berar was outside Madhyadeśa and so were Nasik, Daseraka (Daskroi, a part of the Surat District a name in use till the beginning of the twentieth century, Bhṛigukachchha

or South Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra and Kachchha, and Anarta or north Gujarat up to Mount Abu. The Sutlej formed its north-western boundary, while in the north it was bounded by the Himalayas and Nepal.

(vii)

Mahendrapāla

The forward policy of Bhoja was continued by his son and successor, Mahendrapāla, whose mother was Chandrā Bhaṭṭārikādevī. Mahendrapāla was also known as Mahīndrapāla, Mahendrāyudha, and Mahīshapāladeva,[53] and his court-poet and *guru* Rājaśekhara has also referred to him by the epithets Nirbhaya-rāja and Nirbhaya-narendra.

The year of Mahendrapāla's accession is not yet ascertained. The last known date of Bhoja is A.D. 882 and the earliest known date of Mahendrapāla is A.D. 893.[54] Hence it is presumed that Bhoja died about A.D. 885 after which Mahendrapāla ascended to the throne.

Under Mahendrapāla, the Pratīhāra empire reached its zenith. After A.D. 870 the Pālas seem to have lost control over Magadha, for it was a part of the Pratīhāra empire and continued to be so till at least A.D. 904. Magadha might have been conquered during the time of Bhoja. Mahendrapāla, however, extended his sway still further to the east. Six inscriptions of Mahendrapāla have been found in Bihar and one in the Rajashahi district of East Pakistan (North Bengal).[55] This shows that the empire included the whole of Bihar and north Bengal.

In the west, the Una grants show that Saurāshṭra was under the firm control of the Pratīhāra feudatories. Bālavarman, the feudatory mentioned in the

Una grant, claims to have "freed the earth from the Hun race" by slaying Jajjapa and other kings. The Hun kings are referred to throughout this period as rulers of fairly powerful kingdoms that might have been situated in the Punjab and Rajasthan. It is more than likely that Bālavarman won his victory while fighting under Mahendrapāla.

The inscription found at Rajashahi is dated in the fifth year of Mahendrapāla's reign. The Emperor therefore appears to have launched his Bengal campaign soon after his accession. It is possible that, taking advantage of his pre-occupation in the east, Saṅkaravarman of Kashmir regained the territory in the Punjab which Bhoja had conquered from the Thakkiya family. Alakhāna, the Pratīhāra viceroy, resisted Saṅkaravarman's invasion but ultimately he had to give up the Ṭakka-deśa to preserve the country 'like a man who gives up a finger to save the body', says Kalhaṇa.[56] But we learn from a Pehova inscription that the Karnal district still formed a part of the empire.[57]

In the north, the empire extended up to the Himalayas. The Dighwa-Dubauli plate issued by Mahendrapāla from Kanauj records the grant of the village of Paniyakagrāma which was in the Valaṭika-vishaya of the Sārasvata-maṇḍala, in the modern Nepalese Terai.[58]

It is not possible to determine the southern limits of the empire. Inscriptions from Siyadoni show that Gwalior continued to be a part of it,[59] but the control over this far-flung empire appears to have grown weaker during the last years of the emperor's life. Uṇḍabhaṭa, the donor of one of the Siyadoni inscriptions, is recorded to have fought a rival chief called

Gunarāja, in which Chandiyana, an adherent of the latter, was killed.[57]

(viii)

The Age of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla

The Pehova inscription throws an interesting light on the times of Bhoja.[61] Thirty-three or four horse-dealers met at Pehova, or Prithudaka, in the Karnal district of the Punjab, on the occasion of a fair and set up a stone inscription recording their agreement to impose certain taxes and tithes upon themselves and their customers on the sale of 'horses, mares, mules, and other animals' and to distribute the proceeds among certain temples, priests and sanctuaries. Among the objects of the endowment were three temples in or near Kanauj, one of which was built by Nāgara Prabhākara Bhaṭṭa.

The Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura (Vadnagar, in modern Gujarat) well-known for their learning, valour and statecraft, appear to have occupied high positions in the state. For instance, Nāgara Bhaṭṭa of the Varjara family from Ānandapura came to Gopagiri, modern Gwalior, with his son, Vaitla Bhaṭṭa, and rose to the position first of an officer in charge of the frontier and then of the guardian of the fort. His son, Alla, as described by his Gwalior inscription, succeeded his father in the same office under Mihira Bhoja. It was a very responsible post as Gwalior appears to be an important military outpost.

The panegyrist Bālāditya who composed the Gwalior-*praśasti* of Mihira Bhoja, had given praise, which, after making all allowances for courtly exaggeration, is a unique tribute to the great emperor.

Bāladitya's *praśasti* was composed on the occasion

when Mihira Bhoja had a temple of Vishṇu constructed for his queen, and it provides the only complete record of the emperor. The poet shows a mastery over the *kāvya* style and his chaste language indicates the high literary tradition of the imperial court.

Like the Imperial Guptas, the Imperial Gūrjaras, in spite of their individual predilections, were Bhāgavatas. The *praśasti* begins with an invocation to Vishṇu. The temple is also dedicated to him as the enemy of the demon, Naraka, and as the destroyer of evil.

The Puranic atmosphere pervades the whole poem with the pulsating fervour of a living belief. Manu, Ikshvāku, Kakutstha and Pṛithu provide the background; the primeval Nārāyaṇa is born twice as Nāgabhaṭa I and again as Nāgabhaṭa II, descended from Lakshmaṇa, the son of Daśaratha.

The Gūrjareśvaras were cultured and each possessed a distinct personality. Nāgabhaṭa I was a warrior; Kakkuka had a keen sense of humour; Vatsarāja was compassionate, generous and of flawless conduct. Nāgabhaṭa II, short and modest, was of resistless energy, virtuous; he worked for the welfare of the people and performed many sacrifices. He possessed *ātmasaṁbhavaṁ*, true greatness of soul. Rāmabhadra was brave and virtuous, a pure soul, opposed to worldliness, and a defender of faith.

But Bhoja was the greatest of all. Famous as he was, he was always unperturbed. An adept in the rooting out of evil, he was wooed by Lakshmī, the guardian goddess of sovereignty, yet was untainted by arrogance. He was spotless in character. He was an ardent and unmatched administrator, and was a receptacle of pleasant and sweet words. When

Brahmā Himself wanted to discover another such man, whom else could he find but Śri Rāmachandra himself?

In order to extend his life beyond the ordinary span, everyone desired to serve him: ascetics, in return for his protection; the preceptors, from affection; the servants, from devotion; his many foes, out of policy; all men, in the interest of their own well-being and livelihood. And he was as worthy a recipient of these offerings as the Creator Himself.

Men of intellect, of honesty and of virtuous deeds helped to increase his prosperity, while hostile peoples felt the flame of his anger. The oceans were guarded by his valour. Like unto Kārtikeya, the god of war, he was of unbounded energy and the world waited upon him to hear its fate from his lips.

Thus did Bāladitya, the poet, standing before king Bhojadeva sing of him, and with the vanity of a poet, hoped that this *praśasti* would last till the end of Kalpa. He was fortunate. It saved his master from oblivion. Through it Bhoja will live down through the ages.

Mihira Bhoja united with his imperial office the glory of an India saturated with a living tradition of culture.

Mihira Bhoja was not merely a Caesar, nor a pontiff such as the imperators of Rome and Byzantium.

He was thrice sacred: sacred by being an Ikshvāku, whose family was ennobled by God Vishnu having been born into it; sacred by being Ādi Varāha, the manifestation of divinity; and sacred by having fused irresistible might into the framework of the moral order of *dharma*.

Aryāvarta was a pyramid of culture. At its apex stood Vishnu himself, the upholder of a well-ordered

realm, the protector of happy and well-ordered governance. That is why Bhoja acquired the epithet of *'Ādi Varāha'*.

(ix)

Political Concepts

Some crude coins of Mihira Bhoja of the *Ādi Varāha* type have been found. They are minted in silver alloy. The obverse contains the legend *'Śrīmadādivarāha'*, with some marks below indicating a fire-altar. The reverse shows a man with a boar's head *(Varāhāvatāra)* with the solar wheel.[62] *Śrīmadādivarāha* coins are also referred to in the inscriptions.[63]

It is evident that Bhoja understood the overwhelming political significance of the organisation of a stable empire. He was not merely a *chakravartī* in the Indian sense of the term, for he did not rest content on a passing military conquest. His empire was built on tremendous military power. His hierarchs were loyal: he had the support of popular enthusiasm. What he conquered, he appears to have consolidated. He had four standing armies which were regularly paid, a rare thing for an Indian king. One of his armies was stationed at Multan, where it kept the Arab power at bay; the other fought the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the South. Considerable parts of his empire were governed directly from Kanauj.

Sulaiman's estimate of Amoghavarsha's position in the country is not accurate. Amoghavarsha reigned for sixty-six years, but had no military achievement to his credit. Gaṅgavāḍi, Mālava and parts of South Gujarat were lost to Karnataka during his time.

He could not control his feudatories, and when he died, his empire had begun to disintegrate.

Throughout life, Bhoja displayed a sustained vigour in striking contrast to the hectic energy of Dantidurga and his descendants. He was the greatest general of his age, not even excluding Basil I, the contemporary emperor of Byzantium, out-doing the exploits of all Indian conquerors except perhaps Chandragupta Maurya and Samudragupta. For over fifty years he held two powerful enemies in check. He made Kanauj during his time as great as, if not greater than, Pāṭalipūtra in the Gupta times. He maintained the great tradition of the *Dharmaśāstras*, for his inscriptions have the same genuine reverential ring as have the epics for the old *chakravartīs*.

During this century lived a bold thinker, a great jurist and an astute politician, Medhātithi, a celebrated commentator on the *Manusmṛiti*. He quotes Kumārila, who flourished in the seventh or the early eighth century A.D. and has himself been reverentially quoted by Vijñāneśvara, the commentator on the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, who lived in the eleventh century A.D. Medhātithi was a native of North India. He had the problems of the *mlechchhas* before him. His political acumen, his strong commonsense and his independent thinking indicate that, as a jurist, he was associated with the living problems of an age which had an expansive political, social and religious outlook. His ideas on sovereignty and society and his dynamic conception of the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* as related to Āryāvarta are clearly the result of a master mind which worked in close contact with the activities of a powerful imperial system.

Dharma, as we see it reflected in Medhātithi's

work, is ambitious and challenging. Such a political system in the ninth century can only be associated with Mihira Bhoja or his son.

In matters political, Medhātithi is an apt pupil of Kautilya, freely borrowing his phrases and ideas. According to him, mere fame has no meaning; it is the submission of kings to the conqueror that matters. An enemy is an enemy. His difficulties should be no concern of the conqueror who should strike before he has time to prepare.[68] A Kshatriya has no concern with contentment. Unlike a Brāhmaṇa, he must ceaselessly seek what he does not possess.[69]

Medhātithi imposes on kings the duty of resisting foreign invasion at all costs. "There should be no compromise with the invader" he says. If the realm is invaded and its people massacred, one must die fighting. If a king does not resist at such times, he falls into blind darkness.[66] With a treacherous foe, he should not be weak. The form of submission is immaterial; the enemy must effectively surrender.[67] Once war is declared, there should be no weakening. There should be no hesitation on account of the enemy's weakness. The king should not try to be consistent.[68] He has to be a foe or a friend as political exigencies dictate.[69] If necessary, he should dismiss or punish his own ministers, even if it be the prime minister himself.[70] But once he is victorious, he should be very considerate when he sets about destroying his enemies. He should proceed only against those who are really wicked or treacherous. He should uproot the weeds.[71]

It is not easy to consolidate a conquered country. When a king attacks his enemy, he really attacks the government—the political machinery. He should not

destroy the inhabitants of the enemy's realm,[72] if it is possible to spare them. After victory, he should consolidate his gains, which after all is not easy. The learned and the pious must be honoured, restraints should be removed. The poor and the ailing should be treated mercifully. Sports and rejoicings should be initiated. Justice and sound finance must be restored. Wise methods of government should be introduced. Above all, a policy of non-interference must be adopted.[73]

Medhātithi borrows freely from Kauṭilya's views on warfare; twice he quotes from the *Adhyakṣha-prachāra*, a chapter of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[74] An enemy is born, natural or acquired.[75] War may even be declared against him on false pretences.[76] The best time for a king to attack his enemy is when he himself feels confident of his own strength, when the morale of his troops is high, when crops in his country are plentiful and when the enemy's subjects are in indifferent circumstances, covetous and capable of being alienated.[77]

Medhātithi also describes the elements of a stable executive government. Ambassadors are warned against the lure of women, for that is the way, he says, by which secrets are divulged to the enemy.[78] The army may be with the commander, but the king should keep the departments of Finance and Home in his hands.[79] In making war and peace, the final voice must rest with him.[80] Payments of salaries to civil servants and the army must be regular. Irrigation and other works must be carried out so as to make the people independent of rains. On a small holding the tax should be light; heavier taxes should be borne by larger profits.[81] Then comes the adage

of a shrewd statesman. 'It is neither possible nor desirable to prohibit absolutely drinking, gambling and hunting.'[82]

The political tradition of the age of Medhâtithi was both progressive and vigorous. Its outlook was broadly-based upon certain fundamental politico-social conceptions, surprisingly modern in form, which show the advanced stage of political theory and action of those times.

First, the king owes his position to no divine sanction but to the wishes of the people; secondly, the king is only an instrument of maintaining *daṇḍa* or sovereignty: thirdly, sovereignty in the state is based on the Common Law as propounded in the *Dharmaśâstras*, which was above the king and inalienable. Fourthly, *Varṇâśramadharma* is a dynamic world-force, not a static condition.

The king need not be a Kshatriya, says Medhatithi. It is mere *arthavâda*, of glorification to say that the Creator produced a king out of the elements of divine beings. Kings, as such, possess no divinity.[83] A mean or unfair king is either destroyed by the passions aroused among his own people, or through imponderable forces.[84] Even when a country is conquered, the king must decide the manner in which the inhabitants are to be ruled. A suitable member of the old dynasty, who may be selected by the local assemblies, should be appointed to govern the territory. The people have a fundamental right to be ruled in the way they prefer.[85]

Daṇḍa in the technical sense is sovereignty which provides the sanctions regulating and protecting the subjects. *Daṇḍa* is superior to the king himself.[86] It has no regard for the highest or most powerful in

the land; even they should be subject to its control. All are equal in the eyes of law—this principle is thus recognised and accepted. It is not the king who administers the realm but *daṇḍa*.[87] It is the sanction behind the law and the king. The king is no more than the instrument of the over-arching fabric of juristic sovereignty.

Daṇḍa cannot be properly administered unless the king has inborn humility and has undergone the discipline of studying the scriptures and serving his teachers. It cannot be dispensed with by a mere command. It is, however, not easy to administer it, for its improper use destroys the one who wields it.

At the same time, a mere command without the sanction of *dharma* is not *daṇḍa* and is valueless.[88] *Daṇḍa* has to be regulated in accordance with the law of the *Smṛitis*, which according to Medhātithi, is the inalienable common law of *Āryāvarta*. The people should obey the decrees of the king; but the king in his turn has no power to control the ordinances of the *Smṛitis*. A king's orders cannot contravene the *Smṛitis*, for they provide the sanction behind *daṇḍa*; even he derives his title from the common law of the *Smṛitis*.[89]

X

Social Conditions

Medhātithi is uncompromising in his acceptance of the *Smṛitis* as embodying the common law of the land.[90] In contradistinction to the law-givers of a subsequent age, he declares that no practice or custom contrary to the *Smṛiti* texts has any binding authority. He ridicules the practice among the southerners of marrying the daughter of a maternal uncle; accord-

ing to him, this custom is against the *Smṛitis*, and is, therefore, not binding. Custom is not binding as such; it may be accepted only if it is practised by the virtuous and the learned and has, as a result, the inferential sanction of the *Smṛitis*.[51]

Medhātithi defines the source of *dharma* as fourfold:[52]

(1) The *Vedas*, including the *Saṁhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upanishads*.

(2) The *Smṛitis* which are the conscientious recollections of the learned and the virtuous. *Manu* belongs to this category and is, therefore, authoritative.

(3) The third source is *āchāra*, the customary practice of the learned and the virtuous; but it is authoritative only if there are no Vedic or *Smṛiti* texts against it.

(4) The last source is that which satisfies the conscience of the learned and the virtuous. If anyone at any time, has the qualifications of being conscientious, learned and virtuous, his opinion has the same authority as the *Smṛiti*. This, in modern terms, would be Equity.

Equity, according to Medhātithi is a source of equal authority with the texts and custom provides the elastic element in law. 'Such satisfaction of the learned and the virtuous,' says Medhātithi, 'is of great authority; it may find what appears to be *dharma* as *adharma* and what is *adharma* as *dharma*. When those learned in the *Vedas* feel that a thing is pure, it is to be deemed as pure'.

Varṇāśramadharma, as reflected in by Medhātithi, is a dynamic human organisation, not a static social

order. A Brāhmaṇa can marry the daughter of a Kshatriya or of a Vaiśya. It is not necessary that an adopted son should be of the same caste as the father—a Brāhmaṇa can adopt even a Kshatriya boy.[93] A Kshatriya and a Vaiśya have the right to recite the *Gāyatri-mantra* though different *mantras* may be recited by them. Brahminhood is not acquired by birth alone; Viśvāmitra, though a Kshatriya, obtained Brahminhood in this very life.[94]

A Śūdra has the right to offer oblations to the fire, although he is denied the *Vaivāhika* fire at marriage. The *Smṛiti* texts, which take away the right of the Śūdra or lay down prohibitions for him, are to be very strictly interpreted, and their scope is not to be enlarged by adding inferences from other texts. The texts which are in favour of the Śūdras should be enforced. A Śūdra is entitled to perform such *Pākayajña*[95] and religious sacrifices as *Prakaraṇā-Śrāddha, Ashṭaka and Vaiśvadeva*.[96] He may not pronounce judgment according to the *Smṛitis*, but can be a member of a court of justice. The study of the scripture should be restricted to the three twice-born castes, but scriptural duties and rites can be performed by the members of all the four castes. The ceremony of *Niskramaṇa* can also be performed by Śūdras. Only the Chaṇḍālas are untouchables.

Medhātithi accords to women a position which is in refreshing contrast to that sanctioned by later commentators. Women can perform all the *Saṁskāras* in detail except the recital of Vedic *mantras*. A wife is obtained from God, not secured at the pleasure of the husband. She does not stand on the same footing as cattle or gold which may be bought in the market.[97] A husband, therefore, has no ownership over

his wife. Before the wife can be compelled by the husband to serve him, he must have the necessary qualifications, one of which is a favourable attitude towards her. Medhātithi condemns the dictum of Manu that one is to protect oneself even at the cost of one's wife or wealth. He finds it difficult to understand this dictum,[98] and prescribes that even princes should not forsake their wives. He construes the dictum of Manu that a man of thirty may marry a girl of twelve, as being only an illustration to show that age is not a material qualification.[99]

Medhātithi condemns the dictum of some texts that all eight forms of so-called marriages are legal. According to him, these are only ways of securing a woman and are not sanctioned forms of marriage. But if a man has intercourse with an unmarried girl and refuses to marry her, he shall be compelled by law to do so, unless the girl refuses to marry him; in the latter case, the girl can be given in marriage to another.[100]

Medhātithi condemns the practice of *Sati* outright. He calls it nothing but suicide and as such it is not permissible even to women.[101] He provides that at a partition an unmarried sister should be given one-fourth share of the dividing brothers.

The outlook of the age of Mihira Bhoja is clearly reflected in Medhātithi's description of the naure of *Varṇāśramadharma* as related to Āryāvarta. Āryāvarta is not to be delimited by geographical boundaries. Āryāvarta, according to him, is so called because the *mlechchhas*, though they frequently invade it, are not able to abide in it. Āryāvarta does not lie necessarily between the mountains and the sea. If any prince of good character, whether a Kshatriya

or of any other caste, conquers foreign territory, subdues the *mlechchhas*, establishes the Vedic religion and reduces the *mlechchhas* to the position of Chaṇḍālas, as in Āryāvarta, the country would be as pure as Āryāvarta. No sanctity attaches to Brahmāvarta as such; it would be *mlechchhadeśa* if the *mlechchhas* subjugated it and lived there. Impurity does not attach to the land, but to the people. Any conquered territory where *Varṇāśramadharma* is enforced would be Āryāvarta.[102] *Varṇāśramadharma*, therefore, is not a static arrangement of society but a dynamic creed of expansion to be maintained and spread. Āryāvarta is not a geographical description, but a land where such *dharma* is enforced and maintained.

Medhatithi's dynamic outlook was not restricted to theory but was applied in practice as we find from the testimony of the Arab chroniclers and the *Devala-Smṛiti*. Devala, the author of the *Smṛiti* of the name, is placed between A.D. 800 and 900, when the fortunes of Islam in Sind, as stated before, were on the decline. He also wrote his *Smṛiti* while in Sind.[103] The movement represented by him appears to be largely responsible for the active campaign of reconversion from Islam, which led the Muslims to seek an asylum in al-Mahfuzah, a fortress specially constructed for the purpose.

Devala gives sanction to the practice of reclaiming *mlechchhanita*—a person converted by the *mlechchhas*.[104] It deals with the problems of those who were kept as slaves by the *mlechchhas* and compelled to do unclean things, like killing cows, sweep the leavings of the food taken by the *mlechchhas*, taking flesh of asses, camels and pigs, and the forbidden food or drink.[105] As regards women abducted

or raped by the *mlechchhas*, the *Smṛiti* shows a breadth of vision difficult to find in any *Dharmaśāstra* of a later age.[106]

The problem of purification, according to Devala, is to be found in the borderlands of Sind, Sauvīra, Saurāshṭra, Kaliṅga, Koṅkana and Vaṅga.[107]

Even though converted to Islam, Brahmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, who have been forced to do forbidden things, can be reclaimed by purification. Devala discards the older view that there is no purification for a man who has lived with the *mlechchhas* for as much as four years; he, on the contrary, places the limit at twenty to twenty-five years.[108]

The scheme of purification is highly elastic. A man of sixty, or a boy below sixteen, or a woman, or one who is sick, is required to perform the purificatory ceremony for only half the period, while a boy of between five and eleven can be reclaimed by purification performed by his father, brother or guardian.[109]

The forcible abduction of women which followed the Arab invasion of this country had naturally shocked the susceptibilities of the Indian, for he had always set great store by women's honour. But the age was sufficiently progressive to take a sympathetic view of the plight of women forced to promiscuity against their will. *Devala-Smṛiti* is surprisingly catholic. A woman carried away by the *mlechchhas* can become pure by absentation from food and sexual intercourse for three nights.[110] Three days' absentation would also suffice to cleanse her of the impurity imposed by eating a *mlechchha's* food for one year or more.

Even though a woman becomes pregnant through a *mlechchha*, she can be purified by certain ceremonies; and once she delivers of the child, which is described as a *śalya*, or a thorn, and comes in menses again, she becomes as pure as gold. In order to avoid contamination of blood,[111] the child, however, is to be handed over to some one else to rear.

If the parent becomes a *mlechchha*, the son is not bound to acknowledge his relationship with his father, but he can give oblations to his ancestors.[112] Finally, Devala says, that in the matter of conversion, people should not listen to other sages or authorities.[113] *Devala-smriti*, in fact, deals with these difficult problems with a self-confident and bold outlook at a time when the Aryan culture was a living dynamic creed.

XI

Literature and Culture

Mihira Bhoja was a liberal patron of the arts and literature. The traces of most of the men of letters of the time have disappointed but by great good fortune, the name and works of Rājaśekhara have come down to us. He was the teacher of the Emperor's son, Mahendrapāla, who succeeded his father in A.D. 888.

Rājaśekhara appears to have risen to fame as a poet and scholar in the time of Mihira Bhoja; he lived long enough to be the poet laureate of Mahendrapāla's successor, Mahipāla, after whose defeat he was at the court of the conqueror.

His works give us a vivid glimpse of himself and the time. The poet was born in the Yāyāvara family; it was a family of poets. Though a Brāhmaṇa,

he married into a Chāhamāna family and his wife, Avantisundari, was therefore a Kshatriyā. She was a very accomplished lady, for the poet quotes her opinion thrice in *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, and *Karpūrmañjarī* was first acted at her desire.

His *Bālarāmāyaṇa* was staged at the court of Mahendrapāla at Kanauj. *Bālabhārata* was staged at Kanauj after Mahipala completed his campaign against the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Indra III, in about A.D. 916. The poet thus describes his patron who was present in the audience—

> "In the family of Raghu, there was born a glorious Mahīpaladeva, who lowered the heads of the Muralas; who destroyed the Mekalas; who drove out the Kaliṅgas; who destroyed Kuntalas as if with an axe; who forcibly seized the royalty of the Ramaṭhas".

Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* is a work of great value and gives glimpses of the life and literature of the time.

The poet was much travelled, and has some very interesting remarks to make about the manners and speech of the people of different parts of the country. The Magadhas and those living to the east of Banaras spoke Sanskrit well but Prakrit badly. A Gauḍa could not speak Prakrit properly; he should therefore, either give up the attempt or improve his Prakrit. The Karṇāṭakas recited poetry proudly with a twang at the end of each sentence irrespective of sentiment, style or quality. The Dravidas recited prose and poetry, both in a musical way. The people of Saurāshṭra and Travaṇa spoke Sanskrit but mixed it with Apabhraṁśa to add beauty to their

speech. Kashmirians were good poets but their recital sounded like a mouthful of *gaduchi*.

Rājaśekhara had a partiality for Lāṭa, (South Gujarat). According to him, it was the 'crest of the earth'. Its people, however, hated Sanskrit, but spoke elegant Prakrit in a beautiful way. Its women were noted for their beauty and elegance of speech. Its poets possessed distinctive literary traits; and favoured the style called 'Lāṭī'. Humour was its speciality.

Rājaśekhara was pre-eminently a child of Kanauj or Mahodaya, the capital of Mihira Bhoja. To him it was the centre of the universe; a sacred place; the home of the imperial Ikshvākus; a centre from where radiated power, fashion and culture. All directions were to be measured from it.

Women, at any rate in Kanauj, did not lag behind men in point of education.[114] There were several poetesses in Kanauj.[115] "Culture is connected with the soul and not with the sex" says the poet. The poet had met princesses and poetesses, daughters of prime ministers, courtesans and wives of court-jesters who were well-versed in science.[116]

The dress worn by the ladies of the capital was adorable. 'Women of other countries', says the poet, 'should study the ways in which the ladies of Mahodaya dress and bedeck themselves, braid their hair and speak their words'.

The people of the region, the centre of which was Kanauj, were the ornaments of the land. They liked elegant and new literary works. The composition of its poets was well constructed and their recitation was sweet like honey.

The entire country possessed the unity of cul-

ture and languages closely allied with Sanskrit were understood by the people. Sanskrit, however, was the language of the cultured and as such was spoken and understood by the educated throughout the country.

Vandalism has destroyed the monuments of Bhoja's greatness. Until a few years ago, he was quite unknown to Indian history. Further research is certain to establish what has already been foreshadowed by the evidence available at present that Bhoja was one of the greatest of the conquerors and empire-builders of any age.

The Imperial Gūrjaras fostered culture and learning according to the lofty tradition of the Indian kings. Some of the later *Purāṇas* were composed between the eighth and the ninth century. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* provided the background for the outlook of the whole people. The schools of ascetics, *tapodhanakulas*, and of the teachers were the pillars of sovereignty. The author of the Gwalior-praśasti himself came from a family of learned men who practised austerities. He also claims to 'inner discrimination, as he has been following the traditions of great *munis*'. The emperors were the *Dharmatrātās*, the defenders of the moral and social order for which *dharma* stood.

It was an age of religious and cultural resurgence; of expansive Śaivism; of sweeping movements of intellect and faith of which Śaṅkarāchārya had been the leader. The integrating power of the *Dharmaśāstras* was also in full operation.

The Pratīhāra Emperors were devout worshippers of Vishṇu. Some of them, like Mihira Bhoja, worshipped Bhagvatī as their guardian deity. Unlike

Śrī Harsha they founded and ruled over an empire which lasted for over 150 years. The secret of their success lay in the fact that they were of the people and did not stand away from their hopes, aspirations and traditions. Like the Gupta Emperors, they secured the co-operation of the Brāhmaṇas, who through their intellectual power and religious and social influence, could maintain a sense of identity between the dominant minorities and the people.

The hierarchs of Gūrjaradeśa, with the Emperors at their head, maintained the tradition of being the protectors of *dharma*. They did not treat the old social order with contempt, nor did they deprive it of its inherent tenacity by imposing unfamiliar lines of development; in the result, they strengthened it, while making it no less dynamic. They accepted Sanskrit as the greatest force working for cultural homogeneity. In this way, while they led the country to progress, they drew upon the social and spiritual energy of the people.

Chapter VII

The Rise of the Second Empire

At the time of Mahendrapāla's death, the empire of Gūrjaradeśa was the strongest power in India. Old Kṛishṇa II was still on the throne of Mānyakheṭa. The Pāla empire had disintegrated.

In A.D. 910 Mahendrapāla was succeeded by his son, Bhoja II, whose mother was Dehanāgā Devī. Mahipāla, the other son of Mahīdevī or Mahādevī, was a rival claimant to the imperial throne, and a war of succession followed.

It was at this stage that Kokkaladeva of Chedi, a highly ambitious feudatory of Mihira Bhoja, came into prominence. His eighteen sons and many daughters were the tentacles with which this octopus entwined every important royal house in the country. One of his daughters was married to Kṛishṇa II (A.D. 880-915), the successor of emperor Amoghavarsha. Jagatuṅga, son of Kṛishṇa II and father of his successor, the Emperor Indra III, married his grand-daughter. It is likely that another of his daughters was married to Vighrahapāla, king of Bengal. The Emperor, Bhoja II, himself may have been related to Kokkala by marriage and was able to claim support from him in his bid for the throne.

In the war of succession, however, Gūrjaradeśa, stood solidly behind Mahīpāla. The Chahamānas, the Guhilots, the Paramāras and the Chālukyas were equally loyal to him. So also was Harshadeva, the Chandella king, who was one of the most powerful hierarchs of the empire.[1] Those close to the throne evidently resented the intervention of a friend of the Rāshṭrakūṭa enemy in the affairs of the homeland and Mahīpāla ultimately emerged victorious from the fratricidal war. His accession may be placed in A.D. 913.

There has been considerable difficulty in linking up the epigraphic records relating to Mahīpāla's reign, largely because of the various names by which he was known. It is now fairly established that Kshitipāla, Vināyakapāla and Heramhapāla all indicate Mahīpāla.[2]

Kṛishṇa II, emperor of Karnataka, was not slow to take advantage of the war of succession. He regained Lāṭa, which had been lost to his dynasty since

A.D. 888.[3] The Kapadvanj grant of Kṛishṇa II, dated A.D. 910, shows that Prachaṇḍa, of the Brahmāvaloka house, was the military governor of Kheṭaka-maṇḍala, of which modern Kaira appears to be the northern outpost.[4] In A.D. 915 Kṛishṇa's successor, Indra III, granted villages in the Navsari district to some Kanarese Brāhmaṇas.[5] It was perhaps during this period that the Paramāras, who had transferred their allegiance to the emperors of Karnaṭaka, came to be allied with them by marriage.

Indra III came to the throne of Karnaṭaka in February, 915 He was the son of Jagatuṅga, son of Kṛishṇa II (A.D. 880-915), and, as already stated, had married the grand-daughter of Kokkala of Chedi. Kokkala, who had failed to place his protégé, Bhoja II, on the throne of Gūrjaradeśa, was now the inveterate enemy of Mahīpāla: and he, or possibly his son, induced Indra III to invade Gūrjaradeśa immediately upon his coming to the throne.

Indra was an impetuous young man. He is stated to have performed great exploits and even before his accession, to have conquered a king named Upendra.[6] This Upendra, however, cannot possibly be identified with Kṛishṇarāja *alias* Upendra, for the founder of the line of the Paramāras cannot be placed so late as A.D. 914.

It is probable that, with the help of the ruler of Chedi, Indra III crossed the Narmadā. Swift as lightning, he passed through Lāṭa and west Mālava, both of which were under his feudatories, and captured Ujjayini.[7] Mahīpāla was taken by surprise. The imperial authority in those parts of Gūrjaradeśa was not yet firmly established; the breach between the principal feudatories had not been filled

up; in consequence, the army of Mahīpāla met with a crushing defeat.

The conqueror then crossed the Yamunā and occupied Kanauj. The word 'uprooted'—*unmulita*—used in the inscription, is an exaggeration. Mahīpāla, who had withdrawn to the north, was, however, pursued by a general named Narasiṁha. The Karnataka poet Pampa has described this invasion in his *Vikramārjunavijaya* or *Pampa-bhārata*. "Narasiṁha snatched the godess of victory from the Gurjara king who had feebly held her, though desirous of keeping her. Struck as if by thunderbolt, Mahīpāla fled, foodless, restless, unable to rally his forces!" Then Narasiṁha bathed his horses at the junction of the Gaṅgā."

The half told story can easily be reconstructed. Kanauj was occupied by the enemy forces late in A.D. 916, but, even according to the Rāshṭrakūṭa records, Mahīpāla himself was neither captured nor reduced to vassalage. Soon after this, Indra III suddenly died, whereafter his army withdrew precipitately.

In A.D. 917, Amoghavarsha II ascended the throne of Mānyakheṭa and sought solace in the arms of fair women.[9] In the same year, Mahīpāla regained Kanauj[10] and his writ ran over the loyal parts of Gūrjaradeśa. The Guhila prince Bhaṭṭa, under the orders of Mahīpāla, defeated the armies of the south and re-captured Dhāra.[11]

The inference is clear. In a decisive engagement, Mahīpāla worsted the army of Karnataka. Indra was slain and his army withdrew as rapidly as it had advanced. Bhāmana, a successor of Guṇāmbodhideva, a feudatory of Mihira Bhoja, took part in

the campaign. In A.D. 914 Dharaṇivarāha of the Chāpa-vaṁśa was Mahīpāla's feudatory in Wadhwan, so was Bāṭavarman in Saurāshṭra,[12] and it may be presumed that they took part in the war also.

Mahīpāla soon consolidated the empire and, by A.D. 917, it included the district of Fatehpur, Vārāṇsi-vishaya and Gwalior.[13]

Mahipāla followed up his victories by an orthodox *digvijaya*. Rājaśekhara, the Poet Laureate of Mahīpāla, has given us an eulogistic account of the conquests of this 'pearl-jewel of Raghu's race'.

His play, *Bāla-bhārata* or *Prachaṇḍa-pāṇḍava*, was staged before a distinguished gathering at Kanauj, which included the emperor himself. The poet says:

"In the family of Raghu, there was born the glorious Mahipāladeva, who lowered the heads of the Muralas; who destroyed the Mekalas; who drove the Kaliṅgas before him in war, who ruined the sports of the king of Keralas; who conquered the Kulūtas in battle; who destroyed the Kuntalas as if with an axe; who forcibly seized the royalty of the Ramaṭhas."[14]

The Kuntalas were the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa and the statement that they were 'destroyed as if with an axe', proves the decisiveness of the victory. It is not possible that Mahīpāla penetrated as far south as Murala and Kerala; more likely, he defeated their kings, who were in alliance with the Rāshṭrakūṭas. This is, perhaps, why he may have been called *Kāñchikanyāla*. The Ramaṭhas and Kulūtas were peoples of the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, while Kaliṅga was Orissa; and it is possible that Mahipāla conquered them while he was subduing rebellion in

his own dominions. Mahipāla was thus the *Mahārājādhirāja* of Āryāvarta.

In spite of Mahipāla's victory over the Karnataka forces, Kanauj lost its former hold upon the imperial dominions. Many of the feudatories were restive; several had become independent.

In A.D. 917, Rashṭrakūṭa Indra III was succeeded by his eldest son, Amoghavarsha II. He in his turn was succeeded by his brother, Govinda IV, a young man of twenty. 'He was', says the inscription, 'the very essence of life, and its joy.' 'He was in bondage to fair women's eyes' and 'took to the ways of vice.'[16] A record of A.D. 930 leads us to infer that Govinda IV held part of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley, but there is no other evidence to support such a statement. On the contrary, in A.D. 931, an important part of that valley was under Vināyakapāla i.e. Mahipala.[17]

In A.D. 930 Govinda IV was in occupation of Kambhat, in modern Gujarat and by A.D. 935 the eastern provinces of the empire (in modern Bihar) had been recovered by the Pālas of Bengal.[18] Some time between A.D. 914 and 940, moreover, Lāta, south of the Mahī, and west Mālava were both lost to the empire by the defection of the Paramāra feudatory to the enemy.

The empire of Govinda IV was breaking up and soon he was forced to abdicate. In c. A.D. 935, with the aid of Kokkala's son, Yuvarāja I, Amoghavarsha III came to the throne. It has been suggested that in his play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, Rājaśekhara refers to the fact that Amoghavarsha was in exile and was restored to his throne on the banks of the Payoshṇi by Yuvarāja I, king of Chedi. Amoghavarsha's reign,

however, was short, for he died in c. A.D. 940 and was succeeded by Kṛishṇa III.

The Chedi king pursued his father's old policy of inciting the emperor of Karnataka to invade Gūrjaradeśa. Kṛishṇa in utter disregard of the fact that between A.D. 917 and 940 the power of Rāshṭrakūṭas had been steadily on the wane, marched northward, captured Chitod and over-ran Mālava and Gūrjaratrā. He also pushed northwards and occupied Kālañjara. It is doubtful whether these raids were undertaken by Kṛishṇa III before he came to the throne in A.D. 940. A Kanarese *praśasti*, found in Baghelkhand Agency, corroborates the Rāshṭrakūṭa panegyrist; the titles given to him indicate that there were two successive raids.[1]

These raids had fateful results. Both the Chālukyas of Saurāshṭra and the Chāpas of Wadhwan disappeared. Mūlarāja, son of Chaulukya Rāji, who would appear to have been ruling somewhere in Gūrjaratrā, captured Anahilavāḍa, and occupied Śārasvata-maṇḍala. Naddūla, its capital, was captured by Lakshmaṇa, son of Chāhamāna Vākpatirāja of Śākambhari, who founded a dynasty. As the viceroy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa conqueror, Paramāra Siyaka II, or his father, occupied the whole of Gujarat, south of the Sarasvati, and perhaps even Saurāshṭra. These simultaneous changes can only be attributed to the campaign of Kṛishṇa III.

By the middle of the 10th century, the disintegration of the Pratīhāra empire was all but complete. Many dynasties—some of them old, others new—rose to independent power in northern India. Of these, the Chāhamānas, the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras were in occupation of parts of Gūrjaradeśa. Un-

fortunately, none of them rose immediately to a position of unquestioned supremacy and their ceaseless internecine struggles led to the formation of small kingdoms. Amongst them the Paramāras were the first to attain a position of an all-India supremacy. The homogeneity of Gūrjaradeśa was broken up.

(ii)

Paramāra Sīyaka

By about the end of the ninth century, the Paramāras, who claimed Brahmanical descent, were carving their way into prominence in Gurjaradeśa. The origin of their family and the achievements of the early founders of its fortunes have already been dealt with. During the reigns of Mihira Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, they were feudatories of the empire. By A.D. 850 or so, the senior branch was ruling over Gujarat south of Anartapura and the junior one over Dongarpur and Vansvada.

Sīyaka I, the third ruler of the line, might possibly have won his spurs in the long drawn out war between the Rashṭrakūṭa emperors and the Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers of Lāṭa, possibly as a Pratihāra supporter and in about A.D. 860, he appears to have married a daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[20]

The indication of this marriage occurs in the Harsola grant of Sīyaka II, which claims that Vākpatirāja I was descended from the emperor Amoghavarsha.[20] The words '*tasmin kule*', used for Vākpati and the fact that no remote ancestor is mentioned in the grant, indicate that the earlier members of the family were either hostile to the Rāshṭrakūṭas or were too insignificant to be mentioned.

The birth of Vākpati I cannot be placed later

than A.D. 890, and may be much earlier. The marriage of Siyaka I with the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family must, therefore, be placed about the time of Mihira Bhoja's death in A.D. 888. It is quite clear that Vākpati I was not descended from Amoghavarsha in the male line; if he had been so descended, the grant would have advanced a much stronger claim than that which is indicated by the words *'tasmin kule'*.

Siyaka I was succeeded by his son, Vākpati I, who is described as 'a sun for the water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti.' His military valour is compared to that of Indra and his armies are said to have drunk the waters of the Gaṅgā and the ocean.[21] It clearly established that Vākpati was connected with Mālava as a conqueror and that he took part in invading the Gangetic valley.

If, therefore, Vākpati had been a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, he would only have occupied Avanti during the time of Indra III in A.D. 915, for Mahīpāla re-acquired his lost dominion soon after.[22] The other possible explanation is that, though allied to the family of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Vākpati I was still a feudatory of Mahendarpāla and accompanied the imperial army in its campaign in Bengal. In the latter event, the Paramāras may be taken to have changed sides during the raids of Indra III.

Vākpati was succeeded by his son, Vairisiṁha II, who was also known as Vajraṭasvāmī. It is during his reign that Dhārā is mentioned for the first time in connection with the Paramāras.[23] Vairisiṁha must have been in alliance with Kṛishṇa III when he invaded the north in A.D. 940 and occupied Dhārā. But immediately after A.D. 940, it seems to have been re-

occupied by Mahīpāla, the Pratīhāra emperor, and the Paramāra chiefs continued to rule over only that part of Gujarat which lay south of the Sabarmati. It is just possible that western Mālava may have been included in their dominion but not east Mālava.

In A.D. 949 we find Siyaka II as a feudatory of the Rashṭrakuṭa emperors. At the same time, he is referred to, in the Harsola grant, as *Mahārājādhirāja-pati* and *Mahāmāṇḍalika-chuḍāmaṇi*, epithets showing him as enjoying a status superior to an ordinary feudatory. He was not the ruler of east Mālava; he was also styled 'Nṛipa', a king, and bore the same emblem of *garuḍa* as did his masters. His viceroyalty, therefore, must have included a considerable part of modern Gujarat. At the time of the grant, he was in his camp on the banks of the river Mahī and the ruler of Kheṭaka-mandala a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, was his subordinate. The village that he gave in grant was situated in Mudasa in the modern *tāluka* of Prantij in the Ahmedabad district.

Siyaka had already vanquished the king of the Huns, who had ruled somewhere to the north-west of Mālava. According to the *Navasāhasāṅka-charita*, having slaughtered the Hun king, Siyaka turned his palaces into dwelling places for widows.[24] The Huns, however, were not exterminated for Vākpati Muñja had also to wage a war against them.

It is possible that Siyaka's victory over the Huns might have brought him into conflict with the Chandellas whose dominion extended in A.D. 954 as far as Bhilsa. But he must have met with a reverse, for the Chandella Yaśovarman is described in the Khajuraho inscription as 'the god of death to the Mālavas'.[25] The *Navasāhasāṅka-charita* records success of Siyaka

over the lord of Rudrapati,[26] who may be identified with the Chālukya Tailappa II, or his predecessor. Rudrapati has not been identified so far, but it was certainly Raṭṭapadi, 'the seven and a half lakh country' referred to in the inscriptions of Rājendra, the Chola king. It is, therefore, clear that at some stage of Siyaka's career, as a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor, and before he had sacked Mānyakheṭa, he must have invaded Rudrapati or Raṭṭapadi, the ancestral territory of the Western Chālukyas, and have defeated its ruler.

It is difficult to say where the capital of Siyaka II was at this time; but it is certain that it was not Ujjayinī, nor Dhārā, nor Kheṭaka. Lāṭa is most likely to have been under his sway.

Fortunately for Siyaka II, the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire was crumbling to pieces in the south and the Pratīhara fast disintegrating in the north. The invasion of the north in c. A.D. 940 had cost Kṛishṇa III dear. The rulers of the south were up in arms against him; and in A.D. 960, taking advantage of his preoccupation, Siyaka consolidated his power in the north by adding eastern Mālava to his dominion.

Between A.D. 965 and 968, Kṛishṇa III sent an army to the north and Marasiṁha, one of his generals, acquired the reputation of having conquered the northern region and assumed the title of the 'supreme lord of Gūrjara.' Two of his inscriptions—one of A.D. 965 and another of A.D. 968—have described this general's subordinates as *Ujjayini-bhujaṅga*, the destroyers of Ujjayinī.

The view of Dr. Altekar accepted in the last edition of the present work, that this denotes a con-

flict between Mārasiṁha and Siyaka requires revision.[27] It is probable that the word *Gūrjarādhirāja-syā*, as used in the inscription of Mārasiṁha,[28] refers to the conquest of the feeble Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj. At no time up to the death of Mahīpāla was another ruler referred to as the Gūrjara. In A.D. 954 the inscription of Chandella Yaśovarman makes a clear distinction between Siyaka and the Pratihāra emperor,[29] by referring to them as the king of Mālava and the Gūrjara respectively. It is, therefore, likely that the epithet 'Supreme lord of Gūrjara' might have been more aptly used to describe the conquest over the Pratihāra emperor rather than over Siyaka. If this view is correct, the withdrawal of the army of the Rāshṭrakūṭas must have left Siyaka much stronger.

Kṛishṇa III died in A.D. 968 and was succeeded by his younger brother, Khoṭṭiga. Two years later, Siyaka II, having consolidated his strength, marched on Mānyakheṭa. Siyaka's cousin, Kaṅka of the Vāgaḍa line, over-powered the Kanarese army in the first battle of the campaign at Kālighāṭa on the banks of the Narmadā.[30]

In A.D. 972 Siyaka II captured Mānyakheṭa and sacked the city. This event is referred to by Dhanapāla in his *Paiyālachchhi* which he wrote at the court of Siyaka II at Dhārā.[31] The conqueror returned to his capital flushed with victory.

Siyaka was, therefore, the first independent ruler of Gujarat after the Maitrakas, to found a strong power. His position in Gujarat only became precarious when Tailappa II, the Western Chālukya, conquered Lāṭa and appointed a governor there. It is possible that Tailappa II might have de-

feated Siyaka, for Padmagupta states that in the latter part of his reign, Siyaka 'clothed himself in the grass-robe of a royal sage', and devoted himself exclusively to the practice of austerity.[12]

This abdication must have taken place in or before A.D. 973, for, the earliest known date of his son, Vākpati Muñja is A.D. 974.

iii

Disintegration of the First Empire

It had become easy enough for Siyaka II to found a powerful state in the central region which comprised Gujarat and Mālava alone, because the empire of the north, during the reign of Mahīpāla had, disintegrated. Mahīpāla was succeeded by Mahendrapāla II, whose short reign can be placed between A.D. 940 and 948. One of the Pratabgarh stone inscriptions which opens with the date A.D. 943 and closes with that of A.D. 946, records that it was issued from Mahodaya and refers to the reigning emperor as Mahendrapāla II, son of Vināyakapāla and of his queen Prasādhanādevi.[13] A second grant relates to a temple of the Sun which was built by Indrarāja, the Chāhamāna feudatory of Mahendrapāla II, and refers to Mādhava, son of Damodara, as the military governor of Ujjayini. The third is a grant of a field to the same temple by Bhartṛipaṭṭa, who was also a *sāmanta* of the emperor. These inscriptions leave no doubt that in A.D. 946 the Gūrjara emperor held not only the region round Kanauj, including Kāśi, his dominions comprised considerable portions of modern Mālava and Rajputana.

But the imperial Gūrjaradeśa lay mauled and

bleeding. The empire of the south was tottering to a fall. The country was prostrate and defenceless.

The descendants of Mihira Bhoja had little of Gūrjaradeśa left in their hands, for every one of the feudatories was seeking greater power for himself at the cost of his suzerain.

When Mahendrapāla II was succeeded by Devapāla in c. A.D. 948, he still had claims to be called an emperor. Between A.D. 955 and 957 there appear to have been no less than three rulers. Devapāla's successor, Vijayapāla, was ruling about A.D. 960 and the Guhilots and the Chandellas were still regarded as the feudatories of the emperors of Kanauj.

It is probable that the succession was as shown in the following table[34]:—

Prasādhanādevī	m	Mahīpāla	c. 910-943
Mahendrapāla II (A.D. 945-46)		Devapāla (A.D. 948-49)	Vijayapāla (A.D. 960)
Vināyakapāla II. (A.D. 953-54)		Mahīpāla II (A.D. 954-56)	Rājyapāla (A.D. 1018)

The Chandellas rose rapidly to prominence. The Khajuraho inscription describes Yaśovarman Chandella as 'a scorching fire to the Gūrjaras', that is, to the Pratihāras. It further states that he easily conquered the fort of Kālañjara.[35] As Krishna III also boasts of having captured the same fort from the Gūrjaras, it may be presumed that while Krishna III was busy in the south, Yaśovarman was employed in capturing it from the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Yaśovarman is next found forcing Devapāla to surrender a famous image of Vaikuṇṭha which the Pratihāra emperor had

received from Śāhi, the king of Kira,[36] in exchange for a body of elephants and horses. This is a piece of indirect evidence which goes to show that the Śāhi kings had, in fact, obtained a victory over Kanauj, but had paid homage to its ruler as a traditional *chakravartī*.

Under Yaśovarman's son and successor, Dhaṅga (A.D. 954-1008), the imperial authority of the Pratihāras faded into the background while the power and prestige of the Chandellas increased. Dhaṅga's kingdom is said to have extended from the river Yamunā in the north to the frontiers of the Chedi kingdom in the south, and from Kālañjara in the east or north-east to Gwalior in the north-west.[37] By his occupation of Gwalior before A.D. 954, Dhaṅga obtained a foothold in the very heart of Gūrjaradeśa only to lose the fort soon after to the Kachchhapaghātas.[38] The Pratihāras had, therefore, now lost three of their most important and traditionally famous forts: Chitod, Kālañjara and Gwalior. A later Chandella inscription claims that Dhaṅga won the empire as a result of defeating the Kānyakubja king.[39] This, as has been shown, is partly true, but he probably acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Pratihāra emperor. The victory of the southern army led by Mārasiṁha against the Pratihāras had already been noted. A little later, the Kachchhapaghātas had established themselves in the territory around Gwalior which passed to them from Dhaṅga before A.D. 977. At about the same time the Kachchhapaghāta king Vajradāmana inflicted a crushing defeat upon the ruler of Kanauj.[40]

In the west, the kingdom of Bhatinda gradually waxed in power at the expense of the Pratihāras, and

ultimately extended its length from Sirhind to Lamghan and its breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Multan.[41]

In northern Rajasthan, too, the imperial authority became no more than nominal. In A.D. 969, *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*, Mathanadeva, son of Savaṭa of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra lineage *(Gūrjara-Pratīhārānvayaḥ)* adopts the imperial titles though in the same inscription he is represented as a feudatory of Vijayapāla. It was evidently not possible to ignore the traditional suzerainty of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla.[42]

With the collapse of both the empires, the Kalachuris of Ḍāhala, who had always taken advantage of the Pratihāra-Rāshṭrakūṭa struggle, became very powerful. The Chedi king Lakshmaṇarāja I is said to have conquered, amongst others, the kings of Gūrjara, which can only mean the Pratihāras.[43]

It is probable the Guhilots asserted their independence also. One of them, *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhartṛipaṭṭa (A.D. 943) is known to have married a Rashṭrakūṭa princess.[44] The marriage of a Pratihāra feudatory with a daughter of their greatest enemy, indicates an alliance hostile to the Pratihāras.[45]

By A.D. 950, the Chāhamānas of Sākambharī had become practically independent, and the emperor, the *Raghukula-chakravartī*, was now so weak as to have visited Chāhamāna Siṁharāja in order to seek a favour.[46]

When the unfortunate Rājyapāla came to the throne in about A.D. 1018, the empire was no more than a small kingdom which, although it included Mathurā, was confined almost entirely to the east of the Yamuna. In the south, the Chandellas had gra-

dually encroached upon its domains as far as the Fatehpur district. The Imperial Pratīhāras, once the masters of Northern India, who had provided a bulwark against the Arab invasion, were but shadows of their former glory.

In these chaotic conditions the brilliant Vākpati Muñja was left free to pursue a meteoric career of swift conquests.

(iii)

Vākpati Muñja the Paramāra

Muñja, or Vākpati II, is one of the most romantic figures in history, for both fact and fiction have surrounded him with an attractiveness given to few kings. Many were the names and epithets by which he was known. Besides Muñja, he was called Vakpati and Utpalarāja, and he assumed the epithets of the vanquished Rāshṭrakūṭa emperors Pṛithivivallabha, Śrivallabha and Amoghavarsha.[47]

There is a legend preserved in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that he was not the son of Siyaka II, but a foundling discovered in a thicket of *muñja* grass from which he derived his name,[48] but the legend may be dismissed as baseless.

With the accession of Muñja a new era opened for Gūrjaradeśa. By his military genius he carried forward his father's policy of extending and consolidating his empire in the north, while keeping at bay the Western Chālukya, Taitappa II. Muñja was bent on reviving the power of imperial Gūrjaradeśa but the Western Chālukyas, who had succeeded the Rāshṭrakūṭas, were equally determined not to let him grow too strong.

Though Muñja began his career with outstanding

success, he was unable to lay the foundations of stable power. Unfortunately for him, the Paramāras had succeeded to that part of Pratihāra empire, which, for several centuries, had formed a bone of contention between the north and south, in consequence they could only remain strong when both the north and the south were weak. When, therefore, the south, under the Western Chalukyas, made repeated attempts to conquer Malava, the position of the Paramāras became precarious.

Siyaka had shifted his coplital to Dhārā. It was further away from south Gujarat into which the Nasik-Bulsar route opened, and through which the south could pour its armies into the north. But with the break up of the Pratihāra empire, Mālava came to be surrounded by its erstwhile feudatories, each struggling to enlarge his territories at the expense of others.

It was therefore impossible for the Paramāras to hold South Gujarat, the battleground between the north and the south, for long. The viceroys of the Chālukyas continued to hold it, though within limited territories.

Vākpati Muñja was over confident and at one time or the other invaded all his neighbouring dominions. Nor can it be said that those who were not his neighbours were his allies, for, when his end drew near, not a single supporter came to his rescue. He and his illustrious nephew had for their friends, poets and men of letters, who have kept their memory alive, but were of no help when they met their tragic ends.

By now the Kalachuri kings of Chedi, in alliance with Tailappa II, had waxed very powerful. Muñja first turned his attention to Chedi, over which Yuva-

rāja II (A.D. 975-1000), the son of Lakshmaṇa, was ruling, defeated him, over-ran his country, and captured his capital, Tripurī. This statement of the Udayapur-praśasti is corroborated by the Kauthem grant of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya V, in which it is stated that Utpala destroyed the power of the Chaidyas, that is, the people of Chedi.[49]

Muñja then turned north-west and fell on the Guhilots of Mewad, who were probably at that time being governed by king Śaktikumāra. Muñja destroyed the Guhilot elephant forces, put the king to rout and plundered Aghāṭa, the capital of Mewad. The Guhilot king took shelter with the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍī.[50]

Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the line of the Chāhamānas of Nadduta, was succeeded by Sobhita, who extended his kingdom up to Mount Abu. Sobhita was succeeded by his son, Balirāja.

Muñja defeated Balirāja, and, after annexing the Mount Abu region, extended his conquest as far as Kiradu. His fame, sang Padmagupta, 'caused the pearls in the necklaces worn by the women of Marwad to dance.' This is corroborated by the Kauthem grant of Chālukya Vikramāditya V, which records that, 'at the approach of Utpala, the people of Marwad trembled.'[51]

This newly conquered territory was divided amongst the Paramāra princes. Muñja appointed his eldest son, Araṇyarāja to rule over the Abu region,[52] his other son, Chandana, over Jhalor[53] and his nephew Dusala to govern Bhillamāla.[54] Dusala's authority extended in the west up to Balmer.

Meanwhile, Balirāja was still holding out in Naddūla; so Muñja attacked the Chāhamāna capital.

Balirāja successfully resisted the attack. The Sunda hill inscription tells us that he dispersed the army of Muñja.[55]

The Kauthem grant tells us that Utpala, that is Muñja, destroyed the Huns.[56] It is not possible to identify the Hun country which, as has been stated, must have been in the north-west of Rajasthan.

Padmagupta, who was the Paramāra court-poet, describes the condition of a defeated Gūrjara king in these words: "He neither eats food nor drinks. He keeps not the company of women. He sleeps on sand, abjures worldly joys, endures the burning sun. Oh! lion of Mālava, it seems to me that this Gūrjara king is doing penance in the forests of Marwad, anxious to obtain an atom of the *prasāda*, which is the dust of your feet. The foolish queen of Gūrjara", continues Padmagupta, "as she wanders terror-struck in the forest, occasionally glances at her husband's sword to find its edge; often in the past had she heard the bards sing, 'Mighty king! the armies of your foes, have been in the battle eddied by the edge (torrent) of your sword.'"[57]

This statement is, to some extent, corroborated by the Hastikuṇḍī inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhavala, where it is stated that after the Gūrjara king had been destroyed *(Gūrjareśe vinashṭe)* Muñja destroyed Āghāṭa whose soldiers took shelter with Dhavala. The inscription further mentions that one Dharaṇīvarāha, when chased by Mūlarāja, also took shelter with the same Dhavala.[58]

Mūlarāja, the Chaulukya king of Aṇahilavāḍa, was identified in the first edition[59] of this work as the Gūrjara king defeated by Muñja. It followed

that Mūlarāja was, for some time, in serious plight and that he was forced in the end to make peace with the conqueror.

But on a full consideration of all the evidence, it would appear that the word *Gūrjarabhūmipāla* refers not to Mūlarāja but to the Pratihara Vijayapāla, (if the old title continued to be appended) or to some other ruler of Gūrjaratrā-bhūmi of which Narayana, now in Rajasthan near Jaipur, was the capital.

Muñja's empire included at this time not only many parts of modern Gujarat, but Chedi, Mālava, Mewad, Marwad, the Abu region, Jhalor and Lāṭa. He was building his power on the fabric of old Gūrjaradeśa; but his base was Mālava.

Madhyadeśa was now divided into two parts: the old Gūrjaradeśa and the eastern section over which the Chandellas and the Kalachuris held sway. Muñja conquered many parts of Gūrjaradeśa, but he could not attempt any further conquests in the north; Tailappa II, the Chālukya, was a constant menace. So Muñja next turned south and subdued Bārappa, who held Lāta for the Chālukyas.

According to Merutuṅga, Muñja led his army across the Narmadā six times and inflicted defeat after defeat upon Tailappa. In one of these wars, he also seems to have vanquished the Keralas and the Cholas,[60] although he himself could not possibly have gone to those distant regions. According to Halāyudha, Muñja defeated the king of Champā.[61]

Then came the crowning episode in a most romantic career. This was described in a lost poem called *Muñjavāsa* in *Apabhraṁśa*, which was composed soon after Muñja's death. Hemachandra has quoted two verses from it. Merutuṅga has left us some more,

and also used it as the base of Muñja-prabandha, in his *Prabhandhachintāmaṇi*. In the eleventh century, this was, evidently, a popular poem descriptive of the adventures of Muñja which may be summarised as follows:—

Muñja, gay lover and indomitable conqueror, travels every night twelve *yojanas* to meet a lady-love. Later, his passion cools down, and she addresses him thus:

"Muñja, the bond of love is already loose. Fool, do you not know that the thunders of *Ashādha* are already heard, and soon the roads will be unfit (for your dromedary to travel)?.....

"As you leave my arms, so do I leave yours. Who is at fault? But if you leave my heart, I shall know that Muñja is wroth with me."

"The water-maiden gives up life by kissing her own hand—the hand which drank the crystal-clear water in which the beloved Muñja was reflected."

Muñja carries on a life-long war with King Taila-ppa of Karnataka. Against the advice of his minister, Rudrāditya, he crosses the Godavari, is defeated and captured by Tailappa. Tailappa's sister Mṛiṇālavati, a widow, falls in love with Muñja. While both are looking in a mirror, the elderly widow bewails her grey hair.

Muñja says, "Mṛiṇālavati! do not weep over departed youth. Sugar candy, even if broken into thousand pieces, will taste sweet."

Efforts are being made by Muñja's friends to rescue him from the subterranean cell in which he is kept. Muñja insists on taking Mṛiṇālavatī with him. She, afraid of losing her lover if they go to Dhārā,

informs her brother about the plan, and it is frustrated by Tailappa.

"Women are clever at inventing amorous talks to please the king, but the person who confides in them comes to grief."

Tailappa forces Muñja to beg from door to door. The poet says:

"Why did you not die by fire or rope? Why did you not become a heap of ashes? To-day, Muñja, tied to a string, is taken from house to house like a dancing monkey."

While begging, Muñja calls upon the spirit of his departed minister who had advised him against crossing the Godavari.

"Rudrāditya, now in heaven! Unattended, I stand, deprived of my elephants, chariots, horses and men. Call me to you: I stand with my face towards you."

A haughty damsel contemptuously gives him whey to drink in a cup made of dry leaves. Muñja says:

"Simple-hearted damsel! Do not turn away in pride, seeing me with a cup of leaves in my hand. Muñja was once the master of fourteen hundred and seventy-six elephants, and now he has lost them all."

Mṛiṇālavatī offers alms to Muñja.

Muñja says, "Mṛiṇālavatī, if wisdom after the event is the same as before it, no one would be overcome by calamity."

Mṛiṇālavatī replies:

"When luck turned, even the ten-headed king (Rāvaṇa), the master of the seas and the lord of the

forts of Laṅkā, was destroyed. Therefore, Muñja, do not grieve."

Ultimately, Muñja meets his death under the feet of Tailappa's elephant.[62]

The language of this poem approximates to the earliest specimens of Old Gujarati found in the works of the twelfth century.

Muñja was a hero of song and fiction. The dramatic end of the gallant conqueror described by the *Muñjarāsa* is based on truth. Rudrāditya was his minister, and all authorities agree that he was killed by Tailappa II. His death occurred between A.D. 995 and 997, that is to say, between the date of Amitagati's *Subhāsita-ratna-sandoha* (A.D. 993-94) and Tailappa's death in A.D. 997-98.[63] There can be no doubt that, except in this last war, Muñja always got the better of Tailappa.

Padmagupta writes of him:

"We worship Lord Vākpati; for he is the root
From which that heavenly creeper, Sarasvati, springs.
Only by his grace do we tread the path
Which mighty poets trode before us."

And thus does the poet bid his master farewell:

"Thou, source of joys voluptuous,
Thou crest-jewel of kings,
Home of nectar which is gentility
Ocean of wit, Oh Lord! Thou might of Ujjayini!
Thou god of love to maidens fair and brother unto the righteous
Inspirer of noble arts. Where art thou?
Wherever thou art, wait: I am coming."[64]

Muñja was not merely a conqueror and a gay lover. He was a poet and a patron of poets. He cultivated eloquence, high poetry and logic. He knew the *Śāstras* well.[65] His verses are quoted in works on poetry. Dhanika, in his commentary on *Daśarūpaka*, quotes two verses, the authorship of which he ascribes in one place to Vākpatirāja, and in the other to Muñja. The Kashmiri poet Kshemendra, in his books *Suvṛittatilaka*, *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Auchityavichāracharchā*, quotes three different stanzas composed by Utpalarāja.[66]

Among the poets who lived in his court were Padmagupta or Parimala, author of the *Navasāhasāṅka-charita;* Dhanañjaya, author of *Daśarūpaka*, a treatise on dramaturgy, and his brother Dhanika, who wrote commentaries on the last-named work styled *Daśarūpāvaloka* and *Kāvyanirṇaya;* Halāyudha, who wrote a commentary on Piṅgala's work on metrics and Dhanapāla, who was the author of *Paiyālachchhi* and *Tilakamañjarī* and Amitagati, author of *Subhāṣitaratna-sandoha*. Ujjayinī attracted the best talents from Kanauj, Kāśi, and other centres of learning.

Muñja was a great builder. When he first made Dhārā his capital, he beautified it with many tanks, one of which is still called *Muñjasāgara*. He built temples and bathing places at Ujjayini, at Maheshwar on the Narmada, at Onkar-mandhata, and at Dharampur. A town, now in Gujarat, known as Muñjapura, was also founded by him.

Muñja, therefore, was the greatest upholder of the imperial tradition of Gūrjaradeśa after Mahīpāla. On his death the poet truly sang:

He is dead; – now Lakshmi will return to Govinda;
Virasri will hie back to the god of war;
But now that Muñja is no more,
Sarasvati alone will have none to befriend her.

In this period, two personalities stand out above all others — Mihira Bhoja, god-like in majesty, and Muñja, the quivering flame of beauty.

(iv)

Mūlarāja

The epigraphic evidence clearly shows that for the next thirty years or so Mūlaraja sat quietly in Sarasvata-maṇḍala. He awaited an opportunity to enlarge his principality but was afraid to come into conflict with the daily growing power of the Paramāras in the south. His grants of A.D. 974 and of A.D. 987 only refer to two villages near Anahilavāḍa. On the other hand during this period, Śiyaka II, the Paramāra ruler, was forging ahead with his imperial schemes.

In A.D. 974, Śiyaka II was succeeded on the throne of Dhārā by his formidable son Muñja (A.D. 974-996) who, as has been pointed out, was a great conqueror. According to the view which some scholars take, though it is difficult of acceptance, Mūlarāja had not only to fly from him, but to seek an asylum with Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi. If this interpretation is not accepted, it must be presumed that Sārasvata-maṇḍala was too small to attract Muñja's hostility. Hemachandra states that the Paramāras of Abu, presumably sons of Muñja,

joined with Mūlarāja against Grāharipu of Saurāshṭra. This goes further to indicate that the relation between Mūlarāja and the early Paramāras was friendly.

Before the year 977, Chāmuṇḍa, who was Mūlarāja's son by his marriage with Mādhavī, daughter of a king Bhoja of the Chāhamāna family, had begun to share the burden of government with his father.[67] Both father and son organised Sārasvata-maṇḍala, set up a well-ordered administration and made adjustments with powerful neighbours. The most obstructive of them were Chāhamāna Vigrahārāja of Śākambhari (A.D. 973-997), Siyaka II and Muñja and Bārappa, Tailappa II's viceroy of Broach, all of whom were trying to extend their dominions.

The *Prabandhas*, naturally, have many stories to tell about the victories achieved by the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty and Hemachandra compares him with Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā. But Hemachandra's narrative, being the nearest in time, is the only one that can be relied on from the point of view of historical fact, though even so it is interspersed with myth and is inflated by the fulsome attitude of the court-poet.

According to the *Dvyāśraya*, Mūlarāja declared war against Grāharipu, the Abhīra king of Saurāshṭra and his ally Laksharāja of Kachchha. Laksharāja is Lakha Phoolani of the folk-tales.

Hemachandra gives us the story of Mūlarāja's conquest of Grāharipu in some detail. The king started on the campaign with due ceremony, surrounded by his feudatories and blessed by the Brāhmaṇas, to whom he gave generous donations. Men

coming from far and near set off with him. The women-folk of the royal palaces came out and made him offerings. The entire populace, meanwhile, was anxious to have a look at him. When the court was held, the Brāhmaṇas chanted the sacred recitals. The preceptor gave his blessings. As the musicians played, the sound of their instruments echoed in the heavens. At the auspicious moment found by the astrologers, the royal preceptor applied *tilaka* to Mūlarāja and wished him victory.

The feudatories started forth. After having saluted his guardian goddess, Mahālakshmi, Mūlarāja followed them on his elephant. Around him, the soldiers marched with drawn swords. Horsemen and chariots accompanied him. As the army proceeded, even the ascetics living in the forests came out of their retirement to watch it go by.

Ultimately, under orders from Mūlarāja, the army encamped on the banks of the Jambumāli. The royal camp, which was like the city of a Gandharva, or a city seen in dreams, was set up in a moment. The soldiers, tired after the march, rested beneath the trees on the banks of the river and watered their horses.

Shops for the soldiers were set up in tents. The women who had followed the troops refreshed themselves after the fatigue of the journey by washing their feet, rubbing ghī on their bodies and dressing in wet clothes. Some soldiers even began to hunt boars with the aid of dogs. Camelmen rested their camels. Some of the men cooked their food, others worshipped the gods.

Then Drunāsa, the messenger of Grāharipu, approached Mūlarāja to enquire the purpose of his visit and to praise his master's prowess. To him, Mūlarāja replied thus:

"You have spoken well and fearlessly; a resident of Saurāshṭra usually addicted to drink could not have spoken so. But Grāharipu is unjust: he harasses the pilgrims and kills the Brāhmaṇas. No one can even move freely in Saurāshṭra. He has destroyed the sacred Prabhāsa. He has raided peaceful towns. The son of a *mlechchha* woman, he has been hunting deer on the Girnar. How can I make friends with such a sinner? Go and tell him to come and fight with me."

Grāharipu made his army ready. His generals left their accomplished, beautiful and voluptuous women in the act of playing games, and joined up. The Bhillas also enlisted in the army. Lakshārāja of Kachchha came to the war, riding on a blue mare. Men with their eyes red with drink also joined; so did Sindhurāja. The women-folk of the soldiers followed the army on camels with provision for water.

The Brāhmaṇas living on the river Bilvaki warned Mūlarāja of the on-coming hosts of Grāharipu, whereupon his army prepared for battle. The Paramāra king of Abu was also fighting on his side. When the armies met, there was a deadly encounter, both suffered heavy losses, Grāharipu performed deeds of valour. Ultimately, Mūlarāja and Grāharipu came face to face, fought a duel, and the latter was taken prisoner. Laksha went to his rescue but was killed. Grāharipu was later released at the intercession of his wife.[88]

Prabandhachintāmaṇi states that Mūlarāja laid siege to Kapilakoṭa in Kachchha and killed Lākhā in battle.[69] But Hemachandra's version may be accepted as correct.

The ruler of Sindhu who assisted Grāharipu cannot have been the Arab ruler of Sind, for in that case he would have been called Turushka or Tājika; but it is possible that he was a Saindhava chief of Saurāshṭra.

After the victory, Mūlarāja went to Prabhāsa, worshipped god Somanātha and returned to Aṇahilavāḍa. Hemachandra describes Grāharipu as a *mlechchha* who lived at Vāmanasthali, ate beef, despised the Brāhmaṇas and killed pilgrims. According to him, Mūlarāja, though his friend, marched against Grāharipu and killed him, because the god Somanātha, in a dream, had asked him to do so.[70] This, of course, is a court-poet's way of putting things.

There is no doubt that in ancient literature the Abhīras, a hated people, who were believed to have lived at one time on the Indus, were called *mlechchhas*. They fought in the battle of Kurukshetra and the *Manu-smṛiti* considers them to have been descended from Brāhmaṇas by Ambhashṭha women. Whatever might have been their earlier status, prior to A.D. 100, the Abhīras lived in Western India without any brand of social inferiority. The author of the *Periplus*. (A.D. 100) found them already settled. Abhīra Rudrabhūti (A.D. 181) was a general of the Western Kshatrapas. Abhīra Īśvarasena ruled a principality near Nasik (A.D. 300). In Samudragupta's time (c. A.D. 350) the Abhīras lived in Rajputana and Mālava on the western frontier of the Gupta empire. According to the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, an

Ābhīra dynasty succeeded the Andhrabhṛityas. All these facts indicate that before A.D. 500 the Ābhīras occupied an important position in society in Western India and even further south. Neither their names nor their language appears to be foreign and, for all purposes, they were children of the soil.[71]

Grāharipu was an Ābhīra king and his supposed wicked ways had not come in the way of Mūlarāja at one time being his friend. If the Chālukyas of Saurāshṭra had lost their kingdom to the Ābhīras when the empire disintegrated in A.D. 940, Mūlarāja's decision to destroy the enemy of his family and annex his paternal domains to his kingdom can be understood.

In spite of the conflicting details of this conquest, Mūlarāja may be taken to have defeated the kings of Saurāshṭra and Kachchha and to have annexed parts of their territories.

The Ābhīras were settled in Gujarat for a very long time. And even before the rise of Valabhi (c. A.D. 509) their dialect, *Apabhraṁśa*, had been recognised as one of the literary languages of Gujarat. Patañjali (B.C. 150) regards *Apabhraṁśa* as a corruption of the normal Saṁskṛita. Bharata (A.D. 200) refers to *Deśabhāshā* and to *Ābhīrokti*, the idiom of the Ābhīras, the herdsmen. Were the Ābhīras foreigners? Was their language alien? But there is no evidence that this was so.

Somanātha, the most sacred shrine in India at that time, was under the care of Grāharipu. The Ābhīras were not recent settlers in Saurāshṭra and their chieftains might have been the feudatories of the Chālukya viceroys of the Pratīhāras.

Hemachandra also describes the war between Mūlarāja and the ruler of Lāṭa, named Dvārappa or

Bārappa. Bārappa, the viceroy of Taïlappa II, the Western Chālukya, is also referred to in most of the *Prabandhas*. His family line is given in the inscription of his descendants as follows:

Chaulukya
|
Nimbārka
|
Bārappa
|
Goggirāja
|
Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Kīrtirāja ((A.D. 1018)
|
Vatsarāja
|
Tribhuvanapāla (A.D. 1050)

"The extraordinarily valiant Mūlarāja", says Someśvara, in the *Kīrtikaumudī*, "killed Bārappa, the general of the ruler of Lāṭa, to whom retreat was unknown and took his elephants."[12] Merutuṅga also describes Bārappa as a general, and the inscriptions of his descendants Kīrtirāja and Tribhuvanapāla call him *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. Some time later, Bārappa's son, Goggirāja, regained independence, and Lāṭa continued to be ruled by his descendants for about fifty years, though with varying fortunes. Goggirāja is described as the great Vishṇu who rescued his land when it had been seized by powerful demon-like enemies.[13] More likely these enemies might have been Paramāras.

Bārappa appears to have invaded Sārasvata-maṇḍala at the time when the Chāhamāna king of Sambhar overcame Mūlarāja, who had then to go into hiding in Kanthadurga.[14] This incident with

Vigraharāja of Śākambharī has been differently described, but it is clear that Mūlarāja was worsted in the fight and that he submitted.

Mūlarāja is credited with having defeated Dharaṇīvarāha, the Paramāra king of Abu, who, when so defeated, sought the shelter of Dhavala. The inscription of Dhavala describes Mūlarāja as 'having a powerful army' and 'being intoxicated with pride.'[75] Evidently, Dharaṇīvarāha accepted the vassalage of Mūlarāja.

The identification of Dharaṇīvarāha presents some difficulty. There is a tradition that a certain Dharaṇīvarāha was a Paramāra king of Navkot, but it is more than probable that the Dharaṇīvarāha defeated by Mūlarāja was identical with the Paramāra king of Abu. As the inscription of Dhavala was issued in A.D. 997, Dharaṇīvarāha must have been defeated before that date. Later on, he may have come to terms with Mūlarāja, and accepted his vassalage.[76]

After the death of Muñja in A.D. 995, Mūlarāja styled himself '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*', the title of an independent ruler. The extent of his kingdom was very limited. In A.D. 974, he gave the grant of a village in modern Kadi in the former Baroda State; and in A.D. 987 it was of a village in Modhera-Ardhāshṭama, while the grant of A.D. 995 is of a village in the Satyapura-maṇḍala, in former Jodhpur State.[77] Throughout all these years, Mūlarāja only added a small maṇḍala to the north of Sārasvata-maṇḍala.

Mūlarāja died in A.D. 997 after having ruled for fifty-five years. A devout worshipper of Śiva, he constructed the temples of Mūleśvara at Maṇḍali, of Mūladevasvāmī, and of Tripurusa-prasāda,[78] at

Aṇahilavāḍa in honour of his father and his two brothers. He made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Somanātha at Prabhāsa, and he also began the construction of the magnificent temple of Rudra-mahālaya but did not live to complete it.[78]

In spite of the smallness of his kingdom, Mūlarāja was a wise ruler. He organised the administration on the lines of the Gupta traditions. He invited many learned Brāhmaṇas to Sārasvata-maṇḍala and laid the foundation of culture and learning with which Aṇahilavāḍa came to be associated. According to Hemachandra, Mūlarāja was very generous. He worshipped the Brāhmaṇas and sages and gave liberal grants to those in need.[80] Someśvara also refers to his 'having conquered poverty by his gifts,'[81] while the grant of A.D. 987 describes him as 'one whose hands are wet with gifts.'[82]

Though he was the ruler of a small principality, the land he ruled over was rich. So much so that he appointed Mādhava, Lūla and Bhabha, three members of a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa family as ministers-in-charge of wells, *maṭhas*, tanks, temples and caravanserais.

Kāñchana, the son of the Kāyastha Jejaja, was the writer of his copper-plates, and *Mahattama* Śvarāja was his *Dūtaka*. In A.D. 997 Śrī-Jaya also functioned as a *saṁdhivigrahika* and *dūtaka*. Someśvara, the author of the *Kīrtikaumudi*, testifies to the fact that his ancestor, Sola, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa of Vadnagar, was the king's *purohita*. There was another *mahattama* named Vīra, the father of a more distinguished son, Vimala, a descendant of Ninnaya and Lehara, and a Prāgvāṭa or Porvad by caste, who, according to the tradition, was associated with Vana-

rāja. There were also two other ministers named Jambaka and Jehula.

Brave and wise, he consolidated his small kingdom by timely submission and opportune aggression. At his death it consisted of Sārasvata-maṇḍala and Satyapura-maṇḍala and parts of Kachchha and Saurāshṭra. With uncanny tenacity Mūlarāja survived the ambition of three contemporary conquerors Muñja of Dhārā, Vigraharāja of Śākambharī and Tailappa of Karnataka.

No doubt, what he built was small; but its foundations were well and truly laid. Upon what he founded, his descendants raised the structure of modern Gujarat.

In the fateful year A.D. 997 when Mūlarāja died, Abul Qasim Mahmud, the son of Sabuktigin captured Ghazni, developed a marvellous striking power and turned his attention to India.

Ancient India ended.

Mediaeval India began.

Chapter VIII

MEDIAEVAL INDIA BEGINS

(i)

India at the end of the tenth century

A.D. 997 was a fateful year in India. Ancient India came to a close. Mediaeval India began.

The glory and power of the first empire of Gūrjaradeśa were no more. The feeble emperor, a *chakravartī* only in name, ruled ineffectively over a small territory, feared by none. The Pratihāra power, which had stabilised India and presented a bulwark of strength against foreign aggression, was no more.

The old Gūrjaradeśa was in fragments. The rulers of Delhi and Śākambharī were independent; those of Naddūla, Medāpaṭa, Abu, Sārasvata-maṇḍala, Saurāshṭra and Vāgaḍa yielded only grudging loyalty to the Pratihāras.

Of the erstwhile feudatories of the Imperial Gūrjaras, the Chandellas, the Kalachuris and the Paramāras were racing for the imperial sceptre.

Dhaṅga, the Chandella ruler of Jejā-bhukti, or Bundelkhand, (A.D. 954-1008), had established a powerful independent kingdom between the Son and the Chambal with his capital at Khajuraho. "By the strength of his arms, he equalled the power of Hammira, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth."[1] The inscription has an echo of the memories of Mahmud of Ghazni.

In Ḍāhala in Central India, the line of Kokkala, the king-maker, had flourished under Lokahmaparāja

and Yuvarāja II. By A.D 1019, Gāṅgeyadeva had succeded to the throne of Tripurī, the capital of Ḍāhala. Of him it is stated that, "a thunderbolt falling on the heads of his enemies, (and) the lord of the fortune of the heroes with a chest broad like the emerald tablet, (and) with smiling eyes, (and) with his two arms, surpassing the strength of a city-bar, he, the crest-jewel of crowned heads, has become famous under the name of Vikramāditya."[2]

The success of the Paramāras had mainly been due to the collapse of the empires of the north and the south. Muñja Vākpatī possessed the genius to extend the power of the Second Empire, but, not gifted with patience and surrounded by too many enemies, he naturally met with an untimely end.

The conditions in Bengal were chaotic. The Kāmboja kingdom of Rāḍhā, comprising north and west Bengal, was being ruled successively by Nārāyaṇapāla and his brother Nayapāla from their capital at Priyaṅgu.[3] The main branch of the Pālas, represented by Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II, held sway over Aṅga and Magadha (modern Bihar).

By A.D. 997, the Pālas had lost their hold over east and south Bengal where a certain Kāntideva, and later a line of Chandra kings, ruled for same time. The kingdom of the Chandras comprised both Harikela and Chandradvīpa, but before long their rule was replaced by that of the Varmans. Parts of south Bengal, Orissa and Mahākośala were ruled by Indraratha, the Keśarī king, from his capital Yayātinagara, modern Jajnagar.[4] To the south of the Keśarī dominion lay Kaliṅga which might have been ruled by the Gaṅga kings.

Like the north, the south had also undergone a

revolutionary change. The strength and vigour of the Rāshṭrakūṭas were things of the past. The empire of Karnataka, due to the life and death struggle between Tailappa II the Western Chālukya and Vākpati Muñja, was disintegrating. In this fateful year, A.D. 997, Tailappa died. His successors were feeble and their reigns short.

The next Chalukya, Satyāśraya Akalaṅkacharita, died in c A.D. 1008, and was succeeded by Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1008-1014). He, in his turn, was followed by his brother, Ayyana, who ruled for a year and was succeeded by Jayasiṁha II Jagadekamalla (A.D. 1015-1043). His successor was Someśvara I entitled Trailokyamalla. Among the feudatories were the Marathi speaking Yādavas of Seunadeśa, the Koṅkani speaking Silāhāras of Koṅkana and the Telegu speaking Kākatiyas of Warangal, all of whom were soon to become independent.

The weakening of the imperial Karnataka also led to the rise of the Cholas of Tanjore who consolidated the extreme South from Krishṇā and Tungabhadra to Cape Comorin. Rājarāja (A.D. 985-1014) a powerful conqueror, after brilliant victories on land and sea, laid the fundations of the Chola empire.

On accession to his father's throne, Rājendra Parākesari (A.D. 1012-1044), inherited an extensive empire which comprised the whole of the modern States of Madras, Andhra, parts of Mysore and the islands of Ceylon and the Maldives. By A.D. 1018 he had associated his son, Rājādhirāja, with him as *yuvarāja*. For the next twenty-five years the father and the son shared the burden of a growing empire.

Rājendra, even as a *yuvarāja*, had given evidence of great military capacity. He had conquered Mysore

and Vanavasi; destroyed Mānyakheṭa and annexed several parts of the Chālukya dominions to his empire.

As a result of the Choḷa conquest, the Western Chālukyas were obliged to transfer their capital to Kalyaṇī or Kalyāṇapura. From this new capital they derive the designation, Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī, given to them by modern scholars.

A little later, Rājendra also defeated the king of Kerala.

In his war fought in A.D. 1019 against Jayasiṁha II, the Western Chālukya, Bhoja Paramāra was evidently supported by Rājendra Choḷa. In the Tamil *prasasti* of Rājendra, which contains a reference about this war against Jayasiṁha, it is stated:

"(He captured) seven and a half lakhs of Raṭṭapadis (who were) strong by nature, and vast quantities of treasure, together with the incstimable reputation of Jayasimha, who, out of fear, and to his great disrepute, turned his back at Musaṅgi and hid himself."[6]

In A.D. 1017, Rajendra conquered not only Ceylon, but all the islands on the south coast of India. In a brilliant *digvijaya* in the east, the Chola army captured Chakrakota, subdued Kaliṅga, defeated Indraratha the Keśarī king of Yayātinagara, and conquered Orissa and Mahākośala. It also defeated Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti (south-western parts of Midnapore District), Raṇaśūra of southern Rādhā, Govindachandra of Vaṅgāla (south Bengal) and Mahīpāla, the Pāla king. Rājendra then turned his attention to the transmarine countries of Java and Sumatra and subdued them; Malaya was also annexed as part of his empire.

The north-western frontier of India was feebly

defended. Multan was ruled by Saikh Mahid Lodi,[6] an independent chief. There were small states in Chamba and Kangra Valley. In lower Sind, the Sumras, probably Paramāras converted to Islam, were just gathering strength.[7] Kashmir had been passing through an epidemic of internal intrigues under the dissolute queen, Diddā, who could in lust and cruelty stand comparison with the notorious Catherine of Russia.

The most powerful ruler in the north-west was the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi king Jayapāla (A.D. 969-1091). He was fighting tenaciously against foreign aggression. Though not supported by a mighty power like the First Empire, as had probably been the case with his ancestors fifty years earlier, he often led the confederated forces of small kings against the invaders.

(ii)

Rise of the Yaminis

Across the frontier, vast shifts of power and military strength were taking place. The empire of the Caliphs had been destroyed in the ninth century. The Samanid princes, who were soldiers of fortune, had carved out kingdoms out of its territories.

In this confused state of things Alptigin, a slave of one of the Samanid rulers, establishing himself at Ghazni, soon forced his master to acknowledge him as an independent chieftain.

From his mountain fortress, Alptigin began, spreading terror in India. Some time after his death in A.D. 963, his general, Sabuktigin, became the ruler of Ghazni (A.D. 977). He continued his mas-

ter's policy and made determined efforts to destroy the confederacy of the kings led by Jayapāla.

When Sabuktigin died in A.D. 997, his son, Abu-l-Qasim Mahmud, was only the Governor of Khorasan. Even at the early age of fifteen, he had surprised the veteran warriors of his father's court by his ability. At his death-bed, Sabuktigin nominated Mahmud's younger brother Ismail as his successor. A war of succession followed. With swift audacity Mahmud captured Ghazni and imprisoned his brother for the rest of his life.

Gifted with a rare personality, will and genius, he soon built up a marvellous striking power. Victory attended him wherever he went. Within three years of his capture of Ghazni, he subjugated the whole of Central Asia, Iran and Seistan.

In the year A.D. 1000, Mahmud turned his attention to India and gave her a foretaste of the totalitarian war which she had not known before. The wars of Central Asia were fought for the sake of destruction, not for *digvijaya*. There were no laws, no code of morals, to circumscribe the activities of the conqueror and his hordes. Northern India, lulled by the sense of security for almost three centuries by the Imperial Gūrjaras, now saw with startled awe the torrents of barbarians, intent on murder, rape and loot, sweeping down over its rich plains.

(iii)

The important events of this period may be chronologically arranged as follows:

c. A.D. 990 Sabuktigin's war against the Brāhmaṇa Śāhis of Afghanistan.

c. A.D. 996 Mūlarāja's death. Accession of Chāmuṇḍarāja.

c. A.D. 997 Muñja's death and accession of Sindhurāja.
A.D. 997 Mahmud Yamin-ud-Daulah captures the throne of Ghazni.
c. A.D. 999 Accession of Bhoja (according to Merutuṅga).
c. A.D. 1000 Rājendra Chola defeats the Chālukyas: their capital transferred to Kalyaṇi.
A.D. 1001 Mahmud's invasion of the Punjab ruled by Jayapāla, the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi king.
A.D. 1010 Accession of Bhoja (according to modern scholars).
A.D. 1012 The break-up of the Brāhmaṇa Śāhi kingdom.
A.D. 1012 Rājendra Chola's accession in Tanjore.
A.D. 1015 Jayasiṁha Chālukya's accession to the throne of Kalyāṇī.
A.D. 1018 Fall of Kanauj.
A.D. 1019-22 Rājyapāla's defeat and death.
A.D. 1015-19 The war of Bhoja and Rājendra with Chālukya Jayosiṁha.
A.D. 1019 Occupation of Koṅkaṇa by Bhoja.
A.D. 1020 January 3rd, Banswara grant[1] of land in Vaṭapadraka (modern Baroda) in Ghāgradorabhoga of Sthalīmaṇḍala, given on the occasion of the anniversary of the victory over Koṅkaṇa. Bhoja is styled *Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara.*
A.D. 1020 September. Betma grant[2] (Betma is near Indore) given by Bhoja on the occasion of the anniversary of the occupation of Koṅkaṇa. The village granted was Nālataḍāga (modern Nar), in the Kaira District in Guja-

rat included in the Nyāyapadra Saptadaśaka (modern Napad) in the same district.

A.D. 1021 Ujjayinī grant of Bhoja.[10]

A.D. 1022 Mahmud made peace with Vidyādhara Chandella and withdrew from the Gangetic valley.

A.D. 1022 Durlabharāja's death. Bhīma's accession to the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa.

A.D. 1022 Depalpur grant (near Indore) of Bhoja.[11]

A.D. 1025 Mahmud's invasion of Somanātha.

A.D. 1026 Bhīma's re-occupation of Saurāshtra and Kachchha.

A.D. 1029 Radhanpur grant[12] of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhīmadeva I of Aṇahilavāḍa.

c. A.D. 1030 The reconstruction of the temple of Somanātha by Bhoja and Bhīma.

A.D. 1030 Mundaka grant of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhīmadeva.[13]

A.D. 1030 Al-Beruni records that Bhojadeva was the king of Dhārā.

A.D. 1032 Completion of Ādinātha temple at Abu by Vimala, the minister of Bhīma.

A.D. 1033 British Museum image inscription of Bhoja.[14]

A.D. 1035 Bhoja's conquest of Tripurī.

A.D. 1036 Bhoja's conquest of Kanauj.

A.D. 1036 Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's grant[15] of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhīmadeva.

A.D. 1043 Hansi, Thaneswar and other places recovered by confederate forces from the viceroy of Ghazni. Someśvara Āhavamalla succeeded to the throne of Kalyāṇī.

A.D. 1044 Death of Rājendra Chola.

A.D. 1047 Tilakwada grant of Bhoja,[16] found in the river-bed near Sankheda in the Baroda Prant. Kalvan Plates[17] (undated) of Bhoja. The plates were found near Kalvan in the Nasik district, which, as stated therein, was ruled by 'the illustrious' Yaśovarman. He was 'in charge of Selluka Nagara and was enjoying 1500 villages through the favour of Bhoja.'

A.D. 1055-56 Chalukyan War. Someśvara occupies Dhārā. The Mandhata grant[18] of Bhoja's successor Jayasimha I.

A.D. 1062 The Abu stone inscription of Bhima's minister.[19]

(iv)

Sindhurāja

On the death of Vākpati Muñja in A.D. 997, Sindhurāja, styled Kumāranārāyana and Navasāhasānka, came to the throne of Dhārā. The *Prabandhas* speak of a feud between Muñja and his brother Sindhurāja, while Padmagupta, the court-poet, who wrote the *Navasāhasānkacharita* with Sindhurāja as the hero, refers to his patron as having been appointed to the succession by Muñja himself. "When in the course of time", says the poet, "(Muñja) departed for the city of Ambikā's husband (heaven), he (Muñja) placed the world in his (Sindhurāja's) arm, which was marked by the scars of the bow-string."[20] This is also supported by the Udayapur-praśasti.[21]

Why Muñja should have placed his brother Sindhurāja on the throne and given small principalities such as Abu to his own sons, (provided always that the identification of Muñja with Vākpati Paramāra, the founder of the Abu line, is accepted) is difficult

to understand. It is possible, that when Muñja left for Karnataka on his last compaign, he might have left his brother Sindhurāja in charge of Dhārā. Later, upon Muñja's death in Mānyakheṭa, Sindhurāja might have taken possession of the throne, allowing the principalities already given to the sons of Muñja to be retained by them.

Sindhurāja, in spite of high praise given him by Padmagupta, had neither the ability nor the personality of his brother. The achievements to his credit do not go beyond attempts to subdue refractory feudatories. The theme of *Navasāhasāṅka-charita* is the victory won by Sindhurāja over the Nāga king, Śaṅkhapāla, and his marriage to Śaśiprabhā, daughter of the vanquished king, Śaṅkhapāla. Śaśīprabhā has been identified with the princess of the Naga dynasty which once ruled over Bastar.[22] There was also a Nāga prince who ruled at Padmāvatī (modern Padampawa) which was situated at the confluence of the Pāra and Sindhu. This is mentioned by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*. The recent excavations at the place[23] have brought to light the remnants of an ancient city. It is quite likely, therefore, that Śaśiprabha was the daughter of the king of Padampawa.

Sindhurāja also subdued the Paramāra feudatory of Vāgaḍa, the kings of Murala, Kośala and a Hun king.[24] His defeat of the king of Kerala (Murala) may be taken as mere rhetoric, unless it means some skirmish with a king from the south. Padmagupta also credits Sindhurāja with having defeated a chief of Lāṭa, probably the son of Bārappa.

Merutuṅga asserts that the reign of Bhoja lasted for "fiftyfive years, seven months and three days",[25]

The earliest known date of Bhoja's successor, Jayasiṁha, is A.D. 1055.[27] Bhoja's accession therefore may be placed in A.D. 999. The epigraphic evidence points to the events having happened in A.D. 1010. If Bhoja was a minor at the time of Sindhurāja's death this discrepancy could be explained.

(v)

Chāmuṇḍa, Vallabha and Durlabha

Mularāja, as has already been stated, died about A.D. 996, and was succeeded by his son Chāmuṇḍarāja. Chāmuṇḍa soon came into conflict with Sindhurāja. The Paramāra king attacked Aṇahilavāḍa, was met with a brave resistance and was forced to withdraw.[27] The conflict between Gujarat and Mālava did not end with this incident.

According to Abhayatilaka, the commentator of Hemachandra, Chāmuṇḍa being of a dissolute character was compelled to abdicate by his sister Chachinidevi.[28] Chāmuṇḍa thereupon started for a pilgrimage to Kāśi, and, while passing through Mālava, was deprived by Sindhurāja,[29] of the insignia of State, the royal umbrella, and other valuables. Chāmuṇḍa, it appears, suffered a defeat at the hands of Sindhurāja.

According to Hemachandra, Chāmuṇḍā ordered his son Vallabharāja, to uproot "the thorn". In obedience to his father's wishes Vallabharāja, crossing the confluence of the rivers Pārā and Sindhu, invaded Mālava. However, he was attacked with smallpox and died; his army withdrew.[30]

Prabandhas, however, refer to Vallabha as having besieged Dhārā,[31] though even the Vadnagar praśasti of Kumārapāla does not corroborate this

fact. It only states: "Densely dark smoke rising from the empire of the Mālava king, who quaked on hearing of his (Vallabharāja's) march indicated the spread of the fire of his anger."[52] The verse would seem to be a corroboration of Hemachandra's statement that Vallabha died before he could reach Dhārā. Nevertheless, the fact that the army of Gujarat could march towards Dhārā shows that the Paramāra was in a weak position.

It is difficult to ascertain the date of Chāmuṇḍa's abdication. Hemachandra as well as some Chaulukya inscriptions omit the name of Vallabha from the list of kings of the dynasty. Most of the inscriptions supported by Abhayatilaka, however, mention him as a ruling prince. From the *Prabandhas* and *Paṭṭāvalis* Vallabha seems to have ruled only for a short period.

Vallabharāja probably died between A.D. 1009 and 1010. Chāmuṇḍa was then living. Placing his younger son, Durlabha, on the throne, he retired to Śuklatīrtha, where he is said to have fasted unto death.

Durlabharāja, who ruled at Aṇahilavāḍa from A.D. 1009 to 1022, did not succeed in extending his dominion beyond the territory which his father had inherited from Mūlarāja. He is recorded as having defeated the Chālukya king of Lāṭa, but it appears that the reference is to some stray skirmish. Lāṭa remained independent, to be subdued later by Bhoja. Meanwhile Durlabharāja strengthened his position by marrying the sister of king Mahendra, son of Balirāja of Naddūla. His personal character stood high. He "coveted neither the wives of others, nor the wealth of the Brāhmaṇas", and was the first Chaulukya to

admit Jain sadhus to his court at Aṇahilavāḍa.

From A.D. 997 to 1024, the Paramāras were the rulers of considerable parts of modern Gujarat. By A.D. 1015 Bhoja had already annexed Lāṭa to his dominion. All that the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa could do was to struggle heroically to retain their principality of Sārasvata-maṇḍala and Satyapura-maṇḍala. What parts of Kachchha and Saurāshṭra were included in the kingdoms is difficult to ascertain; but it is certain that the Ābhīras and the Saindhavas continued to rule over considerable parts of Saurāshṭra, and Abu, next door to Sārasvata-maṇḍala, was certainly not included in it.

(vi)

Bhoja The Magnificent

In A.D. 1010 Bhoja, the son of Sindhurāja and queen Ratnāvali, and one of the most versatile kings in history,[33] came to the throne of Dhārā. He made a magnificent attempt to carry forward the high cultural tradition of Gūrjaradeśa. But at the end, like Vākpati Muñja, he was overwhelmed by the neighbours on his frontiers.

An interesting story is told of the relations between Bhoja and his uncle. The astrologers came to Muñja Vākpati and prophesied that Bhoja, son of his brother Sindhurāja, was destined to rule Dakshiṇāpatha and Gauḍa for fifty-five years, seven months and three days. In order to prevent the succession of his nephew, Muñja ordered him to be killed. When his assassination was imminent, Bhoja sent a caustic message to his uncle:

"Māndhātā was the master of the earth in the Kṛita Age, but he passed away. Where is gone,

the king who successfully fought the ten-headed Rāvaṇa and built a bridge over the ocean? Where are Yudhishṭhira and the other mighty kings? The earth did not accompany them when they departed from the present life. Perhaps, she might accompany you on your last journey."

The executioners did not like to kill such a gifted and lovable youth and sent the verse to Muñja. When Muñja read it, he relented, had Bhoja brought back unharmed, and treated him thenceforth with great affection.[54]

When Bhoja came to the throne, his homeland consisted of Mālava and the bulk of Gujarat. He conquered a large territory and left behind him a tremendous reputation. Unfortunately, only fragmentary information is available to us from which to reconstruct the career of this great man. It is probable that Bhoja came to the throne while he was still a minor, but soon he blossomed into a rare statesman and general.

The natural enemy of Bhoja was the Western Chālukya, Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1015-1042), but before everything, his own position had to be consolidated. No king of the north could possibly invade the south without having control of Lāṭa, for it was through Lāṭa alone that the Nasik-Bulsar passage, the gateway to the south, could be controlled.

The first act of the new Paramāra ruler therefore was to invade Lāṭa and overcome Kīrtirāja, the son of Goggirāja, a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas. Kīrtirāja was easily defeated, as is borne out by his grandson's inscription which states that the fame of Kīrtirāja was taken away for a time by his enemies.[55]

Both the Kalvan plate and the Udyapur-praśasti refer to Bhoja's conquest of Lāṭa.[37] The annexation of Lāṭa to his kingdom brought the Paramara into direct conflict with the Śilāhāra king, Aṛikeśarī, of North Koṅkaṇa. Bhoja invaded Koṅkaṇa and its king accepted his vassalage. The conquest of Koṅkaṇa, which must have taken place after A.D. 1017[38] was a unique triumph for the young conqueror. It appears to have been celebrated with the utmost pomp, for the grant of January 3, 1020[39] refers to the event and to the distribution, by Bhoja, of generous gifts to the Brāhmaṇas on the occasion.

Bhoja soon proved to be a great military leader. In addition to the hereditary Kshatriya forces, he also organised a standing army. Before proceeding to the south he appears to have settled accounts with Durlabharāja of Aṇahilavāḍa

Having secured the control of the whole of South Gujarat and Koṅkaṇa, Bhoja entered into an alliance with Rājendra, the Chola emperor, and with the Kalachuri[39] king, Gāṅgeyadeva. Strengthened by this great diplomatic triumph, he next invaded the dominions of Jayasiṁha II, the Western Chālukya of Kalyāṇi. The confederate forces of Bhoja, Rājendra Chola and Gāṅgeya-Vikramāditya proved too powerful for Jayasiṁha. In one campaign Jayasiṁha I appears to have worsted them, his inscription of A.D. 1028 recording that he routed the elephant squadrons of the Chola (king), Gāṅgeya and Bhojarāja. Another Chālukya inscription states that Bhoja became "a lotus to the moon which was Jayasiṁha, who searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederate forces of Mālava".[40] But the campaign finally went against him.

It is possible that the king of Koṅkaṇa became one of Bhoja's vassals after this victory, but it is difficult to say whether the Silāhāra king, Arikeśari, was vanquished by Bhoja during this campaign or in an earlier one. Certain it is, however, that a part of the Chālukya dominions, including the Nasik district, was annexed to Bhoja's[41] empire at this time and 'the illustrious Yaśovarman', a feudatory, was placed in charge of Selluka Nagara, near Kalvan.

Moreover, Durlabharāja, during the whole of Bhoja's reign, never attempted to break the amity which subsisted between him and Bhoja, while the Sabarmati, or the Sarasvati, remained an unbroken frontier between the Chaulukyan domains and the empire of Bhoja.

According to a legend preserved by Merutuṅga, Bhoja wanted to break with Durlabha's successor, Bhīma. This was because possibly Bhima was growing very ambitious and was, therefore, favourably inclined towards Karṇa, son of Gāṅgeya. But the wise Ḍāmara, Bhīma's minister at Dhārā, diverted the attention of Bhoja from Gujarat by getting a drama performed in which Muñja's death at the hands of Tailappa II was staged. It ran this wise:

Tailappa has secured for himself a comfortable corner in Bhoja's prison. A king newly vanquished by Bhoja arrives on the scene and asks Tailappa to give up the corner he is occupying. Tailappa replies: "This is my heritage from my great forefathers. Shall I resign it to you who arrived but yesterday?"

Bhoja is pleased with the flattering reference and turns to compliment Ḍāmara on the witty play. Ḍāmara replies; "The wit is there, no doubt, but this fool Tailappa holds the head of your uncle fixed on a stake." Stung to the quick, Bhoja gave up the

intention of invading Gujarat and invaded Karnataka[42] instead.

The legend has little factual value; but there is no doubt that in A.D. 1042 Bhoja invaded Karnataka and vanquished Jayasiṁha II. It appears that the confederate forces also repelled the invasion of Indraratha, the powerful king of Yayatinagar or Ādinagar in Orissa.[43]

By A.D. 1019 Bhoja had performed prodigies of valour and statesmanship. He had driven back the foes in the east; attached the ambitious young Gāṅgeya to himself; established a firm alliance with the Chola emperor of the South; vanquished Jayasiṁha II, the Chālukya of Kalyāṇi; immobilised the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa and annexed to his empire Lāṭa, Koṅkaṇa and a part of the Chālukyan domains.

The campaign in the south and the conquests of Koṅkaṇa were great events which were celebrated throughout Bhoja's empire. The Banswara grant recites that Bhojadeva, at the anniversary of the conquest of Koṅkaṇa, having worshipped Bhavānīpati, made the grant of the village of Vāṭapadraka, modern village of Baroda in Banswara.[44] Another grant of village near Indore in Central India also records a grant given at a similar festival.[45]

In A.D. 1019, therefore, Bhoja was the unquestioned master of an empire which included the whole of peninsular Gujarat excepting the valley of Sarasvati, which was in the hands of the Chaulukyas, and Abu, which was possibly ruled by an independent king.

Merutuṅga states that once Bhoja's general, Kulachandra, marched on Aṇahilavāḍa and obtained a fair measure of success.[46] Whether Kulachandra marched on Aṇahilavāḍa in the time of Durlabharāja or

in the time of Bhīma is not certain, but from the accession of Durlabharāja (A.D. 1009 or 1010) till about the last year of Bhoja's long reign, the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa continued to maintain a kind of subsidiary alliance with him, and employed a clever envoy at his court. Throughout this period, the kings of Aṇahilavāḍa have nothing to their credit excepting small wars with petty kings on their northern frontiers in Rajasthan.

In order that the correct perspective may not be lost, it may be repeated once again that, during his lifetime, Bhoja was the ruler of the whole of the mainland of Gujarat except the small Sārasvata-maṇḍala in the north.

As has already been stated, Yuvarāja, the Kalachuri king of Dāhola in Madhya Bharat, was defeated by Vākpati Muñja. The Kalachuris, however, very soon regained their lost position but, instead of re-instating the vanquished king, they placed his son, Kokkala II, on the throne. His son and successor, Gāngeyadeva, was in his turn defeated by Bhoja. Both the Kalvan inscriptions and the Udayapur-praśasti extol Bhoja's victory over the Kalachuri king. In the *Pārijāta-manjarī* it is said that he "fulfilled his desire in a festival which was the defeat of Gāngeya."[47]

It is difficult to determine the date when Gangeya was defeated by Bhoja. A little before A.D. 1019 Bhoja was in alliance with the Kalachuris. The earliest known date of Gāṅgeya being A.D. 1019,[48] it is natural to assume that shortly after the campaign in Karnataka, Bhoja was obliged to fight against his erstwhile ally. On the other hand, it is possible that Gāṅgeyadeva might have come to the throne earlier, and that, having been defeated by Bhoja, he would

have been forced to accompany the latter in the Karnataka campaign. Chandella Vidyādhara, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1025 claims to have defeated Bhoja "together with the Kalachuris,"[47] from which it would appear that the Kalachuris remained attached to Bhoja up to at least A.D. 1025.

(vii)

Invasion of Sultan Mahmud

In the meantime Mahmud, the ruler of Ghazni, was spreading destruction in north-western India.

The story of India's resistance to Mahmud's insatiable ambition is an epic of undying heroism. Jayapāla, the Śāhi king, who had once ruled Afghanistan, had sent a stern message to Mahmud's father: "You have heard, and now know, the heroism of the Indians. In difficulties, we fear neither death nor destruction. In affairs of honour and renown, we would woo the fire like roast meat, the dagger like the rays of the sun."[48]

There was a sudden awareness of the coming danger on the part of the rulers of north India. In A.D. 990 the rulers of Delhi and Ajmere, Vijayapāla of Kanauj (A.D. 955-990) and Dhaṅga, the Chandella, sent men and money to help Jayapāla.[49] But the battle was lost, and Jayapāla was obliged to give up his dominions west of the Indus. Eleven years later, in A.D. 1001, Mahmud again invaded Jayapāla's dominions, defeated him, and extracted tribute.

Jayapāla had the proud soul of the hero; there were no chains which he did not know how to break. He seated his son Anandpāla on the throne, gave him the legacy of resistance, and courted the funeral pyre.

Anandapāla did not pay the stipulated tribute and Mahmud marched against him in A.D. 1004. He

was the equal of his father in heroism; he first parleyed and then refused to submit. In the words of Utbi, "he placed the hand of repulse upon the face of the Sultan's request, and took the road to stubbornness and obstinacy."[1] [2] Mahmud invaded the Punjab. Anandapāla's land was plundered and burnt; he had to fly to Kashmir, and his son was taken prisoner.

But soon Mahmud found himself between two fires, the Turks under Ilak Khan, who had crossed the Oxus in Central Asia, on the one hand and the Sāhis on the other. Contrary to the advice of Kautilya and Medhātithi, unwise and exaggerated notions of chivalry now impelled Ānandapāla to send a foolish message offering assistance to his most ruthless foe in his campaign against Ilak Khan: "I have been conquered by you, but I do not wish another to conquer you."[63] Mahmud probably took the assistance, defeated Ilak Khan, and in A.D. 1008, turned with his victorious army upon his generous ally.

The conquest of India is the conquest of culture by those who lacked it. Ānandapāla faced his enemy with a powerful army, but, in spite of his heroism, he lost the battle. The Punjab lay prostate before Mahmud. In A.D. 1009 the conqueror plundered the temple of Nagarkot, and in A.D. 1011 he desecrated the shrine of Chakrasvāmin at Thūnesvar.

Ānandapāla, was still the rallying centre of resistance. In A.D. 1012, however, he died and was succeeded by his son, Trilochanapāla. Thereupon, Mahmud, in spite of a treaty of friendship with the father, attacked the new king.

"Trilochanapāla causing floods of blood to pour forth in battle resembled Śiva *(Trilochana)* when

sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the *Kalpa*.

"After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle this (prince) who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes pressing (around him).

"When Trilochana(pāla) had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Chaṇḍālas, which (resembled clouds of) locusts."[24]

The Śāhi power was shattered to pieces. For eight long years, from some obscure place, Trilochanapāla harassed Mahmud with the immortal faith of those whom death brings no defeat. "The Hammira did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman powers of the mysterious Trilochanapāla."[25]

It had taken over fifteen years for the ruthless Ghaznivites, father and son, to wipe the Śāhi power out of existence and thus did al-Beruni, a contemporary writer, pay his tribute.

"The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing."[26]

In A.D. 1018, part of the Punjab having been annexed to his dominions, Mahmud crossed the Jumna and attacked the territory of Kanauj. Haradatta, a feudatory, submitted; but, when all his fifty thousand warriors lay dead, another feudatory, named Kulachandra, killed himself and his wife with the same dagger. Mathura was plundered and when the foreign army reached Kanauj and Rājyapāla, the shadow *chakravarti* had taken to flight, the town, once

the metropolis, was sacked. This was the sorry end of the capital of Īśānavarman, the great liberator.

At this time a confederacy was formed headed by Vidyādhara Chandella (A.D. 1019-1022), grandson of Dhaṅga, the most powerful contemporary king in northern India. Vidyādhara put Rājyapāla to death, consolidated his forces and wrested the territories of Kanauj from Mahmud.

In A.D. 1019 Mahmud marched as far as the Gangetic plains in order to face Vidyādhara. An inconclusive engagement followed and Mahmud withdrew, plundering as he went.

In A.D. 1022 he marched once more upon Kālañjara the capital of Vidyādhara. Nanda, read also as Bida or Vidyādhara, "then sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue in praise of the Sultan. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets who were in attendance on him. They all praised them. The Sultan thereupon sent his congratulations, together with a mandate conferring the command of fifteen fortresses and other presents in return for them. Nanda also sent much treasure and precious gems for the acceptance of the Sultan."[67]

The panegyrical account by Muslim chroniclers, however, betray the fact that even after a long investment Mahmud could not capture Kālañjara, and that the campaign ended with mutual gifts and compliments. The roaring tiger had become a purring admirer of Vidyādhara. Mahmud returned to Ghazni and gave up his ambitions to conquer the Gangetic valley.

Mahmud's invasions up to the year A.D. 1022, really took the form of three separate wars. The first

one, which lasted for about eighteen years and ended in the annexation of most of the Punjab, was directed against the Śāhis. The second, which was successful, but resulted in no territorial gains, was directed against Kanauj. The third was against Vidyādhara Chandella and Mahmud gained nothing out of it; Vidyādhara had succeeded where the heroic Śāhis had failed. Later Muslim chroniclers have minimised the nature of these frustrated attempts to extend an empire and have lain stress upon Mahmud's destructions of the holy shrines of India.

Foiled in the east, the ambitious Sultan turned to Gūrjaradeśa.

(viii)

The Invasion of Somanātha

In A.D. 1024, Bhīma, son of Nāgarāja, the younger brother of Durlabharāja and Lakshmīdevī, daughter of the Chāhamāna of Naddūla, came to the throne of Anahilavāḍa.

Within a year of Bhīma's accession, Mahmud invaded Somanātha. In all modern histories, the episode, based on Muslim chronicles of a later date, finds an important place among that conqueror's achievements, but it requires to be carefully scrutinised. Al-Utbi, the Secretary of Mahmud and the author of the *Kitab-i-Yamini*, writing in A.D. 1031, makes no reference to this raid. Al-Gardizi, who wrote his *Zain ul Akhbar* between A.D. 1049 and 1052, is the first to refer to it. A little later, al-Baihaqi in the *Ta'rikh-i-Baihaqi* makes the merest reference to this expedition. A *Qasida* attributed to Farrukhi, is said to be contemporary.

Only a detailed examination by competent scho-

lars can finally settle the question as to whether al-Utbi's book ends with the year A.D. 1020 as contended by some historians, or with A.D. 1031 as stated by others; whether the reference by al-Gardizi and al-Baihaqi are interpolations; and whether the *Qasida* of Farrukhi is authentic and contemporary.

So far, all that one can be certain of is that in the following two hundred years the story of this expedition came to be so magnified that those who recorded it gave ecstatic, but unreliable, accounts of it. After Gardizi's work, those that deal with it in an elaborate form are, the *Al-Kamil fit-Ta'rikh* of Ibnu-l Athir and the *Mir'atu'z-Zaman fit-Tawarikhi'l-A'yan* of Sibt Abnu'l Jawazi, both of the thirteenth century. At a still later period new legends were invented to render the episode still more romantic.

Meanwhile, the undisputed facts which militate against the episode as given by the later Muslim chroniclers are many.

(1) In A.D. 1025 no kingdom of Gujarat as described by them had then come into existence, and Bhīma was just the ruler of a small principality consisting of the Sārasvata, and Satyapura-mandalas, Kachchha and parts of Saurāshṭra.

(2) The continuity of political, economic and social life remained unbroken in these regions between A.D. 1025 and 1030, when epigraphic records show Bhima to have been well entrenched in authority over them. His domain was rich both in money and architecture, for it was in A.D. 1032 that the world-famous temples associated with his minister, Vimala, at Abu, were finished.

(3) Even an analysis of the episode as given by early Muslim chroniclers shows that Mahmud was

forced to escape through Kachchha, that he suffered untold hardships, and that he was pursued by the confederate army of "*Paramadeva*".

Why is it that almost all contemporary writers from Hemachandra to Someśvara, who lived in Gujarat, are silent about it?

Two references to the sack of Somanātha are found in Jaina works. The first is contained in a song composed by one Dhanapāla in honour of the idol of Śrī-Mahāvira which was enshrined in Satyapura, modern Sachor. "The land of Śrīmāla was broken and so also was Aṇahilavāḍa; Chandrāvatī was broken and also Saurāshṭra; Delvāḍa was broken and so was Somanātha. But the Vira of Satyapura, the delight of men's minds, remained unbroken."[69]

The evidentiary value of this poem depends on the assumption that it was composed by Dhanapāla who was the court poet of Muñja and Sindhurāja. Dhanapāla, the poet of Dhārā, wrote his *Paiyālachchhī* just after the sack of Mānyakheṭa by Siyaka II in A.D. 972. He must then have been in middle life, but even if he had only been twenty-five or thirty at the time, he would have been seventy-five or eighty in A.D. 1024. But the poet must have written this song still later, which seems most unlikely. It would indeed be surprising if of all the literary men in Gujarat and Mālava who wrote on historical subjects up to A.D. 1250, Dhanapāla, the poet who is connected with the three Paramāra emperors should be the only one to break the seal of silence surrounding this event and in a single stray song. This in itself raises a doubt as to whether Dhanapāla, the court-poet of Dhārā, could have been its author.

The second reference is to be found in Jinaprabha

Sūri's *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, composed in A.D. 1308, which gives the date of the sacking of Gurjaradeśa by "Gajjanavī" as A.D. 1025.[79] In this connection, it has to be noted that a revolutionary change in dealing with history had come over the poets of Gujarat between Someśvara (A.D. 1230) and Merutuṅga (A.D. 1300). Within a period of seventy years the polished epic, *Raghuvaṁśa*, was no longer a model; the technique of the Muslim chroniclers of providing dates, events and incidents, and adjusting them to suit the continuity of the historical narrative or the character of the hero, had come into vogue. A scrutiny of this change in historical method leads to the inference that in the later half of the thirteenth century, Merutuṅga and others were influenced by a new school of history which presumably drew its inspiration from Muslim chroniclers. It would, therefore, not be surprising if the historical legends of the Muslim chroniclers relating to Gujarat which were freely circulated in the camps of the Turks, came to be accepted by the writers of the *Prabandhas*.

The episode in question requires an unbiassed investigation. Meanwhile, in view of the facts available, can Mahmud's expedition to Somanātha be accepted as anything but a disaster for the invader?

The temple of Somanātha has had a long history, and it is important to remember that several temples arose on the same place, either to replace the dilapidated ones or those broken by the Muslims.

It is probable that the first temple was built at the beginning of the Christian era. Lakuliśa of Kāyāvarohaṇa, modern Karvan near Broach on the Narmadā,[80] was born in the second century A.D. He

was the founder of the *Śaiva-Pāśupata* sect which is called after him. His doctrine spread all over India and up to the thirteenth century the shrine of Somanātha, the greatest centre of Lakuliśa's teaching, grew in fame throughout the land as the Pāśupata cult became popular. No inscription mentions Somanātha during the Gupta period (A.D. 320-500); this is not surprising, since the Gupta emperors, who were devout Vaishṇavas, do not mention Prabhāsa in their inscriptions either, though it was a sacred place from pre-historic times.

The first Temple was probably replaced in the sixth century by the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī and is likely to have been destroyed by the Arab army about A.D. 725, when Valabhī was sacked. But between A.D. 800 and 950,[51] a magnificent temple, the third Temple of Somanātha, was raised up on the ruins of the second. This might have been built by the Pratihāra emperors or their Chālukya feudatories and its position as the greatest shrine in the country at the beginning of the eleventh century can only be explained by its association with the empire. This third Temple was, for the age, a large one, as could be seen from the plinth. The *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* had stone pillars; the legend that its pillars were of wood is of doubtful value. By the beginning of the tenth century, Prabhāsa, with its great shrine had become an international port, and, when Mūlarāja captured Aṇahilavāḍa, one of his first acts was to free Prabhāsa from Grāharipu who was harassing the pilgrims.

According to the later Muslim writers, reports were brought to Mahmud saying that far away in a corner of flourishing Saurāshṭra, laved by the waters

of the distant sea, stood the greatest of all the shrines at which the idolatrous Indians worshipped. From a distance of a thousand miles, the sacred Gaṅgā supplied her holy water to the deity enshrined in it; a thousand Brāhmaṇas were engaged in the worship of the deity; the revenue of ten thousand villages had been assigned to it as its annual income: there was no limit to the gold and diamonds it possessed. Thus the fabulous magnificence of Somanātha fired both the avarice of the Turkish raider and the iconoclastic zeal of his fanatic admirers.

The religious motive attributed to Sultan Mahmud is not consistent with the astuteness and broadmindedness with which he was unquestionably gifted. Later historians have presented him as being possessed by fanatic zeal; this is not supported by the evidence. He was a ruthless conqueror, whose ambition was the founding of an empire, not the securing of religious merit. It may be doubted whether he destroyed the temples out of religious fanaticism.

As no Indian king would ever dream of destroying a shrine in the territory of his enemy, the holy places were unprotected by strong fortresses and provided easy loot.

Wherever he could, Mahmud subdued hostile kings or annexed their territories to his empire. He did so in the case of the Punjab. He marched to the doab, even upto Kālañjara, in the same hope. Only the unbending resistance of Vidyadhara made it difficult for him to establish any hold over the Gangetic valley.

He changed the direction of his attempts by coming to the West. But he could not permanently annex any new territory, he had to be satisfied with the loot

of Somanātha, but that could not possibly be his main purpose.

It was any way, a spectacular venture, even if ony a few of the details furnished by the Muslim chroniclers are accepted.[62]

By Monday, October 18, 1025, Mahmud left Ghazni at the head of an army which consisted of thirty-thousand strong cavalry. Elaborate preparations had been made for victualling this force. Camels numbering thirty thousand carried reserves of water, while, in addition, two of these beasts were allotted to each trooper to carry water for his individual use.

The invader rested at Multan until November 26, and then began his march through the desert. Between Multan and Abu there extended one vast, unfruitful waste of clay and sand. Across this desert, fiery as Gehanna itself and with destruction yawning at every step, marched this reckless host, jubilant with the hopes of prospective loot. Its leader, untiring, fierce as the wind which blew inexorably over those untrodden wilds of nature, goaded it on to the goal of his ambition.

According to Farruqi's *Qasida*,[63] Sultan Mahmud first captured the Ludrava Pass close to the Chiklodara Mata hill near Palanpur. By the end of December he reached Anahilavāda. Bhima was taken by surprise and withdrew from his capital. Mahmud rested his army at Aṇahilavāḍa, replenished his stock of water and provisions, but left the town unscathed. The Chaulukyan army met the invader at Mundher (Modhera), but in spite of heroic resistance, was defeated. Mahmud next proceeded to Delvāḍa and reduced the fort in spite of strenuous defence. The way to Somanātha now lay open before him.

According to Ibn Athir, Bhīma left his capital upon the approach of Sultan Mahmud, and took refuge in Kanthkot in Kachchha.[84] But Khond Amir, who was also a chronicler of a later period, states that it was the commander of Aṇahilavāḍa who took refuge at Kanthkot.[85] In any case, when Mahmud occupied Aṇahilavāḍa, Bhima had withdrawn to a safe distance in order to be able to re-occupy his capital as soon as the menace disappeared.

From Modhera, Mahmud proceeded to Somanātha, looting Delvaḍa on the way. On the 6th of January, 1026, he invested the fort of Prabhāsa. According to the early Muslim chroniclers, the defenders fought with undying heroism. At one stage, indeed, the army of the Turks entered the town but was driven back before eventide. According to the improbable Ferishta, Bhīma came with an army to relieve the garrison, but after a sharp engagement was forced to withdraw.[86]

On January the 8th, a sanguinary battle took place. Fifty-thousand Indian warriors laid down their lives in defence of their beloved shrine. Mahmud captured the fort, entered the temple sanctified by centuries of devotion, and after breaking the *liṅga* to pieces, looted it and burnt it to the ground.[87] The plinth and ruins of the third Temple, built in the Pratihāra period, showed, when excavated, unmistakable signs of vandalism, burning and demolition.

A sacred city where the shrine of Somanātha, was situated having little armour beyond the devotion and reverence of the whole country, could not but be an easy prey to an army of vandals.

But Mahmud was unable to enjoy the fruits of his lightning conquest, for after no more than a month-

and-a-half he was obliged to beat a hasty retreat. He could not hold Prabhāsa.

Something more took place at this stage, which later Muslim chroniclers have ignored.

The young emperor Bhoja had by now acquired considerable strength. Anarta, Kheṭaka-maṇḍala and the valley of the Mahi formed parts of Mālava, while the valley of the Sabarmati was a part of his dominion and so was Lāṭa. If the story of Mahmud having appointed Dabishleem as the ruler of Anahilavāḍa has any foundation, what can have caused Mahmud suddenly to leave so rich a country, to turn further west into the peninsula of Saurāshṭra and to rush back through inhospitable Kachchha? And how came it about that the forces of Śākambhari, Medāpaṭa and Naddūla, the powerful rulers of Rajputana allowed this to happen? The only possible explanation is that the confederate forces of Gūrjaradeśa were lying in wait at some unknown spot, to deal with Mahmud. This is the only eventuality in which the great conqueror could have thought it better to return precipitately by way of the desert.

Kitab-Zain ul-Akhbar, the earliest of the sources, gives the following account:

"From that place Mahmud turned back, the reason being that Param Deo, who was the king of the Hindus, was in the way, and Amir Mahmud 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 Mansura and the bank of the Sihun, went towards Multan. His soldiers suffered heavily on the way both from the dryness of the desert and from the Jats 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 Multan."[68]

Ibn-ul-Athir, writing two hundred years later, gives the same reason for Mahmud's retreat, and corroborates al-Gardizi. "The Sultan raised his standard with the intention of returning, but as Param Deo, one of the *most powerful* of the Rajas of Hindustan, had to be met on the way, he did not, in all the circumstances consider it advisable to fight with him at that time. So he turned towards Multan by way of Sind. His troops endured great privations *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 Ghazni in the year 417 A.H. (A.D. 1026)."[69]

Later Muslim chroniclers corroborate the fact that the bulk of Mahmud's army was paralysed by fever and thirst. It was trapped in a waterless region so that a large part of the army and most of the beasts of burden perished by the way. At last they came to Mansura in Sind. The exultantly confident and formidable army which Mahmud had led against Gūrjaradeśa, returned thinned in numbers and depressed in spirit. Ultimately, after a short halt at Multan, Mahmud reached Ghazni on April 2, 1026. This expedition was a disastrous end to a brilliant series of raids and Mahmud gave up his intentions on India thereafter.

This explains why, Mahmud did not meet with any serious obstacle while entering Saurāshṭra. The confederate forces of Paramadeva had trapped him in the peninsula, so that he was obliged to give up the idea of returning by the way he came. He saw no chance of an escape except by a precipitate retreat

through Kachchha to Sind. It is possible that with the army of Paramadeva in hot pursuit of him, he began to retreat with the greatest possible speed plundering Kanthkot on the way.

Who was this Paramadeva, the leader of the confederation of the Indian kings, whose army had forced Mahmud to a hurried advance on Prabhāsa and to hasty retreat through the desert? According to al-Gardizi and Nizam ud-Din, Paramadeva was "the most powerful of the Rajas of Hindustan." The king of Naharawala (Aṇahillavāḍa) is referred to differently by the same authors.

Later, Firishta identified Paramadeva with Bhima of Gujarat.[9] But in A.D. 1025 Bhima was the king of a small principality which was not then known as Gujarat. It is the subsequent greatness of Aṇahillavāḍa which invested him with a retrospective importance unjustified by the actual dimensions of the dominions over which he ruled. His forces were defeated at the end of December; he had to escape to a desert fort; at the same time Paramadeva stood ready with his formidable army to deal with Mahmud on his return. Before A.D. 1025 Bhima's sway outside the Sārasvata and Satyapura-maṇḍalas extended to no more than a part of Kachchha and possibly of Saurāshṭra. He was merely a *Mahārājādhirāja* while Bhoja was *Parameśvara*, exercising imperial sway over Anarta, Kheṭaka, Lāṭa and even Southern Rajputana, and Bhima was his subsidiary ally. Dr. Bhagwanlal's identification of Bhima with the obscure Paramāra of Abu is still wider of the mark. Paramadeva, therefore, can only be Bhoja, a corruption of either Paramāradeva, or of his title *Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. Bhoja had a regular standing

army, which is credited with having defeated the Turks.[71] According to the Udayapura-prasasti,[72] the temple of Somanatha was rebuilt by Bhoja, while, according to that of Bhava Brihaspati, it was Bhima who was responsible for rebuilding it. It may, therefore, have been re-erected by Bhoja and Bhima jointly.

Mandalika, the Abhira ruler of Somanatha, was also among the confederate princes who pursued Mahmud's army. The *Tarikh-i-Sorath* while describing his exploits states that the Muslim army did not make a stand, but fled. It was a rout.

"Shah Mahmud took to his heels in dismay and saved his life, but many of his followers of both sexes were captured.... Turks, Afghans and Moghal female prisoners, if they happened to be virgins, were accepted as wives, were cleansed by means of emetics and purgatives and thereafter the captives were married to men of similar rank." "Low females were joined to low men. Respectable men were compelled to shave off their beards, and were enrolled among the Shekavat and the Wadhel tribes of Rajputs; whilst the lower kinds were allotted to the castes of Kolis, Khantas, Babrias and Mers."[73] The *Devala-Smriti* was in operation.

For destroying India's greatest shrine Mahmud received gifts from the Caliph. The later panegyrists of Ghazni, therefore, loved to sing of this episode as a great feat of Mahmud. After two hundred years, it naturally came to be invested with fanciful details.

A wave of hatred for the vandal swept over the whole of northern India. The grim defiance with which Jayapala and Anandapala faced Mahmud, did not more than reflect the mood of this country. Al-Beruni, in his *Indika* (A.D. 1030) attests to the

hatred felt by the Indians for the *mlechchhas*. "Mahmud", says al-Beruni, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country and performed those wonderful exploits by which Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in every direction and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Is it a matter for surprise that their scattered remains cherish the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims?" No wonder this sympathetic scholar found the victims of his patron Mahmud's widespread destructiveness, "haughty, foolishly vain, self-contained and stolid." "The Hindus believe," complains the author, "that there is no country like theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no science like theirs." Proud India had evidently risen to resist the onrushing forces of sacrilege and destruction which threatened their land.

(ix)

Effect of Sultan Mahmud's Raids

The quarter of a century during which Mahmud of Ghazni persistently raided India, marks a hiatus between the magnificent era of expansion and the grim period of disintegration and resistance. "It is too often assumed that the invasion of Sultan Mahmud had no permanent results so far as India was concerned. Nothing can be a greater mistake."

Mahmud was a mighty general, perhaps the foremost of his age and one of the greatest soldiers the world has seen. He was an able ruler, a patron of the arts and literature and a notable builder, but for India, an arch-destroyer.

The Muslim chroniclers record him as one of the greatest of kings, an ideal conqueror, an incomparable champion of Islam, but no dispassionate historian can

take that view. According to them he employed teachers to convert Hindus to Islam and among the converts was Sukhpal, the grandson of the heroic ruler of the Punjab.

Whatever be the motive, wherever he went, Mahmud plundered, massacred, burnt, demolished temples, broke the idols. He carried away thousands of prisoners and sold them as slaves. He decimated the youth of the country. He had in him that streak of savage vandalism which was common to many of the Central Asian conquerors of the time.

Mahmud's feats cannot be attributed merely to an avaricious temperament. Taken by themselves they cannot explain, much less justify, the barbarous way in which he spread rapine and death in the country for over a quarter of a century. He collected the finest architects and the best masons from all over Asia to erect beautiful buildings at Ghazni, yet he destroyed the splendid temples of India, which were the wonders of the world.

Utbi thus describes the incredible grandeur of Keśavadeva's temple at Mathura: "If one should wish to construct a building equal to this, one would not be able to do it without expending a hundred thousand dinars, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed." The temple of Somanātha that he destroyed was, as we now know, a magnificent structure. "The Sultan gave orders", says Utbi, "that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha lime fire and levelled to the ground."[74]

The memory of this vandalism was a wicked legacy for later Muslim rulers of India; they were impelled to follow Mahmud's footsteps so that

northern India lies littered with the ruins of thousands of glorious temples.

Before the Yaminis appeared on the scene, Afghanistan had followed Hinduism. But the conquest of Afghanistan by the Turks severed India's cultural contacts with Central Asia in which her influence had predominated so far. The overland trade routes were cut off.

Sind and Baluchistan had already been lost to the Arabs, so that India now had a solid rampart of hostile powers all along her western frontier. Across it, came conquerors to loot, to destroy, or to establish camps from which to carry out their raids. The human resources of these armies were boundless, for they could impress into service those central Asian tribes who were amongst the finest horsemen in the world. It is spoken of as a Muslim invasion, because superficially, at least, the invaders had adopted Islam. In reality however it was no more than a descent of hungry men from the barren steppes who were in search of unlimited loot upon a rich and fertile country.

The conquerors had their own *weltanschung* and they despised the religion of the conquered. Even a scholar such as al-Beruni, who made determined efforts to master the *śāstras*, could do no more than look upon the religion of India and its philosophy with condescension. Moreover, there were many things in their faith which were advantageous to the conquerors. They were allowed by law to loot the temples; to carry men and women away into servitude; to inflict upon Indians any punishment they chose; and, in addition to the monetary gains resulting from such crimes, they were assured, by commit-

ting these brutal acts, a safe niche in heaven.

On the other hand, the enormous devastation which overtook the cities of India destroyed both the schools of learning and the kings who were their patrons. And as soon as the Yaminis were established, more or less permanently, in the Punjab, the collective mind of India received a rude shock.

According to Medhātithi, no sanctity attached to Brahmāvarta as such; it would become a *mlechchhadeśa* if the *mlechchhas* subjugated it and came to live there. This attitude of the collective mind was shattered by Mahmud. *Mlechchhas* now dominated a part of Āryāvarta. Unable to combine, by the lightning rapidity of movement which characterised Mahmud, the great ruling houses of north India came to be overwhelmed one after the other. The capital, Kanauj, together with its *chakravarti*, was virtually swept away from the scene.

The Aryāvarta consciousness disappeared from practical politics. The Chāhamāna Vigraharaja IV of Ajmer was later eulogised by his panegyrist for having re-established Āryāvarta by exterminating the *mlechchhas*, but this was only a boast, for he could not exterminate the *mlechchhas*.

Āryadharma, chāturvarṇya and the law of the Smṛitis were no longer universal and fundamental laws of Aryāvarta even from the mountains to the seas. Hereafter they were laws that did not apply to everyone, but only to a section, however large. The integrating factor which had bound ancient India together, underwent a fundamental change. Hitherto, the Smṛiti-law was not only universal, but dynamic, and so could absorb foreigners. Hereafter it became a conservative force for the protection of the social

order and its cultural traditions by preventing the apostasy of the individual from Hinduism. The maintenance of the order sanctioned by the Smritis was now the first concern of the law-givers. Châturvarnya, though based on birth, had not so far been made up of exclusive groups; but in order to survive against the onslaughts of Islam and its proselytising zeal, the preservation of the purity of the race and tradition by imposing rigidity in social intercourse, became the only weapon. In consequence, castes tended to become sub-divided and localised and social usages became more powerful than the Smriti-law.

The break-up of Aryâvarta consciousness, incidental to Mahmud's invasion accelerated the regional consciousness, weakening the integrating forces. Kalhana's *Râjatarangini* or the history of Kashmir. Bilhana's *Vikramânkadevacharita*, Hemachandra's *Dvyâśrayakâvya* and Sandhyâkara Nandi's *Râmacharita* are regional histories, in which the author glorifies the king and the region over which he rules.

The Aryâvarta consciousness was, thus forgotten even by the learned men of the day. Hemachandra, the greatest scholar of his age, bestowed as much attention upon Prakrit as upon Sanskrit. His Grammar of Prakrit formed the last section of his famous Sanskrit Grammar, *Siddha-Hema;* and because the verses of *Dvyâśraya*, which illustrates the rules of *Siddha-Hema* grammar served a double purpose, one of which was to set forth the history of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, the historical material in the *Dvyâśraya* had no appeal for non-Gujaratis. Those of his works which became popular throughout India were his two Sanskrit dictionaries, *Abhidhâna-*

chintâmani and *Anekârthasangraha*.

In laying emphasis upon Prakrit and upon the collection of *desi* words, Hemachandra was only expressing the literary urge of his region. It made the development of Gujarati possible; but it also served to create a force which militated against the predominant position of Sanskrit and the unity for which it stood in the country.

But the most disastrous blow to the collective mind was that the cherished tradition of a *chakravarti*, a universal emperor and protector of the dharma, lost its efficacy; it was now an impossible ideal referred to only in religious recitals or pompous inscriptions. The kings were only local rulers, who, even so, could scarcely identify themselves with the land over which they ruled.

The most curious phenomenon between A.D. 1030 and 1100 was the utter inability of the Indian rulers and their advisers to realise the danger which was implicit in the rule of the Turkish Yaminis in the Punjab. They resisted, no doubt, but only when attacked, though as al-Beruni attests there was plenty of hatred for the *mlechchhas*.

Even the neighbours of the Turkish power could not see the need for a united defence. Steeped in local pride, they were blind to what was happening beyond their narrow range of vision. For them there was neither a common cause nor common danger. With the frontier sealed up, international awareness disappeared.

The reason for this state of things cannot be found in any lack of heroism. The rulers fought bravely; they would not submit; they died for their land and dharma. But they were too distrustful of

each other to do more than simply struggle on. No one dared to go beyond his frontiers for long enough to expose his kingdom to the greed of his neighbour.

Meanwhile, in an unconscious process of defensive resistance, the social organisation was growing more conservative, and no systematic attempt at driving out the foreigner was possible. After Bhoja's death, no large scale confederacy appears to have been formed under a single leadership against the foreigners.

The egregious pride of the new royal families; the segregation of the Brahmanas and the Vaisyas into castes separate from the Kshatriyas, the weakness arising from the necessity of maintaining even relentless foes on their thrones as feudatories, and the wars of succession at the death of almost every ruler, contributed to the general decay.

Perhaps the ultimate cause of this ever-recurring disintegration was the unrestricted polygamy of the Kshatriyas of the day. This led to the three dwija classes being isolated into different connubium groups so that the former freedom of inter-marriage became a thing of the past. Each of the queens in any given royal family was a proud, jealous woman, fiercely attached to her parental importance; ceaselessly intriguing to gain advantage for her sons; and ready, the moment the controlling hand of the king was removed, to call in the warrior clan of her father to take action.

In the wars of succession, the heir presumptive naturally relied upon his maternal relatives for support. But the Kshatriyas were polygamous. Every heir could, therefore, look to his own mother's clan—generally a rival one—for support against the clan

of his rival's mother. A mother, more often than not, married her sons to the daughters of her own clan in order to strengthen the pretensions of her son against the sons of her co-wives. The Pratihāras, the Chāhamānas, the Chālukyas, the Chandellas and the Kalachuris were thus inter-connected clans, every man and woman of which ceaselessly intrigued and fought, with or without arms, to retain its position in every ruling family, large or small.

A wise king like Mūlarāja or Bhīma, in order to avoid a war of succession, associated the crown prince with him. Some, wiser still, retired as did Chāmuṇḍa, placing their favourite son on the throne. In rare cases the heir to the throne was strong enough to coerce his rivals into early submission thus avoiding a war of succession and paving the way to strong central authority.

It was an accepted rule that every chieftain should seek support from his own family or clan and that, in order to secure it, he should grant slices of his principality to its younger members. Thus had family pride strengthened its hold on the warrior clans and every ruler tended, in consequence, to be not the head of a hierarchy, but merely the first among equals; "the head of inter-related over-lordships", to use the apt phrase of Garnet. At every succession, the relatives of the deceased, who were themselves little chieftains, divided into rival camps supporting competing heirs. It was, therefore, impossible, when the victor succeeded in securing the crown for himself, to deprive them of their power. He simply could not create a fresh hierarchy owing allegiance to himself, as had the early conquerors of the Pratihāra dynasty.

The idea that an enemy must be reduced to vas-

salage and not merely be displaced has its root also in this disability of the kings. The Kshatriya corporation would not brook a flagrant breach of this privilege, which, if allowed to be committed would spell its downfall at the hands of an ambitious monarch. The Brāhmaṇas, at all times opposed to irresponsible political power, were also averse to sanctioning a breach which would place a king so far above his equals as to jeopardise the law of the Smṛitis which they were pledged to defend.

The invasion of Somanātha was Sultan Mahmud's last major raid in India. But the age of expansion for India ended. Part of her soil was permanently annexed by the foreigners. The next three hundred years for India was an age of resistance.

(x)

Empire of Bhoja

However, for the time being, the country except the Punjab was virtually free from Muslim incursions and Bhoja was able to turn his attention to the consolidation of his empire. He and Gāṅgeyadeva of Ḍāhala appear to have attacked Chandella Vidyādhara, but without any decisive result. The Mahoba inscription of the Chandellas records: "Bhojadeva, together with the moon of the Kalachuri (Gāṅgeyadeva), worshipped, full of fear, like a pupil (this) master of warfare (Vidyādhara)."[15]

Vidyādhara, however, could not prevent Bhoja's progress further north, so that the Mahoba inscription is more boastful than true. It is indeed probable that Vidyādhara entered into an alliance with Bhoja in order to appropriate the fragments of the Pratihāra dominions for, by this time, Vidyādhara had

defeated and killed Rājyapāla. Bhoja also entered into an alliance with Abhimanyu, the Kachchhapaghāta king of Dubkund, who had also carved out a principality for himself from the imperial territory. Prince Arjuna of this family is stated to have helped Vidyādhara to defeat and kill Rājyapāla. The Dubkund inscription (A.D. 1088) states: "The highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhojadeva, has widely celebrated the skill which he (Abhimanyu) showed in the marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons."[76]

Another branch of the Kachchhapaghātas ruled over Gwalior. Bhoja would no doubt have liked to capture the famous fort, but was unable to do so; for the Sasbahu inscription of the Kachchhapaghātas states that Kirtipāla, a king of Gwalior, inflicted such a crushing defeat on the king of Mālava, that spears fell from the hands of his soldiers through fear, and were subsequently collected by the villagers.[77]

In spite of his failure to capture Gwalior, Bhoja pushed forward and took Kanauj, defeating Yaśahpāla, the last known member of the imperial dynasty of Nāgabhaṭa. The Udayapur-praśasti tells us that Bhoja conquered the lords of Chedi, Karṇāṭa Lāṭa, Indraratha, Toggala, Bhīma and kings of the Gūrjaras and the Turushkas. The Bhīma mentioned here was evidently the king of Aṇahilavāḍa; the king of the Gūrjaras can only be identified with the Pratihāra ruler.

Bhoja, however, could not have retained Kanauj for long, for within a decade, fortune had turned against him and Kanauj first passed into the hands of Kalachuri Karṇa and was later conquered by the Gahaḍavālas of Kanauj.

It is probable that during this time, Bhoja's general Surāditya defeated and killed a prince called Sāhavāhana. This episode is mentioned in the Tilakwada grant of A.D. 1047.[78] Nevertheless, as Bhoja suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Western Chalukyas shortly after A.D. 1044, it may be presumed that Sāhavāhana was defeated earlier. The Tilakwada plate does not disclose the identity of Sāhavāhana, but in Chamba, in the Himachal Pradesh, there was a dynasty of princes in the 11th century of whom the most powerful was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara* Sālavāhanadeva, who was also known as Sāhilladeva, Sāla, Sahila and Soila.[79] According to Kalhana, this Sālavāhanadeva, was checked by Ananta, the king of Kashmir, between A.D. 1025-1031. Bhoja is known to have maintained very cordial relations with Kashmir, the boundary of which touched the northern frontiers of Chamba. It is possible that Bhoja sent his general Surāditya against the Sālavāhana of the Tilakwada plate.

About this time, Bhoja probably attacked Śākambhari, modern Sambhar, then ruled over by the Chāhamāna king, Vākpati II. Vākpati's defeat was complete, for the panegyrist of his descendant writes that his glory was destroyed by Bhoja of Avanti.[80] This victory may very well have prompted Bhoja to attack the Chāhamānas of Naddūla, who, under Balirāja, had defeated Vākpati Muñja. Balirāja was succeeded by Mahindra, Aśvapāla, Ahila and Anahilla, of whom the last two boast of having defeated Bhima of Anahilavāḍa. Anahilla also claims to have conquered Śākambarī, defeated its army and killed the leader, Sādha. If he did, it must have been during the last years of Bhoja's reign.

This was the highest point in the brilliant military career of Bhoja. His imperial sway extended from Chamba and Thaneswar in the north to the Krishna and the Tungabhadra in the south, and from Dwarka to Kanauj. Among his feudatories were not only the kings of Chamba, Dubkund, Śākambhari, Naddūla, Medāpaṭa and Aṇahilavāḍa, with its vassals of Kachchha and Saurāshṭra, Lāṭa and Koṅkaṇa, but also Gāṅgeya and his son, Karṇa of Chedi, Chālukya Jayasimha II and his son, Someśvara of Kalyāṇi. He was also the master of Kanauj though only a ghost of its imperial self.

The different parts of the old Gūrjaradeśa had, for the time being, been brought together.

Rājarāja, the Choḷa of Tanjore, who was the only other emperor of equal importance in the country, was on terms of cordial friendship with him. Above all else, Bhoja had helped in driving out the *mlechchhas* from the land.

As has already been referred to, by A.D. 1019, the Western Chālukya Jayasiṁha had compelled Bhoja to withdraw from Karnataka, but for the next twenty-five years the latter remained unmolested by the Chālukyas. In A.D. 1044, Jayasiṁha was succeeded by his son, Someśvara I (A.D. 1044-1068). Some time between A.D. 1044 and 1058, Someśvara attacked Mālava, defeated Bhoja and sacked Dhārā and Ujjayini. The Paramāra emperor was growing old and his military strength was not what it was. Someśvara, however, soon returned to Karnataka, whereupon Bhoja re-occupied his capital. But he never recovered from this blow which ultimately brought about his downfall. On his death the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa made a bid to be

the greatest power in Western India.

At the accession of Bhoja one of the greatest military leaders in history with his ruthless hordes was laying waste the whole of northern India. Future research may reveal that the collapse of the Yamini ambition after A.D. 1024 was due to the Second Empire of Gūrjaradeśa, which Bhoja had built up. Neither Muñja, nor his father Sindhurāja, had left him a consolidated empire. When Muñja met his end at Māṇyakheṭa, the empire of Mālava had already collapsed, and his successor Sindhurāja retained no more than a precarious hold over the feudatories of the outlying parts. So with Mālava alone as his patrimony, Bhoja built up a great empire.

By the time Bhoja came to the throne, Gūrjaradeśa had lost its cohesion; disintegrating forces had been at work. The regionalisation of the Kshatriya tradition had fragmented north India. His homeland was a Mālava which extended from modern Kotah to the Narmadā, and from the mouth of the Mahi to Bhilsa. The fragments of the old Gūrjaradeśa, Gujarat, Medāpaṭa, Naddūla, Sākambharī, Gwalior, Delhi and Abu, each had a ruler, who could not subordinate his kingly ambition to hierarchic contentment. They had no loyalty towards the suzerain as had been the case under the First Empire, but only a grudging and restive loyalty which waited impatiently for the first sign of its weakness to destroy it.

The Udayapur-praśasti claims boastfully that Bhoja possessed the earth from Kailāśa to the Malaya hills and from the setting to the rising of the sun.[81] There is no doubt however that the epithet of *Sārvabhauma*, which was applied to him, was justified.

The emperor was getting old. His homeland, if small, was rich, but he had no imperial hierarchs to maintain his power in his days of difficulty. Now a new danger of the first magnitude, faced him.

In A.D. 1041, Karṇa, son of Gāṅgeya Vikramāditya, came to the throne of Tripuri. He was a young man who was not only fired with a mighty ambition but a great general. Karṇa extended a friendly hand to Someśvara Āhavamalla, son of Jayasiṁha II, the Western Chālukya of Kalyāṇī. Someśvara was, for the moment, free from entanglement with the Cholas in the south. Bhīma of Aṇhilavāḍa was also getting restive. Bhoja had suffered reverses at the hands of Vidyādhara Chandella, who had been helped by Kīrtirāja (A.D. 1015-35), the Kachchhapaghāta ruler of Gwalior. Dhārā had been sacked by Someśvara, who became a "flame of doom to Bhoja". This event took place between A.D. 1044-1051. Tribhuvanapāla claims that his father Goggirāja freed Lāṭa from the hands of the enemies.[82]

But the aged emperor was too great a monarch to be disposed of so easily. He regained Dhārā; a tragic and venerable figure, he lived on, surrounded by the ruins of the greatness and power which he had built up so brilliantly.

The statement in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, that during his last days, Bhoja was harassed by his enemies, was too true. All the feudatories of Mālava regained their independence. But soon there was a rift between Karṇa of Chedi and Someśvara Āhavamalla and the aged emperor did not lose his position till the end. The grant of Govindachandra, already quoted, confirms this, when it says that when Śrī-Bhoja and Karṇa (of Chedi) were dead, the earth

chose Chandradeva, the Gāhaḍavāla king, as her lover and protector.[83]

Bhoja died in c. A.D. 1054 and upon his death, the Second Empire of Gūrjaradeśa began to break up. The Udayapur-praśasti says: "When the devotee of Bharga (Śiva) whose brilliance resembled the sun (i.e. Bhoja), had gone to the mansion of gods, the earth, like Dhārā, was filled with dense darkness of his foes (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm. Then arose king Udayāditya, another sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword (end) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour."[84]

The Nagpur-praśasti corroborates this statement. "When he (Bhoja) had become the companion of Indra, and when the realm was in deluge, in which the sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayāditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who joined by the Karṇāṭas was like the mighty ocean, this prince did indeed act like the Sacred Boar."[85]

(xi)

The Age of Bhoja

From his boyhood, Bhoja had spent a strenuous life, and had exhibited a rare and versatile brilliance. He had a sure eye to magnificence. He was a great builder, perhaps the greatest in the seven hundred years under review and, being a devotee of Śiva, he built temples dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Sundira, Kāla, Anala and Rudra.[86] The Bhojaśālā at Dhārā was a University

of all-India importance; attached to it was a temple dedicated to the goddess Sarasvati, styled Sarasvati-Sadana or Bhārati-Bhavana which was "a meeting place of great poets, of scholars prominent in the three Vedas, of critics and accomplished men possessing great appreciation and taste coming from all quarters."[87] Profane hands converted it later into the Kamalmauli Mosque, and the muezzin called from the proud monument to Bhoja's love of learning. The figure of Sarasvati, the presiding deity of this temple, "is a chef d'oeuvre of rare beauty, in its exquisite serenity of pose, in its entrancing and balancing rhythm, in the elegance and suavity of its aquiline features, and in the general restraint in the treatment of the anatomy which is almost free from any exaggeration."[88] Close to Sarasvatī-mandira was a large well, still known as "*Akkal-Kui*" or the "Well of Wisdom."

Another memorial raised to celebrate the victory of Bhoja over the Chālukyas of the Deccan and Gāṅgeya Chedi has been converted into the Lat Masjid.[89] The old fortifications of Dhārā are also attributed to Bhoja. He also raised the fortress of Mandu or Mandapadurga and established a college which housed several hundred students. In addition, he built bathing *ghaṭs* and temples at Ujjayini.

The great lake at Bhojapura, a town founded by him, and of which the old dams stood till a few years ago, was also constructed by him. The Bhoja-sāgara, now excavated by Kincaid had an area of three-hundred-and-fifty square miles and was perhaps the most magnificent sweet-waterlake in the world.[90] The whole of the Betwa Valley was utilised for the pur-

pose; the Bhopal State Railway now runs on the bed of the lake, and the village of Dip (Dvīpa) stands on it.

The reputation of the lake still survives in the well-known saying:

Tāl to Bhopal tāl
Dusaren talaiyan hain.

"The lake is the Bhopal Lake; others are just ponds." The site of the lake justifies its reputation. As one climbs the hill which stands in the centre, and upon which Bhoja started to build a temple of Śiva, one can observe the huge bowl which once held the expanse of water.

Bhoja built a great town on its banks, the grandeur of which is attested by the remains of a temple celebrated for its gigantic polished quartzite linga.[31] Modern Bhopal is Bhoja's *pāla* (bound). In the lake there were large boat-houses from which the Emperor and his retinue sailed out in pleasure-boats. Four hundred years later Saha Hussain emptied the lake; and on the grandeur which was Bhoja-sāgara now lie scattered villages.

Bhoja's love of magnificent monuments knew no geographical bounds. He built a sacred tank at Kapāleśvara in Kashmir and took a vow that he would always wash his face in water brought from this Pāpa-sūdana-Tīrtha. Padmarāja, a betel-seller and a favourite of Ananta, the contemporary king of Kashmir, brought Bhoja's vow to fruition by the regular despatch of a large number of jars filled with the holy water from the *tīrtha*.[32] The remains of the enclosure which the emperor constructed in order to collect the waters of the sacred spring, are still extant.

"The latter now rises", says Stein, "in a circular tank of at least 60 yards in diameter, which is enclosed by a solid stone wall, and by steps leading to the water.... From the formation of the ground, it is evident that this tank has been formed by closing artificially the gully in which the spring rises on the hill-sides."[22]

In taste and temperament, Bhoja was the child of Ujjayinī, as the home of culture the twin of Vārāṇasi. It was also the home of romance and literature, the cultural fountain-head of Gūrjaradeśa. Though nominally outside the strict geographical boundaries of that region, it stood within it for all practical purposes; for, under Muñja and Bhoja, the city reached the climax of its cultural influence as it had done once before, when Vikramāditya ruled and Kālidāsa sang.

In the days of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, Māhishmatī on the Narmadā, had been his capital; Ujjayini, meanwhile, was the capital of one of the confederate clans, the Avantis. It was Arjuna's son, Jayadhvaja, who transferred the capital of the Haihayas from Māhishmatī to Ujjayinī, which, later, became the capital of the Bhojas, a branch of the Yādavas.

In the 6th century B.C., it was almost a rival of *Pāṭaliputra*, and the fiery Pradyota, father of Vāsavadattā, the heorine of Bhāsa's play of that name, ruled from there. As Kālidāsa puts it: "Here Vatsarāja carried off the beloved daughter of Pradyota; here too there was the golden garden of *tāla* belonging to that very king; here indeed roamed the elephant Nalagiri (a furious elephant given, according to legend, to Pradyota by Indra) uprooting his post in madness; with these stories well-informed

persons divert their relatives who come on a visit to this place."[24]

In the *Mrichchhakaṭika*, we have the picture of Ujjayini during the time of Āryaka, grandson of Pradyota. But the vivid pictures given by Śūdraka and Kālidasa of the life in the city, point to its being from early days the home of both learning and fashion. According to Kālidāsa, the women of Ujjayini were noted for side-glances as dazzling as flashes of lightning. The perfume from their hair escaped from its windows and pet peacocks danced in its palaces[25].

But it was no less a home of religious dialectics. Buddhism gained a firm ground in the country-side and Aśoka himself, as a viceroy, ruled over western India from its capital Ujjayini. It may be presumed, therefore, that Ujjayini continued to be the home of high learning and religious training.

During the Suṅga period, Mālava was a famous religious centre and in the reign of Bhāgabhadra, who was probably the last of the Suṅga kings, Heliodoros, a Greek Vaishṇava, erected a stone pillar in Vidiśā, in front of the temple dedicated to Vishṇu."[26] Throughout this period, Ujjayinī was also a centre of Jainism.

In the first century after Christ, the Scythian Satraps, who had acquired western India, ruled from Ujjayini as their capital. For over four hundred years, Western Satraps ruled from Ujjayinī over what was the old empire of Sahasrārjuna, which, comprised modern Gujarat, Rajputana and Mālava.

Chandragupta II, the great Gupta emperor, who assumed the title of Vikramāditya captured Ujjayini from the Satraps. It then became the great

centre from which radiated the cultural forces with which the "golden age" of the Guptas was associated in the 5th and 6th centuries. Ujjayinī was also the capital of the Hun conquerors Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula but their power was short-lived, for it was destroyed by Vishṇuvardhana Yaśodharmadeva.[97]

On the death of Bhānugupta, the Gupta Empire came to an end and Mālava was divided, in about A.D. 520, into East Mālava, with its capital at Ujjayinī, and West Mālava which extended to the river Mahi. Ujjayini continued nevertheless to be the intellectual centre of Western India. In A.D. 641, Hiuen-Tsang found a Brāhmaṇa ruling there. The king was learned; the city was the home of learning.[98]

In the first half of the eighth century, as we saw before, Nāgabhaṭa I made it the capital of Gūrjaradeśa, and so it probably remained till his grandson shifted the seat of the empire to Kanauj. In A.D. 950 it was in the possession of the Imperial Gūrjaras and continued to radiate its literary and cultural influence. When Siyaka II captured Ujjayinī, the Second Empire reclaimed its soul.

The Paramāra kings, from Muñja Vākpati downwards, were as much the creatures as the creators of Ujjayinī and of its greatness, for there has been no race of kings so learned and so generous towards learning as were the Paramāras who succeeded Vākpati. Sindhurāja, whose exploits Padmagupta has described in the *Navasāhasāṅka-charita*, made Ujjayinī his capital; and Bhoja, although he finally moved to Dhārā, was heir to the learning and culture that had been eddying round Ujjayinī for over fifteen centuries.

Bhoja was a poet, scholar and a patron of learning. Kingship and conquest were to him subsidiary activities, instruments wherewith to serve the goddess Sarasvati. Nor was his fame merely contemporary; it has survived for the last nine hundred years. He has indeed been the universal standard by which to measure any one who is favourably disposed towards literature. The *Rājatarangiṇi* says: "He *(kshitipati)* and king Bhoja, famous for their great liberality were at that moment both poets themselves and friends of poets."[99] Mammaṭa in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* remarks: "It is in the play of Bhoja that, there is such richness as in the mansions of the learned."[100] Two hundred years later, when Vastupāla was being compared to a generous patron of learning, Bhoja was referred to in these terms: "King Bhoja, having gone to the world of the Sun and King Muñja having got the brilliant possessions of the heavens, Vastupāla alone is left to wipe off the tears of beggars."[101] That the high praise given to Bhoja was not mere rhetoric is clear from the universal testimony of succeeding ages.

Bhoja himself was a versatile author, a polymath. His mastery of Sanskrit and Prakrit was unchallenged and he was even the inventor of new metres. Whether all the works attributed to him are his own compositions, or were written by others under his supervision, is not certain. But he is mentioned by Daśabala, a Buddhist writer, a commentator on the *Dharmaśāstras;* by Śūlapāṇi in the *Prāyaśchittaviveka;* also by Allāḍanātha, Raghunandana and Vijñāneśvara. He has been quoted on medical subjects in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* and in Mādhava's *Roganiśchaya* and upon astronomy by Keśavārka. He is mentioned by Kshira-

svāmi, Sāyaṇa and Mahipā as a grammarian and lexicographer, and is praised as a poet by Chittapa Diveśvara, Vināyaka, Śaṅkara Sarasvatī and Sarasvati Kutumbaduhitṛi.

Bhoja did not leave behind him a band of devoted pupils who thought it to be their duty to hand down their master's works to posterity. But a study of all those works which have been attributed to Bhoja's pen is certain to throw light on the unity and authorship of at least some of them, for those that are his own show the unmistakable and extraordinary intellectual sweep and stylistic richness of their royal author.[102]

Among the literary men who flourished at Bhoja's court were Dhanapāla, author of the *Tilaka-mañjarī*; a certain Kālidāsa, (not the great one, but his namesake), to whom are attributed *Nalodaya* and *Chāmpu Rāmāyaṇa*; Uvaṭa, a native of Ānandapura, who wrote his *Mantrabhāshya* on the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda* at Ujjayinī, and perhaps Vijñaneśvara, the author of the law text *Mitākshara*.

Merutuṅga records a number of anecdotes relating to Bhoja from which this extraordinary historical figure emerges clearly. Above and beyond his conquests, apart from the magnificence with which he adorned shrines and places of learning, there appears the sage, who is comparable only to such royal sages like Janaka and Marcus Aurelius. As he got up every day, he asked himself: "What good can I do today?" One of his sayings indicates the spirit of a *Karmayogi*:

"The sun will set in the western sky and take
away with him part of life.

Men ask me daily 'what's the news today? Are
you quite hale and glad and fit?'
How can we keep the body's health? Is not
our life departing day by day?
Perform today the duty of tomorrow, the after-
noon's before noon;
For death won't wait to see if you have done
the duty of the day or no.
Is death now dead, Is age now decrepit,
Are life's disasters now destroyed,
The rush of illness quite arrested,—that all these
men are lost in mirth?"

The power, glory and wealth which came to him so plentifully, had no permanent value for him. In one of his verses he says:

"If I have not given my wealth to suppliants
Before the bright sun doth set in the west,
Can any one man that is living assure me,
To whom this my wealth will belong on the
morrow?"

On his bracelets were engraved certain memorable sentences:

"Uncertain by nature is human prosperity,
The time of possession is the time for bestowal;
Misfortune is certain to reach you quite soon,
Too late to discover a chance for well-doing?"

Bhoja had the outlook of a philosopher. He listened with indulgence to Dhanapāla, a fanatical Jain, who condemned Vedic sacrifices and ridiculed his guardian god, Śiva, whom he worshipped. Even the sacred cow did not escape the poet's pointed shaft. But the Emperor smiled, followed his own way, yet cherished Dhanapāla as a treasure.

Many and varied were the memories which Bhoja left behind him. An inscription of Devapāla, dated A.D. 1228, compares him with Śri Krishna:—

"There was a king, great like Kaṁśa's conqueror, an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhojadeva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army. When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings."[103]

Bilhaṇa though a court-poet of the Western Chālukyas, who were hostile to Bhoja, spoke of him in laudatory terms:

"Bhoja was the lord of the earth, and not, indeed, comparable to vulgar kings. 'Woe is me!' Dhārā cried to him (i.e. Bilhaṇa) through the voice of the pigeons nesting on the lofty towers of her gates: 'Why didst thou not come into his (Bhoja's) presence?'"[104]

Even while he lived, his name passed into history as an ideal king. Popular imagination enshrined him in the proverb *Kahaṁ Rāyā Bhoja ane Kahaṁ Gaṅgeya ane Talaṅgaṇa*. "How exalted is king Bhoja, how low Gāṅgeya and Talaṅgaṇa", a proverb now corrupted into "how exalted is king Bhoja and how low is Gaṅga teli (oilman)".

Bhoja had the brilliance, but not the impetuosity of his uncle, Muñja. He had his share of failures. It was an age when regionalism had grown apace, when centrifugal forces were operating all over the country, when Mahmud, one of the greatest of military leaders, was persistently spreading destruction in the country, and when three of the frontiers of his small homeland were in constant jeopardy. It was in such difficult times as these that

he restored the integrity, the power and the magnificence with which Gūrjaradeśa had been associated during the two hundred years before Bhoja's triumphs. He had a splendour of character which has left an ineffaceable tradition in India. A poet and a polymath, he staked his reputation in the service of culture. Of all the great kings who have flourished in India, it is only his name that remains from one end of India to another as a synonym for learning and generosity, a distinction unique in the history of the world.

Most magnificent of all the kings of India, Bhoja will live in history even as the Udaipur-praśasti styles him:

"The illustrious Bhoja, the poet king—
He achieved, he gave, he knew.
And what he did, none but he could.
What greater praise can mortal ever covet?"[125]

CHAPTER IX

THE THIRD EMPIRE OF GŪRJARADEŚA

(i)

Rise of Bhima Chaulukya

Soon after his succession, Bhima had to face the storm of Sultan Mahmud's invasion, but there is no doubt that he emerged the stronger for it. The raid passed like a whirlwind, and the country soon regained her strength. Bhīma's grant of A.D. 1029, records that he granted a village in Kachchha-*maṇḍala*.[1] This grant and the completion by his minister Vimala in A.D. 1032[2] of the Ādinātha temple at Abu, prove that Bhīma's hold over Kachchha and Abu was complete.

It is difficult to say whether Kachchha was annexed to the Chaulukyan dominion in the time of Bhīma or earlier. In Mūlarāja's time,[5] the region of Abu, just north of Sārasvata-maṇḍala, was an independent kingdom. Mūlarāja, however, defeated its king, Dharaṇīvarāha. At what stage Muñja appointed his son as the king of Abu it is difficult to say, but Dharaṇīvarāha's grandson, Dhandhuka, was a feudatory of Durlabharāja, though possibly for a very short time. Dhandhuka rebelled against Bhīma and took refuge in Chitrakūṭa (Chitod) which, at that time was included in the territory of Bhoja. Dhandhuka, as we find from an inscription of his son, Pūrṇapāla, dated A.D. 1042, became the *Mahārājādhirāja* ruling over Arbuda-maṇḍala, "having conquered his enemy";[4] Bhoja, helped Dhandhuka to regain his throne, who became evidently independent of Bhima. Abu was therefore for sometime independent of Anahilavāḍa. Only after the death of Bhoja, it was annexed to the Chaulukya kingdom and so it remained during the whole of the Chaulukyan period.

Bhīma also attacked the Paramāras of Bhinmal and captured their king, Kṛishṇadeva; but he was forced by the Naddūla Chāhamāna, Anahilla, to release the Paramāra, whether by diplomacy or by war, it is difficult to say.[6]

Bhima, through his mother, was related to the Chāhamānas, but it appears that during this period, their relations were hostile. He was twice defeated by them, once at Pratishṭhānaka and again at Sanderao in Jodhpur State. It is possible that Saptaśata-vishaya mentioned in the Sevadi plates had once come under the control of Bhīma, but was subsequently lost to him.[6] These place-names clearly indicate that

Bhīma was the aggressor.

According to Merutuṅga, Bhīma once invaded Sind.[7] Hemachandra also states that Bhima attacked Sind and defeated its king.[8] It is probable that he had encroached upon the territory of the Saindhavas who ruled over west Saurashṭra, with their capital at Ghumli, twenty-five miles north-east of Porbander.[9] But these wars show that Bhima only entered upon petty campaigns against small neighbour kingdoms.

The relations of Bhīma with Bhoja require careful examination. In the *Bhima-Bhoja-prabandha*, Merutuṅga relates a number of anecdotes. From these it appears that Bhima maintained an ambassador at Bhoja's court called Ḍīmara, whose timely intervention once saved Bhīma from a full-scale invasion which Bhoja was about to launch against him.[10]

It is certain that Bhima was once defeated by Bhoja, and, if the stories related by Merutuṅga have any real basis, Bhima always apprehended a Paramāra invasion. Though he was never Bhoja's vassal, and is known not to have taken part in any of his campaigns, the growing power of Mālava forced him to pay due regard to Bhoja.

But after Bhoja's defeat at the hands of Someśvara I, the situation was changed. Dhārā and Ujjain had been sacked by the Karnataka army, Bhoja's prestige was waning and he could muster very little of his former military strength. Bhima, therefore, entered into an alliance with Kalachuri Lakshmī-Karṇa, the most famous soldier of his time. Together they invaded Mālava while the exhausted and aged Paramāra emperor was still alive. How much resistance Bhoja was able to put up during his

last days is difficult to say. Merutuṅga is probably right when he states that, overtaken by disease Bhoja died and after his death Lakshmī-Karṇa reduced the fort, which presumably guarded the capital, and appropriated all the wealth of Bhoja.[11]

But the Kalachuri-Chaulukya alliance seems to have ended soon after the division of the spoils. Lakshmi-Karṇa claims to have invaded Gūrjara country and defeated its king, while both Hemachandra and Merutuṅga relate that Bhīma obtained a golden shrine from the Kalachuri king, and Hemachandra adds that this shrine had once belonged to Bhoja.[12] Apparently, Lakshmi-Karṇa was too strong for Bhīma, who had, for the time being, to remain content with a few trifles. Bilhaṇa states that Someśvara I inflicted a crushing defeat on Lakshmī-Karṇa,[13] and it is possible that Bhīma sent his demand for the shrine after Lakshmī-Karṇa was defeated.

Yaśah-Karṇa, Lakshmī-Karṇa's son, ascended the throne while his father was still living;[14] it appears that the latter abdicated in favour of his son. Lakshmī-Karṇa's fall was very opportune; Mālava was in chaos, and Bhīma was the most powerful king in Western India. As a result, Kheṭaka-maṇḍala and the valley of the Mahi became permanent accretions to the Chaulukya kingdom.

Meanwhile, Jayasiṁha of Mālava, the successor of Bhoja, had come to terms with the Western Chālukyas and, with the latters' help, regained his capital and cleared Mālava, including Vāgaḍa, of his foes. But between A.D. 1051 and 1061, Lakshmī-Karṇa's general, Vapullaka, carried his conquests beyond the Narmadā and into the Śvetapāda country.[15]

(ii)

The Accession of Karṇa I

By his queen Udayamatī, Bhīma had two sons, Mūlarāja and Karṇa. He also had another queen, by whom he had a son called Kshemarāja or Haripāla.[16] Mūlarāja, the eldest son, died during Bhīma's lifetime, so that after his death Karṇa became the king of Sārasvata-maṇḍala and Kshemarāja and his son, Devaprasāda, retired to Dadhisthali.[17]

The reign of Jayasiṁha I of Mālava was but brief and he was succeeded by Udayāditya, a *bhrātā* (brother or cousin) of Bhoja. Udayāditya's principal enemy was Karṇa, for the power of the Kalachuris had declined. Karṇa first defeated Udayāditya, who, later on, with the help of the Chāhamānas, managed to drive him out of Mālava.[18] But Karṇa, successfully annexed Lāṭa, which thereafter formed a part of the Chaulukya kingdom.[19]

The Chāhamānas of Naddūla, Pṛithvipāla and his brother Jajalla, claim to have defeated Karṇa and Jajalla asserts further that he occupied Aṇahilavāḍa by force.[20] It is possible that while Karṇa was busy elsewhere, the Naddūla Chāhamānas raided the capital.

Karṇa married Mayanallādevī or Mīnaladevī, daughter of the Kadamba Jayakeśī, the friend of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya, the ruler of Karnataka. The *Prabandha* stories regarding the marriage of Mīnaladevī with Karṇa are fictitious. Hemachandra testifies to the fact that both Mīnaladevī and Karṇa on looking at each other's portraits straightway fell in love, and Merutuṅga's story of her wooing by Karṇa, through the intervention of Muñjala, is a

still more romantic rendering of an old folk tale. But from Hemachandra's accounts it can be inferred as a historical fact that Mināladevī was brought to Aṇahilavāḍa to be married; and it is possible that the viceroy of the Chālukya king of Kalyāṇī in charge of Koṅkaṇa, married his daughter to the new conqueror of Lāṭa, after suffering a severe defeat. Bringing his daughter to Aṇahilavāḍa would have been the price of peace. This is corroborated by Bilhaṇa's drama *Karṇasundarī* written in Aṇahilavāḍa between A.D. 1072-1078.

The Sārasvata and the Kheṭaka-maṇḍalas of old were separated by dense forests containing Bhilla settlements. Āśāpalli or Ashlali, (near modern Ahmedabad[21]), was in the centre of this tract. Karṇa was anxious to connect his two provinces by removing the intervening jungles, thus repairing an omission of his predecessors. He therefore subdued the Bhilla king. Āśā of Āśāpalli and founded Karṇavatī,[22] modern Ahmedabad, linking up the two *maṇḍalas*. It was left to Karṇa's foresight to weld north and south Gujarat into one. The founding of Karṇāvatī took place only a few years before his death.

In A.D. 1091, Karṇa assumed the title of Trailokyamalla,[23] on account of his having conquered Lāṭa, formerly included in the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas.

Amongst his ministers were Kekkaka, son of Vaṭeśvara; *Mahāsandhivigrahika* Śrī-Chahila; and Dhavalaka, son of Vimala's brother *Mantri* Neḍha. By A.D. 1090,[24] Muñjala had become the chief minister. Sampatkara a chief known in the *Prabandhas*, as Sāntu Mantrī, was also a chief minister. He was the patron of Bilhaṇa, the Kashmir poet, who

for some time lived at the court of Karṇa, and whose play *Karṇasundarī* was first performed at the festival of the pilgrimage of Śrī-Ādinātha under the leadership of *Mahāmātya* Sampatkara.

Karṇa was a great builder of temples, cities and tanks. In the personal descriptions of Chaulukya kings as given by later authors, one characteristic is commonly attributed to Karṇa: he was very handsome. Someśvara calls him "handsome as the god of love". In addition to his devotion to the family deity, Śiva, he was, according to Hemachandra, "a *Brahmavādin* and *Harismarī*". This indicates a catholicity of outlook not common amongst the earlier Chaulukyas.

According to *Hammīra-Mahākāvya*, Karṇa was killed in battle by Chāhamāna Durlabharāja, but the statement must be wrong, for, according to the more authoritative *Prithvirājavijaya*, Karṇa survived Durlabharāja; his reign is believed to have come to an end in A.D. 1093.

During this time, the Paramāras of Mālava had regained some of their lost territory. Lakshmadeva is said to have destroyed Aṅga, defeated the Kalachuris, brought Utkala and Kaliṅga under subjection, invaded the Hoysala territory, from which he was forced to withdraw), and won a sweeping victory over the Cholas.[2] He is next said to have advanced upon the Pāndya country and Ceylon. But this could scarcely be true. He is also said to have eradicated the Turushkas, who presented him with some horses, and to have defeated a Kira king. The Turushkas were probably the Yamīnis, Lakshmadeva's relentless foes.

Mahmud, the great-grandson of Sultan Mahmud,

was the governor of the Indian possessions of Ghazni. He invaded Madhyadeśa and captured Kanauj. He also invaded Mālava. The Persian poet, Sulaiman, sings the praises of Mahmud thus: "In the hottest part of each year, thou didst encamp at the most pleasant places. On this expedition thou didst destroy a thousand temples or idols. Thine elephants trampled over a hundred strongholds. Thou didst march the army to Ujjayinī. Mālava trembled and fled from thee."[2] This rhetoric is one-sided. Lakshmadeva drove back the invader from Mālava.

(iii)

Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, the Great

(A.D. 1096-1143)

The labours of Mūlarāja, Bhīma and Karṇa had borne little fruit. Gujarat had not grown into an imperial power. But there now came to the throne, Jayasiṁha, the son of Karṇa and Mīnaladevī, who built up the power, culture and greatness of Gūrjaradeśa and its people, by founding the Third Empire. His base, however, was north Gujarat and Aṇahilavāḍa was his capital.

Several contemporary writers have left their impressions of Jayasiṁha, the foremost being Hemachandra, who came into contact with the conqueror when he was at the zenith of his power and fame. This great scholar has left behind him a first-hand record in the *Dvyāśraya-Mahākāvya* and *Siddha-Hema*. He has, however, treated his patron more like a legendary hero than a contemporary. This may have been due to the current fashion of the age; or to a shrewd way of describing a contemporary sovereign without risking his displeasure. There is, how-

over, sufficient literary and epigraphic evidence to check Hemachandra's testimony and to present a fairly accurate history of Jayasimha's character and achievements. The later *Prabandhas* contain many legends which, when uncorroborated by independent testimony, must be discarded in favour of contemporary material wherever available.

Jayasimha is stated by popular legends to have been born in Palanpur (Sk. Prahlādanapura). But the town was founded by Prahlādanadeva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha of Abu, about a hundred years later and the statement is unacceptable unless it refers to a pre-existing town.

Jayasimha came to the throne when young, the *Prabandhas* say when he was three years old, though in one of them his age is given as eight. But the contemporaneous evidence of Hemachandra is otherwise. He says:

"Jayasimha, when he grew up, went to the banks of the Sarasvatī to play and became an expert in duelling, fighting elephants and in using various weapons. He also learnt how to control elephants. When he attained youth, Karna got him crowned king. The old king also advised him: 'Protect the four *varnas*; keep the traditions of your ancestors; behave kindly to my nephew Devaprasāda.' Then Karna went to heaven with his mind fixed on god Vishnu."[27] Even if Jayasimha had been very precocious, he could hardly have acquired these accomplishments before he was eighteen or twenty years old.

The main events of his life may be chronologically arranged as follows:—

c. A.D. 1094 January 7. Accession Pausa *vadi*, 3, V.S. 1050.[28]

A.D. 1108 — He is styled *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*.[29]

A.D. 1110 — He is styled *Tribhuvana-Gaṇḍa*.[30]

A.D. 1114 — He defeats Kheṅgāra of Saurāshṭra, takes him prisoner, and annexes Saurāshṭra. The dating of the Siṁha-*Saṁvatsara*.[31] (Era).

A.D. 1123 — Stone inscription without date at Udaipur, Gwalior State.[32]

A.D. 1123 — Phālguna. He defeats Barbaraka. Bhadrapada. He is further styled *Siddha-Chakravarti*, a title advertising his conquest of Barbaraka.[33]

A.D. 1125 — He holds an assembly in which Digambara *sādhu* Kumudachandra holds a debate with the Śvetāmbara *sādhu* Devasūri.[34]

A.D. 1127-28 — Atru Stone-pillar Inscription in Kotah State. Siṁha *Saṁvat* 14.[35]

A.D. 1130 — Inscription of Bhinmal. He is styled Siddharāja.[36]

c. A.D. 1135 — Inscription on an image at Talwara in Banswara State, where he is described as having "broken the pride of Naravarman and crushed Paramārdi."[37]

A.D. 1135 — He is styled as before.[38] Phālguna (Chaitra year), the con-

quest and annexation of Mālava.

A.D. 1136 Jyeshṭha. He assumes the title of *Avantināṭha*.[39]

A.D. 1136 Stone inscription at Gala in Kathiawad.[40] He is styled *Mahāsiddha-Chakravarti Avantināṭha*.

A.D. 1136 He is styled *Siddharāja*. Second inscription at Gala.[41]

A.D. 1137 Same title.[42]

A.D. 1138 Inscription at Ujjayini. Jyeshṭha dark half (V.S. 1195). He is styled *Tribhuvanagaṇḍa-Siddha - Chakravarti-Avantinaṭha-Barbaraka-Jishṇu*. Mālava is referred to as Avanti-maṇḍala which is ruled by the Nāgara Mahādeva, son of Mahādeva, son of *Mahattama* Dādāka.[43]

A.D. 1138 Inscription at Bhadreśvara. He is styled *Siddha-Chakravarti-Trailokyamalla*.[44]

A.D. 1140 He conquers northern kings, as also Sindhurāja.

A.D. 1140 Stone pillar inscription at Dohad (Dadhipadra) in a temple erected in V.S. 1196 by "Keśava, for the good of his mother." Jayasiṃha is described as the ruler of Gūrjara-maṇḍala, as having thrown into prison the kings of Saurāshṭra and Mālava, and made the kings

	of the north bear his commands on "their heads" like Śeṣha. Dadhipadra and other *maṇḍalas* are described as being governed by *Vāhinipati* Keśava, the *Senāpati*.[45]
	Paramara prince of Kiradu records having lost the kingdom though Jayasiṁha helped.[46]
	Stone inscription at Sambhar, indicate that he held Sambhar in the Jaipur State.[47]
A.D. 1143-33	(V.S. 1200) Bali stone inscription.[48] *Mahārāja* Āsvāka, the same as Aśāraja or Aśvarāja, the Marwad Chāhamāna, is mentioned as a feudatory.
A.D. 1143	Death.[49]

The correctness of the last date is not settled. Tod found an inscription recording the fact that Sahastraliṅga was completed in V.S. 1202.[50] The Dohad inscription of Vapanadeva has an addendum of the year A.D. 1146 (V.S. 1202).[51] Buhler thought it was inserted later, but Burgess was not satisfied with it, and Dhruva took it as belonging to Jayasiṁha's reign. The Bali inscription records that Siddharāja was ruling in A.D. 1144 (V.S. 1200), and the earliest known date of Kumārapāla's inscription is V.S. 1201 Pausa Suda 2 (A.D. 1145).

(iv)

Consolidation of Power

During the last days of Karṇa, Aṇahillavāḍa was

in great difficulties, as he had been overcome by the confederate forces of Śākambhari and Mālava. He might have lost his life in battle, leaving his young son with only a very precarious future before him. If Aṇahilavāḍa survived, it was because of the skill and valour of one of Gujarat's greatest sons, Śantu, the son of Vararāga.

Śantu was first of all made governor of Lāṭa under Karṇa. Later, he was appointed chief minister and he continued to occupy that high office for over a quarter of a century. Bilhaṇa in his *Karṇasundarī*, a drama first enacted in the temple of the minister, has left us a vivid glimpse of him. Śantu was always immersed in the affairs of state. He had no time even to talk to his children or his young wives. In his mastery of statecraft he was even greater than the classic Yaugandharāyaṇa. Under his instructions the armies of Gujarat, led by Suchchhika, had defeated the Sultan of Ghazni.

Ably aided by Śantu Mīnaḷadevī, the queen-mother, brought up the young king Jayasiṁha. He continued to wield supreme power till 1123, when he resigned. He then left Aṇahilavāḍa for Dhārā, but was recalled by his master, and died on his return journey at Āhāḍa near Udaipur.[53]

Another statesman who shaped the early events of Jayasiṁha's reign appears to be Muñjala. But few of the achievements of this chief minister have come down to us. He was the *mahāmātya* of Karṇa in A.D. 1090 and, according to Merutuṅga, he was in full confidence both of his master and of Mīnaḷadevī. He lived till at least A.D. 1135 when he dissuaded Jayasiṁha from killing the vanquished king of Mālava. Merutuṅga calls him *mahāmātya*.

Among the younger statesmen who helped Jayasiṁha were Aśvāka or Asuka who succeeded Śantu as a *mahāmātya* in A.D. 1123 and Mahattama Gāṅgila, who followed him in 1125. The most notable of them all, however, was Dādāka, a Brāhmaṇa of Ānandapura or Vadnagar, who is found to be the chief minister in A.D. 1136 and again in 1138. In the latter part of Jayasiṁha's reign this warrior statesman was his right-hand man. His son Mahādeva was a general in the army of Kumārapāla and later became the trusted minister.

Amḥāprasāda, who occupied the position of *mahāmātya* in A.D. 1137 appears from his name to have been a Brāhmaṇa, as was also Kaka, who at the end of the reign enjoyed the distinctive epithet of "*Gūrjara-Brahma-senāni*". The minister Udayana's role was comparatively less important He was in charge of the port of Cambay and was not in royal favour on account of his well-known sympathies for the rival branch.

In c. A.D. 1094 Lakshmadeva of Mālava died and was succeeded by Naravarman, who ruled till 1133. The last years of Karna had been disastrous and a minor king had succeeded him. The boundaries of Gujarat had shrunk and a war of succession had served to weaken the Chaulukyas. It is possible that Jayasiṁha and the queen-mother, Mīṇaladevī, withdrew to Saurāshṭra, under the pretext of pilgrimage. The opportunity was too good to be lost, and Naravarman swooped down on Aṇahilavāḍa.

Śantu, who was in charge of the capital, surrendered, did abject homage to the conqueror and paid a heavy tribute, "washed the feet of the Paramāra king and poured a handful of water in the hollow of his

hands."[54] Karna's son had not much of a kingdom left and he had, therefore, to become a feudatory of Mālava.

An interesting incident is recorded of this period. When Mīnaladevī and her son had sought sanctuary in Saurashtra and were at Bāhuloda, the queen saw the pilgrims returning disappointed because they lacked the wherewithal to pay the tax which was levied on the visitors to the shrine of Somanatha. She immediately intervened and her devoted son remitted the tax.[55]

One of the greatest, if not the greatest, influence in shaping Jayasimha's early years was Mīnaladevī. She was a notable woman. Legend and folk literature have vied with each other in immortalising her. No doubt it was she who trained the young king for his high office and supported him in the lofty purpose of his life. She lived long enough to see her son realise her ambitious dreams, for she died at an advanced age a little before the conquest of Mālava in A.D. 1135. During the first forty years of Jayasimha's reign she fought for power side by side with her son.

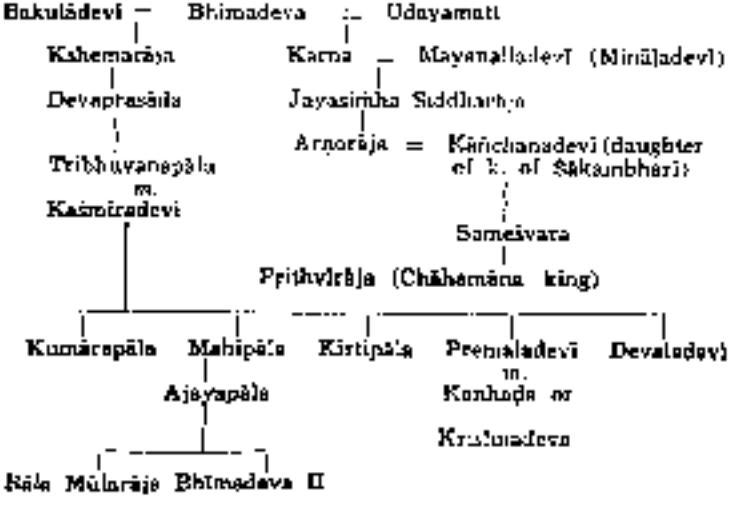
The poet testifies to the part she played in her son's life when he puts into Jayasimha's mouth, when he was being congratulated on his conquest of Mālava, a notable eulogy of his mother. The conqueror, who at that time was fifty, a hardened soldier and a seasoned statesman, says:—

"No woman should bear
A son like me
To whom fate brought the greatest of his cherished wishes
Only when his mother was no more."[56]

Jayasiṁha also had two lakes constructed, one at Viramgaum, another at Dholka, and dedicated them to her memory.

At the threshold of his career, the young and proud Jayasiṁha was smarting under the blow which Naravarman had given to his prestige. He tried to retaliate by invading Málava, but was worsted. On his way back to Anahilavāḍa, he was trapped by the Bhils. Śaṅku, however, came to the rescue, saved him from disaster, and suppressed the rising.[2]

An equally, or perhaps a more, serious danger to the young ruler's authority arose from a war of succession. In spite of the silence observed by the *Prabandhas*, there can be little doubt that the war took place. In order to prevent a similar war of succession, Bhīmadeva had seated Karṇa, the son of his younger queen Udayamati, on the throne in his own lifetime. The following pedigree will indicate the position of the branches of the family.



In order to conceal the bitterness which prevailed between the two branches, Hemachandra narrates the story that soon after Karṇa's death, Devaprasāda of the senior branch committed suicide. Before doing so he had enjoined upon his son, Tribhuvanapāla, to look after Jayasiṁha as though he were his own son.[65] The facts indicate that he did not do so, for the relations between the two branches were anything but cordial.

Just before he died, the authority of Karṇa had collapsed as a result of enemy operations and his widow and young son were kept in power only by the leading Jain minister. Devaprasāda was not Jayasiṁha's guardian; it is true nevertheless, that he committed suicide. During Jayasiṁha's reign his son Tribhuvanapāla was completely eclipsed; he may even have been killed; while his grandson Kumārapāta, a brilliant young man, was banished for life. Jayasiṁha showed his disfavour even to the minister Udayana who helped Kumārapāla in his banishment. During the whole of his long rule, Jayasiṁha was sternly hostile to the other branch, which at the beginning of his reign appears to have all but wrested the succession from his grasp. Clearly, therefore, the curse which had overtaken the warrior families of Gūrjaradeśa, was also dogging the footsteps of the Chaulukyas.

On the death of Bhīmadeva the paternal relations of the favoured queen, Udayamatī, were powerful enough to achieve the succession of Karṇa to the exclusion of Bakulādevī's branch. Merutuṅga states that before her marriage Bakulādevī was a *hetaera, (panyāṅganā)*, but the Hindu royal families were not likely to have permitted such a *mésalliance*. Even

at Karṇa's death his mother's relations were still powerful in Aṇahilavaḍa. It was old Madanapāla, Udayamati's brother, who led this clan in the capital and helped Jayasiṁha in his early struggles against Devaprasāda.

The young king had several other advantages. His mother, though unaided by her relations, appears to have been the only queen of Karṇa, or at any rate, the only one who bore him a son; moreover, the ministers were undivided in their allegiance to the new monarch. No sooner had Jayasiṁha disposed of the pretentions of the senior branch than he succeeded in removing his grandmother's powerful relations also. On the pretext that he had taken the law into his own hands by holding the royal physician, Lilā Vaidya, to ransom,[60] Madanapāla was killed. By A.D. 1104, the internal difficulties had all been resolved, for we see that by then Jayasiṁha's sway extended up to Cambay.[61]

From his earliest youth the young king had given clear indications of his intention not to be the mere head of a related overlordship. He strengthened his authority by weakening those of his own relatives and one by one he removed the arch intriguers from his court. It is probable that the wise Minaḷadevī knew the art of empire-building, and that Jayasiṁha was an apt pupil.

Jayasiṁha also saw the absurdity of maintaining his hereditary enemies as feudatories, only that they might await opportunities to undermine his power. He became "like the maker of wicker baskets; he broke royal bamboos to make an umbrella for the world."[62] The young king had a clear perception of the reality of power. It provided the keynote

to his future career and enabled him to stem the tide of disintegration for a while.

(v)

Conquest of Saurāshṭra and South Gujarat

Having consolidated his power in north Gujarat, Jayasiṁha appears to have frightened Naravarman into quiescence. In A.D. 1108-09 he adopted the title of a sovereign ruler "*Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*". About this time he also achieved a victory possibly over a southern king, which led him to assume the title of "*Tribhuvanagaṇḍa*".

Then Jayasiṁha turned to Saurāshṭra. The removal of the Chaulukyan feudatories of Saurāshṭra after A.D. 940 had strengthened the local Ābhīra kings. Mūlarāja, however, reduced Grāharipu's descendants in Saurāshṭra to vassalage. But in Karṇa's time the overlordship over Saurāshṭra was nominal. During the early years of Jayasiṁha's reign, Rā Navaghana, the Ābhīra ruler, raised the standard of revolt. The young Jayasiṁha, faced with other difficulties let his feudatory gain strength till he himself was fully entrenched in power. But as soon as his hands were free he decided to punish him and to build a chain of fortresses from Aṇahilavāḍa to Girnar, the most important of which was to be at Wadhwan.

In the meantime, Rā Navaghana died, to be succeeded by his grandson Rā Khengāra. Jayasiṁha now marched against his feudatory, defeated him in battle and imprisoned him. This event happened in A.D. 1114, the year in which Jayasiṁha founded the Siṁha Era to commemorate the conquest of Saurāshṭra. Sajjana, the Jain minister, was appointed,

as *daṇḍanāyaka* or military governor of Saurāshṭra, and continued to act as such at least till A.D. 1119.[62] Never again was Jayasiṁha to allow a vanquished foe to play the part of a treacherous vassal.

The popular legends about the conquest of Saurāshṭra, though well-known through folk lore are not founded in fact. Rā Navaghana, the father of Rā Kheṅgāra was captured by Jayasiṁha in Pāñchāla, near Nalakaṇṭha, so runs the legend, and was not allowed to go free till he rendered homage. The Rā, thereupon took a vow that he would avenge the insult by destroying the gates of Aṇahilavāḍa. Not having been able to carry out this vow in his lifetime, he sent for his four sons when on his death-bed, and offered his throne to the one who undertook to fulfil it. Kheṅgāra, the youngest, accepted the condition and came to the throne.

While Siddharāja was busy with his campaign against Mālava, Kheṅgāra pursuant to his pledge, raided Aṇahilavāḍa and took away a beautiful damsel named Rāṇakadevī to whom Jayasiṁha was betrothed. Enraged, Jayasiṁha invaded Junagadh. The nephews of Kheṅgāra joined Jayasiṁha and Kheṅgāra was killed as were his two sons. Rāṇakadevī, Rā's queen, spurned the attentions of Jayasiṁha and became a *satī* at Wadhwan.[63]

The legend is entirely baseless. Kheṅgāra was not killed but only imprisoned[64] and there is no evidence that Rāṇaka was the name of his queen or that she was either betrothed to Jayasiṁha or was, when a widow, wooed by him. The word Rāṇakadevi is not a proper name, but only means a queen, nor is there the slightest reason to attribute to a mature king such as Jayasiṁha conduct so unnatural,

At the end of about twenty-five years of strenuous effort, Jayasiṁha had consolidated his power in Gujarat and Saurashṭra. He had evoked loyalty among the younger statesmen and possessed an army obedient to his behests. He then turned against his preceptor Śantu, who was the virtual head of the Śvetāmbara Jain community, which, during the minister's regency became a formidable party in the state. Gūrjaradeśa was the home of this religious sect. For centuries the Jaina *sādhus*, among them Haribhadra, Udyotana and Siddharshi, had lived, preached and written in this land. They had gone to the lowly and the illiterate, and had spread the gospel of *ahiṁsā* to the poor, the distressed and the down-trodden. They were the spiritual guides of the great communities of Bhillamāla — the Śrimalas, Osvālas, and Porvādas — whose valour, wealth and statesmanship had largely contributed to the glory of Aṇahilavāḍa ever since the days of Mūlarāja. The Jaina *sādhu* was not merely a spiritual guide; he provided the steel-frame of his minor social organisation and saw to the welfare of his followers with as much temporal solicitude as spiritual. In the Gūrjaradeśa of Siddharāja, therefore, this community was naturally powerful.

Jayasiṁha decided to be master, not in name only but in fact, and to make Śantu realise it. The old minister was wroth. He left Aṇahilavāḍa in high dudgeon and proceeded to Dhārā, there to ally himself against the country and the sovereign to whom he had given of his best. But Jayasiṁha proved the greater strategist. He expressed repentance and invited Śantu to return. The old man accepted his erstwhile pupil's invitation, but, on his way back,

died at Ahāḍa, near Udaipur. Did he die by natural means? If so, his death was singularly timely. The Jain community now learned that the king whom its leader brought up was, in reality, a master. He now took Āsuka, his own man, undivided in loyalty, as his prime minister.

Those who love dictatorial powers like to be known as possessors of super-human attributes. Jayasiṁha knew this well and soon availed himself of an opportunity to surround himself with mysterious awe. Barbaraka,[1] the ruler of some aboriginal settlements to the north-east of Siddhapur, had grown strong and troublesome. From time to time he issued from his stronghold, sacked the holy places and harassed their devout inhabitants. On one occasion, he destroyed the temple of Svayambhū Rudramahākāla, and Jayasiṁha marched against him. The battle between the two armies was not decisive, but after his sword was broken, the king engaged Barbaraka single-handed in an all-in-wrestle. So tremendous a risk showed the mettle of which he was made. With his muscles of a giant, he crushed Barbaraka in his bare arms whereupon the victim vomited blood and dropped down in a faint. His wife Piṅgalikā interceded and Jayasiṁha saved the life of Barbaraka, who thenceforth became his[bb] personal attendant.

This was a unique triumph, not the usual victory in battle, but a life and death struggle with the hated, uncouth, savage leader of a forest race, who had acquired the reputation of a demon. It impressed his people as no mere military victory would have done, and as a consequence he came to be held in awesome respect as possessing supernatural powers.

Jayasiṁha had a flair for creating personal legends.

The Vikramāditya of tradition had a devoted Vetāla (goblin) who did unearthly things for him. Barbaraka, unknown and almost certainly speaking an unfamiliar tongue and pursuing unusual ways, became his Vetāla, an uncanny instrument of power; a friendly demon, who could make him dreaded, unapproachable, superhuman. He saw to it that his own view of this triumph was accepted. Between Phālguna and Bhādrapada of V.S. 1123, he assumed the role, not of a mortal conqueror, but of a Siddharāja, a ruler to whom, like the Vikrama of the legends, was given the magic power to control the forces of the other world. In later legends, Jayasiṁha is stated, like Vikrama again, to have sat on the corpse of Barbaraka and subjugated him by incantation. This power came to be associated with Jayasiṁha to such an extent that he is still known in fable and folk-song as Siddharāja rather than by his own name.

Jayasiṁha enveloped himself so successfully in a mysterious aloofness that he became a super-natural embodiment of sovereignty, above the intrigues and policies of state. He went round at night in disguise. He communed with Yakshas and Yakshiṇis. His wrath and his favour descended upon people unexpectedly. He had a special personal service of which Barbaraka was the head and symbol that spread terror. Jayasiṁha was not regarded as divine as Mihira Bhoja had been, but in substance he was the same, separated from mankind, a source of power, the Emperor.

(vi)

The Conquest of Śākambharī

Saurāshṭra, north and south Gujarat and Kach-

chha were now parts of a compact kingdom. The foundations of that unit, which is now modern Gujarat, were laid. Jayasiṁha then turned his attention to subduing the smaller kings of the old Gūrjaradeśa and a little before A.D. 1123 he annexed the region of Gwalior. By A.D. 1127 the region now represented by the Kotah State had also been annexed to Gujarat.[67]

Jojjala of Naddūla was succeeded by Āśārāja, who is also styled Āsarāja, Aśvarāja, or Āśvāka. Jayasiṁha overcame this hereditary enemy, who thereafter "subsisted on the lotus feet" of the ruler of Aṇahilavāḍa.[68] Marwaḍ became a province of Gujarat, its ruler a feudatory and Āśāraja accompanied Jayasiṁha when he invaded Mālava.

The Dohad inscription of Keśava[69] shows that during this period Jayasiṁha also conquered Kiradu in the Jodhpur State and Śākambharī[70] and defeated a Sindhurāja. A Sindhurāja is referred to in an inscription of A.D. 1152 at Kiradu in the Jodhpur State and in another of Vastupāla's time, as an ancestor of Śaṅkha of Lāṭa. There appears to have been no independent king in Lāṭa since Karṇa had conquered it, and if such a king was subdued by Siddharāja, there would be a more marked reference to him. On the other hand, if he had been an obscure king, it is difficult to explain why he should have been separately referred to. He might have been a king of Sindh.

When Jayasiṁha came to the throne, Pṛithvirāja I (A.D. 1103) was ruling Sapādalaksha from Sambhar.[71] After him came Ajayarāja, who founded Ajmer[72] and was a powerful ruler.

In A.D. 1139, Arṇorāja or Anāka or Ānā

(A.D. 1139-1153) submitted to Jayasiṁha who gave his daughter Kāñchanadevī to the Chāhamāna.[73] Arṇorāja was amongst those who aided the Chaulukya emperor to subdue Mālava, a fact which is also referred to in the commentary on the *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya*, written by a protégé of the Chāhamāna king. We are told that Siddharāja had kept his grandson Someśvara, the son of his daughter Kāñchanadevī and the father of Pṛithvīrāja, in Aṇahilavāḍa and brought him up as a son.[74] An inscription at Sambhar establishes the fact that Siddharāja had subjugated Ānaka, but that the latter's relation to him was that of subordinate ally rather than that of a vassal. It is also significant that Siddharāja did not assume the title of "the conqueror of Śākambharī".

The Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, the irrepressible foes of Gūrjaradeśa, were quiescent for a time, but Jayasiṁha was not inclined to leave his southern front exposed. He built a fortress at Thaṇa and in one of his campaigns he marched southwards and inflicted a defeat on Paramardī Deva, who has been identified with Vikramāditya VI.[75] Between A.D. 1114 and 1132 Jayasiṁha had marched from victory to victory. From Sambhar to Koṅkaṇa he ruled unchallenged as the master of the whole of imperial Gūrjaradeśa except Mālava.

(vii)

Annexation of Mālava

During this period Jayasiṁha had not left the old enemy of Mālava alone. The *Prabandhas* state that Jayasiṁha waged a twelve years' war with Mālava. It is likely that during the years when he was busy with the campaigns in the north and south he was

also keeping Naravarman busy. An inscription states that "Siddharāja humbled the power of Naravarman".[76]

In A.D. 1133 Yaśovarman succeeded Naravarman in Mālava.[77] Jayasimha decided to annex Mālava to his dominions. The maker of wicker baskets did not want to leave this ancient royal bamboo standing erect.

In A.D. 1135, with the formidable instrument of war which he had forged for well-nigh thirty years, the emperor, now one of the most powerful monarchs in India, marched on Mālava. Chāhamāna Arṇorāja of Śākambhari and Aśārāja of Naddūla accompanied him. The Bhils also formed part of the invading host. Keśava the general, most probably operated from the base at Dohad. Madhava, the son of *Mahāmātya* Dādāka, was another of the leading generals and the old *Mahāmātya* Muñjala also accompanied the monarch. Swift as lightning, Jayasimha reached the banks of the river Siprā, laid siege to Ujjayini, turned down offers of peace, won over various feudatories of the enemy's, and captured the city. Yaśovarman fled to Dhārā, but Jayasimha pursued him. This Chaulukya —

"A hero of renown,
Like unto a dancer,
Wielding his blade in battle,
Seized Malava's field-fleeing monarch,
Who to Dhārā had fled."[78]

Details of the capture of Dhārā are given by Merutuṅga. Jayasimha, seated on his elephant Yaśaḥpaṭaka, which was driven by the *māhut*, Sāmala, led the attack in person.

The elephant was killed and a temple of Gaṇa-

pati was erected in his memory at Vaḍasara.[78] At one time the fate of Dhārā was in the balance, but a bard shouted:

"Ye, son of Karṇa, listen!
Dhārā cannot fall
When your hosts are led by men[79] with foreheads
with tilla marked.
Let Jesal come!
He also can vanquish even the Lord of Death,
If ever he dares to come."[80]

Jesala, led the army, and the 'Red Cock' banner of Jayasiṁha flew over Dhārā's battered walls. Jayasiṁha would have put Yaśovarman to death, but the wise and ancient Muñjala saved him.

Jayasiṁha returned to Aṇahilavāda at the end of the triumphant army with the captive Yaśovarman seated behind him. He achieved this crowning glory of his life about Chaitra of V.S. 1191 (A.D. 1136).

Imperial Gūrjaradeśa had become once more politically one. Anahilavāḍa, its capital, now celebrated the event with eclat. Poets, headed by Hemachandra, waited upon Jayasiṁha with appropriate eulogies.[82] The conqueror "caged some of the kings he had conquered, like birds; some were chained by the neck like cattle; others by the leg like horses", says the poet.[83] "The proud king of Dhārā was fettered."[84] Mādhava was appointed governor of Mālava.[85]

Muñja had captured the fort of Chitod and the adjacent parts of Mewad, which were being ruled by Mālava. Bhoja had erected a temple named Tribhuvana-Nārāyaṇa or Bhoja Jagati at Chitod, where he used frequently to stay. Even in Yaśovarman's time, therefore, Mewad had been a part of the dominions of Mālava. When annexed, it formed part of the

Avanti-maṇḍala of Jayasiṁha's dominions. When Kumārapāla visited it in A.D. 1143, Chitod was within its boundaries. The empire founded by Siddharaja was, thus, comprised of modern Gujarat including Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra, Kachchha, Rajputana, Central India and Mālava; in fact, it was the old Gūrjaradeśa.

The conquest of Mālava brought Siddharāja into contact with the Chandellas, the Kalachuris, and probably the Gāhaḍavālas. Jayasiṁha established Someśvara Paramāra in the rulership of Bhinmal, and also conquered Gauḍa, a part of the Punjab, if *Kīrtikaumudī's* statement is based on facts.[88] Presently, he was to conquer a Sindhurāja, identified with the Sumra chieftain of Sindh,[89] and some *mlechchha* ruler sent an embassy to his court.[90]

Jayasiṁha invaded Bundelkhand and entered upon a war against Madanavarmā of Mahobaka, (A.D. 1129-1163), but met with little success.[91] Madanavarmā is recorded as having "defeated the king of Gūrjara in an instant."[92] Jayasiṁha also established diplomatic relations with Kalachuri Yaśaḥ-Karṇa (A.D. 1073-1125) and Gahaḍavāla Govindachandra (A.D. 1145-1155).[93] The emperor was now too old to embark upon fresh conquests.

Yaśovarman continued to rule as a feudatory Mahārāja over a petty principality on the banks of the Kali-Sindhu till A.D. 1142.[94] He was succeeded by his son Jayavarman or Ajayavarman in A.D. 1144. Between A.D. 1144 and 1200, the second son, Lakshmīvarman and his successors also continued to rule over a principality in Mālava. A considerable part of Mālava remained, however, as a province of Gujarat.

One of the most disturbing factors of the disintegration was the intensified regional attachment of the Kshatriyas. Having captured his hereditary enemy, Yaśovarman, Siddharāja could not put him to death: Yaśovarman was therefore left with a petty principality from which his descendants were again to attack the successors of Siddharāja.

The vanquished foe was retained on his throne, in order to satisfy the pride of the local Kshatriyas, and he invariably rose in revolt at the slightest weakening of central authority.

(viii)

Siddharāja—Founder of Modern Gujarat

Siddharāja was not merely a great conqueror. He was as great, if not greater, as a builder and a patron of learning. With its ever-increasing boundaries Gujarat grew prosperous despite ceaseless military activity, and her wealth began to be used upon noble works of architecture. The *Prabandhas* vie with each other in describing the zeal of the monarch for the erection of magnificent structures. He re-built Rudra-Mahālaya at Siddhapura and constructed the lake of Sahasraliṅga at Aṇahilavāḍa.

The Sahasraliṅga was, in fact, the reconstruction of a lake which had been built by Durlabharāja on a very elaborate scale.[93] In Jayasiṁha's days it must have been a magnificent work, consistent with the grandeur which characterised the ruler in all he did. The relics of it now being excavated by the Archaeological Department give some idea of what it must have been. The river Sarasvati was practically diverted into it. It was not so much a lake, as a vast

structural arrangement, through the scientifically planned lakes and canals of which water flowed round temples and pleasure-houses erected on artistically constructed islets. This huge water-garden, if one can so term it, was girdled by one thousand temples of Śiva, every one of which was an elaborate building. On the outskirts of this architectural wonder, were *satra-śālās* for the Brāhmaṇas for sacrificial purposes, one hundred and eight temples to goddesses, a temple of Daśāvatāra of Vishṇu, and *maṭhas* for resident teachers and students proficient in different branches of learning.[24] This was a monument excelling anything so far known to history, a tribute to the grandeur of *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Tribhuvanagaṇḍa, Siddharāśakravarti, Avantināthā Barbaraśakajiṣṇu Śrī*-Jayasiṁhadeva.

Jayasiṁha did not rest content with these great works of art. "Who will equal Siddharāja's record of big temples and lakes?", asks Merutuṅga. He is credited with having founded Siṁhapura (modern Sihor) near Shetrunja,[25] though in fact it was a much older town and he is reputed to have built a chain of forty fortresses from Wadhwan to Thana, which formed the backbone of his power.

Siddharāja not only captured Ujjayinī but diverted to Aṇahilavāḍa the wealth, art and literature for which that city was famous. Just as Ayodhyā was the capital of Rāma, so was Aṇahilavāḍa the capital of Siddharāja. The spires of its many temples rose high in the sky "obstructing even the path of the sun's steeds". It was a city of temples, and it was surrounded by a high wall, with towers and bastions of stones which, adds Hemachandra, "served as mirrors for heavenly damsels."[26] Round the city wall was

the moat protecting, like the sea, its daughter Lakshmī who resided in the city. The desert had not then moved south, nor was the river Sarasvatī the sandy track it is to-day. It was crossed by boats and supplied water through channels to the Sahasraliṅga lake.[97]

Aṇahilavāda was fabulously wealthy.[98] The trade, commerce and the maritime activities which its merchants carried on from Cambay and Broach, then ports of international importance, were proverbial. The rich of the city had their mansions with gardens made lovely with flowers.[99] The citizens of both sexes were cultured. Women were sweet of speech, dulcet of voice and proficient in the fine arts and, as Hemachandra hastens to add, were beautiful as well.[100] The people as a whole were liberal, hospitable, brave and adventurous.

Siddharāja, though not himself a man of letters, was anxious to vie with Bhoja of Ujjayinī and the Vikramāditya of tradition, in being a patron of scholarship. He made Aṇahilavāda the home of learning. The Jain *sādhus* have preserved their manuscripts with pious zeal and these give a fine, though partial, picture of the intellectual activities of Aṇahilavāda. The Brāhmaṇas led all such activities and were the special objects of royal munificence. These heirs to the learning and culture which were associated with Bhillamāla, Kanauj and Ujjayinī, were the architects of Aṇahilavāda's cultural greatness, which is described by Hemachandra.[101]

In Aṇahilavāda the Brāhmaṇas were wont to perform their six-fold religious duties. They were famous for their erudition in every department of learning. On the margin of Sahasraliṅga lake were built

satra-śālās for the Brahmaṇas and *maṭhas* where students lived and studied. "A tongue-tied student", says Hemachandra, "studying in the college of the city would be an eloquent man." In the city the ninety-six sects of all the *āśramas* lived together joyfully. There were ritualists and philosophers. The six gods Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva, Surya, Soma and Kārtikeya were worshipped in the different temples erected by the king.[102]

But Aṇahilavāḍa was not merely the home of wealth and valour; under Siddharāja, it was an abode of *dharma*. "Its citizens were foremost in valour and learning, foremost in self-control and truth, foremost in the knowledge of the six Vedic lores and foremost in the pursuit of Absolution."[103]

At one of the learned debates, which took place in the presence of Jayasiṁha, he was assisted by four learned men; a *maharshi*, learned in *Tarka*, *Mahābhārata* and the *Smṛiti* of Parāśara, Utsāha, a grammarian from Kashmir, Sāgara, who was a man of extraordinary intelligence, and Rāma, who was an expert in logic and dialectics.[104] "One can be proud", says the poet Śrīpāla, "of one's knowledge of grammar, poetics, politics and dialectics only if he has lived at the court of Jayasiṁha."[105]

When Dhārā fell, Siddharāja invited Bhāva-Bṛihaspati, the *guru* of the Paramāra kings, to come and settle in Gujarat. This learned and venerable Brāhmaṇa had come originally from Vārāṇasi in the Kānyakubja-vishaya, and had taken the vow of the Pāśupata cult. He was placed in charge of Somanātha, the principal shrine of the cult in India. Siddharāja had a genius for making friends. Bhāva, like Śrīpāla, the poet, describes himself "as bound in bro-

therhood to the monarch."[105]

The names of other Brāhmaṇas of learning—except stray and hostile references in the *Prabandhas*,—are lost, their life-work forgotten, their masterpieces gone. The vandalism which overspread Gujarat after the invasion of the Khaljis in A.D. 1299 destroyed not only the temporal glory and the architectural beauty of Gujarat, but the literary and intellectual achievements of the Augustan age of Gūrjaradeśa.

When Siddharāja returned from Mālava, he brought with him to Aṇahilavāḍa the library of Bhoja. He inspired Hemachandra to write the grammar, the *Siddha-Hema*, which, when completed, was honoured by being taken out in a procession on the back of an elephant with the royal insignia of *chhatra* and *chāmara*.[107] Hemachandra, the most honoured of Jain *sādhus* has had the extraordinary good fortune to have much of his writings preserved. Among other works which have survived are *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra* by Vāgbhaṭa, the son of Soma, *Kavi-śikshā*, by Jayamaṅgalāchārya and *Gunaratna-mahodadhi* by Vardhamāna Sūri.

Jayasiṁha had been maligned by later legends. The Jain *sādhus*, bent on weaving the fabric of Kumārapāla's reputation, have failed to present his uncle as he was. Folk-songs like that of Jasama Odana have described him as a lustful tyrant. But a survey of all the more reliable material gives a different picture. Jayasiṁha was great in every respect. In physical strength and courage he was superb; in administrative organisation and military achievement he was thorough; in statesmanship unique. From out of the ruins of the small principality of Aṇahilavāḍa,

which Karṇa left him as a legacy, he carved out an empire which resuscitated the glories of imperial Gūrjaradeśa.

Few successful rulers have had to face the difficulties which were his when, as a minor, the sceptre was placed in his hands. But slowly and steadily he overcame all obstacles. From the helpless youth, relying on his mother and his minister for his power, he emerged a mighty and invincible figure moving in mysterious dignity. The suppression of all intransigent elements in the capital, the complete reversal of the traditional policy of making feudatories out of vanquished enemies, and the genius with which he dominated the brilliant court of Aṇahilavāḍa by maintaining the power in his own hands, shows rare perception and ability.

Mihira Bhoja, if the little glimpse we have of him is true, set himself apart from ordinary human beings and was worshipped as a deity. Jayasiṁha Siddharāja similarly had the art of creating a personal tradition which made him appear a being altogether above and apart from the brilliant throng which crowded the court of the first city in the India of his time. He became the fountain-head of power and grace. Furthermore, he had the imagination to conceive grand schemes and the capacity to carry them out.

He was just, generous and devout. He could organise well and wisely, nor did his "umbrella" fall to pieces when he was removed from the scene. Following the tradition of all great Indian kings he conceived of royal splendour as a composite of military triumphs, architectural grandeur and intellectual renaissance. He became the Augustus of his age. If

the giving of grants was generosity, his generosity had not the magnificence of Paramāra Bhoja. No *dānapatra* of Siddharāja has so far[109] been discovered. But he was a statesman; he preferred to set up institutional organisations rather than to scatter individual gifts.

Siddharāja, above all, was strong. His strength shines through contemporaneous and later records with the vivid brilliance of a well-cut diamond. He never forgave Devaprasāda's branch for their early attempts to dispute his claims to the throne. Towards the vanquished foes of Aṇahilavāḍa he showed no sentimental weakness. But he removed many of the disqualifications under which the Jains had suffered and even as between the *mlechchhas* and his own people he had the fairness to decide in favour of the foreigners who followed an alien religion. Muhammad 'Awfi observes in his *Jawami-ul-Hikayat* that during his stay (A.D. 1223) in Kambayat (Cambay) people told him of an incident relating to Jayasiṁha, the ruler of Nahrwala (Aṇahilavāḍa).

"Some fire-worshippers instigated a number of infidels to attack the Musulmans of the place and their mosque. The Musulmans were attacked and eighty of them were slain, the mosque was burnt and the minaret destroyed. Khatib 'Ali, the Imam of the Musulmans, approached Jayasiṁha and presented this case in the form of a long poem composed in Hindi (the then local language). This so much impressed Jayasiṁha that he went secretly to Cambay and made his own investigations into the affair and was satisfied that the Muslims had been slain without justification. He then presented them with one lac of Balotras (local coins) to enable them to rebuild the

mosque and the minaret and punished the offenders. Khatib 'Ali was also rewarded."[110]

His secret service was efficient. So much so that his ministers and generals were in constant dread of a ruler who, with his supernatural powers, could descend upon them when necessary with the swiftness of divine wrath.

Throughout his life Jayasimha stood firm in the faith of his forefathers. He was a great devotee of Śiva and had made the pilgrimage to Somanātha.[111] Under the supervision of his minister Āllga, he constructed the new temple of Rudramahālaya at Siddhapura. In the temple, before the image of the god Śiva, he had his own statue erected praying with folded hands. "And when the flag flew on the temple-top of Rudramahālaya, the flags on the Jain temples were lowered."[112]

(ix)

Last Years

The last years of the Emperor were clouded by the dread of dying without a son. It is not improbable that the lifelong effort of keeping alive the myth of himself as a mysterious force had left him friendless, lonely and suspicious. Throughout his reign he had been possessed by hatred for the elder branch of his family. He had persecuted Kumārapāla all his life and for the last thirty years of it had made him a wanderer on the face of the earth. And he knew, for subsequent events show that he must have known, that his great ministers, Dādāka, Mādhava, Sajjana and Udayana and his generals Krishnadeva, and Kāka were anxious for the succession of Kumārapāla. For reasons of state, Jayasimha himself did not wish

to be succeeded by Someśvara, the son of his daughter Kāñchanadevi by her marriage with Arṇorāja of Śākambhari, now his ally and erstwhile foe. It is possible to attribute to so shrewd a king a desire that the Jain community, which had already taken the fugitive Kumārapāla under its wing, should not reduce the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa to a mere appanage of its religious and temporal ambition. Like Napoleon, he therefore hungered for a son who would keep his line and empire intact. To that end he built temples, gave grant to the Brāhmaṇas and besought his guardian-god for an heir. When he went as a pilgrim to Somanātha, it was on foot.

Hemachandra's account of this pilgrimage is without doubt a later feat of the imagination. The *Dvyāśraya* tells us how the god Somanātha himself told the king that Kumārapāla, the son of his brother Tribhuvanapāla, would succeed him on the throne.[13] Evidently, this is a legendary allusion to the general feeling in Jayasimha's court that Kumārapāla should succeed. But the old warrior was adamant. Egoist till the last, he hoped for a male issue. Despite the building of temples, the gifts to the Brāhmaṇas, and the pilgrimages, the fates were not propitiated.

(x)

Rise of regional consciousness

Siddharāja was the heir to an imperial tradition which had begun with Nāgabhaṭa four hundred years before.

At the court of the emperor Śrī-Harsha in A.D. 641, Hiuen-Tsang, the great Chinese traveller, had witnessed with admiring awe the mighty phenomenon

that was the India of the day. During the five hundred years which had elapsed since then, a change had come over the life of the land and upon the factors operating it. *Varṇāśramadharma*, upon which the political and social organisation was based, had changed its content, and stiffened its form. The twice-born, consisting of the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas, were now three separate castes. The Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas were no longer related by blood or brought up together by education, and the latter had become attached to their local chief, who was usually more concerned with founding a kingdom of his own than with upholding the *dharma* which the Brāhmaṇa had taught. Consequently, they lost the universality of a country-wide outlook.

Mahīpāla was the last head of an imperial power which thought in terms of Indian frontiers: the last *Mahārājādhirāja* of Āryāvarta. In Western India, Muñja, Bhoja and Siddharāja, though they lacked the Āryāvarta outlook, had yet the training and culture of the Kshatriyas of the old type. They were valorous men, imbued with the spirit of Aryan culture. They wrote verses, or presided over learned assemblies, even as Śrī-Harsha, Mihira Bhoja and Mahīpāla had done, but they were the last of a great race. The new race, arisen since consisted mainly of bold adventurers. They fought, they conquered, they lost. They had neither training nor aptitude for the development of that wider Ārya-*dharma* consciousness which their forebears had possessed. Every Kshatriya family had become rooted not only in its ancestral domains, but in social, religious and intellectual sentiments of a Brahmanical narrowness. At one

time, a Brāhmaṇa, from Kashmīr to Kāñchi would describe himself by his *gotra* only; now he began to describe himself by his locality as a Gauḍa or a Draviḍa Brāhmaṇa.

The cause of this narrowness is not far to seek. The Kshatriya did not impose any restriction on himself either in regard to the number of wives, or the class from which he chose them. With the clearing of the forest areas and the coming into existence of small principalities, which were ruled by kings and their kinsmen who had not absorbed Ārya-*dharma*, the family life of a Kshatriya had come to represent a staggering of culture at different levels.

During these wars, large sections of the people who were not yet imbued with the form or spirit of *dharma* came into the social fold. The Brāhmaṇa was overwhelmed by the dread that *dharma* would be vulgarised by alien contact. He lost his sense of mission, gave up the expansive tradition of the earlier *Ṛishis* and developed purely defensive instincts and ways. Instead of uplifting others by contact, he succeeded in remaining true to tradition by means of segregation. He discouraged inter-marriage between castes and he himself ceased to marry the daughter of another caste. As al-Beruni testified, interdining had also come to be restricted. The Brāhmaṇa was no longer the elite of the society, but had become merely its teacher.

Three results followed. First, the Brāhmaṇa lost touch with life and instead of being the moulder and inspirer of a living culture, he became the member of an exclusive priestly class which, shrouded in its own sanctity, stood away from the rest of mankind. Secondly, the Kshatriya lost his high cultural outlook

and began to live by the profession of arms, thus losing his vital role as the upholder of *dharma*. Thirdly, the whole process of the uplift and absorption of other classes became slow and difficult.

But the interdependence of Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya was too deep-rooted to be easily weakened. The learned Brāhmaṇa was held in universal respect. Kanauj and Mānyakheṭa might set out to destroy each other, but in learning, culture and tradition the court of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras did not differ much from the court of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, nor did the court of Siddharāja differ from that of Vikramāditya of Kalyāṇī in these respects. In spite of their perpetual feuds the Brāhmaṇas were maintained and supported in their mission by the Kshatriyas throughout the land. Even nine hundred years later, except where a Hindu prince had learnt in one of the British Rajkumar colleges to look up to the white man and look down upon his own kind, the Kshatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas worked hand in hand to preserve the heritage of culture.

But this association between the two castes, as it was, lacked the vitality of the older identity. With vast masses coming into the fields of Ārya-*dharma*, cultural tendencies naturally became diluted and group sentiments were restricted to narrower spheres. And when the Brāhmaṇas receded into a semi-divine detachment, the forces of absorption lost their pristine vigour.

The failure of the lofty Aryan learning and ritual to satisfy the aspirations of the newly-absorbed masses had given rise to popular forms of Arya-*dharma* like Buddhism and Jainism and these brought a still larger number of the uninitiated into the ambit of

dharma to create fresh problems. What were no more than schools of religious thought or ritualistic process, grew into sects, which in their turn sought the support of royalty and to range themselves against Brāhmanical influence. These new movements, in spite of the older and purifying religious thought and forms, were brought into touch with the problems of the day and flourished on local pride. Āryāvarta consciousness was not to them a live reality, but a literary and mythological concept, and this loss of their former faith accelerated the process of regionalising group sentiments.

This phase was evident in the struggle which was going on in Aṇahilavāḍa during the last days of Siddharāja. The conqueror, stood at the parting of the ways. He had tried his utmost to walk in the footsteps of Bhoja and Vikramāditya, but the spirit of his age was represented by Hemachandra, who was to be the unconscious instrument in giving to the new regional group sentiment a local habitation and a name.

Born in V.S. 1145 (A.D. 1088 or 1089 November-December) in a Moḍha-Vaiśya family of Dhanduka in the Ahmedabad district, Hemachandra was initiated as a *sādhu* at the age of eight under the patronage of Udayana, Siddharāja's governor of Cambay. At the age of twenty, this brilliant and versatile young man became a sūri, an advanced stage in the hierarchy of Jain *sādhus*. Then he mastered the different branches of learning available in that great age of scholarship and became the leading *sādhu* of the Śvetāmbara Jain sect. Long before he reached middle age he had come to be looked up to with reverence by his community. In A.D. 1138, when,

after his conquest of Mālava, Siddharāja celebrated his triumphal entry into Aṇahilavāḍa, Hemachandra, as the pre-eminent man of learning, led a delegation of the foremost scholars to congratulate the conqueror. This was perhaps the first time that the victor and Hemachandra had met and Siddharāja immediately engaged the scholar's services in order to immortalise himself in a work of grammar, and *Siddha-Hema* was the result.[114]

Hemachandra then wrote his *Dvyāśraya-mahā-kāvya* as the first song of that localised group consciousness which had sprung up in Gujarat round the kings of Aṇahilavāḍa. According to Hemachandra, Mūlarāja was Sūrya, Vishṇu and Rudra.[115] The land of the Chaulukyas was as distinguished as that of the Rāghavas. Aṇahilavāḍa was Ayodhyā and Siddharāja had won a place with the traditional *chakravartis* of ancient literature. This poem was the triumphant epic of a people who were bursting with local pride born of the power and strength which Siddharāja had created. In it, provincial consciousness masquerades under an imagery and phrase which the earlier Brāhmaṇa poets with their all-India consciousness had enshrined in literature.

Spotless in character but sectarian in outlook, the *sādhu* bent his scholarship as well as his statesmanship towards the twin objectives of securing power for his community and glory for his faith. While Kumārapāla was wandering as an exile, persecuted by the fiery wrath of his uncle, it was Udayana who gave him asylum and Hemachandra who foretold that he was to be the future ruler of Gujarat.[116] From that date, these two men pledged themselves to secure Kumārapāla's succession to the throne. There can be

little doubt but that Siddharāja knew Kumārapāla to be the nominee of the Jains, or that this knowledge contributed towards his aversion for his nephew. So much was he against the succession of the hated line of Devaprasāda that he turned a completely deaf ear when possibly Hemachandra or certain of the Jain ministers suggested the nomination of Kumārapāla as a *yuvarāja*.

In other ways, however, Siddharāja treated the family well enough. Mahipāla, Kumārapāla's brother, lived in the capital and was not persecuted; their sisters were married, one to the king of Sambhar, the other to his leading general, Kṛishṇadeva.[1] Siddharāja had frowned upon Udayana for giving asylum to Kumārapāla, but he seems to have looked upon Hemachandra purely from the point of view of the patron of letters towards his beneficiary. In any case, Hemachandra was a younger man and he had the patience of one working for the glory of his faith.

According to Merutuṅga, on Kārtika Suda 3 of V.S. 1199 (A.D. 1143), Siddharāja died. When he died, Aṇahilavāḍa, the heart of Gūrjaradeśa, missed a throb. Gūrjaradeśa was ready, as at the death of Nāgabhaṭa II, to take the next stride to an all India suzerainty; but it counted without its next master.

Chapter X

KUMARAPĀLA

(A.D. 1144-1174)

(1)

Accession

Kumārapāla was already fifty when the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa fell vacant.[1] Ever since the murder

of his father, Tribhuvanapāla, and the beginning of his exile, he had wandered[2] from place to place. Accompanied by his loyal wife Bhupāladevī, he had lived at Stambhatīrtha, Bhṛigukachchha, Ujjayini, Chitrakūṭa and even, according to a later legend, at Kāñchi. During these years he had had more than a normal share of the world's afflictions and was a tried and disillusioned man when destiny brought him to Aṇahilavāḍa at last.

On the death of Siddharāja, the party of which the minister Udayana was the head, mobilised its forces to secure Kumārapāla's accession. The leaders of this party, ministers and generals, have been described by Somaprabhā "as surpassing Bṛihaspati in wisdom." They were Sajjana, a Jain, who had been governor of Saurāshṭra in Jayasiṁha's time; Āliga, a minister; Dūdāka, the prime minister; his son Mahādeva, governor of Mālava, and *purohita* of the Chaulukyas, Āmiga, or his father Sarvadeva. Among the military leaders who favoured Kumārapāla's accession were Vaijjaladeva, who later came to be styled *Mahāpracharaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka*; Kaṇhaḷaḍadeva or Kṛishṇadeva, the general in charge of cavalry and the husband of Kumārapāla's sister, Premaladevī; the general *Mahāsādhanika* Rājyapāla, who ultimately became the governor of east Mālava, and the Brāhmaṇa general, Karka or Kāka.

The part played in these events by Hemachandra has been exaggerated by later Jain authors. Kumārapāla met the Sūri long after his accession, though it is more than likely that they had come to know each other well during the prince's years of misfortune.

The Nestor of the group, however, was the patient old man, Udayana, who had been working for Kumāra-

pāla for many years. Originally, a Śrīmāla of Jhalor in Marwad, he had been married to Suhadevī of Dholka. Appointed a minster by Karṇa, he had successfully occupied the distinguished office of governor, first, of Lāṭa, and then of Stambhatīrtha, an emporium.[3] He was a devout Jain and enormously rich. He had been responsible for the initiation of Hemachandra when a boy, and, as has been stated, he had sheltered Kumārapāla for some time in his exile, thereby incurring the displeasure of the formidable Jayasiṁha. There is little doubt that he had remained in touch with Kumārapāla throughout the years of his wanderings. At the time of Jayasiṁha's death his eldest son Vāgbhaṭa was a senior minister, while his protégé, Hemachandra, was the most eminent of the Jain *sādhus*, and the leading man of learning in Aṇahilavāḍa.

For eighteen days there was interregnum during which Siddharāja's sandals reigned.[4] If the ministers favouring Kumārapāla were, according to the Jain *Prabandhas*, "wise like Bṛihaspati", Kṛishṇadeva, the brother-in-law of Kumārapāla, was also there to wield the thunderbolt of Indra for him, and it was he who "made the forces ready for the battle."[5] A *coup d'etat* followed. According to Merutuṅga, Kumārapāla came to the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa on Kārtika vadi 2, V.S. 1199 (A.D. 1143). This date is, however, legendary. The epigraphic evidence establishes that Siddharāja was alive till V.S. 1200.[6] Therefore, the accession of Kumārapāla cannot be placed before that year.

(ii)

Chronology of the reign

The important events and epigraphic records of Kumārapāla's reign are as follows:—

A.D. 1144 Accession.

A.D. 1145 (V.S 1202) 32 Sinha *Samvatsara*. Stone pillar inscription at Mangrol set up by a Guhila chief whose forefather Sahajiga was a general of the Chaulukya forces.[7]

A.D. 1145(?) Inscription at Gala in modern Dharangadhra State. Prime minister is Mādhava. Ambāprasāda and Chāhaḍa are also referred to as *Mahāmātya* but in charge of other departments.[8]

A.D. 1145 Inscription of Samvatsara.[9]

A.D. 1145 Stone inscription at Dohad. It refers to *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vapanadeva residing at Godrabaka, modern Godhra.[10]

A.D. 1148 Reference in an inscription to Paramāra Someśvara (c. A.D. 1141-1162), a feudatory of Kumārapāla, ruling at Kiradu in Marwad.[11]

A.D. 1150 The inscription on black marble in the temple of Samidheśvara at Chitod, in the Udaipur State, wherein Kumārapāla's visit to the temple after his victory over the king of Śākambhari is described.[12] Fragmentary inscription of Chitod, wherein the genealogy from Mūlarāja to Jayasiṁha is described.[13]

A.D. 1151 Vadnagar-*praśasti*, composed by Śripala, the "adopted brother" of Siddharāja and styled *Kavi-chakravarti*. It describes the genealogy of the Chaulukyas and eulogises the life of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Anandapura.[14]

A.D. 1153 Stone pillar inscription at Kiradu, a village in Marwad in Rajputana, wherein

Kumārapāla is referred to as *Rāyādhirāja*. *Mahārāja* Ālhaṇadeva of Naddūla inscribed on it an edict prohibiting the slaughter of animal life on specified days in the month.[15]

A.D. 1153 Inscription in a temple at Pali in Jodhpur.[16] Stone inscription at Ratanpur in the Jodhpur State. An edict was issued by Girijādevī, *Mahārājñī* of Pūnapāksha-deva, the successor of *Mahārāja* Rāyapāla, the Chāhamāna of Naddūla, in the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka Parameśvara* Kumārapāla. It prohibited the slaughter of animals on specified dates.[17]

A.D. 1154 Stone pillar inscription at Bhatunda near Bijapur in the Jodhpur State. It refers to *Daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijaka, the military governor of Naddūla, which was a province of Gujarat.[18]

A.D. 1156 The plate recording a grant by *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Pratāpasiṁha in the village of Nadol in the Jodhpur State. Kumārapāla is referred to as having conquered the king of Sākambharī. Bāhaḍadeva was *mahāmātya*.[19]

A.D. 1159 Inscription on a lintel at Bali, in the Jodhpur State. Vaijjaladeva was *Daṇḍanāyaka* at Naddūla.[20]

The undated inscription at Prachi. Gumadeva, son of Kakkaka, was the governor of Kumārapāla at Prabhāsa-Pāṭana and controlled the Ābhīra chiefs.[21]

A.D. 1161 Another inscription at Kiradu by Para-

māra Someśvara.[22]

A.D. 1163 Stone inscription in a temple at Udayapura in the Gwalior State *Mahāmātya* Yaśodhavala is referred[23] to as managing the affairs of the State.

A.D. 1164 Stone inscription in a Jain vihāra at Jābālipura, (modern Jhalor) in Jodhpur State. Kumārapāla is styled *Gurjaradharādhīśvara Paramārhata-Chaulukya-Mahārājādhirāja*. The image of Pārśvanātha was erected at the request of "Prabhu" Hema-Sūri.[24]

A.D. 1166 Stone pillar inscription of Udayapura in Gwalior State. It refers to a *Thakkura* Chohaḍa.[25]

A.D. 1169 Valabhī Saṃvat 850. *Praśasti* of Bhāva Bṛhaspati at Veraval in Kathiawad.[26]

A.D. 1169 Stone inscription at Junagadh recording the erection of a Jain temple by the last prince of Anandanagara.[27]

A.D. 1171 Stone inscription of Nadol (Jodhpur State) describing the building of a *maṇḍapa* in a Śiva temple. Kelhaṇa was ruling at Naddūla.[28]

(iii)

Wars in the North and the West

The outlook was not encouraging either within Anahilavāḍa itself or in the rest of the country, when Kumārapāla, after his life-time of exile, was placed on the throne. Conspirators against the life of the new king had to be disposed of; hostile ministers had "to be despatched to the abode of Yama"; the impertinence of Kṛishṇadeva, the king-maker, had to be checked with the aid of a few athletes, who broke his

bones and blinded him.[29]

Arṇorāja of Śākambharī raised the standard of revolt. Arṇorāja or Arṇarāja or Āna (A.D. 1139-1153), a loyal feudatory, was the son-in law of Jayasiṁha, and his minor son Someśvara had been brought up by the old emperor. On the news of Jayasiṁha's death, he, with various other feudatories, marched on Gujarat. Chāhaḍa or Bāhaḍa, the general in charge of the elephant division of the army of Gujarat who had been a favourite of Siddharāja, joined him. This general Bāhaḍa, who was not the son of Udayana but bore the same name, "won over officers by bribes, attentions and gifts, and, aided by Arnorāja, arrived at the borders of Gujarat". Whether Arṇorāja was making a bid for the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa on behalf of his son Someśvara or only intended to reduce Gujarat to vassalage, is difficult to say.

Kumārapāla, assisted by the minister Sajjana, marched against Arṇorāja. The fortunes of the battle swayed back and forth and the position of Kumārapāla became precarious. Several divisions of the army openly mutinied, while the driver of the royal elephant refused to go in the battle. But Kumārapāla's personal leadership rose to the occasion. The forces of the enemy were routed. Arnorāja was wounded in battle,[30] and along with Bāhaḍa taken prisoner. As a result, the Chāhamana surrendered and gave his daughter in marriage to Kumārapāla.[31] Vikramasiṁha of Abu, who had attempted to betray Kumārapāla, was thrown into prison and his nephew Yaśodhavala set up as his successor. He was ruling in Abu in A.D. 1146 as a feudatory of Kumārapāla.[32]

Mahārājādhirāja Rājyapāla, the nephew of Aśārāja, held sway in Marwad some time between

A.D. 1133 and 1145, but in any case before 1146, side by side with Aśārāja and his son Kaṭudeva. The latter, however, is recorded as having been reigning at Naddūla in Siṁha *Saṁvat* 31-32, though, curiously enough, the name of his sovereign, Jayasiṁha is omitted from the grant.[33] It is evident, therefore, that at about the time of Jayasiṁha's death, Kaṭudeva had taken advantage of the confusion in Aṇahilavāḍa to declare his independence. Thereafter Kumārapāla descended swiftly upon Kaṭudeva and it appears that the Chāhamāna was removed from the rulership of Naddūla. No inscription of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla is available between A.D. 1146 and 1161.

To all intents and purposes, however, Marwaḍ was governed between A.D. 1134 and 1160 by Vaijjaladeva, the military governor of Kumārapāla. The annexation of Marwaḍ to Gujarat could only have been a step in Kumārapāla's campaign against Arṇorāja, so that Kaṭudeva may be presumed to have joined Arṇorāja in his war against Gujarat.

In A.D. 1149, Paramāra Someśvara was installed as a feudatory ruler of Kiradu. But a little before A.D. 1152, at a time when Mahādeva, the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa was the prime minister at Aṇahilavāḍa, a descendant Ālhaṇadeva, the son of Aśārāja obtained "by the grace of his sovereign lord *Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Kumārapāla a principality consisting of Kiradu (in modern Jodhpur State), Raddhada and Śivā in Marwad."[34] Alhaṇa helped Kumārapāla to suppress a revolt in Saurāshṭra,[35] and Naddūla seems to have been granted to him as a reward; for, in A.D. 1163, he was in charge of the capital of Marwad: In that same year he was succeeded by his son, Kelhaṇa, who reigned as a *Mahārāja* up to about A.D. 1192.

Kirādu, however, appears to have been handed back to Someśvara (in about A.D. 1162) who conquered two forts on behalf of Kumārapāla, one in Jaisalmere and the other in Jodhpur.

Two distinct campaigns had to be conducted against Arṇorāja. It appears that he attacked Kumārapāla shortly after his accession and although he was defeated he managed to come to an honourable truce. He seems, however, in V.S. 1206-07, to have attacked Kumārapāla again in alliance with Ballāla of Mālava. This time Kumārapāla inflicted a decisive defeat on Arṇorāja. In the course of this invasion, the country of Sapādalakṣha, over which Arṇorāja ruled, was devastated. Kumārapāla with his victorious army then encamped at Śālipura (near modern Chitod) in Udaipur. On this occasion, he made a gift of a village to the temple, while his *Doṇḍanāyaka* donated an oil mill. Medataka was also conquered.[37] By A.D. 1150, therefore, the whole of southern Rajputana was part of the empire.

The death of Siddharāja had been the signal for a revolt in Mālava. As stated before, between A.D. 1135-1138, Jayasiṁha annexed Mālava as part of his empire, and Mahādeva, the son of the prime minister Dāḍāka, was appointed as viceroy to rule over it. Yaśovarman, the vanquished king of Mālava continued to rule over some small part of it as a petty chieftain, *Mahārāja*. He died in c. A.D. 1130 and in A.D. 1132 his son Jayavarman, styling himself as *Mahārājādhirāja*, established himself, evidently as a feudatory,[38] at Vardhamānapuri.

Between A.D. 1143-44 the king of Mālava who can be no other than Jayavarman, was over-powered by more than one king. Claims to this effect are made

by the Chandella Madanavarman (A.D. 1128-1163) and by Chālukya Jagadekamalla (A.D. 1139-1150) of Kalyāṇi, assisted by the Hoysala Narsimha I. Jayavarman might have died on the battlefield. He was succeeded by his son Lakshmivarman by A.D. 1143.[39]

A small principality in Malava was ruled from Inganapala (modern Ingoda), by Vijayapāladeva, who styled himself *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*.[40]

Yet another part of Malava was ruled by a king named Ballāla. The name Ballāla is common among the Hoysalas of Mysore, and it is likely that he may have been the viceroy of Jagadekamalla II or one of his feudatories. When, in alliance with Arnoraja, Ballāla raised the standard of revolt, Kumārapāla sent an army to Malava under his general Karka or Kāka *(Gūrjara-Brahma-senāni)* who was in charge of the army of Lāṭa. Kāka had no easy task; Ballāla, had been joined by Vijaya and Krishna, the two feudatories of Kumārapāla. At one time, despite his general's exhortations, the army of Gujarat began to retreat. But his enthusiasm fired his men and Ballala was ultimately brought down from his elephant and killed in front of the *Gūrjara-Brahma-senāni*.[41] Yaśodhavala, the Paramāra of Abu, was also a military leader during this campaign.[42]

Malava was then divided into several provinces and *Mahāsādhanika* Rājyapāla was appointed the military governor of the western division with his headquarters at Udayapura near Bhilsa. The eastern province was called *Bhaillasvāmi mahādvādaśaka* (modern Bhilsa) and continued to remain part of Gujarat till, at any rate, the death of Ajayapāla in A.D. 1175.[43]

(iv)

Consolidation of Empire

On his return from the conquest of Arṇorāja, Kumārapāla set about punishing Vikramasiṁha, the feudatory of the king of Chandrāvatī (Abu), for his disloyalty. He captured the city, imprisoned its ruler, and gave his principality to his nephew Yaśodhavala, who had helped him in the war against Ballāla. The reduction of Mālava did not end, therefore, until after the war with Arṇorāja was over. During these campaigns, according to the *Prabandhas*, Kumārapāla had appointed Āliga and Udayana, both elder statesmen, and Udayana's son Vāgbhaṭa, as his advisers. The inscription of Gaḍa shows that Mādhava was the prime minister from A.D. 1145, that is right from the beginning.[44]

In about A.D. 1150, while the king was still busy with his campaign in Marwad and Śapādalakṣha, there was a revolt in Saurāshṭra. The armies of Gujarat[45] were led by the old minister Udayana and the Chāhamāna prince Āhaṇadeva of Naḍḍūla, and Udayana, then almost a centenarian, was mortally wounded, and died.

Arṇorāja of Śākambharī was succeeded by Jagadeva, his eldest son by his first wife, and within a short time, in A.D. 1152 by a younger son, Visaladeva Vigraharāja IV, the author of the drama called *Harakelināṭaka*.[46] In A.D. 1153, the latter styled himself *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* and did not acknowledge Kumārapāla as his suzerain. At one time he also attempted to invade Marwad, which was ruled by Chāhamāna Āhaṇadeva, the feudatory of Kumāra-

pāla[47] and got as far as sacking Naddūla and Jābālipura.

Some kind of understanding appears to have been arrived at between Kumārapāla and Chāhamāna Vigraharāja, and leaving the south to his more formidable relative the Chāhamāna struck out in the north. His aggressive wars led to the decline of the Yamini kings and earned for him the reputation of having exterminated the *mlechchhas*.[48] He captured Delhi, cleared the region between the Yamuna and the Sutlej of the foreigners and became the guardian of the gateway of India. Vigraharāja was therefore a great military leader, as well as a patron of literature.

In A.D. 1164 Vigraharāja was succeeded by his son, Apara Gāṅgeya. After a very short reign Apara Gāṅgeya was succeeded in his turn by Pṛithvībhaṭa or Pṛithvīrāja II (A.D. 1167-1170), the son of Jugadeva who led a successful campaign against the Yamini prince, Khusrau Malik Taj-ud-Daulah (A.D. 1162-1168).

Vigraharāja and Pṛithvībhaṭa represented the branch born of Arṇorāja's first queen Sudhavā. By his junior wife Kāñchanadevī, Siddharāja's daughter, he had a son, Someśvara. He was at Aṇahilavāḍa during the lifetime of his grandfather Siddharāja, who may well have entertained the idea of his succeeding him on the throne of Gujarat. Between the death of his father in about A.D. 1152 and his own accession in A.D. 1170, Someśvara also lived at the court of Kumārapāla, whose favourite he was. Someśvara, while in Aṇahilavāḍa, had married Karpūradevī,[49] daughter of the Kalachuri prince of Tri-

puri. To Someśvara and Karpūradevi, was born Prithvīrāja of immortal glory.

Thus had Kumārapala's statesmanship assured the continuance of the alliance between Gujarat and Sapādalaksha, the two most formidable units of Gūrjaradeśa. On the death of Prithvīrāja II in A.D. 1170, Someśvara came to the throne of Ajayameru, modern Ajmer. He remained a loyal ally of Gujarat throughout his life.

The conquest of Konkaṇa, the last exploit of the reign of Kumārapāla, was attributed to the leadership of Someśvara,[50] minister Āmrabhaṭa, Udayana's youngest son, and Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra of Abu.[51] Merutuṅga in ecstatic admiration of Āmrabhaṭa gives a description of his campaign against Mallikārjuna of Konkaṇa, of the Silāhāra dynasty.[52]

Mallikārjuna, king of north Konkaṇa, ruled from Thana or Puri (as it was then called). His last inscription is dated V.S. 1216 (A.D. 1160). This war must, therefore, have taken place between A.D. 1160 and 1170, when Someśvara left Aṇahilavāda to become the king of Ajmere.

Merutuṅga, in recounting the story of the campaign, tells how Kumārapāla called upon Āmrabhaṭa to lead the army to destroy Mallikārjuna, "the semblance of a king"; how he encamped on the other bank of the river Kalavinḷ, modern Kaveri, and how he was suddenly attacked and put to flight by Mallikārjuna. But Kumārapāla evidently sent reinforcements, for Āmrabhaṭa next crossed the river by throwing a bridge across it and fought Mallikārjuna whom he killed with his own hand. Mallikarjuna's head was thereafter set in gold and presented by the victor to his master at

Aṇahilavāḍa who then conferred on him the title of *Rājapitāmaha*.

The assessment of Kumārapāla's personality and achievements is rendered difficult by reason of his having been placed on a mythic pedestal by the *Prabandhas*. In his *Kumārapālacharita* Jayasiṁha Sūri, the Jain author, gives a description of the digvijaya of Kumārapāla in the traditional vein. Marching from Aṇahilavāḍa he halted at Jābālipura, where he partook of the hospitality of its governor. Next he invaded Sapādalaksha and his brother-in-law Arnorāja offered him homage. After that he penetrated into the Kuru-maṇḍala, halted for a time on the banks of the Gaṅgā, then marched on Mālava. While on his way he was offered hospitality by the lord of Chitrakūṭa and captured the ruler of Revātīrtha. He then crossed the river, entered the land of the Ābhīras and subdued the king of Prakāśanagarī. Turning west from the Vindhyas he defeated the lord of Lāṭa, subdued the lord of Saurāshṭra and Kachchha and marched against Pañchanadādhipa. Having conquered the king of the Punjab, he vanquished Mūlarāja, the lord of Mūlasthāna or Multan, and from there the victorious king returned to the south. The poet then sums up:

"The Gaṅgā to the east; the Vindhyas to the south, the Sindhu in the west and in the north, where rule the Turushkas—these were the bounds in which the Chaulukya roamed with might."[52]

The epigraphic evidence does not support the story of this victorious march. On the contrary, the more authentic records contradict it.

But it would be true to say that practically the whole of the old Gūrjaradeśa owed allegiance to the

Chaulukya. Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra and Kachchha were completely absorbed in his kingdom, and Koṅkaṇa was a vassal state. That he came into conflict with the Yaminis and defeated them, may also be accepted as historical, for they were directly on the borders of the kingdoms of Vigraharāja and Someśvara who were his allies.

(v)

Influence of Jainism

The *Prabandhas* claim that on the advice of Hemachandra[5a] Kumārapāla gave up Saivism to embrace Jainism in A.D. 1160. *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* says that the king assumed the title of "*Paramārhat*" after listening to the teachings of Mahāvīra; requested Hemachandra to write some works for him; prohibited the taking of animal life in his empire, constructed 14,140 Jain temples; and accepted the twelve vows of Jainism.[5b]

Jayasiṁha in *Kumārapālacharita*,[5c] describes the religious zeal of the royal convert in six cantos. After giving up his vices under Hemachandra's direction, Kumārapāla went on pilgrimage to Somanātha, where on the invocation of Hemachandra, the god Śiva himself appeared before him and lauded Jainism. The king thereupon took the "vow of not eating flesh and his mind became firmly placed in Jain *Dharma*". When he finally accepted *Śrāvaka Dharma*, he prohibited the taking of life by promulgating an edict in Saurāshṭra, Lāṭa, Abhīra, Medāpaṭa, Marwad and Sapādalaksha. In fact the description of his zeal in the new faith varies according to the evangelical fervour of each author.

The *Prabandhas* attribute to Kumārapāla two reforms which are claimed to be the result of his conversion to Jainism. Firstly, that he gave up the right of the Crown to succeed to a person dying sonless; secondly, that he prohibited the killing of animals throughout his empire.

The *Smṛitis* laid down that the estate of a deceased escheated to the Crown, only if he died without leaving not only a son, but any one of the diverse categories of heirs, the last of which was the *guru* and the co-student.[1] But in practice, at that time, certain kings departed from this rule of law, and the property of a person dying sonless was confiscated.[2] It is impossible to believe that the rule of the *Śāstras* was unknown or unacceptable in Gujarat up to the twelfth century. Kumārapāla can merely be credited with having upheld the strict rule of the *Dharmaśāstras* as regards devolution of property, a reform which need not necessarily be traced to the exclusive influence of Jainism.

As regards the other reforms, meat and alcoholic liquor were taken in general by all classes other than the Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas and Jains. Drinking was considered an evil by the Hindu *Śāstras*. We have it on Hemachandra's authority, that Kumārapāla stopped the killing of animals by butchers and hunters and the offering of goats as religious sacrifice and that those who lost their livelihood by this ban were provided by the king[3] with three years' maintenance.

This, no doubt, was done by the king under the influence of Hemachandra, but the later *Prabandhas* were not content with the achievements claimed by a contemporary; they

went to absurd lengths. According to Merutuṅga, a rich man killed a louse and the king had him arrested as though he were a thief, confiscated all his wealth and built Yukavihāra or the Monastery of the Louse with the resulting funds.[60] There is no epigraphic evidence to show that Kumārapāla prohibited the killing of animals; on the contrary, the undated inscription of Girijādevi, queen of Pūṇapākshadeva, who was the feudatory of Kumārapāla at Naddūla, prohibits killing on the 11th, 14th and 15th only of every month.[61] In a similar inscription of A.D. 1153, found at Kiradu, Ālhaṇadeva, the viceroy of Kumārapāla, prohibits killing only on the 8th, 11th, and 14th of every month, on a penalty of five *drammas* in ordinary cases, and one *dramma* in the case of a member of the royal family.[62]

The claim of the *Prabandhas*, therefore, as to the nature and extent of the edicts is unfounded. But Kumārapāla accepted Hemachandra as his guide, philosopher and friend, in all social, ethical and political matters. As Someśvara puts it,[63] "he loved Jainism".

In A.D. 1165, the Jain authors had already begun to call him *Arhat*, while Hemachandra, was addressed as *Prabhu* or Lord. Hemachandra himself, though very liberal-minded, worked for the glory of his faith, but the party in power looked upon the king as being of their own faith, and styled him *Paramārhat* to advertise the fact. This group did not hesitate to treat others exactly as it had been treated when out of power. The *Skanda-purāṇa*[64] contains an account of how Dharmāraṇya, in the region of Modhera, a great Brāhmanical centre, was made to feel the intolerance of the fanatical Jains. The account is probably exaggerated

but it undoubtedly shows that the relations between the Jains and the Hindus were strained at the time and that for long the Hindus remembered that they had been persecuted by the Jains.

Kumārapāla never forswore his ancestral faith. Even Merutuṅga and Jayasiṁha attributed his partiality to Jainism as being due to his devotion for his guardian deity Somanātha. In the Udayapur inscriptions of A.D. 1164, in the colophon of the manuscript of the Prakrit work *Pṛithvīchandra-charita* by Śāntisūri, written in A.D. 1168 and in Bhāva Bṛihaspati's inscription of the same year[22] he is described as a devotee of Śiva.

Bhoja and Bhīma I had built the stone temple of Somanātha at Prabhāsa in A.D. 1030. After the lapse of a hundred-and-forty years another temple was to rise by the munificence of Bhīma's great-grandson Kumārapāla in its place. The devout king, his eyes dimmed with the weight of nearly three quarters of a century, saw the spires of the temple, magnificent as Kailāśa, standing against the clear sky, its steps laved by the waves of the western sea. He felt proud to dedicate it to the guardian deity Somanātha even as his ancestor Bhīma I had done before him.

He gave presents to his venerable *guru* Bhāva Bṛihaspati, the head of the Pāśupata *sampradāya*, the *guru* who was respected by all, who was learned beyond measure; who was the idol of pilgrims; handsome as Nakuliśa himself, worshipped by the sages; the preceptor of kings, who was firmly established in devotion to Śiva and to whom divine knowledge was bliss. The king embraced the saintly Brāhmaṇa, bowed low before him and placed upon his venerable

finger the royal signet-ring in token of his having installed him and his descendants in the headship of the shrine.

(vi)

Character and personality

Among kings, Kumārapāla is a unique figure. The building of wondrous feats of architecture, or attracting poets and scholars to his court, had no appeal for him. He was incapable of indulging in grandiose projects of conquest or monumental building, and he did not love adulation. He had been called to the throne, when already seasoned by adversity such as few previous kings had known. He was peace-loving: he preserved the empire which he had inherited. He ruled well and wisely, if not as valorously as his uncle, the great Siddharāja.

Throughout life Kumārapāla strove to attain self-perfection, making the pursuit of morals his main pre-occupation. He harnessed his zeal as a moralist to his duty as a king and endeavoured to uphold *dharma* even as had the memorable kings of old. As time went on he gradually withdrew from active affairs of state, while the ministers, dominated by Hemachandra, looked after his empire. He was loyal to his allies and feudatories and they in their turn were loyal to him, a curiosity for that age, made possible only because he was deeply respected. He conquered, but was without ambition. His main desire was to lead a stern and disciplined life and to guide his people along the path of purity and *ahiṁsā*.

He was in the habit of leaving his bed very early and reciting *mantras*. He then took his bath and worshipped in the palace temple. Surrounded by his ministers, he would then proceed on an elephant to Kumāravihāra, where he offered the eight-fold worship. After that he would visit Hemachandra, pay his respects and listen to his religious discourses. At midday, he would return, give alms, offer *prasāda* to the deities, send oblations to the temples and then, he would dine. An assembly of scholars would follow, at which the king would discuss religious and philosophic subjects. In the fourth *prahara* (afternoon), he would preside over the royal courts, transact affairs of state and dispose of petitions. He would then attend wrestling matches and elephant fights, but more from a sense of duty than a love of sport.

Two *ghaṭikās* (forty-eight minutes) before sunset he would take his evening meal. He went without food on the eighth and fourteenth days of every month. Then followed worship, *ārati* by dancing girls, musical concerts and bardic recitals.

This highly coloured picture,[66] drawn by devout Jains, gives after making due allowance for exaggeration an interesting picture.

After the war with Arṇorāja, Kumārapāla gave up the profession of arms. At the time of Siddharāja's death, Gūrjaradeśa had been on the threshold of imperial greatness, but Kumārapāla lacked the energy and ambition to further it. With rare indulgence, he allowed Vigraharāja to grow strong in the north, rather than drag him into an internecine feud and reduce him to vassalage.

The one-sided picture of a highly moral king given by the *Prabandhas*, should not blind the historian to

the weakness that undermined the power and authority of Aṇahilavāḍa which Siddharāja had built up. The pacific counsel of the Hemachandra group enfeebled the military might of Gujarat. The king was too old and too busy with moral reforms to give to India a vigorous empire or while defending the frontiers of India, to transform the growing forces of distintegration into an irresistible tide of political and cultural energy.

The choice of an heir presented serious difficulties, and Kumārapāla was torn by divided counsels. Hemachandra advised him to appoint Pratāpamalla, his daughter's son, as his heir, and in no event to allow his nephew Ajayapāla to succeed him. Ajayapāla, Mahipala's son (*in Surathotsava*, Someśvara calls him Kumārapāla's son), was the spearhead of the anti-Jain section. Even the disciples of Hemachandra were divided into two groups, one favouring Ajayapāla's succession and the other opposing it.

The throne of Aṇahilavāḍa had become the concern of Hemachandra and his friends; and the race of warriors and statesmen, who had helped to build up the empire of Siddharāja and to retain it for Kumārapāla, was either extinct or had been forced into obscurity. Sajjana, Mahādeva and Kāka were either dead, or in disfavour. The dying king's chief advisers were an old Jain *sādhu* and a rich merchant, also a Jain, and their only military adviser was Āmrabhaṭa.

A few months before Hemachandra's death the court was replete with intrigue. Rāmachandra, the great dramatist and a pupil of Hemachandra, was the leader of the Jain party. The anti-Jain party

was probably led by Vaijjaladeva, the military governor, who favoured Ajayapāla.

In the early part of V.S. 1230 (A.D. 1173), Kumārapāla died; Hemachandra predeceased him by six months.

The *Prabandhas* look upon the reign of Kumārapāla as the golden age. Hemachandra had led the Jain authors to invest the Chaulukya family with the dignity of Raghu's divine race, Aṇahilavāḍa with the halo of an Ayodhya and Kumārapāla himself with the nobility of a Vikrama. In this way he laid the foundation in literature of a picture of a modern Gujarat as being great and its people as having a characteristic destiny. Thus did the regionalisation of a powerful sentiment find expression in what may be called a Gujarat-sense.

(vii)

Ajayapāla

Ajayapāla came to the throne by a coup d'etat. It is even possible that Kumārapāla was poisoned.[57] The ministers and those of the military leaders, who had become restive under what was practically the rule of Hemachandra and his friends, made a bid for power. Ajayapāla got rid of the friends of Kumārapāla, just as Kumārapāla had got rid of those who had opposed his accession.

Such stories of Ajayapāla's reign as have been preserved by the *Prabandhas* must be treated as mere enemy propaganda. Merutuṅga speaks of him as a "low villain" and maintains that Rāmachandra was tortured to death by being placed on a red-hot copper plate. Āmrabhaṭa, the proud son of Udayana, who bore the title of *Rājapitāmaha*, declined to pay homage

to the new king, giving as his reasons that he only worshipped Mahāvīra, the divinity, Hemachandra, the guru and Kumārapāla, the master.

The streets of Anahilavāda ran with the blood of partisans engaged in civil strife. Amrabhata resisted by force. "He swept before him the king's men like chaff, marched with his men towards the tower from which time was announced," and, says Merutuṅga, "passed into heaven; *Apsarās* who had come to see the wondrous sight vying with each other in wooing him."[68]

Ajayapāla appointed Someśvara his prime minister, while Kapardi, a devotee of the goddess Durgā and an enemy of the Jains became one of the ministers.

The epigraphic finds of Ajayapāla's reign are few:—

A.D. 1173 Stone inscription at Udayapura in Gwalior State. The "illustrious" Lūṇapasāka was the governor of Bhaillasvāmī - *Mahādvādaśakamaṇḍala*, under *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Parama-Māheśvara* Ajayapāladeva, the *āmātya* being Someśvara.[69]

A.D. 1175 Inscription at Unjha in Kathiawad.[70]

A.D. 1175 The inscription deposited in the Bombay Secretariat, the find-spot of which is untraced. *Mahāmātya* was Someśvara.[71]

A.D. 1175 (March 25 to April 7). Death.

All authorities are agreed that Ajayapāla reigned for three years (A.D. 1173-1175). During

his short career, he was a strong ruler, who gave no quarter to his enemies.

Ever since the days of Siddharāja, the old Gūrjaradeśa had been ruled by two kings who were bound together in close partnership, one being the Chāhamāna of Sapādalaksha, the other the Chaulukya of Gujarat; the king of Gujarat was, no doubt, the senior partner.

Only Guhila Sāmantasimha (A.D. 1171-1179) of Medāpaṭa, attempted a revolt against Ajayapāla, but was soon brought under control. In this war Ajayapāla was supported by his feudatory Prahlādana, the brother of the Paramāra chief of Abu[73] and the founder of modern Palanpur.

Under Ajayapāla's just and vigorous rule[74] the empire of Aṇahilavāḍa remained intact from Gwalior to the Narmadā, while Mālava continued to remain a province of the empire.

In spite of the statements of certain Jain authors, Ajayapāla's rule was not a failure, and the army of Gujarat retained its full strength under him. Merutuṅga, being an enemy propagandist, says: "Ajayapāla, who had sinned against shrines, was stabbed to death by a Pratihāra named Vayajaladeva; and being devoured by worms and suffering the tortures of hell, left the world."[75]

It is doubtful whether the legend about Ajayapāla's death is based on fact. Even if it is, the name Vayajaladeva must give rise to speculation. Vayajaladeva was the most powerful military leader since the latter part of Kumārapāla's reign. From A.D. 1156-60, he had been the military governor of Marwad. He had evidently aided Ajayapāla to come to the throne, and in A.D. 1175, was a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*

governing the province Narmadātaṭa-maṇḍala. How he came to turn against his master is a mystery, if indeed his was the hand that killed Ajayapāla.

(viii)

Mūlarāja II and the Repulse of Ghuri

Ajayapāla was succeeded by his minor son Mūlarāja II, or Bāla-Mūlarāja, who ruled for about two years.

Since A.D. 1030, when Mahmud of Ghazni had died, the possessions of the kings of Ghazni had been shrinking from decade to decade. The power which Vigraharāja, the Chāhamāna of Ajmere, had built up in the north had also held the foreigners at bay.

In A.D. 1173, when Kumārapāla lay dying or was already dead, Shihab ud-Din, afterwards known as Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad of Ghur was appointed the governor of Ghazni by his elder brother Ghiyas ud-Din Muhammad. In A.D. 1175, Shihab ud-Din led his first expedition into India and captured Multan and Uch. In A.D. 1178 he invaded Gujarat. He first halted at Multan and Uch; marched through the desert; passed through Jodhpur and occupied Naddūla. Young Mūlarāja, then in his teens, opposed him at the head of the army of Gujarat.

The two armies met near Abu; a fierce engagement followed. The army of Gujarat was led by loyal and seasoned warriors such as the brave Kelhaṇa of Marwad (known to the Muslim chroniclers as Karṇa), Dhārāvarsha of Abu and a minister whom Zafer-ul-Walih mentions but does not name. In this battle the forces of Ghuri were defeated with great slaughter and the Turk escaped to Ghazni.[6]

As was usual with these invaders, Ghuri sent an ambassador to Pṛithvirāja of Ajmere offering peace, but that heroic young man was not to be tempted. "When these fiends in the shape of men took posession of Naddūla, the warriors of Ajmere took up their bows and arrows; the emperor became angry, and resolved to lay the Ghuri's glory in the dust."[77] In the meantime, the news of Mūlarāja's victory reached Pṛithvirāja.

This was a unique victory for Mūlarāja. The Sultan was a great general. The prince was young and inexperienced, and had only just come to the throne. But, the empire of Gūrjaradeśa was strong and unexhausted. Mūlarāja obtained such a victory that Ghuri did not venture to invade Gujarat again for another twenty years.

According to the *Prabandhas*, Ajayapāla's queen, Naikādevi, the daughter of the king Parmārdi with her infant son Mūlarāja in her arms, marched at the head of the army and defeated the forces of Islam, securing for her son the title of the "vanquisher of the king of Ghazni."[78] According to the references, it is likely that he was not quite a child when this battle was fought.

About the same time, Vindhyavarman, the son of Jayavarman, raised a revolt in Mālava but Kumāra, the father of the poet Someśvara, led the army of Gujarat and crushed it utterly.[79] The military strength of Gujarat had remained intact.

Bāla-Mūlarāja, however, died in A.D. 1178 and was succeeded by his younger brother, Bhīmadeva II.

Chapter XI

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE THIRD EMPIRE

(I)

Bhīma II, Epigraphic Records

Bhīmadeva II reigned for sixty-three years from A.D. 1178-1241. He was a boy when he came to the throne, and in the early years of his reign followed the traditions of his father Ajayapāla. The *Prabandhas*, therefore, naturally pass over his reign and achievements in silence, and when the Jains came into power after A.D. 1220, they give such a one-sided picture that truth becomes difficult to sift. But there can be little doubt that in the first twenty-five years of his reign Bhīma II revived the imperial power, though his task was rendered difficult by his having to face at the same time the Ghuris, who had displaced the effete Yaminis in the north; the resurgence of the Paramāras in Mālava and in the south the Hoysalas of Dārasamudra and the Yādavas of Devagiri who rose into prominence upon the break up of the empire of the Western Chālukyas.

The events and records of Bhīma II's reign may now be summarised:

c. A.D. 1178 — Stone inscription at Veraval describing the building by Bhīma II of a temple of Meghanāda at Somanātha by Bhāva Bṛihaspati, the *guru* of Yaśovarman, Siddharāja and Kumārapāla,[1] who must have been very old to have been alive in A.D. 1178.

A.D. 1178 (V.S. 1235). Stone inscription at Kiradu recording the replacement by the feudatory Madanabrahmadeva of the image of Somanātha destroyed by Turushkas.[2] This corroborates the raid of the Turks in A.D. 1178.

A.D. 1178-79. Harichandra, the successor of Jayavarman, the Paramāra, acquired independent sovereignty in parts of Mālava, including the Bhopal region.[3] Jayavarman's son, Vindhyavarman, also ruled over a principality in Mālava.

c. A.D. 1180 Birth of Viradhavala, the Vāghela.

A.D. 1180 The Patan inscription referring to Bāla-Bhīma.[4]

c. A.D. 1189 Bhillama, the Yādava king of Devagiri, is recorded as having invaded Gujarat and Mālava and subdued their kings.[5] His progress in the north was stopped by Kulhaṇa, the ruler of Naddūla.[6] (A.D. 1163-1192).

A.D. 1192 Pṛithvirāja Chāhamāna of Ajmere falls fighting against Mu'izz ud-Din on the battle-field of Taraori.[7]

c. A.D.1192 Vindhyavarman, the Paramāra of Mālava, captures Dhārā.[8]

A.D. 1195 Inscription on an image at Diwra in Dungarpur.[9]

A.D. 1195 Bhīma II defeats Qutb

ud-Din.[10]

A.D. 1197 — Qutb ud-Din occupies Aṇahilavāḍa.[11]

A.D. 1199 — Patan grant of Bhīma II, wherein after describing the genealogy of the king he is referred to as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Abhinava-Siddharāja.*[12]

c. A.D. 1199 — Subhaṭavarman's invasion of Saurāshṭra, repulsed at Prabhāsa Patana.[13]

c. A.D. 1200 — Subhaṭavarman or Sohaḍa[14] comes to the throne of Dhārā.

A.D. 1200-1209 — Lāṭa is annexed to Mālava; Sīṁha, the feudatory chief, transfers his allegiance to Subhaṭavarman.[15] Aṇahilavāḍa sacked by Subhaṭavarman.[16]

A.D. 1206 — The Kadi grant No.1, in which Bhīma's queen is referred to as *Rājñī Līlādevī.*[17]

A.D. 1205-1206 — The inscription of Sahasachāṇā in Kachchha.[18]

A.D. 1206 — The Timana grant (near Bhavnagar). The *Mahāmātya* was Chāchigadeva.[19]

A.D. 1208 — Stone inscription at Abu. *Maṇḍalika* Dhāravarsha governed the Chandrāvatī region. His brother Prahlādanadeva was the *Yuvarāja*. *Mahāmātya* was Thābū. It records the paving of the Kanakhala *Tīrtha* at Abu.[20]

Gujarat devastated by Subhaṭavarman.

A.D. 1209 — Ghantelana grant in Saurāshṭra. In addition to the usual titles, Bhīma II is described as *Nava-Siddharāja, Vola (Bāla) Nārāyaṇāvatāra. Mahāmātya* was Ratnapāla.[21]

A.D. 1210 — Arjunavarman puts to flight Jayasiṁha, the king of Gujarat.[22]

A.D. 1210 — November, Qutb ud-Din's death, Iltutmish becomes the Sultan of Delhi.[23]

A.D. 1210 — February. Arjunavarman succeeds Subhaṭavarman.[24]

c. A.D. 1213 — Arjunavarman in Broach, with the title of *Trividha Vīra*. He has put to flight Jayasiṁha, the lord of Gujarat at the foot of the Parva Parvata.[25]

c. A.D. 1213 — Jayasiṁha's daughter, Vijayaśrī, married to Arjunavarman.[26]

A.D. 1216 — Śrīdhara-*praśasti* at Veraval. Śrīdhara's feat in rendering the earth, which was shaken by the elephants of Mālava, stable, and in protecting Devapaṭṭana, is recorded. Bhīma is referred to as the ruling king.[27]

A.D. 1217 — Chāhamāna Sindhurāja of Lāṭa, who was a feudatory of Arjunavarman, lost his life in an encounter against the Yādava

	Siṅghana. He was succeeded by his son Saṅgrāmasiṁha or Saṅkha.[28]
A.D. 1218	Devapāla succeeded Arjunavarman of Mālava.[29]
A.D. 1219	Stone inscription of Bhīma II at Bharana on the gulf of Kachchha.[30]
c. A.D. 1220	Vīradhavala appoints Vastupāla and Telaḥpāla his principal ministers.[31]
c. A.D. 1220	Vīradhavala seizes Cambay. Vastupāla is appointed to govern the new territory.[32]
A.D. 1220	Vīradhavala's expedition against Saurāshṭra.[33]
A.D. 1221	Vastupāla *mahāmātya* of Vīradhavala at Dholka.[34] His pilgrimage of Girnar.[35]
A.D. 1223	Vastupāla's son, Jayasiṁha, transacts the business of the seat at Stambhatīrtha (Cambay).
A.D. 1223	The Kadi grant of Jayasiṁha Chaulukya. He was on the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa.[36]
A.D. 1226	Kadi grant No. 2 of Bhīma.[37] Iltutmish captures Ranthombhor and Mandawar.[38]
A.D. 1226	Stone inscription of Nana in the Bali district of Godwara.[39]
A.D 1230	The Kadi grant No.3. It records a royal grant from Aṇahilavāḍa to a temple built by Luṇāpasāka.[40]

A.D. 1230 — The Abu stone inscription at Abu (No. 2). The *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* was Somasiṁha of the family of Dhumarāja, the Paramāra. It records the erection of a temple at Delvad by Tejaḥpāla, who was conducting the business of the Seal of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* Viradhavala, the son of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* Lavaṇaprasāda, born in the Chaulukya-kula in the Gurjaratrā-*maṇḍala*, obtained by the favour of *Mahārājādhirāja* Bhīmadeva.[41]

A.D. 1231-41 — Thirty-two inscriptions in the Neminātha temple at Abu by Tejaḥpāla.[42]

Stone inscription at Abu No.3. Bhīmadeva is only indirectly referred to as the Chauḷukya king It gives the family tree of Tejaḥpāla, his wife Anupamādevī, his master Viradhavala, and of Paramāra Somasiṁha of Chandrāvati. Vastupāla is referred to as the *sachiva* of the Chaulukyas. The brothers are described as the ministers of Vīradhavala. He and Lavaṇaprasāda are described as *mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras*.[43]

A.D. 1232 — Kadi grant No.4. It contains the same introductory recital as

Kadi grant No.3.[44]

A.D. 1232 Girnar inscription in which Lavaṇaprasāda is described as *Mahārājādhirāja*.[45]

A.D. 1232 Lavaṇaprasāda makes a treaty with the Yādava king Siṅghana.[46]

A.D. 1232 Iltutmish captures Gwalior and invades Mālava.[47]

A.D. 1236 Lāṭa conquered by Vīradhavala.[48]

A.D. 1238 Kadi grant No.5 of Bhīma II.[49]

A.D. 1238 Kadi grant No.6 of Bhīma II.[50]

A.D. 1238 Viradhavala's death.[51]

A.D. 1239 Succeeded by *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka* Vīsaladeva.

A.D. 1240 Death of Vastupāla. Tejahpāla *mahāmātya*.[52]

A.D. 1241-42 Death of Bhīma II. Succeeded by Tribhuvanapāla.[53]

A.D. 1244 Vīsaladeva assumes sovereignty.[54]

A.D. 1248 Tejahpāla's death.[55]

(ii)

Situation in North India

The history of the times of this important ruler has to be reconstructed within the framework of the facts which have been set out above.

When Bhīma II came to the throne, the country was on the verge of a cataclysmic era.

Mahmud of Ghazni had destroyed the Brāhmaṇa Śāhis of Kabul as a reigning power, driving them to

seek an asylum in Kashmir after Bhīmapāla had been killed in A.D. 1026. Kashmir was enjoying a period of peace under the kings of the Lohara dynasty, when in A.D. 1149, Kalhaṇa finished his classical work *Rājatarangiṇī*. The Lohara dynasty came to an end with Vantideva in A.D. 1172, and for want of a worthy successor in Kashmir, Vappadeva was elected by the citizens. Vappadeva is, perhaps the only king in history who can claim the unique distinction of having fed stones on milk to make them grow larger! The days of Kashmirian greatness had passed.

The Yamīnīs, Mahmud's descendants, held sway in Lahore. In Bengal the Sena dynasty had come into power. Its founder Sāmantasena (A.D. 1050-1074) had been originally a Brahma-Kshatriya from Karṇāṭaka who had settled at Rādhā in Bengal. His grandson Vijayasena (c. A.D. 1095-1158) was a powerful king succeeded in his turn by his son Ballālasena (A.D. 1159-1185); he not only won for himself considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar, but was both a scholar and a patron of learning. His queen Ramādevi is described as having been the daughter of a Chālukya.

Upon the deaths of Bhoja the Paramāra and Lakshmī-Karṇa, the Kalachuri king, Chandradeva the Gāhaḍavāla (c. A.D. 1072 to 1104), captured Kanauj between A.D. 1072 and 1074 and began to wage incessant wars against the Kalachuris. After the short reign of his son Madanapāla (A.D. 1104-1114), Govindachandra (A.D. 1114-1154) came to the throne of Kānyakubja and warred against the Pālas of Bengal. He also repelled an attempt on the part of the later Yamīnīs to penetrate to Kāśi. "Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara as the only one who

was able to protect the earth, and to defend Vārāṇasī from the wicked Turushka warriors, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Govindachandra."[56] The Kalachuris of Tripurī were repeatedly defeated by him and he had diplomatic relations with the Cholas of the south. The eastern boundary of his kingdom was Patna, the western touched the frontiers of the Chāhamāna dominions between Rampur and Meerut.

Govinda's son Vijayachandra had also once "swept away the affliction of the earth by the streams (of water flowing as) from clouds from the eyes of the wives of the Hammira, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth".[57] This has reference to an attempt by the last Yamini king, Khusrau Malik Taj ud-Daulah (A.D. 1150-1186) to invade Madhyadeśa.

In A.D. 1170 there came to the throne of Kāśī (for that was the real capital of the Gāhaḍavālas) Jayachandra, (A.D. 1170-1193), who held sway from Rampur to Bengal. The one ambition in life of this king was to destroy the growing power of the Chāhamānas of Ajmere. Jejā-bhukti (modern Bundelkhand) was ruled by Paramārdi, the Chandella ally of Jayachandra in his wars with the Chāhamānas.

We now turn to the kingdom into which the old Gurjaradeśa had split. We have seen that Jayavarman, the immediate successor of Yaśovarman, of Mālava was defeated by the Chandellas, and by the Western Chālukyas, while his eldest son, Vindhyavarman, was defeated by a Chaulukya army under Kumāra. But by the end of his reign he had retrieved his position, so that his son and successor Subhaṭavarman found himself able during the reign of Bhīma to attack Gujarat.

Yaśovarman's younger son, Lakshmīvarman, established himself at Hoshangabad and Bhopal. Both Lakshmīvarman and his son Hariśchandra are called "*Mahākumāras*" to indicate their subordinate status. Hariśchandra's eldest son, Devapāla, succeeded Subhaṭavarman's son, Arjunavarman, on the throne at Dhārā, and as we shall see, Subhaṭavarman, Arjunavarman and Devapāla[59] invaded Gujarat repeatedly during the reign of Bhīma.

Lāṭa, a province of Gujarat, was ruled by the Chāhamāna named Simha, who was a feudatory of Bhīma II. The Paramāra of Abu, *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Dhārāvarsha (c. A.D. 1163-1219) was also a feudatory and continued to be loyal to Aṇahilavāḍa till his death.[58] Vāgaḍa (modern Dungarpur) was captured by the Gohel prince Sāmantasiṁha (A.D. 1171-79), who had been ousted from Medāpaṭa. He was also a feudatory of Aṇahilavāḍa[60] though he tried unsuccessfully to throw off the overlordship of Ajayapāla. Kīradu in Jodhpur State remained part of Gūrjaradeśa. Kīrtipāla, the Chāhamāna, was the ruler, in Jhalor, and his son Samarasiṁha was the father of Bhīma II's queen Līlādevī, referred to in the Kadi grant of A.D. 1206. Kelhaṇa, the son of Āllhaṇadeva (A.D. 1163-1192), who had been restored to the rulership of Marwad, continued to be a feudatory of Gujarat.

In A.D. 1177 Someśvara Chāhamāna, Siddharāja's grandson, died. His eldest son, Pṛithvīrāja was then a minor and the dying king left his kingdom in the care of his queen Karpūradevī and of her uncle, Bhuvanaikamalla, who educated Pṛithvīrāja with care. The weak Yaminis now stood between the

rising power of Ghuri and the powerful Chāhamānas of Ajmere.

Thus in the eventful year of A.D. 1178, when young Bhima II came to the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa old Gūrjaradeśa consisted of two independent kingdoms both of which were ruled by minors, one the great-grandson and the other the great-grand-nephew of Siddharāja. The references to hostilities between Bhima II and Pṛithvirāja contained in the Jain legends, have no epigraphic support; a hundred years of friendliness subsisted between the two kingdoms. But Gūrjaradeśa had its enemies in the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, the Chandellas of Jejā-bhukti and the Yādavas of Devagiri.

(iii)

The Wars Against Ghuri and Aibak

The discontented group which had been crushed by Ajayapāla had great wealth, considerable influence in the state and a compact community behind it; and the presence of an inexperienced young king upon the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa favoured elaborate intrigues. But a clear view of the facts connected with this period is very difficult. The *Prabandhas* are silent when things do not favour Jainism; and when they become vocal the two great Jain ministers Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla had already come into power so that every one else, for them, had receded into the background. It appears, however, that the provincial governors attempted to declare independence, but Arṇorāja, a *sāmanta*, faced the rebels and subdued them though at the cost of his life.

It seems that Bhima and Pṛithvirāja Chāhamānas

were also estranged, if only for a time but they were friendly again by A.D. 1187.

Meanwhile, the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī had declined in power and Bhillama I, the Yādava, had established himself at Devagiri, modern Daulatabad in Hyderabad State, and begun a career of conquest. About A.D 1189, he invaded Gujarat and Mālava, but his progress was resisted by Kelhaṇa, the brave warrior king of Naddūla, who forced the enemy back.[61] Ballāla II (A.D. 1173-1220), the Hoysaḷa king of Dvārasamudra (modern Halebid) in Mysore was no less troublesome to Gujarat. Since A.D. 1177 he had been nibbling at Gujarat and Mālava. Even a confederacy headed by the Chola Kulottuṅga II could not check his progress. About A.D. 1190 he vanquished the confederate force of Mālava, Lāṭa, Bhīma II and Kulottuṅga. Ballāla II claimed to be a "fever to the Chola, Mālava and the Gūrjara".[62]

Bhillama, the Yādava of Devagiri, was equally troublesome though he had once been repelled by Kelhaṇa in A.D. 1179. In A.D. 1189 he is described as "a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas" and a "dread roar of clouds to the flocks of swans of Gūrjaras". With all these difficulties in the south, it is greatly to the credit of Bhīma II that he drove out Aibak from Aṇahilavāḍa. Between A.D. 1178 and 1209 Gujarat, under Bhīma II, had not completely lost its strength.

Mu'izz ud-Dīn Ghuri had learnt a lesson. He had been badly beaten by Mūlarāja II and was in no hurry to invade India. In A.D. 1179 he took Peshawar from the feeble governor of the last of the Yamini kings, Khusrau Malik. Then a terrible but an all too familiar event took place. Chakradeva of Jammu

invited Ghuri to help him against Khusrau; Ghuri accepted the invitation, took Sialkot and established a base there. But Ghuri had come to conquer not to help. In A.D. 1186, with the aid of Vijayadeva, Cāhkradeva's son and successor, he destroyed the Yaminis completely. Ghuri was now face to face with the young Chāhamāna.

In the meantime, oblivious of the storm that was gathering on their north-western frontier, the Gāhaḍavāla Jayachandra of Kanauj and the young and impetuous Pṛithvīraja of Ajmere, carried on incessant hostilities. They gave no heed to the terrible danger to their country, their faith, their people. With a blind belief in their heroic invulnerability, they looked upon Sialkot as a frontier incident.

In A.D. 1191 Ghuri reorganised his forces and took the fortress of Tabara-Hind (modern Bhatinda), but Pṛithvīrāja, at the head of a confederate army, fell upon him at Taraori; a battle followed in which the Muslims were beaten. Ghuri, the "Haider of his time and a second Rustam" narrowly escaped and his army broke and fled till it reached Ghazni. Pṛithvīrāja did not follow up the victory by swift action, but invested Bhatinda, which fell into his hands after thirteen months.

In the next year, A.D. 1192, Ghuri collected a large army including 1,20,000 horses and marched on Pṛithvīrāja. Neither caution nor humility were part of the young hero's make-up and it never so much as entered his head to seek aid from Bhīma II, or from Jayachandra. Proudly he asked Ghuri "to retire to his own country". Ghuri was a consummate diplomat; he sent word that he was there solely at the bidding of his brother and master, and if Pṛithvīrāja

would give him time, he would get instructions from him to allow him enter into a treaty. He then asked for a truce, which the unsuspecting Pṛithvīrāja granted.

With the cessation of hostilities the Hindu army became guilty[63] of negligence of which Ghuri took advantage and fell upon Pṛithvīrāja unawares. The Indian army, despite heroic resistance, was routed and the young Chāhamāna, flying from the field of battle, was taken prisoner and put to death. Govindrai of Delhi, one of Pṛithvīrāja's brothers, was also slain.

The domains of the proud Chāhamānas right up to Delhi now fell in the hands of the foreign conqueror and massacre, rape and plunder followed in the wake of his occupation. Temples were razed to the ground, idols broken. The people, terror-struck, migrated south for safety. Malik Qutb ud-Din Aibak was left by Ghuri as governor in charge of his Indian provinces.

Pṛithvīrāja's natural son became the foreigner's nominee at Ajmere, but his heroic brother, Harirāja, withdrew to Ranthambhor, which was to become the citadel of unyielding resistance for the next hundred years.[64]

Within twelve months of the fateful battle of Taraori, Ghuri marched with lightning speed against Jayachandra, who fell fighting on the field of Chandwar. Then Ghuri indulged in an orgy of total destructiveness. The population was massacred and towns looted. Smiling Madhyadeśa was a charred ruin.

The conqueror then proceeded to the capital of Jayachandra while India looked on terror-struck. Vārāṇasī, the intellectual and spiritual centre of India,

from which, for centuries, inspiration and knowledge had streamed forth, fell into the hands of the foreign invader. A thousand temples were laid low and mosques rose in their places. Jayachandra's son Haríschandra, a boy of eighteen, retired to a distant place and maintained a precarious independence.

Within a few months Bhīma II took up the challenge and Delhi became the centre of an active national resistance. Bhīma rushed his feudatory Jatwan, the leader of the Jats, to its aid, and he captured the Hansi district, driving the Turkish governor into the fort of Hansi. Qutb ud-Din Aibak sped to the rescue, defeated the army of Bhīma II, established a base at Meerut, and, after capturing Delhi, made it his headquarters in India.[65]

Qutb ud-Din, installed at Delhi, was the first foreigner after Kaniṣhka and Toramāna to found a powerful kingdom. Harirāja, Pṛithvīrāja's brother, rallied his forces and by A.D. 1194, was able to recover Ajmere. That place soon became a centre of defiance from which an army, headed by a Jhatrai, marched to Delhi. Aibak was too strong, however, to be destroyed by such stray efforts. Jhatrai was defeated and Ajmere invested. Unable to resist further, the proud Chāhamāna preferred the funeral pyre to the favours of the Turk.

In the meantime, Bhīma II had become the leader of the national resistance which was being organised by Govindarāja, Pṛithvīrāja's grandson, from Ranthambhor. It was now a straight fight between Bhīma II and Aibak. An immense army of Gujarat appeared on the scene, and a large part of the Muslim forces was destroyed; Qutb ud-Din was wounded and fled to Ajmere for safety. From there he sent a mes-

senger to his Sultan at Ghazni to explain the position of the army of the "infidels", and to ask for further orders.

Emboldened by their success, the army of Gujarat followed Qutb ud-Din's forces, pursued them to Ajmere, and besieged the place. News of this state of affairs having reached Mu'izz ud-Din, he despatched a powerful reinforcement under several of his most distinguished officers, to relieve the place. But before it could arrive, the army of Gujarat retreated and took up position at the foot of Mount Abu, where in A.D. 1178, it had inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Turk.

Qutb ud-Din advanced towards Gujarat with reinforcements and contacted its army on the 3rd or 4th February, 1197. Bhīma's forces were commanded by Dhārāvarsha, Prahlādana, and a certain Karma. As they were entrenched on the same ground which they had occupied when they had defeated Mu'izz ud-Din, the Muslims deemed it unpropitious to fight an action in that place, lest the same thing should happen again. Upon seeing the Muslims hesitate, the Hindus advanced and opened the attack.

After a battle involving frightful carnage the army of Gujarat was routed. Fifty thousand soldiers lay dead on the field. "Heaps of slain", says the Muslim chronicler, "made the hills and the plains of one level." Twenty-thousand men were captured alive; elephants and arms beyond calculation, fell into the hands of the invader. Proud Aṇahilavāḍa, the capital of Siddharāja, "the most celebrated country and full of rivers, a separate region of the world", lay open before the Turk.[65]

Bhima II withdrew to a distant place in order to rally his forces. In the meantime Aibak occu-

pied his capital and plundered the wealth of Gujarat, returning later to Ajmere after leaving a governor behind. Soon Bhima II, gathered a volume of resistance. Within a few months, he drove the invader out, and in A.D. 1199 assumed the title of *Abhinava-siddharaja*.[57]

From the Dabhoi and Devapattana *prasastis* it appears that detachments of the army of the Turks proceeded towards Cambay and Prabhasa, but were driven back by Śridhara and Lavanaprasāda.[58] Aibak did not venture to re-invade Gujarat; a tribute to its strength. With all his difficulties in the south, it is to the eternal credit of Bhima II that he drove Aibak from the land and maintained the independence of Gujarat. Between A.D. 1178 and 1209, Gujarat continued to be strong and united.

Though this had been a notable victory for Bhima II, it drained Gujarat of both men and resources. The flower of its youth lay dead on the field of battle and its life was disorganised.

(iv)

Invasion of Gujarat by Malava

Between A.D. 1200 and 1220 there is a confusion of events and names in the records both of Gujarat and Malava. It is probable indeed that after Harischandra's death, more than one member of the family ruled in different places in Malava. Taking advantage of the pre-occupations of Bhima, some of them, no doubt, consolidated their position. Lakshmivarman, the son of Yasovarman, ruled south of the Vindhyas while by c. A.D. 1164, his son, Udayavarman conquered part of the modern Bhopal State and Hoshangabad district.

Vindhyavarman, the son of Jayavarman, ruled over various principalities south of the Vindhyas, and Kumāra, the general of *Bāla*-Mūlarāja, who was also the family priest of the Chaulukyas, had to be sent to Mālava to suppress a revolt. The rebel was defeated and Mālava was brought under control.[66]

Vindhyavarman, however, taking advantage of Bhīma II's absence in the north, captured Dhārā in c. A.D. 1192. He then grew "eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras". "The sword of the king, skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges as it were to protect the three worlds."[67] It was after Vindhyavarman took Dhārā in A.D. 1192, that Āśādhara, the Jain teacher, fled to Mālava with his family because Sapādalaksha had been over-run by Shihab ud-Din, the king of the Turushkas.[68]

Between A.D. 1192 and 1199, Bhīmadeva's ministers were Ṭhakkura Bhīmaka and Ṭhakkura Sūdra. In A.D. 1206, when he is styled *Lankeśvara Nārāyaṇāvatāra*, his prime minister in charge of the seal was Chāchigadeva. In A.D. 1208 he is styled the "Saviour of the Chaulukyas" and the keeper of the seal is *Mahāmātya* Thabu. In A.D. 1209 he is styled *Abhinava-Siddharaja Vola Nārāyaṇāvatāra* Bhīmadeva and the *Mahāmātya* was Ratnapāla and his governor of Saurāshṭra was a certain Somarājadeva. The word "Vola" in this inscription can only be *Bāla*; his own *Dūtaka* would not describe him as *Vola* or a simpleton. The epithet *Bhola* which was applied to Bhīma II later on, was perhaps a pun to indicate his subsequent incompetence.

About A.D. 1200 Vindhyavarman was succeeded on the throne of Mālava by his son Subhaṭavarman, who was also styled Subhaṭa and Sohaḍa. Imme-

distely on coming to the trone, he invaded south Gujarat. At this stage, records become confused, to be even worse confounded by the authors who, a few decades after, wrote under the inspiration of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the Jain ministers, who were then the virtual dictators of Gujarat. They attribute every heroic deed to these ministers, or to their masters, the Vāghelās, who held Gujarat in fee. But up to A.D. 1209 the epigraphic evidence shows a continuity of authority in Bhima II, whose administration was being conducted by ministers from Aṇahilavāda.

The sister of Kumārapāla's mother was married to a Chaulukya, while their son Ānāka, or Arnorāja, held the estate of a village named Vyāghrapalli about ten miles from Aṇahilavāda. His descendants received the epithet of the Vāghelās from that fief.

In the reign of Kumārapāla, when Lavaṇaprasāda was born to him, Ānāka was a petty chieftain. Lavaṇaprasāda held sway as "*Sarpeśvara*" till A.D. 1232: his birth, therefore, could be considered to have taken place between A.D. 1150 and 1160. His son, Viradhavala, died in A.D. 1230 at a mature age and might therefore have been born between A.D. 1170 and 1180.

Soma, the grandfather of Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, served under Siddharāja and when the brothers were called upon by Lavaṇaprasāda to help in the administration of the country in c. A.D. 1220, Vastupāla was already a man of wealth and position. He died in A.D. 1240. Up to A.D. 1209, the period under consideration, neither Lavaṇaprasāda nor Vastupāla were therefore concerned in any way with the active administration of Gujarat.

Before A.D. 1209 Subhaṭavarmman had spread fire

and sword throughout Gujarat. Simha, the Chāhamāna of Broach, the feudatory of the Chaulukyas, had transferred his allegiance to Subhaṭavarman who soon after marched on Anahilavāḍa and sacked it. "A fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters (Subhaṭavarman) whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest fire, even to-day blazes in the *pattana* (city) of the blustering Gūrjara."[72] Meru tuṅga also supports this statement by saying that the Mālava king Sohaḍa advanced to the border of Gujarat with the intention of devastating the country. Bhīmadeva fled either to Saurāshṭra or Kachchha.

From Anahilavāḍa, Subhaṭavarman marched—probably in pursuit of Bhīmadeva—into Saurāshṭra. Śridhara, an able military leader who had already taken part in the war against the Turks, was in charge of the province. Now "by the power of his wisdom he quickly made stable again the country that had been shaken by the multitude of war elephants of Mālava, resembling a forest of dark *tamāla* trees, and protected Devapattana by his own power."[73] The emphasis on wisdom indicates that his was not a pure military victory. It is possible that Lavaṇaprasāda also had a share in this achievement.[74]

(v)

A break in the reign, a new King

When Subhaṭavarman withdrew from Gujarat it was without a central authority, over-run by enemies, drained of resources and thoroughly disorganised. In c. A.D. 1209 a brave warrior of the Chaulukya family, Jayasiṁha or Jayantasiṁha by name, assumed control of the country.

Arjunavarman, the son of Subhaṭavarman, came

to the throne in February, A.D. 1210 and, soon after, defeated this Jayasiṁha, the new king of Gujarat, in a battle which took place near Parva-*parvata* (possibly Pavagadh). In A.D. 1213 he captured Bhṛigukochchha, which till then had formed part of Bhīma's territory. Siṁha, the governor, went out to meet the conqueror.

From his Kadi grant of A.D. 1223, it is clear that Jayasiṁha was on the throne of Aṇahilavāḍa, for he describes himself as having saved Gujarat from a great calamity.[76] The grant of Arjunavarman, the successor of Subhaṭavarman also states: "Jaitrasiṁha having fled in an encounter with him (the encounter being a child's play for him), his fame spread in all the directions like the laughter of the guardians of the quarters."[77] By A.D. 1226 Bhīma II was again on the throne and Jayasiṁha had disappeared.[78]

By A.D. 1223, in some extraordinary way Jayasiṁha had succeeded Bhīma II: *tad anantaram sthāne* not the usual *tat pādānudhyāta*. It was Jayasiṁha, the Chaulukya, therefore, who rescued Gujarat from the invasion of Arjunavarman.

These events are corroborated by *Pārijāta-mañjarī*, a drama by Madana, the preceptor of Arjunavarman, which has survived in fragments inscribed on a stone in the Bhojaśālā at Dhārā. This was staged for the first time in the temple of Sarasvatī at Dhārā at the spring festival when Arjunavarman himself was ruling over Mālava.[79]

The drama deals with contemporary history; Arjunavarman is the hero and Sarvakalā, the daughter of the king of Kuntala, that is, of the Hoysaḷa Vīra Ballāḷa II (A.D. 1172-1219), is his queen. Pārijāta-mañjarī or Vijayaśrī is the daughter of King Jaya-

simha, the king of Gujarat, "*Chaulukya-mahi mahendra*".

Arjunavarman defeats Jayasimha, the king of Gujarat, who flees from the battle which takes place near Parva-parvata. The conqueror, while mounted on the elephant, finds *Pārijāta-mañjari*, the blossoms of the heavenly Pārijāta tree, falling upon him. He touches the blossoms and they turn into a beautiful maiden, who is Vijayaśrī the daughter of Jayasimha. Guided by a divine voice he takes her to Dhārā and places her under the care of his gardener Kusumākara, who keeps her in an emerald pavilion on a hill.

Sarvakalā, the queen of Arjunavarman, comes to perform the "*Madhu*" ceremony in a garden on the hill, when the king enters, dressed in the robes of spring and accompanied by his jester. Vijayaśrī and the gardener's wife, Vasantalīlā, also witness the ceremony from behind a tree. While doing so, Vasantalilā moves aside a branch of the tree; Vijayaśrī's face is then reflected on the ear-ring of the queen, and the king sees the reflection. The sudden change in the king's expression arouses the jealousy of the queen and on learning the cause of it, she leaves the garden in anger. The king then tries to placate the queen but only succeeds in doing so by promising to forsake the company of Vijayaśrī.

Vijayaśrī is broken-hearted, threatens to commit suicide, and finally departs followed by the gardener's wife, Vasantalilā.

The fragment ends here, but the drama is written in so orthodox a style that it can only have terminated with the king's marriage to Vijayaśrī. This goes to show that Jayasimha was installed as the king of Gujarat before the year A.D. 1210.

There is another indication to be found in the Kadi grants which point to the same fact. Mūlarāja, the progenitor of the Chaulukya family, had founded the temple of Mulasthānadeva or Mūleśvara at Mandali in Vṛiddhi-pathaka, (or modern Vadhiar). This was the family shrine of the Chaulukyas and, in the time of Bhīma II Lunaprasada, a cadet of the Chaulukya family, built two temples of Śiva, one, named after his father, Analeśvara, and the other, after his mother, Salakhaṇeśvara. These two temples were also in the charge of Vedagarbharāśi.

In 1223 Jayasiṁha or Jayantasiṁha gave a grant of a village to these two temples. In A.D. 1226 Bhīmadeva, then reinstated on the throne of Aṇahilavāda, granted a village to the same Acharya for the benefit of the Analeśvara and the Salakhaṇeśvara temples. In A.D. 1238 Bhīmadeva made another grant in favour of the same Vedagarbharāśi, who was also in charge of two temples built by Rāṇā Virama, the son of the Chaulukya Rāṇā Lunapasāka. In A.D. 1238 Bhīma gave a similar grant to the same grantee for the same temple.[5]

These grants throw light on the position of Jayasiṁha. The head of the Pāsupata *maṭha* at Mūleśvara was the family Pāsupatāchārya of the royal Chaulukyas; Lunapasaka, the governor of Mālava in Ajayapāla's time, was a near relative of the king. Jayasiṁha was probably a member of that branch, for in A.D. 1223 he was properly installed king and acknowledged by the preceptor of the family. Between A.D. 1209 and 1223, therefore, Jayasiṁha or Jayantasiṁha, a Chaulukya, was on the throne of Aṇahilavāda, not by succession, but by having assumed control of the country to save it from disaster.

What had happened to Bhīma II in these years? Was he a minor? Or, was he an imbecile? Where was he during this interval?

In A.D. 1178 when Bhīma came to the throne he was a child. In A.D. 1199 when he assumed the title of *Abhinava-Siddharaja*, he could not have been less than about twenty-five years of age, and possibly, more. The grant of A.D. 1206 indicate that both Saurāshṭra and north Gujarat were ruled by Bhīma from Anahilavāḍa and in A.D. 1209 Saurāshṭra acknowledged his suzerainty.[5] In Śrīdhara's praśasti of A.D. 1216, Śrīdhara is stated to be a friend of Bhīmadeva, but there is no reference to his ruling at Anahilavāḍa. In the Bharana inscription of A.D. 1219, Bharana being a village in the Jamnagar State in Saurāshṭra, Bhīmadeva is mentioned as residing in Anahilavāḍa. Between A.D. 1200 and 1209 Bhīma was therefore not a minor, but neither is there any evidence that he was ruling at Anahilavāḍa between A.D. 1209 and 1226, except the out-of-the-way Bharana inscription of A.D. 1219.

Poet Jayasiṁha, in his drama *Hammīra-madamardana*, narrates a story, which, in spite of its biassed rendering of events, throws some light on this question. According to the play, Bhīmasiṁha was the *simantamaṇi* of Saurāshṭra. Vīradhavala, the Vāghelā, was ruling at Dhavalakapuri (modern Dholka) in the Ahmedabad District. The Turushkas had, at the time, invaded Gujarat by way of Marwad; Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra of Abu, Bhīmasiṁha of Saurashṭra and Somasiṁha, identified with Dhārāvarsha's son, who was the ruler of Abu in c. A.D. 1230-36 had joined Vīradhavala against the *mlechchhas*. The Bhīmasiṁha of this narrative can be identified with

Bhīma II, the Chaulukya, who may, therefore, be assumed to have been residing in Saurāshṭra during the period of his eclipse. That perhaps would explain why the grant of A.D. 1219 states that Bhima was still the king of Aṇahilavāḍa.

Between A.D. 1209 and 1223 Gujarat was in a sorry plight. Arjunavarman had vanquished Jayasiṁha, the king of Gujarat and Siṁha, the feudatory of Lāṭa, had transferred his allegiance to Arjunavarman.

Between A.D. 1207 and 1222, the Guhilots of Mewad also declared their independence. There was no central authority in Aṇahilavāḍa and the war against Aibak and Subhaṭavarman had impoverished the country. It may, therefore, be assumed that at some time in A.D. 1210 Jayasiṁha made peace with Arjunavarman, and marched to Aṇahilavāḍa. Bhīma II had fled to Saurāshṭra, and the new king began the task of consolidating Gurjarat.

(vi)

The rise of a Saviour

Arjunavarman, meanwhile, had become more powerful. In A.D. 1213 he issued a grant from Broach, the capital of Lāṭa.[2] He was a great patron of scholars and his claim to be another Bhoja is correct in at least two respects. He was fond of learning and he reduced Gujarat to vassalage.

The frontiers of the kingdom which was ruled by Arjunavarman and his son, Devapāla, were bound in the east by Udaipur and the Saugor districts, in the south by the Hoshangabad and Nimar districts, in the west by Lāṭa; in the north, the boundary was pushed

up as far as Jhalawar. Dungarpur had been lost to the Guhilots. While Bhīma II was busy fighting the foreigner, Arjunavarman was engaged in destroying Gujarat.

Subhaṭavarman took his revenge on the Chaulukyas by destroying Gujarat. But it was to the advantage of the third party.

But thereafter the history of Gujarat and Mālava sinks into no more than a tale of petty wars and mean intrigues. In A.D. 1200 Jaitugi, the son of Bhillama of Devagiri, invaded Gujarat. Nine years later the Yādava king Siṅghana (A.D. 1209-1241), the grandson of Bhillama, came to the throne of Devagiri. An ambitious man, he overthrew the Hoysala king, Vīra Ballāla III, subdued the king of Andhra and the Silāhāra Bhoja of Kolhapur.[1] He then marched north, defeated Arjunavarman, and also Simhurāja of Lāṭa who fell fighting. It was a war of destruction.

In A.D. 1218, Devapāla, who, as the successor of his father Hariśchandra, was ruling over certain parts of Khandesh, succeeded Arjunavarman while Saṅgrāmasiṁha, known as Śaṅkha, the son of Simhurāja, became the ruler of Lāṭa. Śaṅkha, who was a powerful military leader, pursued a policy of friendship with the Mālava king, Devapāla, and fought Aṇahilavāda in the north and Devagiri in the south.

Siṅghana, the Yādava king of Devagiri, invaded Lāṭa and reached the northern banks of the Narmadā, but, with the timely assistance of Devapala, the king of Mālava, Śaṅkha drove him back. In c. A.D. 1219, the Yādava again invaded Lāṭa; the brave Śaṅkha was taken prisoner and sent to Devagiri.[2] While there, he acquired great influence over the Yādava king. A

treaty was signed between the two and Devapala, and Śaṅkha was restored to his kingdom. It was during the temporary eclipse of Śaṅkha that Viradhavala, the Gurjarat feudatory of Dholka, captured Cambay and installed Vastupāla as its governor.[5]

At this stage it becomes necessary to go back to Viradhavala's father, Lavaṇaprasāda. While Jayasimha, a typical Chaulukya, was doing his utmost while ruling at Aṇahilavāda, to keep Gujarat together, Lavaṇaprasāda, between A D 1209 and 1220 had acquired the principality of Dholka as one of the feudatories, *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara rājaka*.

He also was distressed at the disruption of Gujarat. His adviser Someśvara, the family priest of the Chaulukyas, gives the reason why Lavaṇaprasāda took the lead in saving Gujarat from its plight.

The goddess presiding over Gujarat appeared to Lavaṇaprasāda in a dream saying: "The ruler of Gujarat is a child (or rather 'feeble') and cannot overcome the enemy forces. Ministers and feudatories alike want me, their master's consort, as their slave. I find none to save me. I am assaulted by rebels from within and foes from without." Speaking of Anahilavāda, she tells him: "Here darkness was unknown, for the scions of the line of Mūlaraja spread their light all round. But now a light is not to be found, even after darkness has set in. The city once resounded with drums at night; now, only the howl of jackals is heard. Then, the lake bloomed with the lotus faces of young damsels; now it sheds tear-drops helplessly as the wind blows over it."[6]

All the contemporary Gujarati authors are silent over the achievements of Jayasimha. The fact that Someśvara, the son of Kumāra, the general, helped

in saving the situation is also distantly referred to in *Surathotsava*: Bhima or king Suratha lost his throne to an usurper and regained it later. Someśvara the loyal Brāhmaṇa bestirred himself to save Gujarat and the Chaulukyas by turning to the wise and aging Lavaṇaprasāda. The Vāghelā was then past middle life. He was a cultured and religious-minded man, and steadfast in his loyalty to the ruling house. Bhīma, meanwhile, was somewhere in Saurashṭra, a king of Gujarat only in name.

Since the death of Kumārapāla, the Jain community had faded into political obscurity, but it was powerful and wealthy. Vastupāla and Tejaḥpāla, the two brothers, sons of Aśvarāja, whose father Chaṇḍaprasāda was one of the ministers of Siddharāja, had by their position, wealth, learning and statesmanship, acquired a dominant position in their community and were highly respected. Someśvara, therefore, brought about an alliance between Lavaṇaprasāda and them.

Vastupāla was a scholar, a warrior and an administrator. When taunted with being a *Vaṇik*, he said: "Messenger! It is a delusion to think that the Kshatriyas alone can fight, and not a *Vaṇik*. Did not Ambaḍa, a *Vaṇik*, kill Mallikārjuna in battle? I, a *Vaṇik*, am as well-known in the shop as on the battlefield. I buy commodities—the heads of enemies—weighing them in the scales of swords; I will get the price in the form of heaven."

Lavaṇaprasāda's son, Viradhavala, was about forty years at this time and a vigorous military leader. In pursuance of the new policy of saving he took advantage of the difficulties of Śaṅkha and captured

Cambay in the name of Bhīmadeva. Vastupāla was then appointed its governor.

Lavaṇaprasāda also regained mastery over Saurāshṭra by destroying some powerful enemy on the battle-field of Wadhwan. Who this foe was is not clear, though some of the *Prabandhas* give the name of Bhīmasiṁha.[37] Possibly, he was Bhīmadeva himself, acting with the support of some other feudatories. This event happened after the appointment of Vastupāla in A.D. 1220 and of his pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya at Girnar in A.D. 1221.

Lavaṇaprasāda then made common cause with four Chaulukya feudatories, an event which the *Prabandhas* describe as his "war against four kings of Marwad", one of whom is likely to have been the Chāhamāna of Naddūla. The heroic Kelhaṇa, the saviour of Gujarat, was dead, but his son Jayatiha or Jayantasiṁha is known to have ruled Naddūla about A.D. 1194 when it passed into the hands of the Chāhamāna Udayasiṁha of Jhalor (c. A.D. 1205-1249). The Paramāra Dhārāvarsha of Abu is likely to have been the third loyal and brave feudatory. Lavaṇaprasāda entered into a treaty with these princes, and placed himself at their head in order to save Gujarat.[38]

(vii)

Viradhavala

In A.D. 1223, Jayasiṁha, the son of Vastupāla, transacted the business of the seal for Vīradhavala at Cambay. In A.D. 1226 Viradhavala came into conflict with an enemy referred to in the *Hammīra-madamardana*.[39]

Udayasiṁha (A.D. 1206-1249), the Chahamāna of Jhalor, who had remained loyal to Aṇahila-

vāda, was over-powered by Iltutmish between A.D. 1211 and 1216.[26] But no sooner had Iltutmish returned to Delhi, than he declared his independence. Under him, Jalor became powerful and his kingdom included not only Naddūla, but Mandor, north Jodhpur, Bhillamāla and Satyapura.

In A.D. 1226 Iltutmish invaded Marwad with the probable intention of pushing forward to Gujarat, which, for twenty-five years had been a forbidden prize. The loyal chieftains of Gujarat, Viradhavala, Udayasimha and the old Dhārāvarsha of Abu and his son Somasimha stood together in resistance. Bhima II, the nominal ruler and the rallying-point of loyalties, also accompanied the army

Jaitrasimha, styled Jayatala, the king of Medapāta (A.D. 1213-1252), who threw off his allegiance to Gujarat stood aloof, but he paid the penalty of his betrayal by having his capital Nagadhrahā (modern Nagada), plundered and destroyed by the Turks.[27] Men, women and children were butchered. People threw themselves into the wells to escape falling into the hands[28] of the enemy.

Jayatala however harrassed the invader on one side[29] while the army of Gujarat pressed him on the other. The invader therefore retreated, but captured Mandor on the way.[30] Viradhavala returned in triumph to his capital Dholka, by way of Abu, Chandrāvati, Anahilavāda and Karṇavati on the Sabarmati.[31] The credit of this victory goes to Viradhavala, both for his valour as well as for the statesmanship with which he rallied round him the forces of Gujarat.

The last date of old Dhārāvarsha of Abu, known to epigraphic record, is A.D. 1219.[32] But if Jaya-

sinha's story, as given in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, is correct, the old man, possibly by then an octogenarian, was there to defend his land. As a young man he had taken part in the first battle against Ghuri in A.D. 1178, when Gujarat, under the leadership of Kelhaṇa of Naddūla, stood firm and unflinching. In A.D. 1194, he had led the army of Gujarat in the fight against Quth ud-Din and failed. It is possible, however, that in A.D. 1197-8 he had been the leader of the army that drove the invader back. Now, thirty years later, this grand, old warrior, the last great guardian of Gujarat's invulnerability—stood true and saved his land.

While Viradhavala was busy in the north, Śaṅkha of Lāṭa demanded the surrender of Cambay from Vastupāla. He tried to threaten the minister, tempted him with bribes, but his efforts were unavailing. A battle followed in which Śaṅkha suffered defeat. He returned to Lāṭa only to bide his time.

Within a few months a confederate force consisting of the Yādava Siṅghaṇa, Devapāla of Mālava and Śaṅkha himself, again advanced towards Cambay.[1] Vatsupāla and Tejaḥpāla's son Lāvaṇyasiṁha stood the ground. In the meantime Siṅghaṇa and Devapala fell out with each other and withdrew their forces. Śaṅkha, considering prudence the better part of valour, entered into a treaty with Vastupāla. Viradhavala, on the battle-field in Marwad, gave expression to his joy upon hearing that the son of Sindhurāja had become his friend.[2]

By A.D. 1226 Lavaṇyaprasāda and Vīradhavala had brought the northern feudatories to order and made peace with his southern neighbour Śaṅkha. Jayasiṁha Chaulukya who had assumed power dis-

appeared from history unhonoured and unsung. Bhīmadeva, with the new title of "*Saptama Chakravarti*", was reinstalled at Aṇahilavāḍa, and celebrated his return to the capital by a grant to the temple of Mūleśvara, the family shrine of the royal Chaulukyas. Gujarat had triumphed by the valour of Viradhavala, the loyalty of Lavaṇaprasāda, and the statesmanship of Vastupāla, so that the wise Someśvara had succeeded beyond his dreams.

But those were evil times and the two had to work with bad materials. When first they had come upon the scene, Gujarat lay bleeding. It was harrassed by enemies from within and without. Parts of India were in the grip of able and unscrupulous foreigners, who looked upon Gujarat as a prize that had been denied them too long. Still Viradhavala, Lavaṇaprasāda and Vastupāla saved their country and established a strong and well-regulated government. Of the three, Vastupāla was the greatest. Under his care Gujarat became rich. In matters of learning, the court of Aṇahilavāḍa, his court in substance, revived the memories of Dhārā. The minister himself was the author of *Naranārāyaṇānanda*. Architecture flourished even as when Siddharāja ruled. Temples, monasteries, wells, tanks and gardens, sprang up in different parts of Gujarat.

In the Girnar inscription of A.D. 1232, Someśvara gives him well-deserved praise, when in comparing him with Karṇa in generosity, he says: "After Bhoja died and Muñja became a king in the heaven, if there was one man who removed the distress of the afflicted, it was Vastupāla."[22]

Lavaṇaprasāda was also wise beyond measure. Though wielding all the powers of the ruler, he was

content to remain only the first among the feudatories. This policy became necessary in order not to offend the other feudatories, but it exhibited a rare self-restraint. In the Abu inscription of Somasiṁha of A.D. 1230, Lavaṇaprasāda and Viradhavala are described as *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras* who obtained the *maṇḍalas* by the favour of Bhīmadeva, and Tejaḥpāla is stated to have been carrying on the business of the seal of Viradhavala.[124]

(viii)

The death of Bhīma II

In or about A.D. 1232 Siṅghaṇa Yādava crossed the Tapti with a large army and overran the country round Broach. Anahilavāḍa trembled with fear. Śaṅkha, the opportunist disappeared from the scene of Lāṭa. Terror-struck villagers fled in their hundreds. The advance of the Yādava army was marked by the villages which it set on fire.

Lavaṇaprasāda advanced to the banks of the Mahi to meet the enemy, but suddenly stopped his march and turned back.[125] Nor did the Yādava army itself advance further.

The reason given by Someśvara is that the army was attacked from the north by four kings of Marwad, in alliance with the kings of Lāṭa and Godhra. But the real reason was that it was wise to surrender. The terms of the treaty made by Siṅghaṇa with Lavaṇaprasāda on this occasion are preserved in one of the old text books. It is dated *Vaiśākha Suda* 15 V.S. 1288 from the camp of victory of Siṅghaṇadeva.[126] It is clear from the terms of this treaty that Siṅghaṇa had obtained a victory over Lavaṇaprasāda. Bhīma's

name is not mentioned in it, but Lavaṇaprasāda is called *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka*. As a result of this, Gujarat entered into a defensive alliance with the Yādavas, thus safeguarding Lāṭa against the Paramāras.

In the meantime, Iltutmish was forging ahead tirelessly. In A.D. 1233-34 he captured Gwalior, then he turned to Mālava, reduced the fort of Bhilsa, sacked the historical city of Ujjayinī and demolished the ancient shrine of Mahākāleśvara. While Devapāla was flying before Iltutmish, Viradhavala took the opportunity of conquering Lāṭa; and in A.D. 1239 Tejaḥpāla was functioning as the governor of Broach.

In A.D. 1238 the brave Viradhavala died, but old Bhīma II still continued to rule on in Aṇahilavāḍa, giving grants to Vedagarbharāśi and his son Someśvara.

Viradhavala's elder son, Pratāpamalla, was dead, and the affairs of state were taken charge of by his younger son Visaladeva, under the title of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Rāṇaka*. Vastupāla was to follow his master in A.D. 1240, whereupon Tejaḥpāla succeeded his elder brother as *Mahāmātya*.

The old king still lingered on maintained by the loyal grandson of Lavaṇaprasāda. In A.D. 1241, Bhīmadeva died and Tribhuvanapāla, who was probably his son, succeeded to the nominal kingship of Gujarat as *Parameśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka*.[105]

(ix)

Visaladeva

Visaladeva was an ambitious young man and in A.D. 1242 he assumed the title of *Mahārāṇaka* instead of that of *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*, which was

hereditary. He was restrained by Tejaḥpāla, however, from removing Tribhuvanapāla from the nominal suzerainty of Gujarat. But upon the latter's death in A.D. 1244, when the main line of Mūlarāja came to an end, Visaladeva assumed in name the kingship which he had enjoyed in fact.

In A.D. 1251 we find the first grant of Visaladeva. The *Prabandhas* ignore his reign, no doubt, for the same reason that made them avoid reference to Ajayapala's. Vastupala and Tejaḥpāla had done their best to consolidate Gujarat, but they were devout Jains and their power and influence would have been disliked by others. In A.D. 1251, therefore, we find no reference to any *mahāmātya*,[106] and in A.D. 1253 Someśvara still writes a *prasasti* for the new king.[107] In A.D. 1261, however, *Mahāmātya* Nāgada is found in charge of the seal at Aṇahilavāḍa.[108]

Visaladeva was a military leader of great capacity. With the camp of the Turk at Delhi throwing its shadow all over Northern India, he was obliged to strengthen Gujarat.

Before A.D. 1253 Visaladeva had turned his attention to Mālava. After the occupation of Ujjayini by Iltutmish, Devapāla's son, Jaitugideva had driven the Turks out. But no sooner had he done so, than Siṅghana's son Kṛishṇa (c. A.D. 1247-1260), the Yādava of Devagiri, invaded Mālava.

In A.D. 1250 Nasir ud Din, the Sultan of Delhi, also sent his general Balban to Mālava who defeated the Paramāra king.

Taking advantage of this trouble, Visaladeva marched into Malava sweeping everything before him and destroying the capital, Dhārā.[109] Curiously enough, the kings of the time, like the Bourbons, never

forgot nor learnt anything. Visaladeva returned to Aṇahilavāḍa, leaving the Paramāra more helpless even than before.

Some time before his death in A.D. 1247 Sīghaṇa again invaded Gujarat, only to be driven back by Visaladeva.[108] Visaladeva also defeated Guhila Tejasiṁha (A.D. 1260-67),[109] the ruler of Medapāṭa, and made an alliance with the Hoysala of Dvārasamudra and married one of the king's daughters. The words of the inscription, *purushottama*, who married Lakshmī of Karnataka, may only indicate, however, that he inflicted a defeat on the Hoysala king, Vīra Someśvara (A.D. 1236-56), or his son Narasiṁha Visaladeva about this time appears to have lost a battle to Kṛishṇa, the son of Siṁghaṇa.[110]

Vastupala died in A.D. 1240, and was succeeded by his brother Tejaḥpāla, who remained the principal minister till A.D. 1248. Though the exaggerated stories by various Jaina authors would seem to indicate the existence of a serious rift between the old minister and the new ruler there can be little doubt but that their relations remained friendly till the death of the former. It is clear, however, that Visaladeva did not permit the Jaina community to dominate him, with the result that it bore a grudge against the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa minister Nāgaḍa, who had succeeded Tejaḥpāla.

Nāgaḍa seems to have remained long in power, as did Salakhaṇasiṁha, the descendant of the famous Udayana of Kumārapāla's time.[111]

Under this king even the literary glory of Aṇahilavāḍa revived. He was as great a patron of art and learning as he was valorous. At his court there were three Nāgara Brāhmaṇa poets: Mahāṇā-

garīya Kanaka, Kṛishṇanāgarīya Kamalāditya and the Visalanāgarīya Vanaka, as well as Arisimha, the author of *Sukṛitasaṅkīrtana* and his disciple Amaracchandra. The old Someśvara, the foremost of the poets, the family priest, historian and diplomat, descendant in an unbroken line of the priest who had crowned Mūlarāja, was alive till A.D. 1253, so that he was able to see the success of his statesmanlike vision in inspiring Lavaṇaprasāda to undertake the great work of re-organising Gujarat. In the Dabhoi inscription of A.D. 1253 the old poet sings the swan song of the royal Chaulukyas. "Oh! Lord, one ruler of all the worlds, I ask your mercy. Oh! Lord, I offer but one prayer. Let this Visaladeva be free from enemies. Let him be victorious till the end of time."[112]

In A.D. 1262 Visaladeva placed his nephew Arjunadeva on the throne, and it is probable that he died soon after.[113]

(x)

The last flicker

Arjunadeva's inscriptions range from A.D. 1264-1273, though Merutuṅga gives the last year of his reign as V.S. 1331 i.e. A.D. 1274. In one of the wars between Gujarat and Devagiri, Arjunadeva was worsted by Rāmachandra, Siṅghaṇa's son.[114]

His Veraval grant of A.D. 1264 is a unique document.[115] It states that while Arjunadeva was reigning victoriously at Aṇahilavāḍa, the *Mahāmātya Rāṇaka* Māladeva was transacting the business of the seal and Amir-Rukunadina was reigning on the coast of Haramuja (Hormuz), a certain shipowner named Noradina Piroja, a native of Haramujadeśa, bought a piece of land outside the town of Somanātha, and, with

the blessings of the Pāśupatācharya of the shrine, built a *mijigiti* (masjid). For the maintenance of this temple (masjid), he not only dedicated certain shops but appointed trustees, including the Muslim congregation *(jamātha* i.e. *Jamā'at)* of *Nākhuyāvaṇṇika* (shop-owners), wharf-people *(Ghaṭṭaka)* who were devoted to the Martyr, their preacher *(Khaliba)*, the Mussalmans among the landholder *(pathapati)* and the *(Persian)* artisans *(chunakara)*.

While the rulers at Delhi were engaged in the ruthless devastation of the country and with the destruction of the holy shrines of the Hindus, this broad-mindedness on the part of the Hindu king of Aṇahilavāda provides from a cultural point of view, a sharp and welcome relief. But it also explains why the Kshatriyas of India, with their generous traditions, could not withstand the all-destroying Turk.

Arjunadeva was succeeded in the first place by his elder son, Rāmadeva,[116] who appears only to have reigned for a few months. He, in his turn, was followed by Sāraṅgadeva, the younger son, who ruled from A.D. 1274 to 1296. He used all the pompous titles of his predecessors; he was a "comet to the kingdom of Mālava" and fought the Yādava king Rāmachandra[117] (A.D. 1217-1310) or Jayasiṁha II. There is also a reference to his defeating a king Goga of Mālava against whom 'Ala ud-Din had also sent his army.[118] Khusrau speaks of Goga as being the prime minister of Mālava and it is possible that during this time there was a war of succession and the king whom Sāraṅgadeva defeated was Jayavarman II (A.D. 1256-1260).

The kings were in fact at their old, old game; Devagiri fighting Gujarat; Gujarat fighting

Mālava; Ranthambhor, the new citadel of the Chāhamānas, fighting Mālava. Degenerate princelings all, they were continually harassing each other and so were unable to unite against the common enemy who was incessantly at their throats, and were even unable to foresee the danger that was threatening them.

In the days of this king the dominions of Gujarat extended from Idar in the north and included Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra and Kachchha.

Chapter XII

DOWNFALL OF THE THIRD EMPIRE

(i)

Accession of Karṇa Vāghela

About c. A.D. 1293 Sārangadeva was succeeded by his nephew Karṇadeva (c. A.D. 1293-1304) as the king of Gujarat. The young king, in spite of popular legend, was not wicked. The stories of immorality and cowardice, that have gathered round his name, are no more than the cloud which surrounds those who fail in life. The inscription of A.D. 1293 describes Karṇa as "protecting his people in accordance with the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras*".[1]

In A.D. 1292 'Ala ud-Din, nephew of Firuz Khalji, the Sultan of Delhi, invaded Mālava, captured the town of Bhilsa, plundered the countryside and returned with a large booty. When in Mālava, this ambitious young man had heard of Devagiri ruled by the Yadava Rāmachandra (A.D. 1271-1304) and of Warrangal ruled by Rudrammadevī, the daughter of Gaṇa-

pati of the Kakatiya dynasty, whose title was Rudradeva *Mahārāja* (c. A.D. 1261-1295).

'Ala ud-Din set out in 1296 on an independent venture against them. He marched to Devagiri, plundered the Yādava dominions and brought back a loot of 600 *man* of gold, 7 *man* of pearls, 2 *man* of other gems, 1,000 *man* of silver and 4,000 pieces of silk etc.

On his return to his principality of Kara, by simulating humility 'Ala ud-Din induced his uncle to accept an invitation to visit him. On his arrival, however, old Firuz was killed by what was perhaps the grossest act of treachery and ingratitude in the annals of mankind. 'Ala ud-Din then bribed the nobles, killed a few of his enemies and in A.D. 1296, took over the Sultanate.[2]

Karna and 'Ala ud-Din were both new to their kingdoms, but 'Ala ud-Din was as wicked and unscrupulous a ruler as ever sat upon a throne, and he was flushed with victory.

The rhapsodical accounts given by the Muslim chroniclers, of the suppression of a rising or the capture of a fortress, of towns and villages burnt, of whole districts laid waste, of temples destroyed and idols overthrown, of hecatombs of misbelievers sent to hell, and of thousands of women and children enslaved as constituting a holy war against idolatry and the propagation of Islam, is an *ex-post facto* attempt at religious propaganda. It provides an incorrect picture of the times. In fact, able but unscrupulous chieftains combined under a few military leaders to loot India. The plundering was carried on with systematic skill by the method of establishing a chain of military outposts. "Rebellion and overt

disaffection were repressed with ruthless severity, and were doubtless made occasions of proselytism, but the sin was rebellion, not religious error."[3]

(ii)

The Khaljī Invasion of Gujarat

There is a persistent legend that Karṇa's *Mahāmātya*, Mādhava, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa, invited 'Alā ud-Dīn to Gujarat. Merutuṅga, the author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, and Jinaprabha Sūri, the author of the *Tīrthakalpatīra*, both contemporaries, refer to this incident[4] and subsequent authorities are unanimous about it. The *Dharmāraṅga*, composed between A.D. 1300-1450 describes how the wicked, graceless, sinful, minister Mādhava, the blot on his country, destroyed the rule of the Kshatriyas and established the rule of the *mlechchhas*.[5] Whether Mādhava betrayed his country and master because of a private wrong, or for personal benefit, is difficult to say. The reason for this betrayal, given in the first place by the *Kānhaḍade-prabandha*, is that Mādhava wanted to revenge himself on Karṇa, who, being enamoured of his brother's wife,[6] had killed the husband and appropriated the widow. Though this story has been accepted as true by later writers, it sounds altogether too much like the usual legendary way of attributing purely personal motives to kings and their ministers. It is consistent neither with the character of Karṇa as disclosed by unimpeachable testimony, nor by the version given by the three earliest authorities. The betrayal of Gujarat by a Brāhmaṇa of culture and position, however, indicates the lack of any consciousness that it is an unforgivable sin to betray one's land and religion to a foreigner. Worse

'The power which oppress't the gods,
Thou did'st shatter.
As the wind bloweth away the chaff
Thou did'st put to flight
The wicked demon Tripura
Oh Destroyer, I Padmanabha, ask Thee,
Where is that mighty trident of Thine?

The conquering army, the poet proceeds, burnt villages, devastated the land, plundered people's wealth, took the Brāhmaṇas and the women and children of all castes captive, flogged them with thongs of raw-hide and, as it carried a moving prison with it, converted the prisoners into obsequious Turks.[8]

The inscription commemorating the death of the Vāja warriors Malasuta and Padmala, who fell at the door of the temple of Somanātha on Saturday, June 6, 1299, while fighting the Turushkas, is still extant.[9]

(iii)

The Fate of Karṇa

It is generally accepted that Karṇa fled to the frontier fortress of Baglana, and that Gujarat passed immediately afterwards into the hands of Ulugh Khan. The problem which requires consideration is whether there were two invasions of Gujarat or only the one that took place in A.D. 1299. Jinaprabha Sūri, a contemporary, refers to an invasion of Gujarat in Śaka Year 1356 corresponding to A.D. 1299. This date for the invasion is corroborated by Muslim chroniclers, who are unanimous in placing it in the third year of 'Ala ud-Din's reign.

Did 'Ala ud-Din send a second army against Karṇa a few years later? Merutuṅga, who was a

contemporary, states that Karṇa's reign came to an end in A.D. 1304, after which the Muslims occupied the country.[10] If that is so, Gujarat, or a part of it, might have remained in the possession of Karṇa, or been re-captured by him after the retreat to Baglana.

Amir Khusrau, the court-poet of 'Ala ud-Din alludes in his *Khaza'in-ul-Futuh* to the campaign of A.D. 1299 only. In his love poem *Ashiqa*, or *Dewal rani-Khizrkhan*, however, he refers to a second invasion. As regards the first invasion, the poet states that when 'Ala ud-Din's luck was in the ascendant he "thought of capturing the Rai of Gujarat and sent an army under Ulugh Khan." Ulugh Khan was instructed to devastate the region "for the exaltation of the prestige of Islam and for bringing to the right path that wicked Rai."[11] The country was overrun with the flood of war and great consternation befell Somanātha, which had already been previously destroyed by Mahmud.

In this description, Khusrau does not mention either the name of the Rai and the capture of Anahilavāḍa, or any of the wives and daughters of Karṇa. Later, in the chapter on the parentage of Devaldevī, he enlarges upon his earlier account of the expedition. Here he mentions Karṇa as the king of Gujarat, and states that during the invasion of Ulugh Khan, Karṇa's wife was captured and brought to Delhi, where she was married to 'Ala ud-Din. Kamalādevī became a favourite of the Sultan and, says the poet, after several years had passed away, she induced 'Ala ud-Din to write to Karṇa: "(I learn that) you have in your blessed house a daughter of auspicious luck and happy omens of prosperity."

The Sultan thereupon instructs Karṇa to send his daughter to Delhi with a view to her being married to his son. According to Amir Khusrau, Karṇa was overjoyed at this turn of fortune and promptly agreed to send Devaldevi to Delhi so that she might attain felicity in that "abode of good-luck". Then, without assigning any reason, the poet suddenly states that, in the meantime, the Sultan changed his mind and sent Ulugh Khan to sieze Karṇa's territory and devastate his country. The army marched under Panchamani, whereupon Karṇa fled with his daughter, who was, however, captured by a Muslim force later on.[2]

The historicity of Kamalādevi and Devaldevi is unproven and is examined in the appendix. *Ashiqa*, was intended only as a love poem and not as a chronicle and need not be accepted as history. But the fact that the poet refers to a second action against Karṇa, which is rather inconsistent with the trend of his theme, would indicate that a second campaign against Karṇa did actually take place.

According to 'Isami, who stands chronologically next to Amir Khusrau, the first expedition to Gujarat was led by Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan. At that time, Karṇa thought of saving himself by flight, but his well-wishers advised him to conserve his forces and when the Turks went back with their booty, to re-occupy his lost territory. He lost courage, however, and fled from Anahilavāda, leaving his *chhatar*, his elephants, his treasures and the ladies of his *harem*, three days before the Turks had reached Patan. The Turks plundered and sacked the city to their hearts' content, captured seventeen elephants with their trappings and *mahuts*, and after three days, left for Delhi.

'Isami describes another campaign also. He states that Malik Ahmad Jhitam, accompanied by Panchmani, came to plunder Gujarat and that he appeared all of a sudden in that country. When the army was about four *farsangs* (nearly twenty miles) from Patan, it made a forced night's march and appeared at Anahilavāda in the morning. Rai Karṇa thereupon fled headlong in the direction of the Marhatta country, but found no shelter there and had to flee further on, to Telangana. The Shah thereupon confiscated his kingdom and his family, amongst whom a young daughter of peerless beauty, named Dawal, fell into captivity.'[2] Nowhere does 'Isami mention Kamalādevi.

The next Muslim chronicler, Barani, in his *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, written eight years after 'Isami's work, mentions only one invasion of 1299, in the third year of 'Ala ud-Din's reign. According to him, Karna fled from his capital and found an asylum in the Yadava's court at Devagiri, and that was the end of independent Gujarat.

The later historians, like Badauni, Nizam ud-Din and Firishta more or less rely upon *Ashiqa* and *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, only adding a few fanciful stories of their own. Barani enjoyed a high reputation, for his uncle, 'Ala ul-Mulk, was the Kotwal of Delhi under 'Ala ud-Din, and one of the Sultan's most trusted lieutenants. But 'Isami was a contemporary who had spent years at Devagiri when he wrote his book, so that some of the facts must have been within his own personal knowledge, though he, too, accepts the substance of *Ashiqa* as genuine. In the ultimate analysis, therefore, 'Isami corroborates *Ashiqa* in this respect, that a second army was despatched a few

years later to destroy Karṇa; that Karṇa had to flee from whatever headquarters he was occupying, possibly Baglana; that the Yādava king would not give him an asylum and that he had to seek it with the Kakatiya ruler of Warrangal.

The general who led the second expedition was Alap Khan who in A.D. 1306, became the first Governor of Gujarat.

Neither the Muslim chroniclers, nor the *Prabandhas* are correct in their view that Karṇa fled as soon as the Muslim army appeared before Aṇahilavāḍa. He no doubt lost a battle so that he was obliged to retreat and could not thereafter resist the barbarous devastation in which Cambay, Saurāshṭra, Surat and Rander were to be destroyed. But it appears that as soon as the Muslim army had left with its booty, he regained part of Gujarat and ruled over it from some place other than Aṇahilavāḍa. It is, in fact, difficult to say who was ruling over Aṇahilavāḍa at this time. Quite possibly it was a period of utter chaos. If, as stated by 'Isami, Karṇa did return and occupy his capital, the absence of a reference to this fact by any other authority remains an enigma. If he had indeed gone back to Aṇahilavāḍa, at least two of his Hindu contemporaries, Jinaprabha Sūri and Merutuṅga, and later Padmanabha, would hardly have failed to allude to so signal a victory. The other Muslim chroniclers have also not referred to this fact. It is likely therefore that 'Isami reconstructed a more coherent story of a disconnected age, than did the *Ashṭa*.

But Karṇa fought throughout hard and grimly. In c. A.D. 1306, when Alap Khan attempted to join Malik Kafur on the borders of the Deccan,

Karṇa, with the assistance of Yādava Śaṅkaradeva, successfully resisted his progress. Alap Khan, however, pursued Karṇa and inflicted a heavy defeat upon him. Leaving his elephants and equipage on the field of battle, Karṇa fled to Devagiri, only to be denied its hospitality. He then sought an asylum in Telangana and died there in obscurity.

Thus ended the unfortunate career of the last of the Imperial Gūrjaras, who had created and consolidated Gujarat, raised it to the very height of glory and its people to a strength and prosperity never before known.

Chapter XIII

LIFE UNDER THE CHAULUKYAS

(i)

Administration

The Chaulukyas ruled Gujarat for three hundred and sixty years. During this period, the small principality, which Mūlarāja had acquired in A.D. 942, grew into the vast and powerful kingdom of Gujarat and unified an area which now survives as modern Gujarat. In the course of their rule, the Chaulukyas built up heroic traditions; the prestige of Gujarat was high and, in spite of recurring warfare, her people were rich and prosperous.

Throughout this time the machinery of administration continued on the lines prescribed by the *Smṛitis* and the body of laws that had been inherited by the Chaulukyas from the Valabhīs and the Pratīhāras.

Mūlarāja had acquired no more than Sārasvata-*maṇḍala*, that is to say, parts of the modern districts of Mehsana, Sabarkantha and Banaskantha. He conquered only very small parts of Saurāshṭra and Kachchha. Between the middle of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, Gūrjara-*maṇḍala* or Gūrjara-*bhūmi*, as it had come to be called, included not only modern Gujarat, but southern Rajasthan, including Kiradu and Mewad, parts of Udaipur, West Mālava up to Bhilsa in the East and parts of north Konkana in the South. Portions of this territory were ruled by feudatories, but the rest was directly administered by the king.

The administrative divisions of the kingdom were *maṇḍalas* which were constituted of *vishayas* which, in their turn, consisted of *pathakas*, or unions of villages. The epigraphic records show that at the height of its greatness Gujarat consisted of the following *maṇḍalas* or provinces.[1]

1. Ashṭādaśaśata-*maṇḍala*
   (the region of Abu).
2. Avanti-*maṇḍala*.
   (Mālava).
3. Bhaillasvāmi-mahā-dvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*.
4. Dadhipadra or Godrahaka-*maṇḍala*.
   (Panchmahal district, Jhabua, Ratlam and other States).
5. Gūrjara-*maṇḍala* or Gūrjaratrā-*maṇḍala*.
6. Lāṭa-*maṇḍala*.
   (Broach, Surat and Thana districts).
7. Kachchha-*maṇḍala*.
   (Cutch).
8. Medāpaṭa-*maṇḍala*.

9. Narmadātaṭa-*maṇḍala*.
   (Part of Broach, Rajpipla State and Sankheda taluk).
10. Satyapura-*maṇḍala*.
    (Jodhpur).
11. Sārasvata-*maṇḍala*.
    (Mehsana, Radhanpur and Palanpur States).
12. Saurāshṭra-*maṇḍala*.
    (Saurashtra).
13. Timvanaka-*maṇḍala*.
    (in Saurashtra near Bhavnagar).
14. Ghṛitapadi-*maṇḍala*.
    (in Cutch, including village Rav).

The administration was divided into thirty-two *Karaṇas* or departments, the Chief Minister or Chancellor being in charge of Śrī-*Karaṇa*. The other departments came under the headings of Finance, Justice, Collection of Taxes, Labour, Canals and Roads, Education, Mint, Weaving, Stores, Granary, Irrigation, Palaces, Prostitutes Elephants, Horses, Camels, Guilds, Trade and Commerce, Feudatories, Treasuries, Examination of Ministers and probably of other public servants, City Administration, Temples, Foreign Affairs, Poor Houses, Kitchen and Armoury.[2] Each of the *Karaṇas*, or departments, was under a *mahāmātya*; the head of the foreign department was known *mahāsandhivigrahika*, and the head of the accounts department was known as *mahākshapaṭalaka*.

The *maṇḍalas* were in the charge of a *mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* or *daṇḍanāyaka*[2] who was usually a military officer. Sometimes a *daṇḍanāyaka* was put at the head of an important *pathaka*. Other provincial officers were *vishayapatis*, *paṭṭakilas*, *uparori*, *nāyaka*

and *baladhi*.[4] *Paṭṭakilas* were not the *patels* of today; they were officials of high rank. The provincial and central administration were modelled on the same lines, the former being divided, as was the latter, into various *karaṇas*, or departments. A city had its own *karaṇa*, for it enjoyed a degree of autonomy in the matter of raising revenue. The civic administration was conducted by the head of the *karaṇa* assisted by a *pañchakula* of learned Brāhmaṇas, merchants and industrialists.[5] The villages were looked after by a host of minor officials, most of them being employed in collecting revenue, taxes and cess. In addition, every village seems to have had a local *chaukidar*.

The most interesting part of the whole administration was the association of the *pañchakulas* to every officer, from the Chancellor to the head of the village administration. It consisted of a board of five, with the officer who was in charge of the department at the head. Even so outstanding an officer as the prime minister of Bhima II and the minister Nāgaḍa in the reign of Visaladeva had *pañchakulas* associated with them. From the Porbander inscription of Visaladeva,[6] we learn that a *pañchakula* was appointed to administer Saurāshṭra, indicating that there was also a provincial board to assist the *Daṇḍanāyaka* or *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. *Pañchakulas* were, therefore, organs of government at different levels of administration. Its members were officials and non-officials but all were nominated.

(ii)

Taxation

Land revenue formed the most important and substantial part of the state's income and was usually

collected by officials after the autumn harvest. But there were other methods of raising revenue, notably through collection by landlords, who paid a part of the sum so collected to the king and retained the rest. A kind of the *Ryotwari* system was also prevalent in revenue administration. There is evidence of the existence of yearly contracts between the state and private individuals for the payment of a fixed sum in three instalments.[7]

Besides land revenue, the villager was called upon to meet various other demands, such as the tax which was collected when an important visitor was to be honoured, or that for the upkeep of the local police station, or the cess for the celebration of an auspicious occasion. Fees for the grazing of cattle were also levied annually; two *drammas* were charged for a buffalo, one *dramma* for a bull and half a *dramma* for a ram or sheep, but no fee was charged for the bullocks that drew the plough. Traders paid various kinds of *śulkas*, including a road tax, a ferry tax and a sales tax. The officers who collected the taxes gave a clearance certificate.[8]

There were other cesses as well. Even the pilgrims[9] were not exempt from taxation. There is the well-known instance of Siddharāja who, at the behest of his mother, abolished the tax on the pilgrims to Somanātha.[10] But there were pilgrim taxes on other shrines also. Duties on liquor brought in a substantial revenue and, at one period, the property of a sonless person escheated to the crown. It is Kumārapāla who is said to have introduced prohibition, but for how long and to what extent is not known. As has already been stated, Kumārapāla reverted to the *Smṛiti* Law and it was he who rescinded

the custom by which the property of the sonless was escheated to the crown.

(iii)

Trade, Agriculture, Industry and Navigation

Throughout the period, Gujarat was rich and prosperous. Agricultural products were plentiful, industries flourished, commerce was brisk and profitable. The fertility of Gujarat, particularly its luxuriant growth of cotton, drew ecstatic praise from foreign visitors. The methods of agriculture were the same as had been in vogue fifty years before. Vineyards were abundant and Hemachandra refers to no less than seventeen kinds of grain crops, among which were rice, pulses, and wheat. Sugarcane, indigo, cotton, pepper and ginger, the caster-oil plant and sesamum grew in profusion, while southern Lāṭa was well-known for its pineapples, pomegranates and oranges.

Gujarat had been famous from the earliest times for its textile industry and by the end of the thirteenth century it had reached a high level of excellence. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century and Abu'l Abbas al-Nuwayri (A.D. 1332) in the fourteenth, both mention the outstanding varieties of textiles from Broach and Cambay,[1] known as *Baroji* and *Kambayati* respectively.

The manufacture of gur and sugar was another important industry. The juice was extracted from the cane by means of machines made of bamboo and labourers who worked in this industry were known by the special name of "*tāo*".[2]

Gujarat was also renowned for its tanning and leather industries. According to Marco Polo, im-

mense quantities of hides were tanned in Gujarat and many ship-loads of leather left her ports every year. The sandals made in Cambay were famous throughout the world, and no less in demand were her leather mats and cushions embroidered with gold. "What more shall I tell you", writes the astonished Marco Polo, "you must know in very truth, that in this kingdom (Gujarat) are made the best and the finest leather goods in the world and the most costly."[13]

The manufacture and export of perfumes was conducted on a large scale and in response to what appears to have been a world-wide demand. In a later age, we learn that the perfumes manufactured at Navasari were not only in widespread demand, but were unique.[14]

The building industry was in a very flourishing condition. Large cities like Aṇahilavāḍa, Dholka, Cambay, Broach and many others, were full of large residential buildings; and from the ninth century onwards, we have the evidence of this activity in the magnificent temples of Somanātha, Abu and Modhera, or in the forts like that of Dabhoi, or in the step wells which still survive. This industry helped to develop many subsidiary industries, such as the manufacture of tools, of bricks, mortar and lime, of stone-quarrying and of the carving of stone. The refinement of the workmanship of the stone-carving in particular indicates the use of iron implements of extreme delicacy.

Trades were organised into guilds, with a royal department to look after them. Monopolies were sometimes granted by the State to an individual. It was usual to carry on trade by the raising of loans,

but the rate of interest was as high as two per cent per month, and had to be secured by a mortgage or a pledge of immovables or movables."[1]

A large international trade was carried on in ports of Gujarat. Even before the Christian era, Bhṛigukachchha (Broach) was the biggest port and international market of Western India. Idrisi speaks of the residents of Broach as being rich and engaged in trade; "they freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for vessels coming from China as it is also for those of Sind."

It is possible that Cambay, which appears to have become its rival only in the ninth century, was developed as a port by the Gūrjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj as a rival to that of Broach, which was then under the control of their enemies, the Rāshṭrakūṭas. And it would not be surprising if the long drawn out struggle regarding Lāṭa between the Chaulukyas and the Yādavas, may have had something to do with the two great ports of Broach and Cambay. Somanātha was also a considerable port and by reason of its great religious importance, it was, after Aṇahilavāḍa, the most prominent town in Gujarat.

Besides leather goods and textiles, Gujarat exported other manufactured articles, as well as spices and dyes. Through her ports, India also imported gold, silver and other commodities, particularly horses. Ten thousand horses are recorded as having been imported annually through the port of Cambay.

Gujarat had its own shipping industry. Arabian merchants had settled in different parts of Gujarat, but a large part of her overseas trade was controlled by Indians. Jagaḍu, for instance, traded regularly with Persia and transported goods backwards and for-

wards in his own ships. His agent in Hormuz was also an Indian.[12]

A certain Wasa Abbir, a Hindu merchant of Nahrwala, conducted a flourishing trade in Ghazni, and even Mui-zz ud-Din refused to confiscate his properties in order to replenish his own treasury.[13] The Chaulukyas treated the Arabian merchants exceedingly well, even allowing them the practice of their religion and the right to build mosques.

The sea faring activities of the Gujaratis were proverbial. Gujarat maintained a colony in Java, and the wealth brought from Java has passed into a proverb:

"He who goes to Java never returns; but if he does, he brings so much wealth that his grand-children's grandchildren will not exhaust it."

Friar Oderic (A.D. 1321) voyaged across the Indian Ocean in a vessel manned by Gujaratis; and Gujarati sailors, according to the authority of Vasco da Gama, knew how to guide their ships not only by the stars but by nautical instruments of their own.

Under the Chaulukyas, Gujarat had a navy. With the advent of the Muslims, it disappeared. The reason was probably, that the Muslims who conquered Gujarat were Central Asians, with little appreciation of sea power.

There was brisk trade between Gujarat and Sumatra. From the earliest times, Gujarat had produced first-rate sailors. Marco Polo complains bitterly of Gujarati pirates. Two centuries later, Albuquerque was full of praise for Gujarati sailors.[13]

All over the world, the credit of the Indian merchants was high. Al Idrisi says: "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from

it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well-known and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side: hence the country is flourishing and their condition is prosperous."[18]

Marco Polo bestows yet more generous praise on the merchants of Lāṭa. "I assure you that these Brahmanas are among the best and most trustworthy merchants in the world; for nothing on earth would they tell a lie, and all that they say is true. Indeed, you must know that if a foreign trader comes to that province in order to do business, and is ignorant of the customs of the country, he seeks out one of these Brahmana merchants and entrusts him with his money and his wares, begging him, as he does not know the local customs, to look after his business and his merchandise, that he may not be cheated. Then the Brāhmana merchant takes in trust the foreign trader's business, and deals with it so honestly, both in buying and in selling and looks after the stranger's interests with such anxious care, that he could not do better were he acting for himself. Nor does he ask for anything in return for what he does, leaving it to the stranger to give him something out of his generosity."[19]

No coins of the Chaulukyas have been found in Gujarat, but there are references to payment in *drammas*. Two gold coins with the inscription of Siddharāja have been discovered in Uttar Pradesh, and there are references to *Bhīmapriya*-and *Viśvāpriya-drammas*.[20] Coins were used in Gujarat from the days of the Bactrian Greeks and money seems to have been the principal medium of exchange, for the *Dvyāśraya*, as well as inscriptions, refer to coins of several deno-

minations. Cowries were used as well and there seems to have been a mint at Śrīmāla where coins were struck.[22]

An old document of the period shows that the contract law and the law of mortgages followed the provisions of the *Smṛiti* law; several other interesting documents also show the variations permitted by contract including mortgage, sale and loans with or without interest.

(iv)

Shrines & Festivals

The kings and the rich built religious edifices, which were, in fact,—to use the modern phrase, community centres, where the humbler folk gathered, received religious instruction and held their fairs and festivals. Many of these temples were erected to commemorate the builder or one of his ancestors, or a near relation. For example, a Pāśupata teacher Tripurāntaka built five temples near the famous temple at Somanātha. His first, erected in memory of his mother and named after her, was called Matheśvara; the second, dedicated to Umāpati, was called after the wife of Tripurāntaka's preceptor, Gaṇḍa Bṛihaspati, whose wife, by a fortunate chance was called Umā; nor was she to be forgotten in the future, for the third temple was called Umeśvara. The remaining two temples, Tripurāntakeśvara and Rameśvara, were named after the founder and his wife, Ramā.[23]

Saivism and the worship of Śakti in her form of Ambā and Kālikā, were the most popular religious forms. All the Chaulukya kings were Saivas, though in those tolerant days in Gujarat, this signified little more than that Śiva was the deity whom they

worshipped regularly. From the third century onwards the Lakuliśa Pāśupata sect had had great influence in Gujarat and quite often an ācārya of the sect was the chief priest of Somanātha, which, at that time, was the most famous Śiva temple in India. Other Śaiva sects included the Kaulas and the Kāpalikas.

Though, amongst kings, only Siddharāja is known to have erected a temple to Vishṇu, Vaishṇavism was popular. Sūrya and Gaṇeśa were also worshipped. The famous temple at Modhera, erected during the reign of Bhima I, was dedicated to Sūrya. Composite images were sometimes worshipped. We find such deities as Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa and Dharmāditya. Dharma, being a minor incarnation of Vishṇu, Dharmāditya and Surya-Nārāyaṇa were composite figures of Sun and Vishṇu.[24]

Among the minor goddesses worshipped were Śītalā, the goddess of small-pox, Śri-Mātādevī, Śri Vahuśṛiṇadevī, and Charghari.[25] The exact significance of the last three names is not now possible to determine.

These deities were kept in temples dedicated to them, and were worshipped daily. Other deities were only worshipped at the time of year when great festivals were being held. The most popular of such religious festivals was connected with the worship of Durgā. Kaṇṭheśvarī, who was probably a form of Durgā, was the tutelary deity of the Chaulukya kings and animals were sacrifled to her until Kumārapāla, guided by Hemachandra, put a stop to this practice.[26]

The popular Durgā-pūjā festival began from the first day of the bright half of Āśvina, and lasted for nine days; hence it was also called *navāha* or *nava-*

rātra. During this period, Brāhmaṇas chanted the Vedas and verses in praise of Chaṇḍi, that is Durgā, from the *Devī-Māhātmya*. Instead of an image, a pitcher full of rich incenses, and water, was worshipped as the Mother Goddess. On the tenth day, which was called *Vijayadaśami*, this pitcher was immersed, and the Brāhmaṇas then went to the houses of their rich disciples who, dressed in their best, were awaiting them with fruit between their folded hands. The Brāhmaṇas, after chanting hymns of peace, sprinkled the disciples with holy water.[71]

Next came the Indra-pūjā, which started on the eighth day of the bright half of Āśvina, and lasted till the following full-moon. A banner was set up at the end of a long post to symbolise Indra's pillar. This festival was held in order to ensure a good paddy harvest.[72]

Then came the Divāli. The fortnight following the *Vijayādaśamī* was known as *Dīpotsavapakṣha*, but the real festival was held on the new moon day, which was called *Divāḷi*, Dipāḷiṇi or *Jakkharātri*. On this day, after bathing, people put on festive dresses and presented each other with betel leaves and areca nuts. During the night they illuminated their residences. Next day, Bali was worshipped. People again put on their fine garments and made obeisance to their elders, who blessed them with a mark of sandal paste and wished them prosperity and long life.[73]

Then came the summer festival *(grīshma-parva)* on the full-moon day of Phālguna. Somanātha was worshipped by all sections of the people, but the festival held a special charm for the children. Provided with good food, they were secured indoors, while their elders, employed in driving away the mythi-

cal demoness, Dhuṇḍa,[28] kept vigil outside.

But more important still was the *Dola* festival, held on the 14th day of the bright half of *Chaitra*. Śiva and Gauri were placed on a swing and special *pujās* were held in every Śiva temple. The image of Somanātha was taken out in a procession and sometimes a drama, which was attended by the king,[29] was performed within the precincts of the temple.

There were many minor festivals beside the main ones, and together they kept the people busy throughout the year.

(v)

Jainism

During this period Jainism obtained a strong hold over Gujarat. It first gained admission to the court in the reign of Durlabhurāja, when, during a great debate, Jineśvara Sūri defeated his antagonists, the Chaityavāsins. In accordance with the terms which had been agreed upon beforehand they left Gujarat. Durlabha, delighted with the acuteness of Jineśvara's intellect, later bestowed upon him the title of Kharatara (very keen). The sect of Jineśvara Sūri thereupon came to be known as Kharatara-*gachchha*.[30]

The next king, Bhima, had, as his military governor, the famous Vimala, builder of the Abu temple. Bhima's son, Karṇa, also had a soft corner for the Jainas, but it was in the reign of Siddharāja that they became really important, and the Svetāmbara sect became dominant in Gujarat.

Kumudachandra, a great Digambara scholar, visited Gujarat and challenged the Śvetāmbara Sādhus to a debate; Devachandra Sūri, the preceptor of Hemachandra, represented the Śvetāmbaras. The contest

was held in the presence of Siddharāja. Devachandra vanquished Kumudachandra and according to the terms of the debate, the defeated Digambaras left the country.[33]

But the Jainas really came into prominence during the time of Hemachandra. His versatile scholarship greatly impressed Siddharāja, who granted him an honoured position in the court. It was during his time that Hemachandra's patron and benefactor Udayana also came into prominence and was appointed a minister. Santu was another Jaina minister of the king, and so was Muñjala.

The Jaina festivals and religious observations have remained more or less unchanged, so that it appears that almost all the present day Jaina festivals were observed during this period. Kumarapāla organised processions in which the statue of Arhat was borne in procession in cars in every town and village. The Jainas also observed their own Divali, as they do even now, and held theatrical performances in their temples.[34]

Rituals of worship for the Hindus and the Jainas were more or less the same. Siddharāja worshipped Somanātha by offering him sandal paste, flower, rice, water, and *madhuparka*, which usually consisted of honey, *ghi*, water, sweets, and curd. After failing to receive the cherished boon of a son from Somanatha, Siddharāja, — probably on Hemachandra's advice — proceeded to Ujjayanta. There he worshipped Neminātha with sugarcane juice, milk, *ghi*, curd, honey and water, that is *madhuparka* mixed with milk. He also offered quantities of flowers and fruit to the deity.[35]

Just as Siddharāja went and offered prayers to

Neminātha, the Jainas also prayed at Brahmanical shrines. Hemachandra himself accompanied Siddharāja and Kumārapāla to Somanatha, and on the former occasion composed a verse in praise of Somanātha.[35] Vastupala also offered prayers at that temple.[37]

Of the Chaulukyas, Kumārapala was the only king who leaned heavily towards Jainism. Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, the Jaina ministers, built many temples, including the famous one at Abu, known as Lunasimha-*vasahika* after Tejahpāla's son. But they erected and repaired many Brahmanical temples as well.

Vastupāla upheld the tenets of *Sanātana-dharma*. When he was governor of Cambay he put a stop, by means of the construction of platforms, to the indiscriminate mingling of all the castes in the shops where whey was sold.[38] This mixing of the castes was probably confined to the upper ones only, for the Chandalas seem to have announced their presence by moving about with sticks which they struck against something to produce a peculiar sound, so that people might avoid them.

(vi)

Everyday Life

The life of the average householder was much the same as now. The dwelling-house usually faced east, had spaces on all sides, and was enclosed by a compound wall. The house was generally two-storeyed and was built upon a good foundation with a terrace. Often there was no arrangement inside the house for the supply of water which had, therefore, to be fetched from a common well probably dug by the king, or some other rich person, desirous of

acquiring merit for the next world. There was a small reservoir for collected rain water inside the house. The houses were usually of bricks and mortar with a tiled roof, which were provided with eaves to carry the rain water to a drain, which emptied it into the street.[39] This style of houses is still in vogue.

The usual furniture consisted of the "charpai" in the bedroom while cane seats, grass mats and curtains, completed the equipment of the sitting-room.[40]

The customary food of the people was rice, wheat, pulses, vegetables, and sweets, with milk preparations, such as curd, whey and coagulated milk. Meat was also eaten, but Kumārapāla forbade the slaughter of animals, and as Gujarat was a strong centre of Vaishnavism and Jainism the bulk of the people gradually became vegetarian.

Another thing that was stopped by Kumārapāla was drinking. Indians have often been praised by foreign travellers for their sober habits, but it seems that in those days drinking was more common than is generally supposed. The Chavdās were notorious drunkards and, if we are to believe Hemachandra, Siddharaja's mother gave up drinking before the birth of the great emperor,[41] on account of the delicate state of her health. There were many taverns in the cities but these were closed by Kumārapāla.

The people, particularly the rich, dressed differently from what they do now. They usually wore richly embroidered jackets and tight-fitting "shorts" of embroidered material which reached to their knees, a handsome belt and usually a *paṭkā*, which was sometimes very costly. With the dhoti they wore an *uttarīya* or upper garment. The people of Gujarat are said to have had no head dress; they used neckerchiefs

to hide their adam's apple.

Monks wore the dhoti and a *chāddar*, and we have a picture of Hemachandra dressed in that immaculate white dress.

Ladies of the wealthier classes wore sāris with closefitting, short-sleeved bodices and petticoats, all of which were richly ornamented. They also used *paṭkās* of a shade to match their sāris. While hunting, a woman wore a short skirt and a *choli*, which was perhaps the usual out-door dress. A Jaina nun dressed in a sāri, a loose tunic, and a *chāddar*.

The use of the handkerchief and particularly of shoes by both the sexes, seems to have been fairly common and ornaments were worn by men and women equally.

Various toilet articles such as sandal and *kumkuma* were in daily use. The chewing of *tāmbula* or betel leaves was considered to be mark of good breeding, and a man with a set of dazzling white teeth, unstained with *tāmbula*, was considered to be rather boorish.

Boys played a game which somewhat resembled modern hockey,[12] but the popular pastimes of the grown-ups were pigeon-races and cock-fighting. Betting, sometimes for considerable sums, was frequent, and this led to its being censured by Hemachandra, who ultimately prevailed upon Kumārapāla to stop such games. Besides these, there were other forms of gambling which were also stopped.

(vii)

Drama

The literature of the period has been dealt with in my companion volume *Gujarat and Its Literature, Ancient and Mediaeval.*

The drama was very popular during this period and some of the Hindu and Jaina temples had arrangements for theatrical performances. From the Anavada temple inscription we learn that the state granted the temple certain incomes from which to meet its expenses for worship and theatricals. The income, however, was not sufficient, and most probably the deficit was on account of the theatricals. But the leading citizens of the place met together and sanctioned a series of sales taxes on certain specified commodities, in order to meet these extra expenses. This inscription opens with a verse from Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, which indicates a genuine love of drama among the people.

We learn from Hemachandra, that sometimes during a play, "even the sophisticated townsmen were impelled to laugh like villagers, at fat men, men with projecting teeth, lame men, hunch backs, flat-nosed men, men with dishevelled hair, by ash coloured men; by men with buttock-bells, by the musicians of the armpit and the nose, by dancers of the ear and brow, by imitators of the speech of other people."[13]

Though no less than twenty-six dramas written in Gujarat during this period have been discovered, none of them contains such a scene. As a matter of fact, such farcical episodes are never found in Sanskrit drama. It seems, therefore, that Hemachandra was describing a scene from some *desi* drama which flourished during this period. The main attraction of these plays was probably that they amused the people.

APPENDIX I

Origin of the Gūrjaras

The belief, elevated almost to the level of a religious dogma, which consciously or unconsciously obscures our judgment of this period of Indian History, is that the Gurjaras were a foreign tribe, and immigrated to India with the Huns in c. A.D. 450. Any locality to which the word 'Gurjara', or any word of which it forms a part, like Gujranwala, Gujarat, or Gurjarkhan, is applied at present, indicates the settlement of this foreign tribe in its onward march from the north-western frontier of India to the Kathiawad peninsula. People or kings referred to as Gūrjaras, therefore, belonged to this foreign tribe.

This theory of immigration has so captured the imagination of students of Indian history, both foreign and Indian, that everything connected with Gūrjara is sought to be explained by it. But against great names in Indian research like Jackson, Bhagwanlal, Hoernle, Bhandarkar and Smith there has been a protest led by Vaidya, Ojha and Krishnaswami Iyengar, the last of whom states: "I do believe that the immigration of the Gūrjaras is not such a settled fact of history for deductive applications. I did my best to examine the materials on which the theory of immigration was based and I submit that in view of all the evidence that has been forthcoming of recent years, the theory of immigration is unsustainable."[1] "I venture, therefore, to submit that there is no determinative piece of evidence to prove that the word 'Gūrjara' was used to indicate the race of the person denominated; or that the person denominated was of foreign origin.

The theory began with an early bias which can be traced to European scholars of the mid-nineteenth century. Some of the inferences drawn under the influence of this bias were remarkable.

It is argued that Sapādalaksha is Sevalik, Sevalik is Socotra, Socotra is in Africa. Socotra was colonised by remnants of the Greek army of Alexander. The Chāpas were Gūrjaras and were therefore descended from the Greek heroes.[2]

As against this, is the other view, which is borne out by the literary and epigraphic references of six centuries. In the seventh century A.D., a certain tract in modern Rajputana was known by the name of Gūrjara. Its inhabitants were divided into Brahmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, and were similar in race and culture to others of north India. They, with the people who occupied Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra, Mālava, Anarta, and Ujjayinī formed a homogeneous people. The people residing in this tract, whenever they migrated to other parts of the country were known as Gūrjaras from the name of their homeland, just as inhabitants of other provinces like Gauḍa, Lāṭa, and Dravida, were known by the respective names of their homelands. The rulers of Gūrjaradeśa consolidated politically the surrounding parts of which the people were homogeneous. As a result, Gūrjaradeśa grew to become coterminous with the kingdom of its kings. The geographical units, now known as Gujarat, or which carry the word 'Gūrjara' in it, are either isolated fragments of that larger Gūrjaradeśa and have retained the old name while the surrounding parts have lost it, or were towns or fortresses built or occupied by persons who called themselves Gūrjaras. Finally, the castes and tribes

which bear the name Gūrjara and the kings who styled themselves or were known as such, derived it from their homeland.

A detailed examination of the sources, therefore, becomes necessary, but a few correctives must not be forgotten while scrutinising such evidence.

Firstly, the absence of a reference to the name of a country in the *Mahābhārata* or such other early records does not mean that the name of the country is necessarily of foreign derivation. Lāṭa, for instance, is not known to the *Mahābhārata* and yet no one has suggested that the name was given to modern south Gujarat by foreigners. Vāgaḍa, the name of the region represented by modern Dungarpur-Banswara, is not found in ancient literature, though its name sprang into existence between the first and the fifth century of the Christian era. The absence of the name of 'Gūrjara' before the sixth century A.D. need not necessarily therefore indicate an alien origin.

Secondly, the name of a country is used for its kings both in literature and epigraphic records, as in the case of Lāṭa, Mālava, Kuntala, Chedi etc.[2] If Gūrjara was the name of a country, its kings would naturally be referred to as 'Gūrjara'. Such use does not necessarily denote the original tribe to which the king belonged.

Thirdly, the residents of a country were always described by the name of the country. The use of the words Saurāshṭras, Lāṭas, Mālavas, for residents of these parts is well-known to literature. If the subconscious bias in favour of the foreign immigration of the Gūrjaras is excluded, there is no reason whatsoever as to why the word Gūrjara as applied to Brāh-

maṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras need be treated as referring to anything except their homeland.

Fourthly, the evolution of Hindu tradition and society shows a tendency to absorb foreigners settled in this country within the social organisation of *Varṇāśramadharma*. The absorptive tendency of Hindu culture was so effective that within two generations communities of foreign origin became rooted both in the tradition and social institutions of the land. If Gūrjaras were foreigners, if their warriors had been absorbed completely as Kshatriyas, so that they traced their descent from a Brāhmaṇa Harichandra or from the Ikshvāku Lakshmaṇa, it would be surprising indeed if they continued to maintain the badge of their foreign origin by calling themselves 'Gūrjaras'. The absorption of foreign tribes in Hindu society has always taken the form of giving to military leaders the position of Kshatriyas and to the rest of the people the position in the lower strata of society according to the profession they followed. But in no case, except in the isolated and doubtful case of Maga Brāhmaṇas settled at Śrimāla who are stated to be Magi priests of Persia,[1] has a foreign group been given the status of Brāhmaṇas. To assume, therefore, that the Gurjaras divided themselves under Brahmanical influence into four castes is to misread the process of Hindu social and cultural evolution.

Fifthly, Rajputana, Gujarat and Mālava, wherein are found traces of people, kings and places known by the name of Gūrjara or any other name associated with it, were not empty regions before the sixth century. From early times Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas of Aryo-Dravidian stock and aborigines lived there; and the foreign Huns or Gūrjaras, only came,

if at all, as hostile tribes to conquer to settle among and to be absorbed by the existing population. Their number therefore could never have been so large as to displace or to absorb the existing population. The Rajputs of Rajputana, so named by the Muslim chroniclers alone, could not all have been Huns and Gūrjaras, who simply elbowed out the original Kshatriyas and assumed the beliefs, traditions and culture of their victims as if it were a cloak. And if so, where did the original Kshatriyas go?

If the earliest records which refer to the word Gūrjara are examined with the aid of these correctives, the theory of immigration will appear to be of doubtful validity.

There are two references, one to an individual called Gūrjara, who engraved a copper-plate charter of Śrī-Harsha found in a village thirty-two miles north-east of Azamgarh,[5] and another to 'Kucharakuḍḍhai', a temple of Gūrjara workmanship referred to in the Tamil poem, *Manimekhalai*, composed in the sixth century A.D.[6] These references would equally make sense if the word Gūrjara were applied to an individual or to individuals with reference to the country of their origin.

In c. A.D. 550 a Gūrjarannripati invaded the region of Broach, in Lāṭa, from the north; and Dadda I of Lāṭa is described as '*Gūrjarannripativaṁśa*' in the inscription of his grandson.[7] This *Gūrjarannripati*, from epigraphic evidence, is now identified with Harichandra, the Brāhmaṇa, who founded the fortunes of the Pratihāra family in the region of modern Jodhpur, which up to the tenth century A.D. was included in Gūrjaratrā or Gūrjaradeśa. Why should he be taken to be a king of a foreign tribe and not as being

referred to by the name of the kingdom he ruled over, when definite epigraphic evidence established that this king was a 'learned Brāhmaṇa, well-versed in the Vedas'? A Javanese tradition places the arrival of Bhṛivijaya, the son of Kasamchitra or Bālya Achā (Sanskrit, Bālāditya or Bhillāditya), king of Gujarat in A.D. 603.[8]

In the *Pañchatantra*, there is a reference to Gūrjaradeśa, where camels were available. This points to Gūrjara being identical with Rajputana.[9]

In A.D. 778-9, Udyotana, while writing his work *Kuvalayamālā* at Jābālipura, which is modern Jhalor, describes the beautiful Gūrjaradeśa and refers to its residents in general as Gūrjaras.[10]

In A.D. 783-784, Jinasena writing Jaina *Harivaṁśa* in Wadhwan, describes the country to the east of it as being ruled by Vatsa, the king of Avanti. This country can only be Gūrjaradeśa.[11]

In A.D. 837 Bāuka, a descendant of Harichandra, the Pratihāra, was ruling over Gūrjaratra or Gūrjarabhūmi from Mandor, near Jodhpur.[12] Buchakala in the same State is referred to as Nāgabhaṭa II's 'own land'.[13]

Mihira Bhoja's inscription of A.D. 844, distinctly refers to the land upon which Deṇḍavānaka, the village granted, was situated as Gūjaratrābhūmi.[14] In A.D. 850, the village of Maṅgalanaka, in modern Jaipur, is referred to as Gurjaratrā-maṇḍala.[15] This is so called in view of the fact that Gūrjaradeśa was the homeland of Mihira Bhoja.

From the Gwalior-praśasti of Mihira Bhoja (c. A.D. 843), the Sanjan plate of Amoghavarsha (c. A.D. 871) and from Rājaśekhara's work (c. A.D. 920) to Someśvara's (c. A.D. 1104-1254), it is clear

that the name of a country was often used to denote its king and not the name of his race.

In A.D. 851, Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, refers to Mihira Bhoja as the ruler of Jurz or Gūrjara. He therefore testifies that in spite of being the master of the largest empire in India, the emperor was known pre-eminently as the king of Gūrjara. Abu-Zaid refers to Jurz as the empire in which the country of Kanauj is situated. Ibn-Khurdadba, al-Masudi (c. A.D. 900), al-Idrisi and Baladhuri also refer to Jurz as the empire.[16]

In A.D. 861, the inscription of Pratīnāra Bāuka's successor Kakkuka of Mandor refers to Gūrjaratrā as the land.[17]

In c. A.D. 867 Mihira Bhoja's army is referred to as the army of 'Gūrjara', that is, the king of Gūrjara.

In c. A.D. 890 Śaṅkaravarman, the king of Kashmir defeated Alakhāna, the king of Gūrjara:

"The firmly rooted fortune of Alakhāna, the king of Gūrjara, he uprooted in battle in a moment, and made a long grief to rise (in its place).

"The ruler of Gūrjara gave up to him humbly the Takkaland preserving (thereby) his own country as if he had saved his own body (at the sacrifice) of a finger.

"He caused the sovereign power, which the superior king Bhoja had seized, to be given up to the scion of the Thakkiya family, who had become his servant in the office of chamberlain."[18]

Alakhāna's kingdom formed part of the upper portion of the flat doab between the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers south of Darvabhisara, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east. Mihira Bhoja was his suzerain. Here the word Gūrjara is

clearly used for a country, not for a race. This reference, together with the testimony of foreign travellers, shows that even Kānyakubja was considered by visitors to be within the empire of Gūrjaradeśa.

In A.D. 915, Mahipāla, the grandson of Mihira Bhoja, is referred to as the roaring Gūrjara. The same emperor, at the same time, is also referred to as the Gūrjara.[19]

In c. A.D. 950 Yaśovarman, the Chandella king has been described as 'a scorching fire to the Gūrjaras,'[20] referring to the Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj.

In c. A.D. 953 about eighteen Gūrjaras of Bhinmal migrated from it.[21] They were of all castes: Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas, Kshatriyas and Śūdras. This word, therefore, must mean Brāhmaṇas and others from Gūrjara, as there are Brahmaṇas and others from Gauḍa, Draviḍa, Kashmir etc. This, again, shows that migrating people from Gūrjaradeśa called themselves Gurjaras.

In A.D. 960 Mathanadeva of the Rajora (modern Alwar) inscription calls himself the descendant of Gūrjara-Pratihāras. It can as well be translated as the Pratihāra of the Gūrjara country rather than the Pratihāra clan of the Gūrjara race. The same inscription refers to a certain 'Śrī-Gūrjara' as cultivating some fields.[22] This could only mean that the modern Alwar State was outside the limits of Gūrjaradeśa and that some community migrating from Gūrjaradeśa and calling itself by the name of its homeland tilled the fields in Rajora.

In A.D. 989, the Chedi king refers to his grandfather as having defeated the Gūrjara, presumably the Pratihāra monarch of Kanauj.[23]

In c. A.D. 997 Padmagupta describes the defeat of a Gūrjara king by Muñja.[24] Here the word Gūrjara has been used to denote a country. The inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍi also mentions a Gūrjara king, and here too Gūrjara was used as the name of a country.[25]

In c. A.D. 1040, al-Beruni refers to Gujarat as a country in Rajputana. He calls its capital Bazan or Narayan.

In c. A.D. 1050 Bhojadeva in *Sarasvati-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* refers to Gūrjaras as a people of the land.[26] In A.D. 1097 Bilhaṇa refers to the people of modern north Gujarat as Gūrjara.[27] In A.D. 1124 the word Gūrjara is used in the play *Mudrita-Kumudachandra*, to denote the people.[28] In A.D. 1136, Gūrjaradeśa is referred to by Chandrasūri in *Munisuvratasvāmi-charita*.[29]

In the Dohad inscription dated A.D. 1139, Jayasiṁha Siddharāja is referred to as the king of Gūrjara-maṇḍala.[30] In A.D. 1154 Jinadattasūri refers to Gūjjaratā.[31] Hemachandra used the word Gūrjara for the inhabitants of modern north Gujarat and Gūrjarendra for the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilavāḍa.[32]

In A.D. 1168 Kumārapāla is referred to by Yaśaḥpāla as Gūrjarapati.[33]

In A.D. 1184 Somaprabhā in his *Kumārapāla-pratibodha* refers to the land as Gūrjaradeśa.[34] Someśvara in *Surathotsava* refers to the king of Aṇahillavāḍa as the enjoyer of the land of Gūrjara.[35]

In A.D. 1228 Pūrṇabhadra, in the *Maharshi-charita-praśasti*, refers to Gūrjarabhūmi.[36]

Appendix II

Origin of the Chālukyas

In the opinion of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, the Chaulukyas, who formed part of the Gūrjara tribes, were foreigners who first came to India in the last quarter of the sixth century, while a later contingent appeared in the tenth century.[1] This view requires re-examination.

The old dynasties of Badami and Vengi used the word 'Chalukya' or 'Chālukya' as well as other variants.[2] The family of Mūlarāja was, however, called 'Chaulukyas' except in three inscriptions, where they are described as Chaulukika, Saulikika and Chaulakya.[3] Hemachandra uses the forms Chaulukya Chulukya, Chuluka and Chaulaka indiscriminately.[4] Some *Purāṇas* give variants like Chulika, Sudik, Śulika and Śailika and even Pidika,[5] but those in modern use are Solāṅki in Gujarat, Saluṅke in Maharashtra and Solgis and Solaghs in the Punjab.

Chuluka is referred to in the *Mahābhārata*.[6] According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Sulika, or Chulika, a variant of Chālukyas, is the name of a tribe associated with others such as Lampakas, Kirātas and Kashmiras in northern India.[7] The *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* refers to them as Chulikas or Chaulikas.[8] *Charaka-saṁhitā* mentions them together with Bahlika, Pahlava, Chīna and Śaka.[9] Tūranātha alludes to the story of a Buddhist monk who found refuge in the kingdom of the Sulikas which lay beyond Togara, which is identified with Ter in Hyderabad.[10] But those who favour the theory of a foreign origin identify Togara with the Thogara in Central Asia.

In order to connect the Chālukyas with a foreign

country, some scholars maintain that Chulika is the same as the Pehlvi word Surak or Sulak, and that Sulak is to be identified with Sudik or the people of Sod or Sogdiana. The word 'Sod' is considered as having been misheard by Indians and Sanskritised into Chulika. The Chulika-Sulikas are mentioned together with the Tokhari of the Greeks and the Tukhara of the Sanskrit texts.[11] Sulika was also the name of Kashgar. The conclusion reached, therefore, is that the Chulikas entered India with the Yue-chis.

The people of Sogdiana, which was included in what is known as exterior India, knew both Sanskrit and Prakrit and had accepted Buddhism as early as the first century B.C. If, therefore, the Sogdians came to India, they must already have been Indianised. Should this theory be correct, then that which posits the arrival of the Chālukyas in India in the sixth century is untenable. And if the Chalukyas are a tribe allied to the Gūrjaras, then the Gūrjaras cannot possibly be said to have arrived with the Huns in the sixth century of the Christian era. Moreover, even the theory that the Chalukyas were Sogdians must depend upon two assumptions:—(1) that the Sulikas-Chulikas of the *Purāṇas* are the same as the Chālukyas, and (2) that the relation established by similarity of sound, namely, Chulika-Sulika-Sudikon-Sogdian can be regarded as valid.

The history of the Chālukyas, as discovered from more reliable sources, may now be considered.

The Chālukyas of Badami, rose to power at the beginning of the sixth century. In an inscription of Īśānavarman, Sulikas are found associated with Andhra and Gaudas, who were indigenous peoples.[12] A *Mahāsāmanta* Buddhavarasha (belonging to the

Salukika family) is referred in the Torkhede plates of Govindaraja, and, according to Fleet, the termination 'arasha' is of Kannada origin.[13] The Bezwada pillar inscription of Yudhamalla further indicates that the word 'Chālukya' had a variant in 'Salki' (ancient Telegu),[14] and Chālukya Bhīma is also referred to as 'Salki'.[15] A *Mahāsenāpati Mahātālavara* is mentioned as a Chaliki in an early inscription found at Nāgārjunakunda and the tribe's original home is placed in southern Andhra.[16]

There is sufficient evidence, therefore, to prove that before the rise of the Chālukyas of Badami, there were Chālukyas in the south who spoke both Telugu and Kanarese and were as integral a part of the Indian society as were the Andhras, whom no one has challenged as immigrants at any time during the historical period.

The epigraphic records also point to the fact that the Chālukyas of Saurāshṭra and Gujarat were not unconnected with the Chālukyas of Badami and their descendants, and very much stronger evidence will have to be brought forward before they can be treated as having been separate.

The Chālukyas and therefore the Gūrjaras could not possibly have entered India in the sixth century, nor could they have been connected from the beginning either with the Huns or even the Pratīhāras.

Appendix III

Chalukya, Chaulukya, Solanki and Saulkika

(Extract from an article entitled MIA Miscellany, by Prof. H. C. Bhayani of the Bharatiya Vidya Bha-

van, Bombay, published in *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. VI, pp. 196-7).

In the May issue of the *Bhāvatiya Vidya*[1] a fanciful derivation has been suggested for the name Chālukya. In this note it is proposed to corroborate on linguistic grounds the contention between the names *Sulkī* or *Saulkika* and *Chaulukya* or *Chālukya* already suggested by various scholars.[2]

(1) *Śulkin* and *Śaulkika* are derivatives of *Śulka* formed respectively with the possessive suffixes-in-*(ini)* and -ika-*(ṭhak)*, and are thus equivalent.

(2) *Saulkikaḥ*, besides its normal development as *saukio*, can also become *Solukkio* in Prakrit. The group *lk* would dissolve through anaptyxis *a* and the 'parting vowel' would be *u* under the influence of *o* in the preceding syllable (Pischel, *Grammatik*. Sec. 139 end). The resultant single intervocalic *k* being unknown to Prakrit, phonetics would get germinated as in *sukkia* < *śukla*; *tilakka* < *tilaka*; *maṇḍukka* < *maṇḍuka* etc. (Pischel, § 91 end).

(3) This *Solukkio* when Sanskritized would give *Chaulukika*.[3] This tendency to Sanskritisation is especially strong during the middle and final stages of MIA, and Jainas are strikingly fond of Sanskritising MIA or NIA words. Moreover there are numerous cases wherein the real origin of a Prakrit word or name being not easily inferrable, a wrong one is coined by back-formation and in many a case we get 'folk etymologies'. Thus, for example, Pk. *pāṇahiā* 'shoe' is Sanskritized as *prāṇahitā*[4] (as if made up of *prāṇa*-and-*hitā*!), while actually it is to be derived from *upānahika-upānah*; ap. *Andhakavitti* going back to Sk. *Andhakavṛishṇi* is Sanskritised as *Andhakavṛishṭi*;[5] Pk. *māhaṇa* (Skt. *Brāhmaṇa*) is Sanskritised as

māhana and analysed into the components *mā* and *hana*.[c] In the same manner, the source of *Solukkio* being forgotten or felt somehow obscure, the word was Sanskritized as *Chaulukikaḥ*,[d] and was thereby brought into connexion with Sk. *Chuluka* and this step combined with the growing tendency to assign Aryan origins to the ruling Rajput dynasties gave rise to the myth which finds a charming literary expression in the stanza:[e]

asevyā mūlaṅgāḥ parigalita-pakshāḥ śikhariṇo
jaḍa-prītiḥ kūrmaḥ phaṇipatir ayaṁ cha dvi-
rasanāḥ
iti dhyātur dhātur dharaṇi-dhṛitaye stambhya-
chulukāt
samuttasthau kaśchid vilasad-asipaṭṭaḥ sa
subhaṭaḥ.

By a different suffix *(yat) Chaulukya* was formed from *Chuluka* and later when *Chaluka* became current in the place of *Chuluka*, *Chālukya* came into use instead of *Chaulukya*.

It is of some consequence to note that *Chuluka* is attested in comparatively late Sanskrit works only and Hemachandra *(Deśīnāmamālā*, III 18) records Chulua as a Deśī wood.

(4) But the spoken language must have preserved the genuine form. *Solukkio* transformed under the subsequently developed phonetic tendencies became *Solaṅkī* which form is now current in Gujarati etc. For the change of the group *-kk-* into *-ṅk* compare Guj. *Laṅk* 'waist', MIA. *laṅkā*; Pk. *vāluṅkī*, *vāluṅkī*; Pk. *suṅka*, *śulka*, and in general. (Turner, *Gujarati Phonology* JRAS, 1921, 16; Grierson, *Spontaneous Nasalization in the Indo-Aryan Languages* JRAS, 1922, pp. 381-388.) Further *-u-* has become *-a-* under

the operation of a prominent law of Gujarati phonology (Turner, *Guj. Phon.* Sec. 24(1)) and same is the case with the change of the final -id- or -iu to -ī (Guj. Phon. Sec. 27(3)). Thus phonetically the transformation of *Solukkio* into *Solaṅkī* is absolutely regular and the relation *Saulkikah* < *Solukkio* < *Solaṅkī* appears unshakably established.

Appendix IV

*THE GURJARA PROBLEMS: THE GURJARAS OF BAISURAN**

By Shri K. M. Munshi

i

Pahalgam is a well-known health station in Kashmir, about 61 miles from Srinagar. It is one of the most beautiful spots in India and is the starting point of journey to the Kolhai Glacier on the one side and Amarnath on the other. It is about 7200 ft. above sea level. About 1000-1200 ft. rising above it is the hill of Baisuran. There is a small Gujar settlement of about seven or eight huts. Higher up, there is another small settlement at Kaimul. About seven to eight huts constitute that settlement. As you climb higher there is a settlement at Tulian at a height of about 11,000 ft. Tulian lake and the snow-clad top may be about 14,000 ft. high.

At the end of June and the beginning of July 1945 I camped for about twelve days at Baisuran also visiting Kaimul and Tulian. Interested as I was in the historical problem of the Gujars I made certain

*I am grateful to Prof. H. C. Bhayani for the grammatical notes.

observations which I hope will bear recording.

When we went from Srinagar to Pahalgam we came across Gujar caravans travelling from the plains upto Kolhai Glacier in search of fodder for their sheep and cattle. The first moving Gujar camp we come across was about twenty miles on the Srinagar side of Pahalgam. It had about two thousand sheep and goats, a few dozen cows and buffaloes and a few dozen horses. Adult males travelled on foot. A section of the women rode on horses. They travelled up very leisurely resting at midday and at night. Another Gujar camp I found at Adu on the way going from Pahalgam to the Kolhai Glacier. Some of the women and children were living in tents pitched on the bank of the river. Others had camped in open at the village of Adu itself.

At a first glance these Gujars are physiognomically a class by themselves. They have nothing in common with the ordinary Kashmirian or the Punjabi. They appear to have some similarity with the village Jats of south Punjab.

The women are not particularly good looking, but in many cases have well-built bodies and a dignified gait. I saw three such women at Adu walking in step with loads on their heads. The striking majesty of their bearing struck me as uncommon. Put into very graceful clothes and deprived of the unspeakable dirt with which they always remain plastered they would have looked distinguished in any aristocratic society.

I was told that these women bathe once in three or four days, but I had my doubts about the regularity of these ablutions. They keep their hair dressed in fifteen or twenty thin braids called Gundani (गुंडणी =

वेणी in Gujarāti and वेणि in Sk). These braids hang down from under a sort of skull-cap which they always wear. It has flaps for covering the ears and the rear part of the head. Their dress, similar to that of nuns, cover the body. The skirts are manifold as in Marwari from neck to foot. They are too poor to have a change of clothes and a fresh one is prepared only when the one they wear goes into tatters.

The migrating Gujars generally live in the open, but some of their women and children live in tents. But the Gujars of Baisuran, Kaimul and Tulian with whom I came into contact were permanent settlers there. In the hot season their friends and relatives come up with their cattle. These Baisuran Gujars are extremely poor and are perpetually harassed by the petty authorities of the village. They are a very hardworking and honest lot. They live in two classes of huts. The big one is made of pine logs piled one upon the other against a rock or an incline which forms the fourth side of the hut. The roof is made of dried pine branches and leaves on which they spread a thick mud-plaster on which grass grows. The height of the big hut that I saw was about seven feet. This sort of hut is divided into two parts; the front portion is the living room, kitchen and bed-room, the rear portion is used for keeping the young ones of the goats, cows and buffaloes at night. In the front portion of the hut, which in a big hut is not more than five feet by twelve or fifteen feet, there is a big oven for cooking food. The floor is carpeted with fresh pine leaves. These large huts are occupied by several families all of which are not necessarily related to each other.

The worldly belongings of each family are five or six ponies, buffaloes, cows and sometimes sheep or goats.

The smaller type of hut is really no hut at all. It is made by setting up three or four big branches of the pine trees against the trunk of a pine tree to make a sort of awning. Under this covering one or two families live. The family hearth is the central place round which they live and sleep. These Gujars of Baisuran are extremely poor, the most opulent being the man who can rear a pony or two and sell them in the market. The servant whom I had employed lived in one of these pine branch open huts with his father, mother and wife. He had one cow and a dog. But they were a highly contented lot. The old father and the servant himself off and on went down to Pahalgam on daily wages which came to about six to eight annas and they worked for visitors who camped at Baisuran; but it was a rare occasion. They sometimes carried fuel down to Pahalgam and made some money.

These Gujars are all Mohamedans They have their priestly class. I meet one of the Pirs who originally came from the Punjab. The Gujars in the beginning were extremely shy. They lived in mortal terror of the village authorities and of their spiritual heads. When I asked them their history they were very timid about it. They thought that I was a Government Official trying to get some information which can be used against them. I asked two or three men whether they could tell me about the folk-songs of their women. The last question always evoked a horrified stare. They said "Our women never sing, not even to send a child to sleep. We are prohibited by

our priests." But ultimately I made friends with an old man, one Sultan from Batkot who felt that it was more paying to sing a song or two and get a couple of rupees than going down to Pahalgam to earn six annas per day.

ii

Those Gujars had several linguistic layers. They spoke halting Hindustani. They could speak Kashmiri well and Punjabi fluently. But their intimate conversation was always conducted in Gurjari. When I succeeded in getting some folk-songs out of the old Sultan they were all in Gujari with subsequent additions of Punjabi or Hindustani words. It must not be forgotten that the language of Kashmir has in point of vocabulary few words which are Sanskritic or which belong to Rajasthani, Marwari or Gujarati. For several centuries Urdu has been the official language of Kashmir. It was therefore a surprise to see the Gujars of Baisuran talking among themselves in a language which was strongly reminiscent of Marwadi and Mewari. The words used by them for certain domestic articles are also reminiscent of village life in Rajputana.

But the notable feature of their language is that the consonant had changed place with another of the same class, for instance, p for *bh*, k for *gha*, and r for *d*.

I am giving here some of the songs which I succeeded in getting out of old Sultan. He gave the meaning but I could see that in some cases he was making guesses.

Some folk-songs current among the Kāshmīr Gujars.

[1]

कटा[1] ईंदीवे[2] अखियाँ[3] पाणी[4],
सज्जन[5] ! आ जा[6] मेरी[7] जिंदगानी[8] रे[9],
कांके[10] कोले बसाँदे[11], ढोला ![12] (२).

कटा ईंदीवे अखिया मे[13] नाले[14]
सज्जना ! मेंहणा[15] सा मे[16] गाढे
गन[17] कोई[18] चिडके[19], ढोला ! (२).

उच्चे[20] नकेने[21] वगदा[22] पाणी
मेंडे[23] आ[24] ढोला ! मेरी जिंदगानी,
जिन्हा[25] दिन्हा मिलिनी[26], ढोला ! (२).

उचे नकेने कोण्डा[27] तूटा[28]
चरी आई[29] नशानी[30] कोचवादा[31] छुटा[32]
ओरक[33] परना[34], ढोला ! (२).

चन[35] चढिया[36] ते[37] लगानी[38] हाके[39]
सज्जना ! पिल-जा[40] मे-नू[41] आके[42]
तेरे[43] बिन[44] मरयां[45], ढोला ! (२).

चन चढिया ते नौकरी[46] नौक्की लोड[47]
सान[48] खबर[49] न[50] देवे[51] कोई
किउं,[52] सजना ![53] गवदा[54] यो[55] ढोला ! (२).

[2]

Lamentations after a Son's death

(Rājiās)

[Said by the Mother] हाय मेरा बच्चा, मिना बियां छोड चल्यो
मेरो के हाल होवेगो, किस कोले रवगी
मिना कूण दाखन करेगी . . .

[Said by the Father] तूं मेरो एक बच्चो थो
मिते पिछे छोड चल्यो
आप आगे हो गयो

[Said by the Sister] हाय मेरा वीरा
बिना[48] क्यों छोड़ चल्यो
हूं कीम कोने[49] आऊंगी
और[50] गोम-ना घोर करगी

[Said by the Wife (widow)] हाय मेरा सगमा
मेरो के कार चल्यो
हूं के करूंगा.

[3]

Marriage Songs*

(a)

उठो[51] रे पाइओ[52], के[53] सहद जाइओ
साथ में[54] आइओ[55]
पाइओनूं

चारा सारा पि[56] ल्याइओ[57]
कोई ना लोत्रो के आईओ
तियां पहेनां[58] सारियां[59] सदां[60]
नाल[61] जूमाइ पि[62] आयं

(b)

कुण[63] कोई तुं[64] मेंदे आवो[65]
के कुछ[66] ले आवो
पान[67] सोपा मेंदरी ले आयो
हे पाउ ! [68] भाजां[69] (?).
जप पारो[70] मारी उथंग्या[71] पेयः[72],
गाल[73] सुणी जा खड़ां[74] के
वेंदी[75] दुखां मारी[76]
गाल[77] लगमां[78] में रो-के[79]
चेडियांनी[80] छे[81] माइया[82]
चड़[83] गुकेनी[84] महिने[85]
खबरों[86] नहि[87] आईयां
राजण गोए[88] के मिने[89]
उणा[90] पूछ[91] तियां बीना[92] पेंडला[93]

तोह्मारे[101] मुकेनी मइतं
किस[102] नु हूण[103] में पेजां[104]
तंडा[105] खबर ले आवे
सजन मारे[106], खिनं
के या मरजाय

iii

The Gujars are divided into several clans. According to their tradition they come from Gujarat. They, however, distinguish this Gujarat from the Gujarat in the Punjab which they call as Jhelum Gujarat. Old Sultan told me the story of their migration which I am reproducing for whatever it is worth.

There was a king of Dhara. He was a Hindu. When he died some of his sons were driven out of his kingdom. They went to another Hindu king and obtained grants from him. This was the Chauhān (Skt. Chāhamāna) branch. Then they took service with another king. They became Rajputs. They then came to the Punjab and became Muslims.

The Gujars also considered that Ghoghā Chauhān was one of their ancestors. Ghoghā Chauhān as a name has great importance in the folk-lore of the Punjab and Rājasthān. This tradition also is common to both the Hindus and the Mussalmans. In Gujarat every year there used to be a procession of Ghoghā Rāhu. It has fallen into desuetude during the last 30 years. A huge clay figure of Ghoghā Rāṇa was made, carried in procession and sunk in the river or the tank of the village.

The story of Ghoghā Chauhān as old Sultan told me is this:—Ghoghā Chauhān was the son of a king. His mother bore him as also a serpent which the mother nursed. When the boy grew up he was

extremely fond of his serpent brother. When the serpent brother left Ghoghā it told him that whenever he needed it he should send for it and then it would come and save him. Ultimately Ghoghā was accepted as a Pir when Gujars became Muslims.

Ghoghā Chauhān was so much respected by the serpents that whenever a serpent appeared Ghoghā's song was chanted. I am setting out below the song of the Ghogā Chauhān as old Sultan gave us:—

(Dohās on Ghogā Chauhān.)

दम मुदम गुगां गांजणी
दम गानो सुलतान,
गूगे हूँदु डेरे मँद्
ओल्ल चीचे नाग.*
ए रे मुडे मानरी
नाखें हाथ न गा,
सिंह-पंखिया ए गदला
मन खावन काय जा.
ज्यारल अखान ज्यारनो
लेणो गुगे का नाम
त्रिण दम गुगा जाणिया
ओ सुलतणो थाम.

iv

Grierson is definitely of opinion that the Gujari spoken by the Gujars of the sub-montane districts of the Punjab and Kashmir was allied to the Mewati dialect of Rajasthan. He says:

"One of the two things is quite certain. Either Gujari is a form of Rajasthani, or, conversely, Rajasthani is a form of Gujari and the resemblance of Gujari to Mewari is very striking. But still closer is the resemblance of Gujari to Mewati dialect of Raja-

sthani spoken in Alwar, some distance to the north of Mewar, and separated from that state by the territory of Jaipur."[107]

It is curious, he adds, "that the Gujari agrees with both Mewati and with Marwari much more closely than with the intervening Jaipuri. Mewati, as we know, is the language spoken in Mewad which is almost identical with the Guzarat as testified by al-Biruni.[108] The Gujari of the Gujars of the sub-montane districts is related to the dialect of the East Central Rajputana and is closely related to Mewati. The Gujari of Kashmir Gujars closely resembles the Gujari of the Gujars of Swat and Hazara. The grammar and the vocabulary of Gujari and Mewati are discussed by Grierson in the above quoted volume."[109] Mewati itself is a border dialect which represents Rajasthani fading into Braja Bhasha dialect of Hindi.[110]

The problem can be stated thus:—"Why then do the pastoral, semi-nomad Gujur graziers and Ajar shepherds who roam over the lower Himalayan ranges from the Afghan frontier to Kumaon and Garhwal speak a dialect almost identical with that of the Rajputs of Mewat and Mewar in Rajputana, distant some 600 miles in a direct line. Why do the Mohamedan Gujur herdsmen of Swat use a speech essentially the same as that of the aristocratic Hindu Rajputs of Mewar?"[111]

Reformulating the same question, he puts it in this form. "Why do certain tribes of the lower Himalayas, in Swat, and also from Chamba to Western Nepal, speak dialects allied to Eastern Rajasthani and especially Mewati, although they are divided from

Eastern Rajputana by hundreds of miles in which distinct languages are spoken?"

The generally accepted theory is that the places where the sub-montane Gujars are found today are the population pockets left by the migrating Gujars of Caucasus when they entered India about the sixth century and gave the name of Gūrjara to Marwar in about A.D. 641 when Hiuen Tsang visited Śrīmāla, and that whoever spoke the Gujara variety of Rajasthani, was a Gujar, descended from Khazar.[112] The underlying fallacy in the argument is that men speaking the same language belong to the same race. This was one of the pet theories which at one time had devastating effects on the early Aryan problem. In relation to that problem it is now clearly recognised that unity of language does not necessarily imply unity of race. Grierson's inference, therefore, that "certainly there is no difficulty in believing that all the Himalayan tribes both in Swat and east of Chamba, who speak forms of Rajasthani, may be largely of the same bloods as Rajputs of Eastern Rajputana"[113] is a sub-conscious application of this fallacious reasoning. It has made scholars like Jackson and Dr. Bhandarkar to assume that all those who call themselves Gujars are descendants of one race, throughout the centuries. The Gurjar king whom Prabhākaravardhan defeated in the sixth century;[114] the Gujjar architect who built a temple in the sixth century in the Madras Presidency;[115] the Gurjara who engraved a copperplate of Śrī Harsha;[116] Hariscandra the Brāhmaṇa king who in the sixth century founded the Pratīhāra dynasty and those of his descendants who called themselves Gūrjaras or Gūrjareśvaras[117] the inhabi-

tants of Gūrjara, modern Marwar, with its capital Śrīmāla which was visited in c. 640 by Hiuen Tsang;[118] the later Pratihāras, Emperor Mihira Bhoja being the greatest of them, who are described as descended from Ikshvāku;[119] the Cāhamānas who claimed descent from a Brāhmaṇa ancestor,[120] the Paramāra king Munja who is described by his court poet as a Brāhmaṇa who had taken to the profession of arms;[121] the Chaulukyas of Gujarat who were known as Gūrjareśvaras and the fact that Mularāja when he founded the Chaulukya kingdom at Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa called himself Gūrjareśvara;[122] the agriculturist community called Gūrjaras who cultivated the fields near Alwar in the reign of Mathanadeva,[123] the Pāṭidars of Gujarat who have no connection with Gūrjaras except that they happen to be a large agricultural community in modern Gujarat; the Gūrjara Brāhmaṇas and Banias in different parts of southern India;—all these irrespective of time and place are treated still, firstly, as belonging to one race; secondly, as belonging to a race whose original language was Gujari, and lastly as having come from outside India in the sixth century.

It must, however, be said to the credit of Grierson that even when drawing this tentative inference of the unity of race, he hastens to add. "Of course I do not mean that a pure race is to be found anywhere in India. Almost every caste is very much mixed blood."[124] But the sub-conscious mind of the scholar was biassed so much in favour of the Gūrjaras migration theory that he concludes: "I take it that the Gurjaras and other foreign tribes settled in Rajputana, from the sixth century onwards, adopted the local language, an early form of Rajasthani, with great

rapidity."[119] In this statement the learned scholar assumes that people who called themselves Gūrjaras were a foreign tribe. He, however, admits that they adopted the local language, an early form of Rajasthani. If this is so, Rajasthani was an existing indigenous language which the foreign tribes adopted. This itself would prove that those who speak the Gujuri language are not necessarily connected by blood. If so, the fact that the Hindu Rajputs of Mewar are speaking the same language as the Gujars of Kashmir does not prove that they are common descendants of foreign Gujars. The origin of the Rajasthani is not a foreign language but Prākṛta.

Smith, however, is clear that the fact that the Gujuri speaking people are found in the sub-montane districts does not indicate that they are population pockets left after the foreign Khajars or Gujars marched down to modern Gujarat. On the contrary he comes to the contrary conclusion. "It seems also that the Gujars and Ajars of Swat and the similar tribes in the lower Himalayas to the east of Chamba, should be regarded as survivals of much larger population which once spoke Rajasthani of the Court and Capital. For one reason or another the neighbours of those northern Gujars and Ajars took up various languages, Pushto, Lahnda, or whatever it might be, while the graziers and shepherds clung to the ancient tongue which their ancestors had brought from Rajputana, and which probably was spoken for a long time in much of the country intervening between the hills and Mewat."[120] This is supported by the fact that the forms of the Himalayan Rajasthani are more archaic than its nearest cogener, modern Mewati.

This confirms my conclusions that the territory

approximating to present Marwar and parts of Mewad was called Gūrjara or Gujjar or Gūrjaratrā from the sixth century; that under the Pratihāra Emperors who came from Marwar, Gūrjara Apabhraṁśa was the common spoken language of the tract; that the people who spoke this language and resided in this part were termed Gūrjaras; and that when they migrated to other parts of the country they were termed Gurjaras from the land from which they came. The inscription of Mathanadeva of Rajora which caused a lot of confusion in this matter is, I submit, correctly interpreted by me. The words of the inscription "cultivated by Śri Gūrjjara"[127] must be construed as cultivated by the community coming from Gūrjaradeśa and not persons of Gūrjara race.

The theory that the places where Gujars are found in the north and in the sub-montane region are population pockets left by foreign Gujars when they marched down from Kabul to Rajputana therefore cannot be supported. The invaders speaking a central Asian language cannot possibly have picked up the tongue of eastern Rajputana. Smith rightly says that "the ancestors of the Swat Gurjaras must have spoken Rajasthani and have learned it in a region where it was the mother-tongue and spread northwards."[128] V. A. Smith in one of his notes while considering this problem has come to several conclusions which may now be considered.

Firstly, he says that the Gūrjars etc. of the lower Himalayas who now speak forms of Rajasthani are in large measure of the same stock as many Rajput clans in Rajputana, the Punjab and the U. P.[129] This inference, as I have pointed out, is based on a confusion between unity of language and race and is

unsupportable. The race stock theory has been overdone. And unless the science of anthropology advances to a firmer scientific basis its conclusions cannot materially help.

The second proposition of Smith is that the ancestors of the sub-montane Gujars had acquired Rajasthani in Marwad and Mewar.[130] This, of course, follows as a matter of course. The Gūrjaras of the sub-montane region, therefore, must have migrated from Rajputana. In this connection the old tradition that some of them had some distant relation with a king of Dhārā must be accepted as corroborated.

His third proposition is that the most likely time of such migration is the ninth century when the Gujarat Rajputs began to dominate all the northern and western India with its capital at Kanauj.[131] This inference carries by a back door the implication of the Gujara migration theory. Was Mihira Bhoja a Rajput: There is no evidence. He was called Gūrjareśvara the king of Juzr, no doubt, but there is no authority that the word necessarily implied that he belonged to the racial stock of a foreign tribe called Gūrjara. There is nothing to support this inference except the immigration theory itself.

One fact, however, is clear. The Gūrjaras of the sub-montane regions have come from Rajputana. This clearly corrobrates the inference I have drawn in my 'Imperial Gūrjaras' that persons called Gūrjaras or Gūrjars were inhabitants of Gūrjaradeśa and had migrated during the period of the First Empire of Kanauj.

The discussion on Gujari establishes beyond doubt that the Gūrjaras settled in the sub-montane regions

spoke the language of Gūrjaradeśa with the result the Gujars call themselves Gūrjaras because they hailed from a territory known as Gūrjaradeśa or Gujarāta and spoke Gujari, the original name of Rajasthani, and not because they happened to belong to a supposed race called Gujara.

Appendix V

Ancestors of Mūlarāja

In order to see the history of Gūrjaradeśa of the tenth century in its proper perspective, the position of Mūlarāja must be accurately assessed. Mūlarāja's records state that he acquired no more than Sārasvatamaṇḍala by his own prowess, thereby displacing, it may be, some petty ruler of the Chāvḍā family. The principality which he acquired was small indeed. It extended only from the borders of the desert to Siddhpur and Patan, including modern Vadhiar. The bulk of modern Gujarat was not ruled by him, but by Sīyaka and Muñja.

According to tradition, Mūlarāja was the son of Chaulukya Rāji, and Līladevi, the sister of the Chāvḍā or Chāpa king of Aṇahilavāḍa Patan. This tradition revolves round the fortunes of the Chāvḍā (Skt. Chāpa, Chāvotaka, Chāpotkaṭa) dynasty of Pañchasāra in North Gujarat, the fall of the city in A.D. 696 and the foundation of Aṇahilavāḍa in A.D. 765. It has three different versions. The bardic one contained in the *Ratnamālā* (c. A.D. 1230) of Krishnaji Kavi, the Jain, as contained in Merutunga's *Prabandha-*

chintāmaṇi and other *Prabandhas*, and the Brāhmaṇical one.[1]

The *Ratnamālā* recites how Bhuvaḍa or Bhuyaḍa of Kalyāṇakaṭaka of the Solāṅki race had in his court several military leaders of whom the greatest was Mihira, who always lived by the side of his master. The king hears the praise of Gujarat as sung by the poet and sends an army led by Mihira to invade it. Mihira is not successful and ultimately the king himself assumes command. Pañchasara is invested and captured, and Jayaśekhara is slain.

Before his death, Jayaśekhara sends away his wife, Rupasundarī, in charge of his brother Śūrapāla, who becomes an outlaw. In the forest the queen is delivered of a son. He is named Vanarāja. Bhuyaḍa grows fond of Gujarat, but, under pressure from his generals, is induced to return to his capital.

The Jain version has preserved the same details of the fall of Pañchasāra. The Brahmanical version furnishes extra ones. When seven hundred years had elapsed after Vikrama, Ama (Nāgabhaṭa II), the ruler of Kanauj, drove the king out of Kheṭakapura, which was then the capital of Gujarat, and occupied the land. At that time, Dhruvapaṭa, a descendant of the Solar line, ruled over Valabhī. Ama gave one of his daughters in marriage to the king of Valabhī, another to the king of Lāṭa.

The ruler of Kanauj, who was of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, lived at Gopagiri. He converted the rulers of Valabhi and Broach to Buddhism and gave Gujarat to his daughter by way of dowry.

The Brāhmaṇas, indignant at the favours shown to the Buddhists by this king, sought refuge with Jayaśekhara of Pañchasāra. The king of Valabhī,

invited his father-in-law, Āma, therefore, to invade the territory of Jayaśekhara, which he did. Jayaśekhara died fighting. The kings of Saurāshṭra and Kachchha, who had supported Jayaśekhara in the war, were also defeated, and the conqueror appointed the Chālukyas to govern those provinces. Akshatā, the queen of Jayaśekhara, was sent into the forest, where the Brāhmaṇas gave her asylum and predicted a royal fortune for her son.

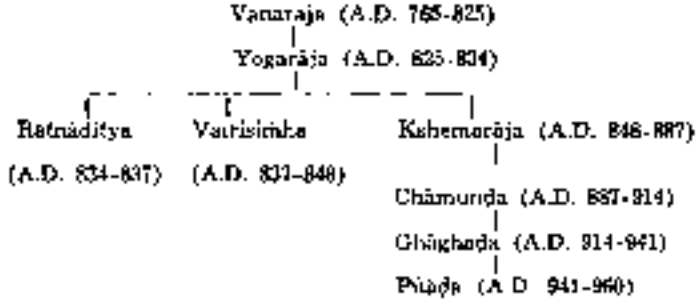
In Merutuṅga's version of the legend, it takes a characteristic turn at this point. While Vanarāja was lying in his cradle in the forest, Śīlaguṇasūri, a Jain monk, noticed marks on him indicating a kingly future. He was then handed over to the monk and only after eight years was returned to his mother.

There is a close similarity between the two versions when it comes to the story of how Vanarāja acquired power. Merutuṅga refers to another legend, according to which a king of Kānyakubja married the daughter of a king of Gujarat. Vanarāja was appointed to collect the marriage cess which the king of Kānyakubja had given to his daughter by way of dowry from Gujarat. In the first instance, he collects the cess and gives the revenues so collected to a deputation from Kānyakubja, afterwards waylaying the deputation and recapturing the money, which he uses to consolidate his power.[2] The Brahmanical version is slightly different. When Vanarāja grows up, he organises a band of bandits and when the revenue collectors of Bhūbhaṭa, the king of Kanauj, are proceeding to Kanauj with the collections he falls upon them and robs them of the treasure.

Vanarāja is stated by the *Prabandhas* to have founded Aṇahilavāḍa after a shepherd of the name of

Aṇahila had pointed out a spot where a hare had chased a dog, a legend connected with the origin of many cities.[3] Merutuṅga gives A.D. 746 as the date of Vanarāja's installation, while A.D. 765 (V. S. 821 Vaiśākha śukla 2) is given in *Vichāraśreṇī* as the date of the foundation of the city.[4] Vanarāja is stated to have lived for sixty years.[5]

The genealogy of the Chāvḍas as given in the *Vichāraśreṇī* is as follows:—



According to the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, the genealogy shows the following differences:—

Kshemaraja (A.D. 841-880).

Bhūyaḍa (A.D. 881-910).

Vairisiṁha (A.D. 910-935).

Ratnāditya (A.D. 935-950).

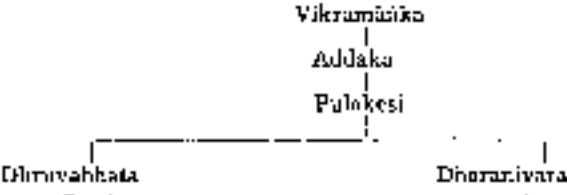
The dates as given in the legends relating to the Chāvḍās are, therefore, in the light of available evidence, irreconcilable with those known. The date A.D. 700, for the fall of Pañchasāra, for instance, is obviously wrong. In A.D. 700, Kanauj was ruled by Yaśovarmaṇ, the patron of the poets Bhavabhūti and

Vākpati whereas Āma and Mihira Bhoja lived long after this.

The *Prabandhas* are not unanimous even with regard to the parentage of Vanarāja. The *Purātana-prabandha-saṅgraha* makes him the son of a Chāmuṇḍa,[6] while the *Prabhāvakacharita* is silent about it. The life of one hundred and nine years attributed by the *Prabandhas* to Vanarāja is clearly legendary, while the story that Vanarāja founded Anahilavāḍa would seem to be disproved by another legend given by Jinaprabha in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*.[7] According to this, the city was built on the site of a town known as Lakhārāma, which is stated to have been founded in A.D. 446. The earliest reference to the Chaulukyas having seized the crown from the Chāvḍas is found in the Vāḍnagar-praśasti of A.D. 1152, by which time the legends of the foundation of Anahilavāḍa had been crystallised and begun to be accepted as facts. Vanarāja is referred to, for the first time, in A.D. 1116 in a colophon of an Apabhraṁśa work named *Neminā-thachariu*, by Pṛithvīpāla, a minister of Kumārapāla.[8]

In order to discover the historical truth in these legends, the facts as found in epigraphic records must first be examined. The princes of the Chāpa family were connected with Gūrjaradeśa between A.D. 629-914. As already stated, Brahmagupta (A.D. 628) completed his treatise under Vyāghramukha, the Chāpa king. The capital of the king is doubtfully identified with Bhillamāla. In A.D. 735, the raiding armies of Junayad, the Arab governor of Sind, killed a Chāvoṭaka king[9] who is certainly other than the king of Gūrjaradeśa, who ruled at Bhillamāla and who has been identified as belonging to the Pratihāra line of Harichandra. It is clear from what Jinasena wrote

in A.D. 783 that Vatsarāja had not then acquired either Wadhwan or Saurāshṭra.[10] It was, in fact, only in about A.D. 815 that his son, Nāgabhaṭa II, conquered Saurāshṭra.[11] In A.D. 914 Dharaṇivarāha of the Chāpa-*vaṁśa* ruled at Wadhwan as a feudatory of Mahīpāla, the great grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II. The Haḍḍala grant[12] of this feudatory traces his descent as follows:



Giving twenty years to a generation, it is clear that thus Chāpa-*vaṁśa* could not have been established at Wadhwan prior to A.D. 832. This line of feudatories, therefore, was probably established not by Nāgabhaṭa II, but by his grandson Mihira Bhoja, when he conquered Saurāshṭra,[13] and if Jayaśekhara died during the invasion of Ānarta and Saurāshṭra by Nāgabhaṭa, the event cannot have taken place before A.D. 815.

Soon after his accession in A.D. 835, Mihira Bhoja consolidated parts of Gūrjaradeśa, and if the fall of Pañchaśara took place during the campaign, it might explain how a warrior bearing the name which seemed to subsequent generations to be a corruption of Mir or Mer found a place among the generals of Bhūyaḍa who invaded Pañchaśār, as given by the *Ratnamālā*. The tradition connected with Vanarāja also establishes the fact that Bhūyaḍa used to collect revenues from Gujarat. Vanarāja's feats of robbing the treasury of Bhuyaḍa, the emperor of

Kanauj, must, therefore, be placed in the middle of the eighth century.

The *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi* itself states that the Chāvḍas were not counted among kings.[14] Meanwhile, a grant of Chāmuṇḍa describes the ancestors of Mūlarāja, on both sides, as eminent, a statement which cannot refer to the last of the Chāvḍās, who have left no coins or grants behind them, though the dynasty is stated to have ruled for one hundred and ninety-six years. Mūlarāja's relationship with the last of the Chāvḍa kings is not supported by epigraphic testimony, nor were the Chāvḍas kings of Gujarat, for Nāgabhaṭa II, Mihira Bhoja, Mehendrapāla and Mahīpāla from A.D. 815 up to at least A.D. 914, if not later, could count the Sarasvatī valley, Wadhwan and Saurāshṭra as integral parts of their empire, whereas Sārasvata-maṇḍala was not known as Gujarat for the next two hundred years. The works of certain Jain authors carry the reign of the last Chāvḍās beyond A.D. 942, but we are on fairly firm ground in holding it to be that Mūlarāja became the ruler of Aṇahilavāḍa in A.D. 942 and that the name of his father was Rāji. According to the *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, the ancestors of Mūlarāja's father ruled at Kalyāṇakaṭaka in the Kānyakubja country and Bhūyaḍa or Bhūyaḍeva was the first of them. He was very famous, had given the whole of Mālava as a grant to Mahākāleśvara, the guardian god of Ujjayinī, and had appointed the kings of the Paramara family its guardians. In their line was a certain Muñjaladeva, whose son was Rāja, father of Mūlarāja and Rāji had two brothers, Bija and Dandaka.[15]

The *Kumārapāla-prabandha* and an older *Prabandha* give the line of Bhūyaḍa as follows: Bhūyaḍa;

his son, Chandrāditya; his son Somāditya; his son Bhaumāditya; his son Rāji. Muñjaladeva is not mentioned in the line unless Bhaumāditya is his other name.[16]

Jayasiṁhasūri, in the *Kumārapāla-charita*, gives a different ancestry for Mūlarāja; Chaulukya founded his kingdom at Madhupaghna, which was probably modern Mathura. It was this family that was called Chaulukya. In his line was king Siṁhavikrama. Then, after several generations had flourished, runs the passage, came the master of the world, the abode of justice, Rama, like unto Rāma (the Ikshvāku), the destroyer of the evil doers. After him came Sahajarāma, who was the lord of the Śakas, and became the sole hero of the world. His son, shining with sovereignty, was Daṇḍaka or Daḍakka, who conquered the lord of Pipāsā as a lion conquers the elephant. His kingdom was enjoyed by the munificent king Kāñchikavyala. Then followed Rāji, the rāja (king) and the victor in battles, who went on a pilgrimage to Somanātha in Devapattana and married Līlā, the sister of the king of Gūrjara. His son was Mūlarāja.[17]

The associations of Mūlarāja and his ancestors are undoubtedly with the north and with the Kalyāṇakaṭaka (Kānyakubja) country. The legends given in other *Prabhandhas* are that Rāji, Bija and Daṇḍaka were the sons of Muñjala of the family of Śrī-Bhūyaraja of Kānyakubja; while on their way back from pilgrimage to Somanath, they came to Anahilavāḍa, where Rāji married Līlādevī, a sister of Sāmantasiṁha, the last of the Chāvḍa rulers, and Mūlarāja was the issue of this alliance.

The pedigrees so given may be compared as under:—

The Kadi grant — Varnasamraksha grant — Merutunga

Chaulukika — Saulikika — Bhuyada or Bhuyadeva Bhuyaraja — Mularaja A. D. 942 (accession).

Sri Vyala Kalachi — Manjaladeva — Maharajadhiraja Raja = Raji — Raja Raji

Mahamandaleshvara Praharadhara Nannivarma — Bhuyada — Chandrabhanuja — Bhanumallaya

Kumarapala-charita — Chalukya Rama = Sahajarama — Dadakka — Kanchi-kavyala

As Mūlarāja's accession is definitely placed in A.D. 942,[1] he must have been able to establish the kingdom of Aṇahilavāḍa by his own prowess, and have been born at the latest in A.D. 915 when Mahīpāla was the emperor of Gūrjaradeśa and counted the Sārasvata-maṇḍala, Wadhwan and Saurāshṭra, within his empire. Raji or Rāja, is styled a *Mahārājādhirāja*, and must, therefore, have been a feudatory of Mahīpāla.

Rāja was a descendant of Vyālakāñchi, or Kāñchikavyāla, or Muñjāla, or Bhaumaśāstya who, in his turn, was descended from Bhūyaḍa, or Bhuyarāja. He is, therefore, the person whose identity must first be established.

The historical traditions equated with epigraphic testimony relating to Jayaśekhara and Vanarāja, establish the following facts:—

(1) Āma or Nāgabhaṭa II conquered Kheṭaka-*maṇḍala* or Saurashṭra some time after A.D. 815. The statement that Āma lived at Gopagiri (modern Gwalior), which, was, in fact, a frontier town of Gūrjaradeśa corroborates the identification.

(2) Kalyāṇakaṭaka in Kanyakubjadeśa is the same as Mahodaya or Kanauj. Gūrjaradeśa itself is placed in Kānyakubjadeśa.

(3) Bhūyadeva of Bhūyaḍa, who succeeded Āma, was a king of Kalyāṇakaṭaka or Kanauj.

(4) Mihira Bhoja, the emperor of Gūrjaradeśa ruling at Kanauj, was the son of Rāmabhadra or Danduka and the grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, or Āma. Saurāshṭra, which he invaded, as well as Sārasvata-*maṇḍala* and Wadhwan were within his empire. He had married a daughter of the king of Saurāshṭra.

(5) The tradition in the *Kumārapāla-charita*, which appears to be based on a reliable source, puts Sahajarāma as the master of three lakhs of horses, a description which tallies with that of Mihira Bhoja as possessing a very large body of cavalry. Sahajarāma,—for this tradition has no Bhūyaḍa in the pedigree,—is the son of Rāma, who may be equated with the emperor Rāmabhadra. The Gwalior-prasasti, like the *Kumarapāla-charita*, compares Rāmabhadra with Rāma, and calls Mihira Bhoja the only person whom Brahma could think as the equal of Rāma.

Mihira Bhoja's titles were *Ādivarāha* and *Bhubhṛit*, the corrupt forms of which may be Bhūyaḍa or Bhubbhaṭa. If the original words were Bhūya-rāja or deva, as Merutuṅga has it, it would be the Apabhraṁśa of Bhojarāja.

It may, therefore, be taken as established that Āma, Rāma and Bhūyaḍa are the emperors Nāgabhaṭa II, Ramabhadra and Mihira Bhoja respectively. And if that is so, Dāḍukka or Chandrāditya would be Mahendrapāla, and Bhaumāditya or Kāñchikavyāla would be Mahipāla—Mahipāla and Bhaumāditya being synonyms. The victory of Mahīpāla over the forces of the south in A.D. 915-16 might point to the title Kāñchikavyāla as referring to him. Smith's surmise that Rāji was the same as the Emperor Mahipāla and that Mūlarāja was his viceroy,[19] is, therefore, supposing Rāji to be taken to be a feudatory of Mahipāla, much nearer the mark. Similarly, Muñjāḍadeva may be taken as a misreading of Mahipāladeva

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the pedigree of Mūlarāja may be thus reconstructed:

Nāgabhaṭa II, or Āma

|

Rāmabhadra or Daṇḍuka

|

Mihira Bhoja. Ādivarāha, Bhubhṛit (Bhūyaḍa)

|

Mahendrapāla or Chandrāditya. Somāditya-Dāḍakka

:

Mahipāla, Kāñchukavyāla or Muñjāladeva

|

Mahārājādhirāja Rāji

|

Mūlarāja

The name of Rāji, Bija or Bhoja and Daṇḍakka as those of brothers may be a faint memory of the names of Rāji, Bhoja and Daḍakka.

Rāji could not be a descendant of Mahipāla in the male line. Mahipāla or Kāñchīkavyāla was an emperor, a *bhūpāla*, son of 'the hero of the world', and the grandson of the 'lord of the earth'. Rāji is only a *rāja* or *Mahārāja*. The former was a Pratihāra and the latter a Chaulukya; one being Ikshvāku or the Solar and the other of the Lunar line. Mūlarāja's panegyrists would not have been slow to claim so illustrious an ancestry for him if they could have done so. Rāji was, therefore perhaps the daughter's son, or a son-in-law, of Mahipāla.

Rāji's family on the father's side, is difficult to trace. The only clues are his family name of Chaulukya, and the persistent tradition that he came from Somanātha and the fact that of all other feudatories of the Pratīhāra and even after the break up of the Gūrjara empire in A.D. 940, his fifth descendant, assumed the proud title of being a king of a *maṇḍala*.

Chaulukya Bāhukadhavala, who ruled Saurāshṭra

at the beginning of the ninth century, successfully resisted the Rāshṭrakuṭa forces. He fought as a feudatory in the wars of Nāgabhaṭa II against the king of Bengal. Therefore, of the Chālukyas, whom, according to tradition Nāgabhaṭa II appointed to govern Saurāshṭra and Kachchha, Bāhukadhavala was the foremost. This accords with the tradition that Āma appointed Chālukyas to govern Saurāshṭra.

Bāhukadhavala's descendant Balavarmaṇ, ruled Saurashṭra in Mihira Bhoja's time. The emperor had married Bāhukadhavala's daughter or more probably a grand-daughter. Mahīpula's or Mahendrapāla's daughter might have been married to one or other of the Chālukya descendant of Bāhukadhavala. Rāji's marriage with a daughter of a Gūrjareśvara, who has been regarded as an imaginary king of Gūrjaradeśa, may be the reason why he is mistakenly accepted as a Chāvḍā. The persistent tradition that Rāji came from Devapattana can only be explained by his having been descended in the male line from Bāhukadhavala. If Madhupaghna is a Sanskritisation of the town called Mahuva in Saurashtra, this may refer to Kalla, or his son, who founded the family of Saurāshṭra Chalukyas, in which case Rāji's descent from the latter could easily be traced.

That the Audichya Brāhmaṇas from the north settled in North Gujarat at the invitation of Mūlarāja, also points to his connections with the north. The tradition that 18,000 families migrated from Bhillamāla[27] and that the Gūrjara came to Khandesh in carts, and the fact that the Brāhmaṇas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaiśyas of Śrīmāla formed an important section of the population of Aṇahilavāḍa and Sārasvatamaṇḍala under Mūlarāja and his successor are suffi-

cient evidence that Mūlarāja and his father were connected with Bhillamāla, the old capital of Gūrjaradeśa. Furthermore, the fact that Mūlarāja and his descendants were followers of the Pāśupata cult of Śaivism and that a grant was given by him to the head of Pāśupata monastery who had migrated from Kānyakubja, may possibly serve to establish some slight connection with the imperial capital.

Mūlarāja may be taken, therefore, to be a descendant of Mihira Bhoja and the son of the emperor Mahipāla's daughter. In the upheaval which followed the raid of Kṛishṇa III in A.D. 940, he lost his kingdom, wherever it may have been situated, and he thereafter, won the petty principality of Sārasvatamandala for himself.

Appendix VI

Note on the Silver and Copper Coins of Bhoja I Ādivarāha of the Imperial Gūrjara-Pratihāra Dynasty.

By C. D. Chatterjee, University of Lucknow.

Silver Ādivarāha—Dramma

Metal: Silver

Maximum Weight: 63.4 grs ; *Average Weight:* 57.65 grs.

Shape: Round

Maximum Size. 8; *Minimum Size*: .6

Obverse: A human figure, male in appearance, except for his head, having pointed ears and tusks, strides, with his left leg slightly raised, but bent at the knee, and face to front. His arms slope downwards, bent at the elbow. Near the left

foot of this boar-faced figure is a disc or wheel *(Sudarśana-chakra)* with five or six knobs or holes within it. On the right-hand side of the figure are the representations of mace *(Gadā)*, lotus *(Padma)*, and conch-shell *(Śaṅkha)*. *(Varāha-avatāra* of Lord Vishṇu).

Reverse: Above (L. 1) *Śrīmadā—*

(" 2) *divarāha* (written in the characters of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.). Below the legend is a 'Fire Altar' (of the Sassanian type) or 'Tulasi Altar' *(Tulasi-Vṛindāvana)* in between two other devices of like nature (two triangles, of which the upper one is inverted, are connected vertically with a circle, placed between the two).

Copper

(Varāhakiya—Vimśopaka)

Metal: Copper

Maximum Weight: 61.6 grs.; *Average Weight:* 56 grs.

Shape: Round

Maximum Size: .72; *Minimum Size:* .62

Obverse: As on the obv. side of the silver coins.

Reverse: As on the rev. side of the silver coins.

Appendix VII

FOUR GUJARATIS IN 'ALA UD-DIN'S COURT

It is interesting to have followed the fortunes of four Gujaratis in Delhi after 'Ala ud-Din Khilji destroyed the power of the Chaulukyas at Patan.

Immediately after the death of Qutb ud-Din Aibaq, the Turk in India was cut off from his homeland as the Mongols poured into Persia and Afghanistan. Refugees from many countries crossed over to India to swell the ranks of the Turkish army to fight against the valiant Indians. But the ruling Turkish group cut off from his homeland was in a desperate condition. Indian converts to Islam and even unconverted Indians were recruited in the ruling group. Balban's war minister, Imad ul-Mulk Rawat, was of Rajput descent. The Muslim recruits to the army married captured Hindu women with the result that the military aristocracy under the Sultanate became highly mixed. The highest in aristocracy were the Khans, a dignity only conferred on Turks. Next came the Maliks and then the Amirs. The Ulema comprised the collective body of doctors, lawyers, magistrates and judges, mostly resident at the capital. It combined the authority of law with that of religion; and their's was the voice of Islam—the Sultan, ruler, having to draw upon the loyalty of the Muslim army could not defy. If he tried to defy, the Ulema could incite the communal frenzy among them. The Ulema tried to maintain the dignity of the Shari'at, though by coercion or corruption they were made by the military group to yield to secular authority.

The slaves of the Turkish rulers formed a very influential group. They did most of the domestic and technical jobs in the Secretariat and in the household of the Sultans and of the members of the military aristocracy; and an overwhelming number of slaves were Hindus captured in war, bought from among the prisoners of war who were sold by auction. The Hindus, and particularly the traders among them, enjoyed a very powerful position. Barani himself complains how they outdid the Muslims in material comforts.

The Shias were bitterly at war with the Sunnis; they were hostile to the Turkish rulers and the Ulemas denounced them as unclean heretics. In Sultana Razia's time, they were the bitterest enemies of the Sultanate. Hinduism affected Islam to a very large extent: the mystic fraternity of the Sufis took to Indian ways more consistent with Hindu outlook without formally rejecting orthodoxy. To them perfection was supreme good. Surrender to God, to them, was the highest bliss. Their leaders, by mystic practices developed to the ecstatic conditions of *Bhakti*. Like Hindus, they believed in miracles, lived in self-imposed poverty. Sufism was largely influenced by Vedanta. The Indian converts to Islam retained their old outlook and practices; the Indian wives of the powerful foreign military leaders pursued their own religion, with the result that the Muslim sects following Indian rituals and Indian religious doctrines came into existence. They knew the "Hindavi" language, as Amir Khusrau calls it, which came into existence at the beginning of the 14th century.

In this situation four Gujaratis reached the court of 'Ala ud-Din Khilji. One was Malik Kafur, a Hindu from Cambay, who was already a Muslim, a eunuch and a slave. Kauladevi or Kamala Devi, the wife of Karna, was, according to some Muslim chroniclers, a Kshatriya lady of rank who married 'Ala ud-Din. Her daughter, was Devaldevi, whom Malik Kafur is reported to have brought to Delhi. If all the stories about her are true, she was married to Khizr Khan, the eldest son of 'Ala ud-Din; then, she was married to Mubaraq, the next Sultan, and then became the wife of Nasir ud-Din Khusrau Shah.

Khusrau was, again, a Parvar slave brought from Gujarat. It is an interesting question whether the two ladies were historical or were myths created by the imagination of Amir Khusrau. The achievements of the other two are written in colours of disgusting black and red across the first two decades of the 14th century.

When in Hyderabad, I tried to study the problem of the historicity of Devaldevi and started to write a novel about her. The adventurous careers of these four Gujaratis attracted me; I pursued my studies further. My handicap was my complete ignorance of Persian sources. The article that I wrote about these, therefore, was entirely amateuristic. I, therefore, sought the assistance of Dr. Baini Prasad, who gave me a note on Devaldevi. I also asked Principal Sri Ram Sharma to give me a note about Khusrau. Dr. Baini Prasad, like M. M. Ojha and Dr. K. R. Qanungo, disputes the historicity of Devaldevi. In order to restore it to the proper place, I asked Dr.

Ashirvadilal Srivastava who believes to the contrary, to give me his side of the case. Dr Qanungo was then good enough to read out to me material passages from Amir Khusrau's work "*Dawal Rani wa Khizr Khan*".

I am now appending here my own note on Deval Devi as also the notes supplied to me by Dr. Baini Prasad, Dr. Ashirvadilal Srivastava as also the note prepared by Prof. Sri Ram Sharma which was published by him in one of the historical magazines.

Appendix VIII

DEVAL DEVI

In order to examine the historicity of Deval Devi, *Ashiqa*, the source of most of the information, must be critically examined. Not knowing Persian myself, I have tried to examine *Ashiqa* and other sources from which the historicity of Deval Devi is presumed, with the aid of eminent scholars like Dr. Baini Prasad, Dr. Qanungo and Dr. Ashirvadilal Srivastava the first of whom sent me his views in an article which is published in the appendix. Dr. Qanungo gave me the benefit of reading out to me material passages of *Ashiqa* and *Futuh us-Salatin*. The life story of Deval Devi, when placed together from the stray information contained in works of several Muslim chroniclers, would show that hers was a remarkable career.

The first writer who refers to Deval Devi and to her love for Khizr, was the celebrated poet Amir Khusrau, who was born at Patiali (in U.P.) in A.D. 1253. For seventy years he was a familiar figure at

the Court of the Sultans of Delhi. He had begun his career in the service of Balban's son, Muhammad, (who died on March 9, 1285); and had for his patrons Malik Chhajju, nephew of Ghiyas ud-Din Balban, and Hatim Khan. He was the keeper of the Royal Quran under Jalal ud-Din Khilji (A.D. 1290-96) and 'Ala ud-Din Khilji (1296-1316). He also served under Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah (1316-1320); and under Khusrau who assumed the title of Sultan Nasir ud-Din and lived long enough to write the *Tughlaqnama* in honour of Ghiyas ud-Din Tughlaq. He was the author of several books: of which *Khazain ul-Futuh* is stated to have been written in 711 A.H. (or A.D. 1311-12); *Ashiqa* in 715 A.H. (or A.D. 1315-16) *Nur Sipahr* in 718 A.H. (or A.D. 1318-19) and *Tughlaqnama* in A.D. 1325.

According to Ziya ud-Din Barani, there were several outstanding chroniclers of the period of 'Ala ud-Din Khilji, amongst whom were Amir Arslan Kulabi and Kabir ud-Din, son of Taj ud-Din Iraqi who compiled *Fathnama*, the official chronicle of the reign of 'Ala ud-Din, which has been lost. The third was Barani himself. The fourth contemporary writer was Khwaja Abdul Malik, generally known as 'Isami, whose work *Futuh us-Salatin* was completed in 1350. The fifth, and a fairly reliable one, was Ibn-Batutah, who arrived in India in 1333 and held a number of official posts for about ten years. He is an independent writer and is presumably more reliable than the others. Amir Khusrau himself wrote a sketchy historical work called *Khazain ul-Futuh*: but he was more of a courtier, poet and musician, than a chronicler.

Ashiqa was admittedly written by the poet as a

love poem. He has stated that he completed it on the 6th Zul Qada, 715 A.H. or February 1, 1316 (A.D.), though the date is doubtful.

The work is called by the poet *Dawalrani Khizr-khan*, though other authors have referred to it as *Ishqiya*, *Ashiqa* and *Manshur Shahi*.

Its first part consists of 420 verses. The second, consisting of 319 verses, deals with the murder of Khizr Khan and his two brothers, and death of the murderer, Mubarak, who succeeded 'Ala ud-Din in April, 1316. Amir Khusrau was a courtier and, during his lifetime, he wrote fulsome praises of each of his masters. In the course of Mubarak's life, he wrote a panegyrical account of him. In these 319 verses the poet calls Khusrau a "wretch", an epithet which the poet would not have dared to apply to a living patron, so that these lines must have been written after Mubarak's death in 1320. Could the poet have ventured to write, or at any rate, put into circulation the first 420 verses during Mubarak's or Khusrau's reign, so full as they are of admiration for Khizr? It is scarcely possible. The date 1316 for the composition of the 420 verses is more likely to be a fiction, invented to give circumstantial historicity to the poem.

The version of the Muslim historians can briefly be summarised as follows:—

Early in 1299, 'Ala ud-Din despatched an army under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to conquer Gujarat, which, for over a hundred years, had defied the Muslim conquerors. Karna Deva, the Vāghelā king of Gujarat, was taken by surprise and fled towards Devagiri.[1] His capital, Anahilavāda, was sacked and his treasure and women, including Kamala Devī, his

chief queen, fell into the hands of the invaders.[2]

The queen was taken to Delhi and compelled to enter 'Ala ud-Din's harem. Some time later, she requested the Sultan to bring her daughter Deval Devi, who had been a child of six months at the time of their separation in 1299, to Delhi. Karna Deva had taken the child to Devagiri, where he had been hospitably received by the Yādava ruler Rāmachandra who had set aside Baglana, a part of his territory, for his maintenance.[3]

Rāmachandra's son, Śankara Deva, or Singhana Deva, became a suitor for the hand of Deval Rani, but Karna rejected the offer out of pride. In 1306, however, when he was overwhelmed by a powerful army from Delhi under Alap Khan, he agreed to give Deval in marriage to Śankara Deva, and sent her to Devagiri accompanied by a slender escort under Bhillama, Śankara's brother.[4]

On the way, near the historic caves of Ellora, Deval's escort was attacked by Alap Khan's troops: she was captured and taken to Delhi. At that time she was eight years of age.[5]

In due course, she grew up into a peerless beauty and Khizr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan, fell in love with her. But the prince's mother, the moon-faced Malika-i-Jahan or Shah Banu had already selected the daughter of her brother Alap Khan for her son. She, therefore, objected to Khizr's alliance with Deval, and had his marriage solemnized with Alap Khan's daughter on 4th February, 1312.[6]

Khizr Khan's love for Deval was so irresistible that it came to the notice of his mother who thereupon sent her away to the Red Palace (Qasr-i-Lal).

The lovers were thus separated from each other. The prince, however, managed to meet her secretly.[7]

Meanwhile the separation began to tell on his health and the queen became so anxious that in 1314 she agreed to the formal marriage of Deval and her son. But within a few years of the wedding, Khizr fell a victim to a conspiracy hatched by the all-powerful eunuch, Malik Kafur, and was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior, where Deval Rani was allowed to bear him company.[8]

While in prison, Khizr was deprived of his eyesight at the instance of Kafur, and, in A.D. 1318, was murdered by the orders of his step-brother, Qutb ud-Din Mubarak, who had had himself crowned after 'Ala ud-Din's death in 1316.[9]

Following Khizr's death, the new king married Deval Rani against her wishes and when Qutb ud-Din Mubarak fell by an assassin's dagger in 1320, his successor, Khusrau Shah, took Deval Rani for himself.'[10]

(ii)

Ashiqa is admittedly a piece of romance which the poet, in his old age, wove round his dead patron, Khizr Khan, whose enemies, after 1320, were, more likely than not, dead. In spite of the poet's fulsome praises, he had no love for 'Ala ud-Din. In Nur-Sipahr, he accords Mubarak the most extravagant praise; but after his death he calls him a "wretch". The poet, therefore, need not be considered incapable of having invented a romance and giving it circumstantial authenticity when it suited his purpose.

A critical examination of *Ashiqa*, indeed, reveals that it was a piece of fiction.

At their first meeting, Khusrau Khan, the eldest son of 'Ala ud-Din Khilji tells the poet (not known where and at what date):

"Though outwardly I wear a crown, inwardly I am less than the least (of the creatures of God.) [1]

"I am that Khizr who possesses the water of Khizr (the fountain of which made Elias immortal); but I am not destined to live at ease."[2]

Khizr tells the poet that he has written a book of his grief which he has carefully preserved like the Guarded Tablet. The poet then continues:

"I was greatly exalted by being admitted to the service of the patron, and took this *dibachah* (Introduction) in my hand."[3]

The poet then read this *Nawah* from the beginning to the end, found that most of the names were in Hindi and thought that he should "make some patchwork in that beautiful brocade." He apologises for taking this liberty, for, according to him, Hindi is no less (graceful) than Persian.[4]

The original name of the beloved of Khizr was Dawal Dei. The poet, however, changed it to Dawal Rani to fit in with the Persian word *Dawal* which is the plural of *Daulat*.[5] According to the poet Khizr Khan begins to pine for Dawal Rani at the unusually early age of ten.[6]

The poet begins his story with an account of the conquest of Islam in India from the time of Muhammad Ghazni to the reign of 'Ala ud-Din.

Ulugh Khan subjugates Multan and drives back the Mongols, who had invaded India under Qutlagh Khwaja, Targhi, Ali Beg and others.

'Ala ud-Din, when he was an Amir, had conquered Deogiri. Then, after the capture of Delhi,

he sends an army under Ulugh Khan to capture the Rai of Gujarat, to devastate that region, "for the exaltation of the prestige of Islam", and to "bring to the right path that wicked Rai." Gujarat is then overrun "as if with a flood of fire" and Somanatha is destroyed by the invading army.

Ulugh Khan next invades Jhain, and besieges the fort of Ranthambhor, which is ruled by a "valiant and wicked descendant of Pithura." The Sultan himself leads the army. Ranthambhor falls, and, after leaving the country in the charge of Ulugh Khan, the Sultan returns to Delhi.

He next invades and captures Chitor, which he gives in reward to his son, Khizr Khan, upon whom is conferred the distinction of the "red umbrella."

Khizr Khan is like the Tuba tree of Paradise—the tree of desire—and the comforter of the people at large.

The next reference is to a campaign in Malava. Hindus and their families are massacred or captured. A civilian, called 'Ain-ul-Mulk, is sent with reinforcements; and after Mandu has been besieged and captured, he is given it as a jagir.

The Sultan next starts in the direction of Samana (more correctly Sewanah in Marwad). The ruler of this place "is a formidable Rai, called Satal Deo, wicked like Abiraman." For five years, the greater part of the army is occupied by the seige and, ultimately, most of the chiefs are killed.

The army is then commissioned to conquer Talangi (Talangana). The victorious force plunders that country, possesses itself of rich booty and idols of gold, and its Rai submits himself to the invader.

After this, the Sultan instructs his general to

lead the army "eager for the blood of the people of Ma'bar", as far as the shores of Lanka. The army reaches the sea-coast; the Rai flies across the sea and his country groans under the horses' hooves. Then the army goes against the Brahmana Bir Pandya whose capital was Patan.

Finally, the victorious army returns to Delhi.[17]

Ashiqa mentions certain dates. 'Ala ud-Din crowned himself at Manikpur in 695 A.H.[18] Khizr Khan was married to the daughter of Alap Khan in 711 A.H.;[19] the book was completed in 715 A.H.[20]

As regards the manuscript, — the time when it was handed over by Khizr to the poet, — the poet says:

"The Shah (Khizr) at once came to the presence of his *ustad* (the poet) and the book *Ashiqa* begins."[21]

This event took place before the celebration of Khizr's marriage with Alap Khan's daughter, and it might be placed at least in 710 A.H.

Barani in 1359 records that, when Gujarat was invaded, the wives, daughters and elephants fell into the hands of Ulugh Khan,[22] but no names are mentioned. That of Kamalādevī appears, for the first time, in *Ashiqa*. *Kanhaḍāḍe Prabandha*, composed by the family priest of Somagira Chahamanas, states that the queen of Karna fled on foot. The reception of Kamalādevi, the queen of Karṇa, into the harem of 'Ala ud-Din, rests, therefore, upon the authority of *Ashiqa*.

Kamalādevi, the mother of Devaldevī, was made captive during the first invasion of Gujarat in 1298-99. According to *Ashiqa*, this first expedition was led by Ulugh Khan, who brought several wives and daughters of Karna's family to Delhi. This is also corro-

borated by Barani and by Nizam ud-Din Ahmed in his work *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. Barani gives no names, while Nizam ud-Din mentions Deval as being one of the daughters brought to Delhi in A.D. 1299,[32] thus destroying the basis of *Ashiqa*.

It is difficult however to say whether Kamaladevi was the name of any one of these queens, or if it was simply a name invented by the poet for the purposes of his love story.

According to *Ashiqa*, a second invasion of Gujarat was initiated by Kamalādevi whose physical charms had made her favourite with the Sultan.

The poet's reference to Ulugh Khan is also fictitious. According to the poet, Ulugh Khan, on the accession of 'Ala ud-Din, is sent to Multan; then, with Jafar Khan, he proceeds against the Mongols. Having defeated them, he leads the invasion of Gujarat of A.D. 1299. Gujarat is conquered 'Ala ud-Din invests Ranthambhor and, when it falls, places it in charge of Ulugh Khan.[33]

Ample testimony proves that Ulugh Khan died in A.D. 1302. But, according to *Ashiqa*, about the year 1306 or 1307, he led an expedition to the sea-coast. In that region there was a king Karṇa Rai by name; his *farman* used to be obeyed on the coastal tract of the sea and his writ moved like water on sea and land (*bahar wa bar*) alike: Kamalādevi and others are captured.[34] But these incidents can only be referring to the first invasion of Gujarat and not to any later one, and are clearly placed out of sequence to introduce the second invasion in which the capture of Deval Devi would be placed.

Then, according to the poet, 'Ala ud-Din sends a *farman* sealed with his privy seal to Rai Karṇa with

a proposal for his daughter's marriage:

"(I learn that) you have in your blessed house a daughter of auspicious luck and happy omens of prosperity."[27]

Rai Karṇa was overjoyed and promptly agreed.

"Immediately with a thousand hopes he (Karṇa) seated that delicate one in the *amāri* of an elephant, and sent her in the direction of the court, so that she might attain felicity in that abode of good luck."[28]

The poet in the same breath says that, in the meantime, the Sultan changed his mind and sent Ulugh Khan to lay siege to Karṇa's territory and to devastate it.[29]

There is no support for the statement that after the first expedition Karṇa held any territory at all in Gujarat, much less did his writ run on the coastal tract.

Then the poet proceeds further. Alap Khan's daughter is betrothed to Khizr. Shah Banu, 'Ala ud-Din's queen, learns of her son's infatuation for Dawal Rani, and the lovers are separated. Dawal Rani, overwhelmed by tears, is confined to the Red Palace.[30]

It is at this stage that Khizr comes to the poet. The marriage of Khizr is celebrated in 711 A.H. Then he (Khizr) becomes a disciple of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya of whom the poet was already a disciple.[31]

The Sultan then falls ill; Khizr makes a vow to undertake a pilgrimage on foot to Hastinapur to visit the tomb of a *pir*.[32] No *pir* of such fame is known to have existed in Hastinapur at that time.

By means of a letter, the Sultan appoints Khizr as the Governor of the Eastern Provinces as far as Amroha, with instruction to conquer the hill country.

This is pure fiction; no other chronicler refers to any such appointment.

(iii)

There were not two invasions of Gujarat, as stated by the poet, but one in 1299 and a raid against Karṇa in 1306.

Ulugh Khan led his first expedition in A.D. 1302 and died in the same year. He could not, therefore, have led an invasion in 1306-7.

If all the wives and daughters of Karṇa had fallen into the hands of Ulugh Khan at the time of his first expedition in 1299, it is difficult to believe that a baby only five or six months old will have been left behind by Kamalādevī who was so anxious to retrieve her lovingly seven years later.

The offer of marriage of Deval Devi made by 'Ala ud-Din to Karṇa and Karṇa's effusive acceptance of it, is too absurd for words. It could only have been suggested by a poet at the court of Delhi, who was quite unable to enter into the traditional outlook of a Hindu king of that period.

If Karṇa was so anxious to marry his daughter to the Sultan's son, and if he himself possessed no territory worth the name, why should the Sultan change his mind and invade Karṇa's territory?

The ages of Khizr and Deval Devi, as given by the poet, appear to be fictitious. According to *Ashiqa*, Deval Devi was six months and fourteen days old at the date of the first conquest of Gujarat. In 1306 when she was captured, she was, therefore, eight and Khizr ten. We must equally assume that when Chitor fell in August 1302 and was renamed Khizrabad, Khizr, who was appointed its governor, will have been

just six years old. When Khizr returned from Chitor in 1311 at the age of fifteen, he straight away fell in love with the thirteen-year-old Deval Devi, and wrote a poem in Hindi which he handed over to the poet. For, Khizr, on all accounts, was married to Alap Khan's daughter in 711 A.H. He carried on intrigues against his father when he was between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, that is to say, up to 1316, when 'Ala ud-Din died. But in 1318, when he was killed by Mubarak, he had a son ten years old. The ages of Deval Devi and Khizr were, therefore, clearly, invented by the poet.

The poet says that Deval Devi was with Khizr Khan when he was murdered and that at the same time she was wounded in the face and that her hands were cut off by the assassin. Dr. Ashirvadilal considers this version of the narrative erroneous; according to him, the verse means:

"May the hands of that cruel and blood-thirsty one, who struck off his (Khizr Khan's) neck with the sharp dagger, be cut off."[93] Even if this were so, Deval Devi is stated by the poet to have been present when Khizr was murdered. The most reliable of the chroniclers, Ibn Batuta, who possessed great historical sense, had heard the story of the murder from the Kazi of the fort who was actually present at the time. He says:

"His mother was with him but the executioners shut the door against her and killed him. They dragged the body to a pit....."

Ibn Batuta had met Khizr's mother at Mecca in 1327, and, if Deval Devi had been present on the occasion, the eyewitness would hardly have failed to mention as much to the historian. It is evident that the

mother was the only person present at the time.

The poet clearly invented this incident to round off his love poem.

In fact, Ibn Batuta does not refer either to Kamaladevi or to Deval Devi. He must have had *Ashiqa*, which was so widely known in the time of the Tughlaqs, before him, as he wrote and rejected it as fiction. If there had been any truth in the story, this historian would have recorded such a sensational fact.

(iv)

We may now examine the arguments in support of the historicity of Deval Devi. It is said that the mere absence of any reference to her in their chronicles by Amir Khusrau or Barani need not necessarily lead to the conclusion that she did not exist; but this is to ignore the fact that if *Ashiqa* is to be challenged as a piece of invention, positive and independent corroborative evidence of her historicity must be found elsewhere, and none is forthcoming.

Nizam ud-Din Ahmad refers to Deval Rani and Barani refers to the wives and daughters of Karna, and there is likelihood of their having come across these names in Kabir ud-Din's *Fathenama*, which is now lost. This argument assumes that these chroniclers could not possibly have found the names in Amir Khusrau's love poem.

It is said that certain statements of fact connected with the conquest of Gujarat, are corroborated by independent contemporary testimony, and that therefore *Ashiqa* may be presumed to contain the truth. It is difficult to appreciate this argument. If certain facts are not corroborated by contemporary authors, it

might, surely, on the other hand, indicate that they were inventions.

The argument that the poet would not have dared to connect the name of a royal prince of the ruling family with an imaginary episode is scarcely a valid one. Even if he had written the *Ashiqa* in 1316, which is doubtful, there is no evidence that he published his composition before the advent of the Tughlaqs, who were the enemies of the Khaljis. When once they had come into power, the poet, being employed by them, could safely play into their hands.

Appendix IX

DEVALDEVI

Dr. Baini Prasad, D.Sc., F.N.I.

The history of pre-Moghul India has received little attention at the hands of historians, and as a result the accounts published so far have not only been scanty but very unreliable. In the monographic Cambridge History of India this period was mainly compiled by the editor, Haig,[1] and is the least satisfactory, both from the point of a critical evaluation of the history of the period as also a detailed review of the meagre available sources. This is particularly the case with the chapter dealing with the Second Dynasty of the Pathan or Afghan Kings, the Khaljis, also written as Khiljis, whose sway only lasted for a short spell of thirty years, 1290-1320. This period, however, is of very great historic significance, for, as Dr. Kishori Saran Lal has admirably summed up in

his recently published monograph[2] of the period, the Khalji Revolution "not only heralded the advent of a new dynasty; it ushered in an era of ceaseless conquests, of unique experiments in statecraft, and of incomparable literary outburst." For the first time the Khaljis carried Muslim arms into the remotest parts of the country, almost to the southernmost limit of Peninsular India. And here it may not perhaps be out of place to add that this was rendered possible by the military skill, genius, and probably the intimate knowledge of the country and its people, of the two converted Hindu generals, Malik Kafur and Khusrau Khan, who were entrusted with the task by the Khalji Sultans, and who in their turn were for short periods the *de facto* rulers of India; the latter was crowned and ruled for some months as Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah. It was the campaign of these generals which opened up the country for further conquest and laid the foundations of the Moghul Empire in India."

Two episodes of the reign of the second King, 'Alauddin Khalji, of this dynasty which have been immortalised in two classical works by Amir Khusrau[3] and Malik Muhammad Jaisi[4] in Persian and Hindi verse respectively, were accepted as historical events by Ferishta, and included with a great deal of additions and embellishments in his famous *Tarikh*.[5]

The central figures of the two themes are two Rajput ladies, Devaldevi daughter of Kamaladevi the Chief Queen of Raja Karna Baghela of Anhilvara in the case of Khusrau's work, and Padmini, the beautiful queen of Rana Ratan Singh of Chitor in the case of Jaisi's epic. Both these events were, on the authority of their reputed authors, accepted as historical facts and without any comments included in all

English histories of India published until recent times.

Kishori Saran Lal[7] in the work cited already, however, after a detailed study of available historical sources concluded about Jaisi's Padmini that "Setting aside the additional narratives of the story the true facts are that Sultan Alauddin invaded Chittor in the year 1303 and after a hard fight of about eight months captured it. The brave Rajput warriors died fighting the invaders; the brave Rajput women perished in the flames of Jauhar. Among those who perished was perhaps a queen of Ratan Singh whose name was Padmini. Except these bare facts all else is literary concoction and lacks historical support".

The episode of Kamaladevi and her daughter Devaldevi, apparently owing to the towering personality of its author, Amir Khusrau, had uptil recently retained an unchallenged place in all historical works. Ojha[8] was the first to question the accuracy of the events, and after a detailed survey of the historical sources not only regarded the entire story as fiction, but added that Khusrau had borrowed the name of Devaldevi from the name of the daughter of Hammirdeva of Ranthambhor, whom the King 'Ala ud-Din had unsuccessfully tried to obtain as a wife for his son. A detailed review of the *Mathnavi* was almost simultaneously published in Hindi by Jagan Lal Gupta.[9] In view of the glaringly inaccurate historical data and no historical evidence to support the various events as recorded in the work, he concluded that the entire episode must be regarded as a phantasy of the author. Munshi[10] from a detailed examination of the contemporary Sanskrit and other records of the Chaulukyas of Patan concluded that "there is nothing to show

that Karṇa had a daughter of the name of Devala.... The episodes of Kamalādevi and Devaldevi are pure fiction".

As against the views of these authorities it would perhaps not be out of place to quote here the conclusions of Muhammad Wahid Mirza[1] with regard to this *Mathnawi*, as published in his erudite monograph on the life and works of Amir Khusrau. He stated: "The romance is unique in Persian literature in more than one sense. In the first place it has for its theme a contemporary event, all the characters in it are real persons whom the poet knew familiarly, and he had seen with his own eyes all the incidents he describes. The story, secondly, belongs to the domain of history, not mythology which latter was the subject of the former writers, and yet it has all the charm, all the romance and all the piquancy of the older stories. The facts of history narrated with great fidelity have been woven round with such a rich mass of fresh fancies and variegated imagery that the whole forms a peerless specimen of the masterpieces of romantic literature. The entire poem, thirdly, breathes of patriotism, the artist's love for the land of his birth". Unfortunately this appraisal of the historical accuracy of the events by a classical scholar is, as is discussed later, far from correct. The events described are certainly contemporary of the author, but the characters are not all real persons, and the poet does not anywhere in the work claim to have known personally all the characters or to have been an eye witness of most or all the incidents. In fact, on the basis of the available historical evidence the work has to be accepted not as a true record

of events, but only as a brilliant piece of romantic literature.

It is unfortunate that Lal[12] in his otherwise detailed study of the history of the period did not examine in any detail the historical data with regard to this episode, and his account is merely a reproduction of the accounts of Khusrau and Ferishta. He does not refer to the works of Ojha, Gupta and Munshi who had challenged the correctness of the events.

According to Khusrau the compilation of the *Mathnavi* was undertaken at the request of one of the two principal actors, Prince Khizr Khan and based on a rough draft which the Prince had prepared and which he handed over to Khusrau during an interview[13] when he commissioned him to prepare the account. Khusrau carried on with the work for 4 months and a few days and completed it on 6th Dhul Qada,[14] 715 A.H. or 1st February, 1316. This was the date of the first part of the work only which consisted of 4200 verses, while the second part consisting of 319 verses dealing with murder of Khizr Khan and his two brothers was completed at a later unspecified date during or after the reign of the last but one king of this dynasty, Sultan Qutb ud-Din Mubarak[15] Shah. In all the *Mathnavi* consisted of 4519 verses, but in the lithographed edition three verses are rightly regarded by the editor Ansari as interpolations in place of the original compositions of the author which have probably been lost. In the work itself its name is given as *Duvalrani Khizr Khan*[16] by the author, though other authors have referred to it as *Ishqiya*, *Ashqiya*, *Ashiqa*, and *Manshur Shahi*. Ferishta in his History refers to it as *Khizr Khan* and *Duvaldi Rani*. The work was only known from

manuscripts, till Rashid Ahmad Ansari published the already cited lithographed edition based on a collation of over a dozen manuscripts in 1917.

On the basis of this *Mathnavi*, Ferishta'[17] included a comprehensive account in his History, and added further details about the conversion of Kamaladevi and her marriage to Sultan 'Ala ud-Din, the capture of Devaldevi at Ellora, the sanction of her marriage with Khizr Khan by Sultan 'Ala ud-Din, marriage of Sultan Qutb ud-Din with Devaldevi after the murder of her husband at Gwalior and finally of Sultan Nasir ud-Din Khusrau Khan's including her in his harem after the murder of Sultan Qutb ud-Din. Most of these additional details, however, cannot be traced to any historical account and were apparently the creations of the author's brain. Unfortunately later historians, more particularly the English authors, blindly embodied these details in their accounts. Nizam ud-Din Ahmad in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*[18] and Abdul Qadir Badaoni in *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*,[19] both well known historical works published in the sixteenth century, gave less garbled versions based mainly on Amir Khusrau's version and did not add any details.

Detailed narratives of the various events of the episode with references to only a few historical dates were included in Ansari's introduction,[20] Habib's narrative analysis,[21] Muhammad Wahid Mirza's account,[22] Gupta's paper[23] and Kishori Saran Lal's history,[24] while Haig's account[25] is no more than a summary of Ferishta's version.

Reference has also to be made here to the abridged translations of the work published in Elliott's History,[26] Bayley's History of Gujrat[27] and Thomas's Chronicles.[28] All these accounts are based entirely

on Khusrau and Ferishta, and do not in any way help to clear up the mythical story. In fact, they were responsible for the episode being accepted as based on undisputed historical events by later writers.

According to Ziya Barni[37] there were three outstanding historians of the period of Sultan 'Ala ud-Din Khalji. The first was Amir Arslan Kulahi who was so well versed in the past histories and the events of Sultan 'Ala ud-Din's reign that it was not necessary for him to consult the reference works for supplying details of any historical events. He is described as the outstanding historical personality of the time, and he was generally accepted as such. Apparently, however, he did not write any historical treatise. The second was Kabir ud-Din, son of Taj ud-Din Iraqi. He was regarded as the greatest prose writer of the day, and as the court historian he compiled *Fathnama*, the official history of the reign. In this work, which consisted of several volumes, he confined himself to detailed accounts of the Sultan's conquests, and purposely abstained from any mention of his failures or faults. This is explained as being due to the fact that he wrote the history during the lifetime of Sultan 'Ala ud-Din, and presented each volume to him as it was completed. Unfortunately this contemporary history has been irretrievably lost, as no manuscript of it was available even to historians like Ferishta or Nizam ud-Din. The third historian was Ziya Barni, the author of *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* in which the author says[38] that he had endeavoured to give as true and correct account of the events of the time as he possibly could, as otherwise his work would be valueless to his readers and later historians. The same author has extolled[39] at length the greatness of Amir Khusrau

as a poet, as a writer of verse, as a musician, and his other attainments, but he makes no reference whatever to his historical knowledge or works.

The only other contemporary writer was Khwaja Abdul Malik generally known as 'Isami,[32] whose poetical work *Futuh-us Salatin* completed in 1350 contains brief descriptions of the events from the time of Mahmud to the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. With regard to the present enquiry this work is of little value, as his account of Devaldevi and Khizr Khan is only an abridgement of Khusrau's *Mathnawi*.

From the above review it should be clear that the only truly contemporary sources of history available for the period are Barni and Amir Khusrau. Barni in his work[33] states that in the 3rd year of the reign of 'Ala ud-Din he sent a large force under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to Gujarat, which ravaged Naharwala and the whole country of Gujarat. Karan Rai of Gujarat ran away from Naharwala and took shelter with Rāmdeva at Deogir, and his wives and daughters, the treasures and elephants fell into the hands of the Muslim army. According to this account the date of this campaign must be in the early months of 1299 as 'Ala ud-Din ascended the throne on on 20th October, 1296,[34] but as Lal[35] has discussed at length Muslim historians differ greatly about the date of the expedition. Khusrau has 1299, but Ferishta and Haji ud-Dabir wrongly date it 1297-1298.

In Khusrau's account of the Gujarat campaign in *Khazainul Futuh*,[36] the detailed historical record of all the military expeditions of Sultan 'Ala ud-Din, 20th Jummada I 699 A H.[37] is mentioned as the day on which the order for sending an army to Gujarat under Ulugh Khan was issued. He gives a fairly

detailed account of the destruction of the temple of Somnath, but makes only a passing reference to Nahar-wala. It is stated that in this town the Muslim army "cleaned the ground by a deluge of infidel blood".[38] There is no mention whatsoever of the capture of the wives and daughters of Karan, the Rai of Gujarat or their later history as it was detailed in his *Mathnavi, Duwalrani Khizr Khan* completed in 1316.

Haji ud-Dabir in his *History of Gujrat*[39] (in Arabic) compiled in the sixteenth century only mentions the defeat of Karan by Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan and the capture of some of his family in 1297-1298,[40] but does not mention of any of the later events as detailed in Khusrau's *Mathnavi*. In Vassaf's history[41] completed about 1312 also none of the events are mentioned though the reign of Sultan 'Ala ud-Din is dealt with in fair detail.

Finally reference has to be made to Ibn Batutah,[42] who arrived in India in 1333, seventeen years after 'Ala ud-Din's death, and stayed in the country for some ten years. Under the name of Maulana Badr ud-Din he held a number of official posts. In his work he gives short histories of the Sultans of Delhi up to Muhammad bin Tughlaq. His account, as has been rightly concluded by Lal,[43] is "a valuable source of information on political and social institutions of these days... . Batutah is an independent writer and is more reliable than the historians who cared for the favour or frowns of the emperors".

Of special interest in connection with this study are Ibn Batutah's accounts[44] of the maltreatment of his son Mubarak Shah by Sultan 'Ala ud-Din; of the conspiracy by the Chief Queen Malka Mahik to place

Khizr Khan on the throne with the help of her brother, and Khizr Khan being sent to prison in the Gwalior fort after the conspiracy was divulged to the Sultan by Malik Naib Kafur Hazardinari; the Sultan's vain attempts before his death to get Khizr Khan recalled to Delhi for nominating him as his successor; Shihab ud-Din being placed on the throne with Malik Kafur as the Regent, and Qutb ud-Din ascending the throne after deposing his brother Shihab ud-Din; revolt against him while he was away on the Devagiri campaign and placing a son of Khizr Khan[4] on the throne; the murder of Khizr Khan and his three brothers in the Gwalior fort by the order of Qutb ud-Din; and finally the murder of Qutb ud-Din by Khusrau Khan and his ascending the throne as Nasir ud-Din Khusrau Khan.

In his work Ibn Batutah makes no mention whatsoever of either Kamladevi or Devaldevi or the marriages of 'Ala ud-Din and Khizr Khan to them or other Hindu queens or princesses. If any such important events had occurred, these would have been common knowledge, and Ibn Batutah would have heard about them and mentioned them in his work.

He had visited Gwalior,[5] and his account of the murder of Khizr Khan and his three brothers was based on the description of Qazi Zain ud-Din Mubarak, the Qazi of this fort who apparently was an eye witness of the events.

With regard to Khizr Khan's mother he adds that she lived for several years after Khizr Khan's murder and that he met her at Mecca in 1327.

There is no mention of any wife of Khizr Khan living in captivity with him in the Gwalior fort, or

of her being taken to Delhi to be included in the harem of Qutb ud-Din after Khizr Khan's murder.

From the above review of the contemporary historical sources there can be little doubt that the well known *Mathnavi* of Amir Khusrau was based on a single event, i.e. the campaign in 1299 of 'Ala ud-Din's forces to Gujarat when Rajo Karna was defeated, and some ladies of the royal family with the treasures, etc. fell into the hands of the invaders. There are no contemporary historical records with reference to other events so graphically detailed as in Amir Khusrau's work, and as such the *Mathnavi Duwalrani Khizr Khan*, like Jaisi's *Padmavat*, must be regarded as a brilliant literary romance created by the gifted poet out of his fertile imagination and versatile genius, and not as a record of historical events or personalities.

Appendix X

MALIK KAFUR

Malik Kafur was one of the most enigmatical figures in human history. His original name was Manik. Presumably from Gujarat, he was a Hindu convert to Islam, a slave, an eunuch and a homosexual *par excellence*. He was, evidently, very handsome. 'Isami describes him as having "*zulf-i-amberin*" (locks of ambergris fragrance).

'Ala ud-Din's unnatural passion for him knew no bounds. 'Isami describes him as being neither man nor woman, but performing the functions of both. Barani's description of him goes far beyond the limits

of decency, and even Elliot has omitted that portion of description from his translation.

He was a great general. In the beginning of his career under 'Ala ud-Din, he successfully fought several campaigns against the invading Mongols. He was the first general of the Sultanate, who conquered the South.

Later, his ascendency over 'Ala ud-Din was complete. He practically governed the Sultanate. The sudden death of 'Ala ud-Din also points to the sinister hand of Malik Kafur, for, after his death, he placed an infant son of 'Ala ud-Din on the throne, becoming the Regent himself. His career of wickedness and ambition ended in his murder by Mubarak, the son of 'Ala ud-Din.

Appendix XI

NASAR-UD-DIN KHUSRU SHAH

by Sri Ram Sharma

One of the enigmas of medieval Indian history is Nasar-ud-Din Khusru. His origin cannot be easily determined, his earlier career is unknown, the nature and the extent of revolution which his accession to the throne brought about is shrouded in mystery. It is time an attempt was made to state the questions that arise in this connection even though it may not always be possible to get all the answers.

Till recently it was possible to dismiss the whole episode as the story of "a wretch" who had bewitched Mubarak and thereby succeeded ultimately in desecrating the throne of Delhi by occupying it.[1] The

earliest published account we had, was that of Barni. It was added to and embellished later on by Badauni, Bakshi Nizam-ud-Din and Firishta. Elliot's translations provided the last stick that broke the camel's back.

Khusru was described as a Parwari (scavenger) from Gujarat enslaved and converted to Islam during Ala-ud-Din's reign.[2] He might have been brought to the Court between 1299 and 1306 A.D., the dates of the two invasions of Gujarat. The next we hear of him is when he was conducting the government of the country as Prime Minister of Mubarak and successfully leading the royal armies in the south. When we come to the end of Mubarak's reign, Khusru changed colour and became "a vile wretch" till he ultimately ascended the throne. Then he became something still more sinister till Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq had him killed.

As it was, this account left two things unexplained. How was it that a beautiful young man with his comely face alone to recommend him to his master carried on successfully the burden of administration during Mubarak's reign? Even if we dismiss Barni's statement that there was neither rebellion, nor Mughal invasions, nor famine nor floods to trouble the people during Mubarak's reign as too sweeping a generalization, the fact remains that whatever disturbances there were in the country, Mubarak was easily successful in puting an end to them. It is a great tribute to Khusru's talents that Mubarak was able to keep the entire south under him besides the whole of northern India. Not a square inch of territory did he lose to any aspiring rebel. If anything, he rivetted Delhi's authority all the more firmly on Gujarat, Maharashtra and

the south. When we remember that Mubarak demolished in its entirety all the too comprehensive totalitarian state of 'Ala ud-Din, Mubarak's —or Khusru's— success in keeping peace in the country was a great achievement, all the more so if we are to believe Barni who described Mubarak as a licentious youth entirely given to pleasure.

Khusru's accession to the throne cannot be dismissed simply as an unwelcome interlude which was soon over. If he had only brother "Parwaris" to support him on the throne of Delhi, he could not have ascended it, let alone occupy it for five months—or a year and five months according to certain accounts.

Luckily some new material is now available—it has in fact been available for several years past—to enable us to reconstruct the story. The publication of the text of *Tughlaq Nama* of Khusru, the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* of Yahya, and the *Futuh-us-Salatin* of Isami helps us now in evaluating earlier authorities better and fills some, at least, of the gaps left in the story as told so far.

Khusru was by origin a Hindu enslaved during the military expeditions of Ala-ud-Din's reign in Malwa.[3] His original home seems to have been in Gujarat. He was Baradau, *Parau*, Parwar, or Parwari by caste. The original Hindu designation seems to have become a victim of Arabic script. But Baradau in Khusru's *Tughlaq Nama* seems to be the nearest approximation. Isami describes him as a Parau.[4] Baradaus were no unclean pariahs whose touch was defiling to the sanctimonious Hindus of the day.[5] No Persian authority describes this caste as unclean. On the contrary Amir Khusru decribes Khusru and his fellow castemen as belonging to a tribe that was usually

employed by princes as their body guard and was known both for its devotion to princes and its bravery.[a] Firishta describes him as a wrestler from Gujarat.[r] Khusru's original name is unknown but he was named Hasan on his conversion to Islam. He served under Malik Shadi, deputy Hajib of Ala-ud-Din's armies. He was a beautiful young man by all accounts. We know nothing of the office he held at the time of Malik Kafur's death. One authority describes him as a door-keeper or a watchman.[s] This term however seems to have been used more as an antithesis to the exalted office Qutb-ud-Din conferred on him than a factual description. Not even Qutb-ud-Din's infatuation could have fashioned a successful commander-in-chief and a great prime minister out of a mere watchman. On Qutb ud Din's accession to the throne on April, 1, 1316 he became the commander-in-chief and prime minister and was now styled Khusru Khan.[b]

He had no light task to face. The totalitarian government of Ala-ud-Din had been followed by Malik Kafur's virtual rule during Ala-ud-Din's dotage. Thousands of public servants were in jail. Ala-ud-Din's irksome restrictions seem to have held the people in their grip, the Hindu masses were suffering under the grinding poverty which Ala-ud-Din had imposed on them. Khusru undid all that. More than seventeen thousand prisoners were let off. All galling restrictions on trade and property were removed. Social intercourse became free. Hindus heaved a sigh of relief that overtaxation and anti-Hindu measures of Ala-ud-Din became a thing of the past. Reversal to pre-Ala-ud-Din policy must have constituted a peaceful counter-revolution as great in its comprehensiveness as Ala-ud-Din's totalitarian scheme. All this was accom-

plished successfully without a single incident.[10]

Mubarak had succeeded to an empire which embraced the whole of India. Khilji authority had not yet been consolidated over all this vast territory, particularly in western and south India. Khusru had no easy task to perform here. Khilji authority was challenged in Gujarat though not successfully, thanks to Khusru and ultimately to his brother's resourcefulness. In the south, Khusru accompained Mubarak in one expedition and served as a leader in another. The objective of the second expedition seems to have been attained[11] though there are contradictory statements as to who nursed rebellious designs against Mubarak. It is difficult however to believe the story by Barni that Khusru Khan harboured rebellion against Mubarak when he was in Malabar.[12] We are asked to believe that Khusru did not intend returning to Delhi, that the loyal Muslim officers forced him to go there; according to the *Tarik-i-Mubarak Shahi* they brought him to Delhi, and if Isami is to be believed they brought him in fetters! They hoped that on reaching Delhi Khusru would be suitably punished for his evil designs. But the account accords ill with Barni's supplementary story that when Mubarak heard Khusru was coming, he had a posse of palanquin bearers stationed on the road from Deogir to Delhi in order to speed Khusru on his journey.[13] Both the stories cannot be true. If Khusru had been forced to return to Delhi, he could not have sent word of his return thereto to the king. Without such advance information it could not have been possible for the king to have made all the arrangements he is said to have made. It stands further to reason that if Khusru informed the king of his projected return to

Delhi his opponents could as well have informed the king about his evil designs. This they obviously did not, because they were only hoping that when Khusru reached Delhi he would be severely taken to task.[14] Barni had no occasion to invent the story of the arrangements made to bring Khusru speedily to Delhi, he could easily have invented the story of Khusru's intended rebellion writing as he did after Khusru's death. Isami declares that Khusru intended decamping, with the treasures he had collected, across the seas. The watchfulness of his subordinate commanders led him to change his mind and he came to Delhi. When Khusru reached Delhi he complained against the conduct of his subordinates to the king who punished them all. Despite several rebellions of Alai nobles Khusru succeeded in keeping his master firmly on the throne.

Khusru's main prop during this period was the large number of his kinsmen from Gujarat whom he gathered round him. The chronology of Mubarak's reign is a little confused but it does not seem probable that Khusru invited them to Delhi after his return to the capital. While in Malabar he is said to have consulted his "fellow-travellers" about his alleged designs.[15] As said earlier they formed a martial group. When his brother was in Gujarat as its governor, he is said to have surrounded himself with a large number of his kinsmen in the fashion of the day.[16] It seems improbable that Khusru should complain after fighting several successful actions that unlike other commanders he had no troops of his own as Barni makes him say.[17]

That Mubarak spent all his time in pleasure is probable. But the ridiculous and indecent scenes of

which Barni speaks could have happened, if at all, towards the end of his reign only. This is borne out by the fact that Mubarak is said to have met his death less than a month after ordering Shaikh Nizam-ud-Din to attend his court once a month. It is difficult to believe that Amir Khusru would call a ruler Khalifa if, during his reign, Muslim ceremonies had been altogether banished from the court. He certainly could not have given that designation to Mubarak—as he frequently does in the *Nuh-Sipihr*—if he had known Mubarak to be guilty of the practices of which Barni accuses him. The *Tughlaq Nama* mentions no backsliding in his observance of Islamic rites by Mubarak, nor does it even make a reference to the strange and indecent behaviour of Mubarak in court which Barni delights in describing. The worst that Amir Khusru says about Mubarak is that he was unkind.[17] Yahya is also silent about it all and so is Isami.

Khusru at last got disgusted with the sodomic practices of the Sultan.[19] He gathered round him a group of discontented persons, several of them Muslims.[20] On April 14, 1320, Khusru's plans were complete. Mubarak was done to death. Many of his personal attendants perished. Ibn Batuta suggests that Khusru obtained Mubarak's permission to admit a large number of Khusru's followers to the palace at night on the pretence that they wished to be converted to Islam. To escape the taunts of their co-religionists, they had requested that they be excused presentation to the royal court during the day time.[21] Khusru could not be tenderer to Ala-ud-din's sons than their brothers had been. All the princes who had escaped with their lives at the two earlier revolutions were now done to death or blinded so that not a single scion of the house

of Ala-ud-din escaped unharmed. Among those who were now killed or blinded must have been Mubarak's young son barely two years old.[22]

After a good deal of hesitation, Khusru at last allowed himself to be persuaded that now that he had killed his tormentor he should ascend the throne himself and proclaim himself a King.[23] He did so on April, 15, 1320 and took the title Nasar-ud-Din Khusru Shah.

It was but natural that on his accession to the throne he should go back to his original faith. He lived in the royal palace of his predecessors and with the accession of a Hindu king, Hindu rites of worship displaced Muslim rites in the palace. Like Ajit Singh of Jodhpur in the eighteenth century, Khusru did not take a Hindu title as a reigning King. Just as Ajit Singh copied the Mughal emperor's titles including that of Gazi—slayer of infidels (Hindus)—Khusru called himself Nasar-ud-Din (author of victory of the faith) though he could content himself by saying that the religion his title proclaimed was other than Islam. Contemporary historians mention some "backsliders" among his chiefs, commanders who went back to their original faith. But the stories of his desecrating mosques or treating copies of the *Quran* with contempt find no mention in Amir Khusru's *Tughlaq Nama*.[24] All that Ghias-ud-Din charges Khusru with is his rebellion against Qutb-ud-Din or his executing descendants of Ala-ud-Din, male and female.[25] It is unlikely if Khusru had been guilty of the "heinous" crimes Barni saddles on him, Amir Khusru should not have mentioned them. They should have formed a part of the reasons which Ghias-ud-Din advanced in his letters to other Muslim commanders when he incited them against Khusru. Not a word is said in them about

any disrespect shown either to mosques or the Quran.[26] Of course, Amir Khusru and Barni mention that he married some of the wives of Qutb-ud-Din.[27] There was nothing unusual therein. Malik Kafur and Qutb-ud-Din had done the same before him[28] and Khusru could only have refrained from such evil practices had he been wiser than his age.

As a ruler Khusru gathered round him an able group of administrators, both Hindus and Muslims. Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, Yusaf Sufi, Hatim Khan, Kamaluddin Sufi, Fakhruddin Tughlaq, Mughalti, Mahammad Shah, Bahram Abaya, Yaklakhi, Hoshang, Shaista Khan, Khizr Khan, Kafur, Shahab, Hardev, Amar Dev, Rai Ramdhol are mentioned as some of his great administrators. His rule was accepted and respected throughout the Punjab, Sind, Oudh, Central India and Multan.[29] There is no reason to doubt that his writ ran equally successfully in other parts of his empire.

Khusru's only title to the throne lay in the length of his arm and the fullness of his purse. He used both manfully and distributed the riches, which Ala ud-Din had collected, among his followers. He tried to secure the loyalty of his chiefs by exalting them in rank, by rich presents and above all, in some cases, by keeping their families in Delhi. Some modern European writers have advanced curious reasons for Khusru's failure to become the centre of a successful Hindu reaction. Khusru did no more represent a Hindu reaction at large, than did Hemu in 1556. When the test of battle came he led a large composite army of Hindus and Muslims against Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq.[30] Tughlaq's army also contained some Hindu soldiers.[31] Situated as they were, Hindu rajahs who had been subdued but recently by Ala-ud-Din could have little welcomed

any move at Delhi to draw them more closely thereto.

Among the Amirs at Delhi was Fakhr-ud-Din, son of Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq, governor of Dipalpur. His presence at Delhi was a guarantee of his father's loyalty. He was the master of the royal horse. The king found him missing from his quarters one morning when he sent for him. Nasar-ud-Din at once sent a detachment after him in hot pursuit. His officers were however unsuccessful in capturing Fakhr-ud-Din who at last joined his father Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq at Dipalpur.

Ghias-ud-Din learnt from his son the details of the last turn of royal fortune at Delhi. He was told that not a single scion of Ala-ud-Din's house was living. Ghias-ud-Din had always lived dangerously on the outskirts of the empire, exposed to Mughal attacks. His mind now turned to reaping a rich harvest out of the events of the last few months. He decided to challenge Nasar-ud-Din's title to the throne of Delhi and head a rebellion for the purpose.

With this end in view, he sent his emissaries to Ain-ul-Mulk at Delhi, Mughalati, governor of Multan and his own superior officer, Mahammad Shah of Sevastan, Bahram Abaya of Cuch (Sind), Yaklakhi of Samana and Hoshang of Jalore. Of these six, three refused to take part in the conspiracy. Yaklakhi sent Ghias-ud-Din's letter to Nasar-ud-Din; Ain-ul-Mulk, Nasar-ud-Din's minister showed his copy to his master; Mughalati upbraided his subordinate at Dipalpur for his treacherous designs. Bahram of Cuch alone promised to participate readily and actively in the rebellion Ghias-ud-Din was about to head.[52] Ghias-ud-Din was not down-hearted. He promoted a local rebellion against Mughalati of Multan and established contact

with Ain-ul-Mulk at Delhi again. The vazir now declared that situated as he was in Delhi, he could do nothing to promote Ghias-ud-Din's cause but wished him well and promised benevolent neutrality.[33]

Ghias-ud-Din's attempt to combine the governors of Sind, Jalore, Multan and Punjab thus came to nothing. This is an eloquent testimony to Nasar-ud-Din's hold on his empire. The failure of this conspiracy is a further proof that Nasar-ud-Din had harmed not Islam but Qutb-ud-Din and the Khiljis. The refusal of his Muslim prime minister to side openly with Ghias-ud-Din rebuts the charge that Nasar-ud-Din had launched a hostile campaign against Islam at Delhi or elsewhere. Ghias-ud-Din however was not to be deterred from his path. Ain-ul-Mulk's promise to desert his master was enough for him. Bahram also soon joined his army. Ghias-ud-Din therefore decided to proceed with his preparations for rebellion. Before these were completed, however, Yaklakhi of Samana (in East Punjab and Patiala States Union now) moved towards Dipalpur and attacked Ghias-ud-Din. Yaklakhi was however defeated and had to return to Samana.[34]

Nasar-ud-Din at Delhi was not sitting idle all this time. It is probable that the attack made on Dipalpur by Yaklakhi was inspired by him. Rather than wait for Ghias-ud-Din to move, Khusru Shah decided to take the offensive and sent an army under his brother Khan-i-Khanan to oppose Ghias-ud-Din.

Khan-i-Khanan was supported by several great commanders. Qatala Khan, Shaista Khan, Yusaf Khan, and Khizr Khan are mentioned as some of the Muslim commanders who accompanied Khan-i-Khanan.[35] The royal army advanced from Delhi to the neighbourhood of Saraswati.[36] On account of their inexperi-

ence Khan-i-Khanan and Khizr Khan did not attack Saraswati which Ghias-ud-Din had strengthened. Leaving the enemy behind them, they made a detour to the banks of the river Bias. Here they encamped at Sotba (Sarsai somewhere on the banks of the Bias.[37]

When Ghias-ud-Din heard of the advance of the royal army he decided to march forth. Just as he was about to do so, a royal caravan carrying the revenues of Sind and the neighbouring territories passed through Dipalpur. Ghias ud-Din fell upon it and distributed the proceeds to his followers, commanders and soldiers alike so that every one had an advance of two years salary.[38] Thus emboldened by this stroke of good luck, Ghias-ud-Din left Dipalpur and reached the banks of the Bias. He crossed the river at Hauz-i-Bahat and encamped here.

The two armies were now separated by a waterless desert of fifteen miles. They remained facing each other for some time.[39] But Khan-i-Khanan had let himself into the enemy's territories. Saraswati was in the hands of the rebels and stood between the royal army and the territory held by the king.[40] The royal army could not afford to wait indefinitely whereas Ghias-ud-Din was not troubled by any such considerations. Khan-i-Khanan was therefore driven to take the offensive. Late one night he led his army across the waterless desert.

He had probably intended to take the enemy unawares. But the fate was kind to Ghias-ud-Din. The march across the desert took the whole night and it was only early the next day that the royal army contacted Ghias-un-Din's forces. Khan-i-Khanan's soldiers were tired and thirsty. Ghias-ud-Din natu-

rally jumped at the opportunity thus provided him to face an exhausted army. He ordered his forces to face the enemy and forced an immediate engagement.[41]

Amir Khusru would have us believe that Ghias-ud-Din's forces were smaller in number than the imperial army.[42] Barni declares that in military experience and bravery the imperial soldiers—and particularly its commanders—were babes in arms.[43] The inevitable followed. Ghias-ud-Din succeeded in traping the enemy. He sent an advance guard letting it appear as if this was all the army the imperialists had to deal with. They fell upon it and drove it back successfully. Another Tughlaq contingent now appeared on the scene but before the imperialists had dealt with it, Ghias-ud-Din's main army advanced forward. The imperialists were now between two fires and were tricked into an indefensible position. They were defeated. Khan-i-Khanan now left for Delhi in hot haste. Gulchandra, the leader of the Khokhars killed the bearer of the *chatar* (the royal canopy) and took it from his hand. He hastened with it to where Ghias-ud-Din was and spread it on Tughlaq's head.

Khusru Shah was not dismayed yet. If his commanders had been twice unsuccessful against the enemy, he was still undeterred. He decided to march out and meet the advancing rebels outside the capital. But, as Ghias-ud-Din was advancing fast on Delhi, Nasar-ud-Din did not go very far out of Siri (Ala-ud-Din's Delhi) and encamped near Hauz-i-Khas near where later on was built the tank of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. A ditch was dug in front and a mud wall put up at the bank of the camp to minimize chances of a surprise night attack.[44] The old fort lay on one side and

the royal gardens on the other side of the camp.[45]

Meanwhile Ghias-ud-Din was advancing fast. His initial success added to his self-confidence, the large amount of booty that fell into his hands as the result of the flight of the Delhi army fed the cupidity of his followers. After resting for a week[46] at the scene of battle he led his army towards Delhi. Passing through Hansi, Madina, Rohtak, Mandauti, Palam and Kishanpura, he reached the plains of Lahravat with the Jumna to his east and the old Delhi to his south[47] and encamped near the tomb of Raziya.[48]

Both sides now busied themselves in preparations for the mortal combat. Khusru Shah was supported by several great commanders including the governor of Oudh, Yusaf Khan Sufi, Kamal-ud-Din Sufi, Shaista-Khan, Amir Kafur, Randhol, Khan-i-Khanan, Shahab, Kaisar, Amir Umbar, Baha-ud-Din and Maldev Here again we find that most of administrators under Nasar-ud-Din are Muslims. The Barbak, the Hajib and the Vakil-i-Bab were the highest offices in the state and were all filled by Muslims. The prime minister's office was filled by Ain-ul-Mulk Multani.[49]

While Khusru Shah was busy making his preparations Ain-ul-Mulk, his prime minister, quietly deserted him and slunk away to Central India. The *Tughlaq-Nama* suggests that Ghias-ud-Din so arranged his armies in three commands, that they should be able to join battle at intervals.[50] It involved taking risks, but Ghias-ud-Din was willing enough to take them. His plan was successful. His first army was defeated and driven away and the fortunes of battle seemed to be going against him when his second army joined in the fray. The appearance of

the third command helped him in gaining a complete victory."[1] Isami's account however seems to be nearer the truth. He declares that when the two armies met the royal forces defeated and drove away the division under Fakhr-ud-Din who ran away. This led to a general fright in the army of the Tughlaq Nasar-ud-Din now sent an army to attack the camp where Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq's family was. The battle was almost lost when Tughlaq succeeded in gathering together his flying remnants and made a dead set at Nasar-ud-Din's army. The Khakhars under Gulchandra fought bravely to restore the balance of battle. Nasar-ud-Din's armies were defeated and he ran away."[2] Ibn Batuta suggests that Nasar-ud-Din's defeat was due to the fact that flushed with their earlier victory, his army was busy plundering when Tughlaq fell on them.'[3]

Khusru Shah now fled away and sought refuge in a garden. He was traced thereto and brought before Ghias-ud-Din. He requested his captor to spare his life and be content with blinding him. Ghias-ud-Din would have none of it. He asked Khusru Shah why he had been so cruel to his master Mubarak. Khusru replied that it was Mubarak's sodomy that had driven him to seek his revenge in his own fashion. "Had Mubarak been not so foul towards me," Khusru Shah declared, "I would not have committed such deeds." Ghias-ud-Din paid no heed to Khusru Shah's entreaties and had him executed at the very place where Khusru had murdered Mubarak.'[4] Thus passed away Khusru Shah after a stormy reign.

Khusru Shah is usually credited with a short reign of four months and a few days. His accession is put on April, 15, 1320. His date of death, however,

has become a matter of dispute. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* places it in the year 721 A.H. Firishta followed the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and many modern writers repeated him. The year given by the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is obviously wrong and goes against Barni and Amir Khusru both of whom place the accession of Ghias-ud-Din in 720 A.H. Even Yahya accords Khusru a reign of four months and some days. But the chronology is confounded again by Isami's statement that Nasar-ud-Din ascended the throne in 719.[55] This would give Khusru a reign of more than a year and four months. But Isami himself assigns a reign of "some months" to Nasar-ud-Din. It seems possible that contemporary historians were so much upset by the rise of Nasar-ud-Din that in order to belittle him they tried even to shorten the time when Islam was not in ascendance at Delhi.

Nasar-ud-Din Khusru Shah presented a successful example of a man from the ranks and a Hindu at that rising to the highest office in the state. His stewardship of Mubarak Shah's reign is a great tribute to his administrative abilities and military leadership. Amir Khusru in his *Nuh Sapihr* declares that he richly deserved all the honours that the king bestowed on him. He was defeated because Ghias-ud-Din proved himself a greater tactician and strategist. In both the engagements with Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq, the royal armies carried everything before them for a considerable time. It was the greater tenacity of purpose of Ghias-ud-Din that ultimately brought him victory. Isami ascribes Ghias-ud-Din's success to the bravery of the Khakhars under their leader Gulchandra.

Nasar-ud-Din's reign is notable for his own re-

conversion to Hinduism as well as that of a large number of his kinsmen. They must have been accepted as Hindus before they could find Brahmin priests to perform Hindu rites in the palace. That in itself represented a revolutionary change in the Hindu society. As said before, the loud complaints of the later writers that Nasar-ud-Din treated Muslim sacred books or Muslim musques with disrespect are not tenable. Isami's declaration that Islam stood defeated under him means no more than that Nasar-ud-Din was a Hindu king. It is not surprising that orthodox Barni should exhibit so much antagonism against Khusru Shah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Amir Khusru:

(i) Nuh-Sapihr.

(ii) Tughlaq Nāmā

(iii) Ishqiya

These contain the earliest contemporary accounts of the events described above. Amir Khusru died in 1325 A.D.

2. Isami:

The *Futuh-us-Salatin* was completed in 1350.

3. Barni:

The *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi* was completed in 1357.

4. Ibn-i-Batuta:

He came to India in 1333 A.D., thirteen years after the last event described above. The date of the composition of his *Travels* is not certain. There is nothing to suggest that they were compiled while he was still in India. I have cited the complete Urdu translation rather than the abridged English version.

5. Yahya:

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* seems to have been compiled about 1433 A.D.

6. Firishta Badauni, Bakshi Nizam-ud-Din and several other later writers in their histories of India give an account of some of these events but add little to our knowledge.

REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

1. EHI. 428, n. 2
2. Cunningham, ASR. II. 272; Kennedy: J R.A.S., 1907, 985; Baines: Ethnography, 44. Bühler. IA, XVII. 192; BG, IX, Pt. I, 481 ff.
3. D. R. Bhandarkar: JBBRAS, XXI, 405 ff.
4. EI. III. 266. For a detailed discussion of the various theories connected with the origin of Gurjara, see R. C. Majumdar, *Bharatiya Vidya, K. M. Munshi Commemoration Volume*, II, p. 1-18; see also Appendix I below.
5. NS Edn., (1937), 120.
6. In A.D. 850, the village of Mangalavaka in modern Jaipur was referred to as Gurjaratrā-mandala (EI V, 210, n. 3). From the Gwalior-prasasti of Mihira Bhoja of c. A.D. 843 (EI., XVIII, 107-114), the Sanjan plate of Amoghavarsha of c. A.D. 871 (EI. XVIII. 243-257) and from Rājaśekhara's works dated c. A.D. 920 (Mahābhāsya, NSP, Edn., I, 7-8) to Somesvara's who wrote between c. A.D. 1194-1254, it is clear that the name of a country was often used to denote its king and not the name of his race.
7. IA, VIII, 242.
8. BG I, Pt. I. 109, n. 2.
9. Verse 9, EI, XVIII. 243 ff.
10. IA, XII, 181
11. RT, V, 149-55 (Stein's Eng. Tr. 1, 205 ff.).
12. D.V., V, v. 92.
13. Hemachandra, *Siddha-Hema* I. श्रीमित्र श्रीमल्लकश्रीगुप्तयुक्तः श्रेतातपत्रश्रिय ब्रह्मलक्षणश्च गिरिशि त्वयि श्रीमूरजनृप; ॥
14. Forbes, *Ras-Mala*, (G. G. p. 20, fn. 102).
15. EI. VIII. 36 ff.
16. BG, I, Pt. I, 128, n. 4.
17. IA, X, 159
18. E & D, I, 59.
19. Ai, I. 22.
20. BG I. Pt. I, 128, n. 4
21. E & D, I, 13 ff
22. EI. I, 326.
23. EI. V, 179
24. R, 120-1.
25. EI, III, 266.
26. JBBRAS, XVI, 173.
27. EI, X, 20 ff.
28. EI, XI, 162.
29. BV, (Hindi-Gujarati), 82-83.
30. IA, VI. 191-93.
31. Ibid, 193-94.
32. Dhanantschchha Plate, JBBRAS, XXVI, (OS), 255.
33. Udayapur-prasasti, v. 19, EI, I, 233.

CHAPTER II

1. AAR, (Ed. Crooke), I, 113.
2. ASI, (Cunningham), II, 255.
3. *Naraśīṅhasāṅka-charita*, XI. vv., 64-76.
4. EI, I, 236
5. Nagpur Stone Inscription (EI, II, 180), Vasantgadh Inscription of Paramārtha (EI, IX, 11); The Mount Abu Inscriptions Nos. 1 & 2, (EI, VIII, 200); Ambikeśvara Temple Inscription, (IA, XLIII, 193, fn. 2); The Pattadakal Inscription (IA, XLV, 77) The Arthuna Inscription of Paramāra Chāmuṇḍarāja (EI. XIV, 255); The Mount Abu Inscription, (EI, IX. 148).
6. BG, I. Pt. I. Appendix III, D. R. Bhandarkar's article on Gurjaras JBBRAS XXI. 405 ff Forbes, *Ras-Mala*. I, 40; EHI, 423 ff; JRAS 1909, 53. 56; Hoernle, JRAS, 1905, 639, 662
7. D Sarma: *The Age and historicity of Puṣyamitra-Śuṅga*. IHQ. XVI, 738.
8. See Gwalior-prasasti of Bhoja, EI, XVIII, 107-114. vv. 3-4; Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka. JRAS, 1894, 4-9. v 4
9. See below.
10. EI, XXVI, 84.
11. PV, III, 1-5, JRAS 1913, 259-81.
12. The Harsha stone inscription, which is the earliest inscription of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī, places Guvaka I as the first great prince of the dynasty (EI. XIX, Appendix 14, No. 821. For his relation with Kāṇṭhāla II, see IA, 1911, 239, ibid, 1913, 58. For Kāñchanadevī's marriage see PV, vv. 30-31, IHQ, V, 129-33.
13. IA, 1913. 62, v 19
14. ZDMG, XL, 38-42.
15. EI, XIV, 160.
16. EI, XIII. 197-204.
17. JASB, 1909. 167-97, IA, XXXIX, 186 ff.
18. EI, XII, 13.
19. DHNI. II, 1139.
20. EI XIV 176 ff. Pt III.
21. EI, I. 216.
22. DHNI, II, 672.
23. The earliest dynasty to bear this name was the Chālukyas of Bādami; others were the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi, who were related to the Badami dynasty; the Western Chālukyas of Kalyani also claimed descent from the Badami branch; the fourth important dynasty to bear this name was the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. For variations of the word Chalukya, as found in early inscriptions see R. G. Bhandarkar, BG I, Pt. II, 180, fn. I, and Fleet, ibid, 336 fn. 3. Throughout the present work the dynasty established by Mūlarāja has been referred to as Chaulukya, as this form is found in almost all of their records, and has been used by modern historians to designate the dynasty.

24. For Avanivarman, EI, IX, 7-10; From a story of Skandapurāṇa it appears that Mihira Bhoja had attacked Saurashtra, JBQ, V, 129-33
25. Sanjan Plate of Amoghavarsha, V. 7, EI, XVIII, 243
26. BG, I, Pt. II, 375-6.
27. GVC, 230.
28. IA, XVI, 151 ff; ibid, VIII, 11 ff; EI, XIII, 12 ff, ibid, XII, 142 ff.
29. Vadnagar-prashasti, EI, I, 293; Vakpatirāja-Kadaramañjarī
30. See Appendices II and III.
31. BG, I, Pt. I, 109, f.n 2
32. Watson, following a Gujarati tradition, recorded by later bards, stated that Vanarāja Chāvḍa was a Paramāra. (HP, 6, f.n. 4). The Chāvḍās were imagined by Forbes to have been originally living to the west of the Indus. (Ras-Mala I. 124, f.n.1. Tod identified them with the Seythians, for they came from Śankhodvāra or Socotra on the east coast of Africa, and were descended from Alexander's Greek colonists. (AAR, I. 105) Wrong identification of Śankarodvāra which is near Dvārāka in Kathiawad, on the east coast of Africa, led to this miraculous result.
33. IA, XII; 190; ibid, XVIII. 90.
34. Brahmagupta the astronomer, states that he wrote his book Brahmasphutasiddhānta in A.D. 628 when Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa dynasty was reigning. A commentator calls Brahmagupta, '*Bhillamālikācārya*', from which it has been concluded that Brahmagupta lived in Bhillamala, of which the king at that time was Vyāghramukha Chāpa. Next, it was argued that Bhillamala was the capital of Gurjaradeśa, and as Gūrjaras were foreigners, so were the Chāpas. Both the syllogisms carry faulty premises. It is not taken into account that Brahmagupta might have written his work in some town other than Bhillamala. Next, it is assumed that Gūrjaras were foreigners. (see also, IA, VII, 102).
35. Hoernle, JRAS, 1905, 31.
36. D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS, XXI, 428.
37. EI. XIX, 236.
38. Chhandaḥśāstram, by Pingalāchārya with commentary by Halāyudha, 34. (Kavyamala, series. No 91).

CHAPTER III

1. Vāyu, LVII, vv. 72-76.

विष्वोरंशेन आयन्ते पृथिव्यां चक्रवर्तिनः ।
मन्वन्तरेषु सर्वेषु अतीतानागतेषु वै ॥
भूतभव्यानि चात्रैह वर्तमानानि यानि च ।
त्रेतायुगादिषेकस्य आयन्ते चक्रवर्तिनः ।
महाधीमानि तेषां वै भवन्तीह महीक्षिताम् ।

अद्भुतानि च चत्वारि कलं धर्मः सुखं धनम् ॥
अन्योन्यरक्षाऽविरोधेन प्राप्यन्ते वै नृपैः समम् ।
अर्थो धर्मश्च कामश्च यशो विजय एव च ।
ऐश्वर्येणाधिमात्रेण प्रभुराक्रम्य तिष्ठति च ।
अक्षेत्रे तपसा चैव अपरेनमिवर्धति च ॥
बलेन तपसा चैव वेदवानवमानुषान् ॥

Vāyu, LVII, vv. 72-76

1a. Mbh. I, 1, 272: पुरा किल गुरोः सर्वैः सर्वेरङ्गैः सुसंयुतम्। चतुर्भ्यः सरहस्येभ्यो वेदेभ्यो ह्यधिकं यदा ॥
2. Vishnu-purana, II, 3, 24.
3. Medhātithi's commentary on Manu. II. 22-23
4. Classical Age, by R. C. Majumdar, p. 237.
5. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, V.S., 894, JRAS, 1894, 1 9, EI, XVIII, 95; Ghatiyala Inscription No. 1 of Pratihāra Kakkuka, V.S., 918, EI, IX, 279-81; Ghatiyala Inscription No. 2. V.S., 918. JRAS, 1895. 513-521.
6. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, v. 6.
7. Ibid.
8. R. C. Majumdar: JDL, X, 15.
9. From this verse it is clear that Harichandra's sons, by his Kshatriya wife, were called Pratihāras; he is throughout referred to as a Brāhmaṇa.
10. BRW, II, 270
11. Jodhpur Inscription of Bāuka, v. 14.
12. JDL. X, 5.
13. EI, XXIII, 349, XXIV. 178.
14. IA, VII, 101; EI, VI. 294.
15. JBORS, XIX, 405-06.
16. EI, II, 21; JDL, II, 17.
17. EI, VI, 6-10.

CHAPTER IV

1. Manu, XII, 94, 95
2. Medhāthi on Manu, II, 22-23.
3. HC, 56-57.
4. OYC. II. 164-65.
5. HC, 236-38.
6. Manu. VII, 201-209 *Arthaśāstra* (Tr. by Shama Shastri) Bk. VII, Ch. 16. 339.
7. There were exceptions.
8. BG, I, Pt. I. 81-2.
9. OYC, I, 176, 343.
10. EI. VIII. 47.
11. CII, III. 112.
12. Manu VII, 131-132.
13. *Prāchina Lekhamālā* (N.S.) No. 84.
14. HIO, I, 69, No. 40.

15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. GYC, I. 153. BRW, I, 77.
18. CII, III, No. 14, vv. 17-8.
19. GYC, I, 171.
20. Ibid, 172.
21. Ibid, 83-4.
22. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

1. E & D, I, 207-8
2. I have accepted the identification of Prithivyaghra of Udayendiram plates with Jayavardhana of the Śailodbhava dynasty as suggested by Dr. Altekar, R, 30-31.
3. EI, XXIII, 147, 151, f.n. 7; XXIV, 176
4. BG, I, Pt. I, 523; E & D, I, 116.
5. E & D, I, 116.
6. HR, I, 284.
7. BG, I, Pt. I, 109, f.n. 2.
8. E & D, I, 126.
9. Gwalior-prasasti, v. 4, EI, XVIII. 107.
10. Sanjan Plate of Amoghavarsha, v. 9 EI. XVIII. 243.
11. Gwalior-prasasti. v. 4.
12. R, 19.
13. IA, XII 159.
14. Sanjan Plate, v. 7.
15. R, 62.
16. Ibid, 37-38.
17. Ibid, 40.
18. IA, XI, 111.
19. Sanjan Plate, v. 8, IA, XI, 112, ll. 22-3.
20. The line: 'पुरः श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजे' in the colophon of *Harivaṃśa* of Jinasena has to be construed to mean that Vatsarāja was ruling at Avanti; the lines in the Sanjan plates

    विख्यातमेव गुर्जरैरपहाय यस्मात्
    प्रतीहारकेतुमपहृत्य च येन दत्तम् ।

    make this construction most plausible.
    For the defeat of Devarāja, see Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bāuka and Dr Majumdar's remarks thereon: EI, XVIII, pp. 97 ff.
21. R. 35. From the Rāshtrakūṭa records, it is learnt that Dantidurga defeated the rulers of Kāñchi, Kaliṅga, Śrīśaila, Kosala, Mālava, Lāṭa, Ṭaṅka and Sindh The Ellora Daśāvatāra inscription gives the name of the last mentioned king as *Śaṅkhabhūpa*, but this, according to Dr. Altekar, (R, 35 f.n. 13) is an obvious mistake for *Sindhubhūpa*. As Sindh was during this time under the Arabs, it is possible that Dantidurga defeated an Arab ruler of Sind.
22. EI, XII, 202-03, I, 34.

23. EI. XXIV, 176-79.
24. Gwalior-praśasti, v. 7.
25. Osia Stone Inscription, JRAS, 1907. Pt. II. 1010-11; Daulatpura Plates, EI, V, 208-13, JBBRAS, XXI. 410.
26. R, 31. The Pallavan grant of A.D. 796 states that Govinda called to his assistance even the hostile kings of Mālava, Kāñchi, Vengi and of the Gaṅga country. The kings of Mālava at this time were the Gūrjara-Pratihāras
27. See fn. 11, Appendix I.
28. For details see Tripathi: *History of Kanauj*, 211, Majumdar, *History of Bengal* I, 106-08; R. 55-8
29. Gwalior-praśasti, v. 7
30. BV, II, Pl. 4, 87, vs. 29
31. Khalimpur plates. EI. IV, 248, 252.
32. Gwalior-praśasti, v. 8.
33. EI, XVIII. 87.
34. Gwalior-praśasti, v. 11.
35. PCa, XI, vv. 704-08, p. 108
36. EI, IX. 2. Kielhorn held that Bāhukadhavala flourished in the reign of Mihira Bhoja and so did Smith (JRAS, 1909, 266), and Chanda (Gauḍarāja-lekhamālā, 28). But his great-grandson flourished in A.D. 893 and I agree with Banerjee and Majumdar (IHQ. X, 40) that he was a feudatory of Nāgabhaṭa II.
37. The Una plate states that Bahukadhavala defeated a Karnāṭa army (EI, IX. I 3). This record also states that Bāhukadhavala had defeated Dharma, that is Dharmapāla, the Pāla emperor of Bengal. Undoubtedly, Bāhukadhavala was helping Nāgabhaṭa.
38. IA, XII, 156.
39. Sanjan plate, v. 22.
40. IA, XII, 180, L. 26-7.
41. Ibid. l. 40
42. EI, IX, 200.
43. PCa, XI, v. 719, p. 109.
44. Barah plate of Bhoja, EI, XIX, 15-19.
45. PCa. XI, vv. 720-736.
46. EI, I, v. 7, 156-7
47. EI, V, 213.
48. Gwalior-praśasti, v. EI, XVIII, 101.
49. Majumdar: *History of Bengal*, I, 116-121.
50. KUC, I, vv. 24-29.

CHAPTER VI

1. Gwalior-praśasti, vv. 15-16, EI, XVIII, 107.
2. Barah Copper plate: EI, XIX, 17.
3. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratīhāra Bāuka, v. 26, EI. XVIII, 85.
4. Ghaṭiyala Prakrit Inscription of Kakkuka, JRAS, 1895, 516.
5. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, v. 18.
6. Daulatpura (Jodhpur) Copper plate of Bhojadeva; EI, V,

208-13; for controversy about the date see JBBRAS. XXI. 430 ff, JRAS. 1901, 641; EI, VIII, Appendix, p. 1.
7. PV, V, vv. 30-31, DHNI, II, 1060-63
8. Harsha Inscription of Chāhamāna Vigrahārāja, v 62 IA, XLII (1913), 62.
9. Dholpur (Rajputana) Inscription of Chāhamāna Chandamahāsena, ZDMG, XL, 39 ff.
10. Partabgarh (Rajputana) Inscription of Mahendrapāla II. EI, XIV, 182 ff.
11. Ratanpalli, JBBRAS. IX. 20-100.
12. Haddāla (Kathiawar) plates of the Chāpa *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Dharanivarāha was issued from Vardhamāna identified with Wadhwan. IA, XII, 183 ff, for the date see Ibid, XXIII. 114, No. 6.
13. EI. XII, 10 ff.
14. PC. (ed. by Jinavijaya Muni). 11.
15. See above, Chapter II. foot-notes 3. 4, 5, 36 37, 38.
16. EI, VI, 238-39.
17. Dharmapuri plates of Vākpatirāja, IA, VI. 51 ff.
18. HP. 29.
19. NC. XI, v. 76; Udayapur-prasasti, v 7. EI. I. 225.
20. Udayapur-prasasti gives the genealogy of the Paramāras. For Dambaramaha see Arthuna (Banswara State, Rajputana) inscription, EI, XIV, 297.
21. Udayapur-prasasti, v. 8. EI, I, 225.
22. Ibid, v. 9.
23. Gwalior-prasasti, v. 9: EI. XVIII. 110
24. Badal-pillar inscription, EI, II, 161.
25. Ibid.
26. ASI, 1903-04. 282.
27. ASR (Cunningham). III, 129; MASB. V, 64-4, No 3.
28. ASI, 1920-21, 35; DHNI, I. 302.
29. Kahla (Gorakhpur District, U.P.) plate of the Kalachuri Sodhadeva. EI, VII, 85 Ed by Kielhorn.
30. Amoda (Bilaspur District, C.P.) plates of the Kalachuri Mahāmandaleśvara Prithvīdeva I. dt. ES, 831 (A.D. 1079), EI. XIX, 76.
31. Chatsu (Jaipur) stone inscription of Bālāditya, vv 22-23, EI, XII, 10.
32. *Sri Bhaktadarsan Gadwal ki Rivayaton Vālā* gum, p. 5-6; *Historical and Statistical Account of Deccan Dom.* 79 80.
33. Begumra plates of Dhruva II. v 31, IA, XII. 179
34. Begumra plates, IA, XII, 154.
35. Ibid, v. 41.
36. EI, XIX, 174.
37. IA, XIII, 66.
38. EI. IX. 34.
39. EI, I, 186.
40. RT, V, v. 128.
41. Ibid, V, vv. 149-55.

42. KAB. II, 228-29.
43. E & D, I. 233.
44. William Muir: *The Caliphate, Its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 543-44.
45. E & D, I. 23 ff. 454.
46. Ferrand: *Textes Geographiques*. I. 94, f.n. 7: Hodivala reads it as Hindya, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, 25.
47. E & D. 22.
48. Ibid, 4.
49. Ibid, 13-14.
50. Ibid, 21-3, 25.
51. Peluva Inscription, EI, I, 186.
52. The Benares grant of Karna states that the Kalachuris king Kokkalla (c. 7, EI, II, 308) 'granted freedom from fear to Bhoja'. This is a round about way of admitting by Kokkalla's descendant that he was a feudatory of Bhoja. For the identification of this Bhoja with Bhoja II see DH[NI, II, 754.
53. MASB. V, Pt. III, 64, EI. IX. 5; IA. XVI. 174.
54. Una (Junagadh) Inscription, EI, IX, 1.
55. MASB, V, Pt. III. 64-5; IA. 1918. 110; PRAS. Central Circle, 1920-21, 5; ASI, 1923-24, 101; JBORS. 1928, 505. IA. XV, 105.
56. RT. V, v. 155.
57. KI, I. 242.
58. IA, XV, 105.
59. EI, I, 162
60. IA, XVII, 201; Tripathi: *History of Kanauj*. 232-3
61. EI I. 184-90.
62. Smith: *Cat. Coins. Ind. Mus. (Calcutta)*. I, 232-33, 241-42. Cunningham: *Coins of Med. Ind.*, 49, Plate VI, Nos. 20, 21.
63. EI. XVIII, 101.
64. Medhātithi on Manu, VII, 32-33.
65. Ibid, VII, 100.
66. Ibid, VII, 101.
67. Ibid. VII, 92
68. Ibid, VII, 89.
69. Ibid, VII, 70
70. Ibid. VII, 16.
71. Ibid, VII, 11.
72. Ibid. VII, 32
73. Ibid, VII, 56.
74. Ibid, VII. 61, 81.
75. Ibid. VII, 155.
76. Ibid, VII. 162.
77. Ibid, VII, 165
78. Ibid, VII, 63.
79. Ibid, VII, 65.
80. Ibid, VII, 56.
81. Ibid, VII, 129, 130.
82. Ibid, VII, 53
83. Ibid, VII, 3-9.
84. Ibid, VII, 27.

85. Ibid. VII, 201-202
86. Ibid, VII, 17.
87. Ibid, VII, 18.
88. Ibid, VII, 26
89. Ibid. VII, 13
90. Ibid, IX, 112.
91. Ibid, II, 18
92. Ibid II. 2, 6.
93. Ibid, IX, 168.
94. Ibid, VII, 42.
95. Ibid, III, 67.
96. Ibid X, 127
97. Ibid. IX, 95.
98. Ibid, VII, 213.
99. Ibid, IX. 94.
100. Ibid, VIII, 267.
101. Ibid, V, 156
102. Ibid, II, 22: आर्या वर्त्तन्ते तत्र पुनः पुनः उद्भवन्ति शक्त्या अपि न चिरं तत्र स्थेयम् । यदाचारो भवति: । तत्र यदि कश्चित् क्षत्रियादिजातीयो राजा साम्राज्याचरणो म्लेच्छान् पराजयेत् चातुर्वर्ण्यं वा स्थापयेत् स्थेयमिति आचार्यो ब्रूयात् । चोरान्तान् व्यवस्थापयेत् सोपि स्याद् दक्षिणः । यतो न मूर्खैः स्थानं दुष्टा संस्थिति हि सा दुष्यति ।
103. Devala, 1
104. Ibid, 2.
105. Ibid, 17, 18.
106. Ibid, 38. Devala prescribed a most easy penance for the abducted women.
107. Ibid, 16.
108. Ibid, 54 ff.
109. Ibid, 30, 31.
110. Ibid, 39.
111. Ibid, 48, 50, 52.
112. Ibid, 59, 60.
113. Ibid, 72.
114. For details of Rājaśekhara's works see first edition of the present work, (89 ff) or K. M. Munshi: Gujarat and Its Literature. Rājaśekhara received equal honour from Yuvarāja I of Chedi, who had brought about the downfall of Mahipāla. But such transfer of allegiance by the Brāhmaṇas was not uncommon in those days. Bhāva Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of Mālava king, became the guru of Siddharāja, after the former was vanquished by the latter.
115. Sīta has already been mentioned. Rājaśekhara's wife Avantisundarī was also a lady of great accomplishment. The poet quotes her opinion thrice in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā (20. 46, 57), and the Karpūramañjarī, was staged, if not written, at her request.
116. KM, 50.

CHAPTER VII

1. EI, I, 122.
2. EI, I, 170-72; JBBRAS, XXI, 406-07.
3. IA, XII, 247; EI, VII, 29.
4. EI, I, 52.
5. EI, IX, 24.
6. JBBRAS XVIII, 253. कृत्वोर्वरपतिस्तस्मात् हेलोन्मूलितनेकपः। अवेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जिनवा येन न विस्मितम्।
7. EI, XVII, 30, 38.
8. Lewis Rice's Ed (Bangalore, 1898), 3; Harṣacarita-vārttika-sāra, Introduction, XIV.
9. EI, VII, 34-35; XIII, 328. JBBRAS, XVII, 250-51.
10. IA, XVI, 174.
11. EI, XII, 12-26; VII, 89-90.
12. IA, XII, 180 ff; IA, XVIII, 90; EI IX, 1.
13. IA, XV, 140; ASI, 1924-25, 168, IA, XVI, 174
14. Hālāyudha, I, 7. (Carl Cappeller's edition, 1885), 3
15. EI, VII, 23-34.
16. The Sangli plate of Govinda IV states that the Gangā and Yamunā served as his palace. IA, XII, 240.
17. Bengal Asiatic Society Plate, IA, XV, 138.
18. Cambay plate of Govinda IV. EI VII, 26; Bodhgaya and Nalanda stone image inscriptions of Gopāla II, JASB, 1908, 102, 105.
19. Deoli plate of Krishna III states that all hope of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa vanished from the heart of Gurjara. At Jura in the Maihar State of Baghelkhand agency a Cantrese eulogy of Krishna III inscribed on stone has been found. (EI XIX, 267). This shows conclusively that his claims to have conquered Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa were not vain boasts.
20. Harsola grant, EI. XIX. 236.
21. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 10, EI, I, 237.
22. The Partabgarh inscription dated V.S. 1003 (A.D. 946) of Mahīpāla's son, Mahendrapāla II (EI, XIV. 176) records that Ujjain was being ruled by a governor of Mahendrapāla. Mahendrapāla II is nowhere credited with having conquered Ujjain or any other territory; hence one can be almost certain that Ujjain was recovered by Mahīpāla. (Tripathi: History of Kanauj, 264). It is, however, not possible to determine the date, but probably Mahīpāla launched his campaign against the Rāshṭrakūṭas soon after A.D. 830.
23. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 11, EI, I, 237.
24. NC, XI, v. 90.
25. Khajuraho Inscription, v. 23. EI, I, 126
26. NC, XI, 89.
27. Imperial Gurjaras, 1st Ed., p 111. Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa, Vol. III.)
28. EI, V, 178, 170.

29. Khajuraho Inscription of Dhanga, v. 22, EI, I, 122. It is generally assumed that as Śrīvara occupied north Gujarat for some time, he must have been called the Gūrjara king. Apart from the fact that the Paramaras were never called Gūrjaras, it does not appear to be true that the occupation of any part of modern Gujarat would entitle a king to be called 'king of Gūrjara' in the 10th century. In the Udaipur-prasasti (v. 18) clear distinction is made between Gurjara king, and Bhima, who can be no other than the Chaulukya king of Gujarat.
30. EI, XIV, 295.
31. *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, vv. 276-278. Udayapur-*praśasti* v. 12 also mentions Śrīvara's victory over Khoṭṭiga.
32. NC, XI, v. 89.
33. EI, XIV, 176.
34. DHNI, I, 500 ff and 611.
35. v. 31, EI, I, 122.
36. Khajuraho Inscription of Dhanga vv. 42-43, EI, I, 129 & 134. The credit for building this temple and excavating a big tank is given to Yaśovarman by another Khajuraho inscription of Dhanga dated V.S. 1059 (v.v. 38-39, EI, I, 144).
37. Khajuraho Inscription, v. 43, EI, I, 129.
38. Sasbahu Inscription, v. 6, IA, XV, 36 and 41. Dr. Ray is of the opinion that the Chandellas accepted the hegemony of Dhanga. (DHNI, II, 820). The Khajuraha inscription of Dhanga where Gwalior is claimed as his frontier is dated V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954-55), while the Kachchhaghata Vajradāman who is said to have conquered Gwalior probably lived up to A.D. 977 (DHNI, II, 823). Hence it seems quite likely that Dhanga lost Gwalior to Kachchhapaghātas some time between A.D. 954-977.
39. EI, I, 197.
40. Sasbahu Inscription, v. 6.
41. EI, I, 15.
42. EI, III, 203.
43. The Goharwa grant of Lakshmī-Karṇa, v. 8, EI, XI, 142.
44. IA, 1910, 191.
45. Dr. Ray believes that Bhartṛpaṭṭa remained a feudatory of Mahendrapala II, DHNI, II, 1168-69.
46. Harsha Stone Inscription, v. 19; IA, 1953, 58, 62.
47. IA, VI, 48-53. In the Nagpur-prasasti (v. 23, EI, II, 184) he is called Muñja, and Vākpati in the rest of the Paramara inscriptions.
48. PC Tr. by Tawney, 50.
49. Udayapur-*praśasti*, v. 15. Kauthem grant, EI, 41-42, IA, XVI, 23.
50. Bijapur Inscription of Dhavala of Hastikundi, vv. 9-10, EI, X, 20.
51. HP, 52.
52. Vasantagadh (Sirohi State, Rajputana) Inscription of Paramāra Pūrṇapāla of Chandrāvatī, EI, IX, 12; corrected by

Bhandarkar, IA, XL. 259. Utpalarāja of this inscription has been identified with Vākpati Muñja

53. Jhalor (Jodhpur State, Rajputana) Inscription of the time of Paramāra Vīsala PRAS, WC, 1908-9, 54; IA, LXII, 41.
54. Nahar: Jaina-lekha-saṅgraha, I. 251-53; Bhandarkar's List, No. 312: Bhandarkar reads the name of the successor of Sindhurāja as Usat(pa)la; HP, 23; DHNI, II, 925-26.
55. Sundha Hill Inscription, v. 7. EI, IX. 75.
56. Kauthem grant, ll. 41-42, IA, XVI. 23.
57. JBBRAS, XVI, 173-4.
58. EI, X, 20.
59. Imperial Gazetteer (1st Ed.), 113.
60. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 14.
61. मालवप्रकुलीनः सगलसामन्तचक्रचूडामणिः ।
सकलनृपैकबन्धुः श्रीमान् भुजविक्रमार्जितः ।
जयति भुवनैकवीरः श्रीसिन्धुराजनृपतिविद्वत्सभाविभवः ।
भनवरतवितीर्णविपुलद्रविणनिर्जितसकलधिषणोर्जुनः ॥
स जयति वाक्पतिराजः सकलाश्चिन्तोरुवेश्मदीपसमः ।
मत्यधिभूत्वाधिगलद्गौडवधूहरणदुर्ललितः ।
Halāyudhas' commentary on Pingalacharya's Chhandaśāstram, (Kavyamala Series, 91) p. 34.
62. GL. 63.
63. The date of Muñja's death was fixed by Bühler, EI, I. 228. See also, ZDMG, LIX, LXI; BGI. pt. II, 432.
64. JBBRAS, XVI, 174.
65. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 13.
66. Daśarupakam, (NS. 1928), 102, 103: Kāvyamala, Pt. 2, ed Durgaprasad and Parab, Bombay, 1886, 37, Ibid Pt. 4, 1887, 125; Ibid. Pt. I, 2nd ed. 1893. 131.
67. BV. (Hindi-Gujarati) I, 89, 91
68. DV, IV.
69. PC, 19.
70. DV, I, vv. 2-3 & 56.
71. GL, 17. For a contrary view see E & D, I, 266; BG I. pt I, 137, 139, Archaeological Survey of Western India, II. 159-64.
72. KK, II. v. 3
73. IA, XII, 199.
74. PC 16; PV; IA VI, 81. Kantikot is in Cutch. This must therefore be after the fall of Lakhā.
75. EI, X, 20.
76. Kiradu Inscription of Kumārapāla's reign mentions a king called Dharanīdhara. (IA, LXI. 135). Probably Dharanīdhara and Dhārāvarsha were identical
77. BV, I, 82; IA, VI, 191; EI X, 76.
78. PC. 17.

79. The Kadi grant of V.S.1043 (A.D.987) (JA, VI, 292–293) records that before making the grant, Mūlarāja worshipped at Rudramahālaya. See also *Rās-Mālā* (Guj. Trans. 3rd Ed., Published by Forbes Gujarati Sabha), 61–66.
80. DV, I, vv. 181–184.
81. KK, II, v. 5.
82. Kadi grant: IA, 191.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Khajuraho inscription, v. 17. EI, I, 218.
2. Khairha and Jubbulpore grants of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, v. 11, EI, II, 3; EI, II, 211.
3. R. C. Majumdar: *History of Bengal* I, 133–4.
4. C. I, 250, 251, n.
5. C. 245
6. IA, I, 3.
7. DHNI, I, 36 ff.
8. EI, IX, 182. Banswara is in Rajputana. Baroda is a village in Banswara State.
9. Ibid, XVIII, 320.
10. IA, VI, 53.
11. JHQ, VIII, (1932), 305–15.
12. IA, VI, 193–94.
13. JBBRAS, XX, 49.
14. Rupam, 1924, I.
15. IA, XVIII, 108–10.
16. *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, (1919), 319.
17. EI, XIX, 69
18. Ibid, III, 46.
19. Ibid, IX, 148.
20. NC, XI, v. 58.
21. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 20; EI, I, 233.
22. HP, 78.
23. Sarasvati-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa (1884 Ed.), 108; A.S.I, 1935–16, 102
24. NC, XI, vv. 15–17.
25. PC, 22.
26. Mandhata plate, EI, III, 46.
27. Actually the Vadnagar-praśasti (v. 6, EI, I, 298) states: "Inhaling even from afar the breeze perfumed with the ichor of his (Chāmuṇḍa's) excellent elephants, the illustrious Sindhurāja fled together with his own elephants that were cowed by the smell of (their opponents) rut, and vanished in such wise that even all trace of the fame of that prince was lost". This is the only authority for concluding that Chāmuṇḍa fought with Sindhurāja, assuming that the king mentioned here is not the king of Sindh, but the homonymous Paramāra king. But the statement of the Vadnagar-praśasti, is too vague to conclude that an insignificant king

like Chāmuṇḍā could attack Paramāra Sindhurāja. Hence it is most probable that Sindhurāja was the aggressor, but was unsuccessful so that the Paramāra records do not mention this incident.

28. DV, VII. v. 31.
29. Merutuṅga gives exactly the same story about Durlabharāja and the king of Mālava and adds that it was for this reason that Bhīma became the enemy of Bhoja. (PC, 26).
30. DV, VII. vv. 35–46.
31. Height of fiction is reached by Jayasiṁha Sūri who states:

वर्षाबिल्लभराजाऽभूत् पेतृ श्रीवल्लभादिभिः।
भुंजोऽवंतिश्वरो धारायंत्रेणापि पुनं वधीः KUC 1.

Merutuṅga, the earlier writer, contents himself by saying that Vallabha died while besieging Dhara.

32. Vadnagar-prasasti, v. 7, EI. I. 296
33. The date of Bhoja's accession is doubtful. Bühler suggested that Bhoja came to the throne in A.D. 1010 (Paiyalacchī, ed. by Bühler, Intr. 9). Dr. Ganguly has accepted the authority of Merutuṅga and concluded that Bhoja came to the throne in the early part of A.D. 990. (HP. 31). But no dates are the weakest points in Merutuṅga's narrative. I have preferred to follow Bühler's surmise
34. PC, 22.
35. IA, XII, 203; WZKM. VII, 69.
36. Kalvan inscription, 11 6–7, EI. XIX, 71–72; Udayapur-praśasti v. 18, EI. I. 235.
37. The Bethia plates, EI. XVIII, 320.
38. From the Thana plates of Konkana king Aparājita, (IA, XII, 254) it is learnt that he was ruling in Konkana in A.D. 1017.
39. Kulenur Inscription, EI, XV, 339; HP. 90–91.
40. IA, V, 17.
41. Kulenur Inscription, EI, XV. 330.
42. PC, 45
43. HP. 95.
44. EI, IX, 182.
45. Belwa plates, EI, XVIII, 329.
46. PC, 36.
47. Pārijātamañjarī, v. 3, EI, VIII, 201.
48. This date of Gāṅgeyadeva is known from a Nepal mss. dated Samvat 1076. JASB, LXXII (1903), pt. I, 18. For another view see IHQ, VII, 681. DHNI, II, 772. The only known inscription of Gāṅgeyadeva is dated (K) Samvat 788. (A.D. 1038). Cunningham, ASR, XXI, 133.
49. Mahoba Inscription v. 21. EI. I. 221–22
50. KV, 37.
51. T.P., I. 16
52. KV, 321–28.
53. AI, II, 13–14.
54. RT, Stein's Tr., I, 272–73.

55. RT, VII, vv. 64-65.
56. AT, II, 12.
57. TA, 14; KZA, 79-80, I accept the identification of Nanda with Bida Vidyādhara as suggested by Dr. Ray, DHNI II, 622.
58. *Jaina Sahitya Samśodhaka*, III, 1.
59. Vividha-tirtha Kalpa (SJG) 29:

तओ अन्नया, अओ गज्जणवई गुज्जरं भोत्तुं ठओ वलंतो पत्तो सच्चउरे दसइक्कामीए। १०८१। विक्कमवरिसे सिद्धसओ।

60. PC, 32.
61. K. M. Munshi: *Somanātha, the Shrine Eternal*, (Souvenir Ed.), 14.
62. TKA, IX, 248.
63. Quoted by Dr. Nazim: *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Appendix; see also Dr. Nazim: *Somnath Expedition of Mahmud*, JRAS, 1929, 215.
64. Kanh. IX, 243 ff. DHNI, II, 951, fn. 1.
65. E & D, IV, 183.
66. TF, I, 70-71.
67. E & D, II, 249.
68. KZA (Text), 86-7.
69. TA, 15-16.
70. TF, I, 57.
71. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 19.
72. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 20; WZKM, III, 1-19.
73. *Tarikh-i-Somnath*, Trans. by Ranchodji Amarji, (Bombay, 1883), 112.
74. E & D, II, 44-46.
75. Maholia Inscription, v. 22. EI, I, 219-228.
76. Dubkund (Gwalior) Inscription of Kachchhapaghata Vikramasimha, EI, II 233, 207-8.
77. Sasbahu Inscription, v. 10, IA, XV, 36, 42-43.
78. *Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona (1919), 327.
79. IA, XVII, 8-9; for details see HP, 109-110, Muñja as we have seen is credited by Halayudha with the conquest of Champū. (See above Ch. VII, fn. 61). This Champā might have been the ancient name of Chamba
80. PV, V, v. 67.
81. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 17.
82. IA, XII, 203.
83. IA, XIV, 102-03.
84. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 21. EI, I, 233.
85. Nagpur-praśasti, v. 32, EI, II, 185, 192.
86. Udayapur-praśasti, v. 20.
87. EI, VIII, 96 ff.
88. *Rupam*, January, 1924, 1.
89. JBBRAS, XXI, 347.
90. IA, XVIII, 35.
91. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, VII, 121.

92. RT, VII, 190-193.
93. Ibid. Stein's note.
94. Meghadutam (Purva), v. 32.
प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जह्रे
हैमं तालद्रुमवनमभूत्तत्र तस्यैव राज्ञः।
अत्रोद्भ्रान्तः किल नलगिरिः स्तम्भमुत्पाट्य दर्पा-
दित्यागन्तून् रमयति जनो यत्र बन्धुनभिज्ञः॥
95. Ibid, vv. 37, 39:
वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां,
सौधोत्संगप्रणयविमुखो मा स्म भूरुज्जयिन्याः।
विद्युद्दाम्नस्फुरितचकितैस्तत्र पौरांगनानां,
लोलापांगैर्यदि न रमसे लोचनैर्वंचितोऽसि॥
जालोद्गीर्णैरुपचितवपुः केशसंस्कारधूप-
र्बन्धुप्रीत्या भवनशिखिभिर्दत्तनृत्तोपहारः।
हर्म्येष्वस्याः कुसुमसुरभिष्वध्वखेदं नयेथाः,
पक्ष्मोत्क्षेपादुपरिविलसत्कृष्णशारैरिवाक्ष्णोः॥
96. ASR, 908-09, 125.
97. CI, I, III. 148.
98. BRW. II, 271.
99. RT. IV, v. 250
100. X, 114: यद्विद्वद्भवनेषु भोजनृपतेस्तन्नाम लोलायितम्।
101. ASB, 288, 302.
102. For details of the literary works of Bhoja see, K. M. Munshi: *Gujarat And Its Literature*.
103. EI, IX, 113.
104. VS, XVIII, v. 96.
105. Udayapur-prasasti, v 18.

CHAPTER IX

1. Radhanpur grant, IA. VI. 190-94.
2. Mount Abu Vimala Temple Inscription, EI, IX. 156.
3. See above, vol. I, Ch. VII. fn 76.
4. Mount Abu Vimala Temple Inscriptions vv. 6-8; Vasantagadh Inscription, v. 8, EI, IX. 13.
5. Sundha Hill Inscription, vv. 13-14, 18. EI, IX, 70 ff. Bhinmal Inscriptions dated V.S. 1117 and 1123, BG, I, pt. 1. 472-74.
6. EI. XI, 308.
7. PC. 32.
8. DV, VIII, vv. 52-56
9. Six Saindhava Inscriptions. EI. XXVI, 185.

10. PC, 30-31.
11. Ibid, 51.
12. DV, IX, v. 57.
13. VC, III, v. 67.
14. Jubbulpore grant of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, v. 16, EI, II. Khaira grant of Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, v. 16, EI, XII, 212.
15. Memoirs ASI, No. 21, 132.
16. PC, 77.
17. Ibid, 53.
18. PV, V, vv. 76-78.
19. Dhamanaśobhha grant, JBBRAS, XXVI, 250.
20. Sundha Hill Inscription, vv. 24 25, EI. IX. 70.
21. It is also identified with modern Āśāvala near Ahmedabad.
22. PC, 55.
23. Sanak Grant of Karṇa. EI, I, 316 ff.
24. JPPS. I, 99 योगदृष्टिसमुच्चय, स. ११४६ समाप्तोऽयं योगदृष्टि-समुच्चय ।
कृतिरियंतभिलाराचार्यहरिभद्रस्य । संवत् ११४६ कार्तिक शुदि . . . कर्णदेवकल्याणविजयराज्यं महामात्यमुंजालपट्टकावस्थिते एवं काले प्रवर्तमाने इहैव श्रीमद्वणहिल्लपाटकावस्थि . . . ॥
25. Nagpur-prasasti, EI, II, 192.
26. E & D, IV, 518-24.
27. DV, XI, vv. 111-112.
28. PC, 55.
29. JPPS, 100, n. 14.
30. Ibid, 101, n. 25.
31. GMRI, I, 234.
32. IA, XVIII, 341.
33. JPPS, 100, n. 14.
34. PCa, 178, v. 193 ff.
35. PRAS, WC, 1905-06, 55.
36. Ibid, 1907-08, 38.
37. *Rajputana Museum Report*, 2; *Prasthana*, IX, 126. The date of this inscription is defaced, but is said to fall between Samvat 1161 and 1185 (A.D. 1104-1128).
38. JPPS, 103, Nos. 36, 38.
39. Ibid, 103, n. 40. The earliest known inscription in which the epithet Avantināth was used is the Gale stone inscription of V.S. 1185 (c. A.D. 1128) JBBRAS, XXV. 322-24.
40. Ibid.
41. Bhandarkar's List No. 236, EI, XIX, Appendix, 37.
42. Ibid, No. 237.
43. PRAS, WC. 1912-13, 55: IA. XLII, 259.
44. Archæological Report Western India, No. 2, Appendix, p xlii, No. 56
45. IA, X, 159, vv. 1, 2, 41:
श्रीभोजसिंहदेवोऽस्ति भूपो गूर्जरमंडले । येन कारागृहे क्षिप्तौ सुराष्ट्र मालवेश्वरौ ॥ अन्योप्युत्पादिता येन सिन्धुराजादयो नृपाः ।

आज्ञां शिरसि शेषेव वाहिता उत्तरे नृपाः ॥ एतस्यो पृथ्वीनाथात् केशवो वाहिनी . . . पतिः । सेनापतिप्रभृ प्रभृति दधिपद्मादिमंडले ॥

46. Kirodu Inscription, Poona Orientalist, Vol. I. 40.
47. IA, 1929, 234-36
48. EI, XI. 32-33.
49. According to PC. 76, he died in V.S. 1199. This date, in view of the Bali Stone inscription (above fn. 48), is incorrect.
50. Todd Travels in Western India, 148.
51. IA, X, 159.
52. Bali Inscription of Jayasimha, EI XI. 33. For Kumārapāla's Inscription see HIG, III (Miscellaneous Inscriptions), n. 144. D.
53. PPS, 31-32.
54. PC, 58: तच्चरणौ प्रक्षाल्य तत्पादतले त्रणव्रणदानादिदानंजलचुलुकं निक्षिप्य तं राजानं निवर्तयामास ।

Merutunga refers to the king of Mālava as Yaśovarman, but he came to the throne in A.D. 1193. He must, therefore, be Naravarman.

55. PC. 57. I accept Acharya Jinavijayji's identification with a place at the foot of Girnar Mountain. *Gurjara Kavya Sangraha*. 743.
56. PS, 135:

भो रम्भे रोगिणीनां कापि जनयेत् गुलमीदृशम् ।
बृहद्भाग्यफलं यस्य मृतमातुरलन्तरम् ॥

57. PC, 75.
58. DV, XI. 114, 115.
59. PC. 55-56.
60. Peterson's Report V, 81. See the colophon of *Ādinātha-charita* (A.D. 1160)
61. PC, 75: PC. Tr. by Tawney, 115.
62. PC, 64, VTK, 9
63. Ras-mala (Guj Edn.). 211-19.
64. See above fn. 45.
65. From early days Barbaras were considered as a kind of Mlechchhas. (MBH. *Sānti-Parva* XXXII, 37, *Drona-Parva* XCXIX 15, 21, 45). They are referred to as *Daspus* in *Sānti-Parva* LVI 13. Ptolemy puts Barbari as a town on the Indus. (McCrindle's *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, 146) Rājaśekhara puts them with Pusyas and Turushas. Vijaya Chandra puts them with Nepala, Takka, Taikara, and describes Barbara, as a country which a Chakravarti must master. A part of Saurashtra is still called Bābaria Vāda. Barbaraka must be a tribe of tribes living in the shadow of the southern spur of the Aravallis. BV, (Hindi-Guj.), I, 65. 67, note.
66. DV, XII, v. 65. ff, XIII, vv 1-2.

67. IA, XVII. 341; Rajputana Museum Report, 2.
68. EI, XI, 33.
69. IA, X, 159.
70. Dhanikar's List, No. 250; IA, 1929, 234-36.
71. PRAS, WC, 1909-10, 52.
72. JRAS, 1915, 272; IA, 1897, 162-64
73. PC, 76; KK, II, v. 28.
74. PV, VI, vv 34-35
75. Ojha: *Solankiyon Ka Prachina Itihasa*. I. 117. DHNI, II, 912.
76. Rajputana Museum Report, 1915, 2.
77. IA, XIX, 349; HP, 163.
78. DV, XIV. v 72. खरापर्व्वणष्टमथ कौलटिनेपकुब्जया,
दाक्षाटकैरमिव तं चटकारिणाशौ।
अप्राप्त मालवपतिं युधि वर्णिताभि,
नारेरकः खपुलकश्चलुलकप्रवीरः॥
79. Merutunga gives a more fanciful story, but probably it was based on this element of truth. PC, 58-59.
80. Possibly a reference to Jain ministers.
81. PPS, 75.
82. PC, 59
83. DV, XIV, V, 74.
84. Vadhaman-prasasti, v 11, EI. I, 286. From his banner Jayasimha is called *Tamruchudadhvaja: Vagbhatalankara*, IV, 81.
85. Ujjain fragmentary inscription of Jayasimha, PRAS, WC, 1912-13, 55 and IA, XLII, 258.
86. KK. II, v 37.
87. Dohad Inscription, IA, XX, 158, for identification of Sindhuraja with the ruler of Sind, see DHNI, II, 972.
88. B. A Saletore: *An Unidentified Embassy to the Court of King Siddharaja of Gujarat*: Pr. of Tenth Indian History, Congress (1947), 222.
89. Ibid. KK. II. *Jayamangala's account of Siddharaja's encounter with Madanavarman is, to say the least, fanciful, so that I have omitted all the details related by him.*
90. JASB, XVII (1848). pl. I, 318; l. 14. The tradition that Madanavarman defeated a Gurjara king is recorded by the Hindi poet Chand, IA, XXXVII, 144.
91. PC. 74 The name Jayachandra given by Merutunga is a mistake.
92. PRAS, WC, 1906, 258.
93. PC. 61-62. GMRI. I. 258.
94. DV, XV. v. 115
95. Ibid. XV, v. 87.
96. KCA. I, v. 3
97. Prasthana, XII. n. V. 283.
98. The capital of the Chaulukyas was known as Anahilapataka,

Anahillapura, Anahillapattana, and later came to be known as Anahilavāḍa, and Pattana

99. KCA, I, 112.
100. Ibid, I, III, 120
101. Ibid, XV, vv. 115, 121; I, vv. 7, 19.
102. Ibid, I, v 46.
103. Ibid, I, v. 65.
104. Yasachandra *Mudrita-Kumudachandra*. (Sri Jain Yasovijaya Granthamālā. 8) 45.
105. Ibid, IV, 18.
106. BPSI, 186, v. 6.
107. PC, 60-61.
108. Vastupāl-prasasti. v. 30, EI, I, 293.
109. This does not preclude the possibility of Jayasiṁha having issued any grant. For example the known grant of Kumārapāla was found a few years ago, before that it was said that Kumārapāla had not issued any grants. Similarly, Siddharāja's grant may yet be discovered.
110. Elliot, II, 168-169; I understand from Prof. M. Abdulla Chaghatai that this mosque still stands at Cambay though rebuilt later He writes: "As regards the mosque at Cambay, it could only be said that it existed there during the stay of Mohammad 'Awfi, the author of the *Jawami'u'l-Hikayat*. Though at present Cambay is full of mosques yet it is not easy to locate the very mosque. There is one old mosque which bears two or three inscriptions. One of these inscriptions of the later period in Persian verse records its name in the opening verse as *Masjid-i-Sadd-i-Awwal*, the mosque of the first century of Islam. We can presumably infer that this particular mosque may be the same mosque."
111. DV, XV, v. 18; HR, I, 245, fn. 3.
112. PC, 61. According to Merutuṅga, Siddharāja had, during his Mālava campaign, observed that when the banner of Mahākāla temple of Ujjain was raised, all the Jaina temples had to lower their banners. Siddharāja introduced this custom in Gujarat, but withdrew his orders after some Brāhmaṇas had pointed out to him that he was acting against the scriptures.
113. DV, XV, v. 55 GL, 38.
114. PC, 60.
115. DV, I, v. 138.
116. PC, 77-78.
117. Ibid, 78.

CHAPTER X.

1. PC, 78.
2. KUC, III, 67, 69; PC, 77; KP, 23: *Mahārājapurāṇya*, I. 28.
3. PC, 56, 77, 86; KUC, III, 474.
4. KP, 33: पत्तने पाटकाराज्य मरणं सिद्धभूपतेः । C P, 107.
5. PC, 78.
6. Bali Stone Inscription, EI, XI, 33.
7. BPSI, 138-60; *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, 178.
8. *Poona Orientalist*, I. 40.
9. IHG, III, n. 144. EI, 188
10. IA, X, 259: Dhruva, who edited the Dohad pillar inscription referred it to Jayasiṃha's reign. But in view of the Mangrol inscription of Kumārapāla, it is certain that the last part of Dohad inscription belongs to Kumārapāla's reign.
11. PJLS, Pt. I, 251; JBORS, XVIII, 40; HR, I, 204-05
12. EI, II, 421-31
13. PRAS, WC, 1905-06, 61. No 2220, Bhandarkar's List no. 1522, EI, XX, (App.) 209.
14. EI, I, 296, 301.
15. BPSI, 172
16. EI, XI, 70.
17. BPSI, 206, Bhandarkar's list No. 1523, EI, XX, App. 209.
18. PRAS, WC, 1907-08, 51-2.
19. IA, XLI, 202-03.
20. PRAS, WC, 1907-08, 59.
21. Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, no. 4, 38-39, v. 8.
22. Bhandarkar's List, No. 312, EI, XX, App 47.
23. IA, XVIII, 341-43.
24. EI, XI, 54-55.
25. IA, XVIII, 343-44; for the date see IA, XIX, 36, No. 63.
26. WZKM, III; BPSI, 186-88.
27. BPSI, 184: the inscription is dated Valabhi Samvat 850 and Siṃha Samvat 60. "This cannot be correct. According to the Veraval inscription of the reign of Arjunadeva (IA, XI, 242, BPSI, 224), the difference between a Valabhi year and the corresponding Siṃha year (for the month of Aṣāḍha) is 794, while here the difference between 850 and 60 is 790". Kielhorn
28. EI, XI, 47-48.
29. PC, 79, KP, 34.
30. DV, XVI, vv. 14-15; PC, 79: VV, I, III, v. 29. *Vastupāla-Tejaḥpāla-prashasti* (G.O.S.X.) 58, v. 25.
31. DV, XIX, v. 21.
32. IA, LVI, 10. Noticed by Kielhorn, EI, IX, 149.
33. EI, XI, 33-34.
34. EI, XI, 43-46.
35. Ibid, IX, 72.

21. The inscription in which the invasion is mentioned is dated V.S. 1273 (A.D. 1216; EI, II, 437). It is not possible to ascertain the exact date of the invasion, which might have taken place much earlier. The earliest known date of Subhaṭavarman's son and successor, Arjunavarman, is V.S. 1267 (A.D. 1210; J.A.S.B., V; 378). Hence Subhaṭavarman's invasion of Gujarat could not have taken place after A.D. 1209.
22. J A S B., V, 378. JAOS, VII, 26. EI, VIII, 98, 101.
23. CII, III, 50-1.
24. See above, fn. 21.
25. JAOS VII, 32. EI, VIII, 102.
26. This incident is related in the *Surathotsava*, *Pārijāta-manjari*, EI, VIII, 100.
27. EI, II, 438, 444. It also records that Sadhāraṇa defeated the army of Hammīra, presumably of Quṭb-ud-Dīn.
28. HMM, 17.
29. IA, XX, 310-11
30. BPSI, 204-05
31. *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, III, v, 4-6.
32. KK, VI, vv. 1-3.
33. EI, I, 26; GMRI, II, 367-68.
34. See above, fn. 21.
35. Ibid.
36. IA, VI, 196-98
37. Ibid, 199-200.
38. CII, III, 55.
39. PRAS, WC, 1908, 48-9.
40. IA, VI, 251 ff. This grant merely mentions Lavaṇaśākha. The Udayapur stone inscription of Ajayarāja (A.D. 1173, IA, XVII, 344) records that one Lunapasāha was governing Udayapura which was in the *Bayalisāṁś-maṇḍala* (modern Bhilsa). Presumably, the two Lavaṇaśākhas are identical
41. EI, VII, 219, ll. 2-3.
42. Ibid. 200 25.
43. Ibid. 200-04, 208-13
44. IA, VI, 194, 200.
45. *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, 328
46. *Lekha-paddhati*, 32.
47. CII, III, 55.
48. HP, 214, ff; GMRI, II, 373 ff; *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, 330.
49. IA, VI, 205-06.
50. Ibid, 206-08.
51. Ibid, 190.
52. VVI, XIV, v. 31; PJLS, No. 66.
53. IA, VI, 206-06.
54. GMRI, II, 391.
55. Ibid, 399

56. Satrunjaya Inscription of Kumāra Devī, v. 16. EI, IX, 324 & 327.
57. Shivar grant of Jayachandra, ll. 9–10, IA, XVIII. 130 & 133
58. HP, 175–187.
59. IA, LVI, 50.
60. EI, VII. 202–04, 208–10.
61. EI, IX, 77.
62. EI, V, 28–31.
63. TN, I, 466.
64. According to Nizami, Hiraj, the brother of Prithvirāj, was later killed by Qutb ud-Din (E & D, II. 219–20). This Hiraj is presumably Harirāja. But the fort of Ranthambhor, though reduced by both Qutb ud-Din and Iltutmish, was recovered by the Rajput's till Ala ud-Din conquered it from Hammira Deva in A.D. 1301.
65. CHI. III, 41–2
66. TN (Tr Raverty), I, 516
67. IA. XI. 71.
68. Śridhara's Veraval-praśasti, EI. II. 437; Dabhoi-praśasti of Visaladeva, EI. I, 20. The Dabhoi-praśasti was composed by Someśvara, the author of Kirtti-kaumudi and Surathotsava.
69. Suratholsava, XV. vv. 36–7.
70. EI. IX. 109; JASB. IX. 378; JAOS, VII, 26.
71. Dharmamrita prakrita-praśasti, v. 5 ff. Cunningham.
72 Mandhata plate of Devapala and Jaiavarman II, v. 15, EI, IX, 121.
73. Śridhara's Veraval-praśasti, EI, II, 439.
74. Dabhoi-praśasti, EI. I. 20.
75. Catalogue of Mss. in Sanskrit Bhandars; Ms. No 84
76. IA. VI. 190 In the grant he is called Jayantasimha, but the royal sign-manual at the end of the plate calls him Jayasimha
77. The earliest known record which mentions Arjunavarman's victory over Jayasimha is his Paplunagar grant of A.D. 1210. (JASB, V 378). The other two records of Arjunavarman (JAOS. VII. 25, 33) and the inscriptions of his successor Devapāla corroborate his victory (IA. XX. 83. 310. EI. IX, 103–106). In a grant of Jayavarman II. the name of the foe vanquished by Arjunavarman is given as Jaitrasimha, which has been held to be a mistake for Jayasimha (EI, IX, 121, v. 17).
78. IA, VI, 201–03.
79. EI, VIII, 102 ff
80. These are the Kudi grants. IA, VI. 194–208. Bhima issued 6 of these grants and Jayasimha the usurper, one, his only known grant.
81. HMM 11: सुराष्ट्रभौमलक्ष्मणि: श्रीभीमसिंह : . . . .

There is some doubt regarding the identification of this Bhīmasimha. I have here followed the identification pro-

posed by Dr. Ray (DHNI, II, 1020, f.n. 3, 1022). However, Bharatpur stone inscription of A.D. 1219 (HPSI, 804) proves that at that date at least Bhīma was appointing officers to govern Saurashtra.

82. JAOS, VII, 32.
83. IA, XIV, 314.
84. HMM, 17; EI, III, 113.
85. *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, 331, vv. 4-6; VVJ, V, v. 6; KK, IV, v. 3 ff.
86. KK, II, vv. 86-107.
87. KUC, VII, v. 11, *Prabandhakośa*, 104 f. CP, 210. GMRI, II, 307-68.
88. According to Someśvara, when Yādava Simhana attacked Lāṭa, the four Mara kings turned against Gujarat (KK, IV, v. 37). Again, from *Harsamira-mardanamahākāvya*, we learn that when the Yādavas, Paramāras and Sankha were about to invade Lāṭa in concert, there was trouble with the Mara princes. (HMM, Act. I, p. 6). However, there is no doubt that Dhāravarsha, though he might have once rebelled, remained loyal to Gujarat.
89. S. R. Bhandarkar suggested the identification of Milakhī-kāra with Amir-i-Shikara, an office conferred by Qutb ud-Din on Iltutmish (S. R. Bhandarkar: *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss.*). This identification is supported by some other scholars. (HR, II, 467; IA, 1928, 47). Dr. H. C. Ray rejects the identification on phonetic grounds, but finds historical evidence to support the view that Iltutmish proceeded upto Chitod (DHNI, II, 1021, f.n. 6).
90. E & D, II, 208.
91. WZKM, XXI, 143 ff; EI, XI, 73, f.n. 6.
92. (HMM 30: हा तात हा तनय हा प्रिय हा मृगाक्षि हा भगिनि हा भट हा सुनाथ। एवं जनानां विश्वरागां परस्परं कोलाहलैः स्फुटितं हृदयं न कस्य। ततो मल्लिजनमृत्पत्तणेन न भवति गतिरिति चिन्तयित्वा गलनिगडितहृद्वलानि वृषेव कान्यपि मिथुनानि।

This is the description given to Virolhavarsha by an eye-witness of the Muslim invasion of a particular city.

93. IA, VI, 349.
94. HR, II, 467; DHNI, II, 1021, f.n. 8.
95. KUC, 111
96. Makuval (Sirohi, Rajputana) Inscription of Dhāravarsha, V.S. 1276 (A.D. 12191, PRAS, WC, 1916-17, 61.
97. Dabhoi-*prasasti*, v. 45. EI, I, 28. This part of the inscription is very fragmentary.
98. HMM, 5-8, 16; *Sukritakirtikallolini*, vv. 138-140
99. Girnar Inscription, vv. 3-4, *Antiquarian Remains of the Bombay Presidency*, 328-29.
100. EI, VIII, 204-07, and 219-22.
101. KK, IV, vv. 43-63.
102. Lekhapaddati, 52.

103. Tribhuvanapāla is known from only one inscription dt. V.S. 1299 (IA, VI, 208).
104. EI, V, 102-03.
105. Dabhoi-prasasti, EI, I, 20-32.
106. IA, VI, 210.
107. Dabhoi-prasasti, v. 38. EI, I, 29; Kadi grant, IA, VI, 212; Nānaka-prasasti, v. 18, IA, XI, 109.
108. IA, VI, 210
109. Ibid.
110. Hemadri: *Vratakhanda*, v. 46
111. HIG, III, n. 213, 42. vv. 7, 8, 9, 11.
112. श्री वैद्यनाथ भवनन् भुजनैकनाम त्यागव्रते किमपि देव तव प्रसादात्।
नित्यमरातिरहितः महितश्च पुत्रैः कल्पायुतं जयतु वीसलदेव एषः॥ Dabhoi-prasasti, v 113, EI, I, 31
113. EI, I, 272.
114. Paithan Plates, IA, XIV, 314; Purushottampura Plates, EI, XXV, 199.
115. IA, XI, 241-245
116. Cambay Stone Inscription, BPSI, 227. Muralidhar Temple Inscription *Buddhiprakas*, 1950, 77 ASI, 1935-36, 98.
117. *Purātattva*, I, pt. I, 38, 41.
118 Muralidhar Temple Inscription. *Buddhiprakas* 1910, 77, Amir Khusrau in his *Khaza'inul Futuh* (Tr. by M Habib, JBH, VIII, 3581 states that Koka was the 'pardhan' of Mālava. Apparently Koka and Goga are identical.

CHAPTER XII

1. Muralidhar Temple Inscription, v. 13 *Buddhiprakas*, LVII (1930, March-April),
2. CHI, III, 87.
3. Ibid, 97.
4. Merutunga refers to this incident in his *Vicharasreni*, JBBRAS, IX.
5. PC, was written between A.D. 1303-1306. VTK. was also written about the same time. *Dharmāranya* may be assigned to the period A.D. 1300-1450 and *Kanhadde-prabandha* to c. A.D. 1456 GL, 103. *Kanhadde-prabandha*, I. 13-15:

तिणि अवसरि गूजरधरराइ, सारंगदे नामि बोलाई। तिणि अवगणित माधव मंत्रि, तांहि लगइ विग्रह आरंभ॥ रीसाव्यु मुलयु परधान, करी प्रतिज्ञा नीम्यु थान। गूजरातनी नु मोचन फरू तु खरकाणु आणु अंकूं॥ *Dharmāranya* LXVII, 68-69.

राज्यासने स्थितः कर्णो महाराजः प्रतापवान्। जातोऽमात्यस्तस्य दुष्टो निर्गुणो माधवाह्वयः॥ देशद्रोहकरः पापी दुष्टात्मा च कुलाधमः। क्षत्रराज्यस्य निर्भंगो म्लेच्छराजस्य स्थापक॥ VTK, 30.

अह तेरहस्य छप्पणविक्कमवरिसे अल्लावदीणसुरताणस्स, कण्हदेवो माया उल्लूखानामाहिओ हिम्मीरएराओ गुजरधरं पट्ठिओ।

6. GI, 103.
7. "On Wednesday, the 30th Jemadul Awwal, 699 A.H., the date Ulugh Khan was sent to destroy Somnāth and conquer Gujarat". Amir Khusrau: *Khazā'in ul-Futuh*, Tr. by M. Habib, 38.
8. GI, 103-04.
9. NIA, I, 695. Ed. by Diskalkar.
10. Vichārashreni. JBBRAS IX.
11. *Ashtga.* (Text) 62.
12. Ibid, 84-85.
13. 'Isami: *Futuh-us-Salatin* (*Shahnama-i-Hind*) (Ed. by Mahdi Husain), Text, 242-44, 277.
14. Hasan: Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi, Text, 251. E & D. III. 164.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. P.O.* III, 71; IA. XLII. 238. IA. X. 159; EI, VIII. 219; IA. VI. 193; Pr.A.I.O.C. VII. 463. IA, XVIII. 83; EI, X. 78; IA. VI. 191; IA. XVIII, 113. IA. XI, 337; P.O. III, 20.
2. LP, 1.
3. IA, VI, 210; PO. I, no. 4. p. 40; EI, VIII, 219.
4. IA, XVIII, 80, LP, 8.
5. IA, XLI, 20.
6. PO, II, 225.
7. LP, 8.
8. LP, 16; 14.
9. P.O. III, 69.
10. PC (Tr. By Tawney). 84.
11. Marco Polo, 334 (Tr. by A. Rémi. 1931); G. Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et Textes Geographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks Relatifs à l'Extreme-Orient du VIII^e au XVIII^e Siecles*, 394-05.
12. DN,* II, 65, IV, 45; V, 56; VI. 51.
13. Marco Polo, 332-33.
14. *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 262.
15. LP, 34-5; 36-7.

*P.O: Poona Orientalist. D N: Deśināmamālā by Hemachandra.

16. Jagaducharita.
17. E&D, II, 200-01.
18. Journal Asiatique, 1918, 165; Marco Polo, 332
19. E&D, I, 88.
20. Marco Polo, 313.
21. Numismatic Supplement, VII (1907), 47; ibid XLVII, (1937-38), 348.
22. LP, 12-16.
23. EI, I, 272
24. P.O.I, No.3 p. 39.
25. H.D. Sankalia: *Archaeology of Gujarat*, 146-7; P.O.I, 46, P.O. III, 69; *Jagaducharita*, II, v 1
26. KUC, VII, vv 609-10.
27. DV, III, v. 6.
28. *Ibid*, v 8.
29. DV, II, v. 106; PC, 73.
30. DV, V, v. 141.
31. Ibid.
32. R. G Bhandarkar: *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss.* 1882-83, 45.
33. This event is described in almost all the Jaina Chronicles, and was dramatised in *Mudrita-Kumudachandra*.
34. EI, XI, 54.
35. DV, XV, v. 40.
36. PC, 85 vv 187-98; KUC, V, vv 31-2
37. *Sukritasankirtana*, I, v 44; KK, IX, vv. 70-1
38. KK, IV, v. 17.
39. LP, 35, 36, 37
40. DN, II, v. 7; IV, v. 11; I. v 129, II. v. 81; V, vv. 2 and 19.
41. DV, XI, v. 13.
42. DV, III, v. 10.
43. *Trishashtisalakapurusacharita*, (Eng. Tr.), III, 239.

APPENDIX I.

1. Krishnaswamy Iyengar quoted by R.C. Majumdar, JDL, X, 3.
2. AAR, I, 106.
3. *Harshacharita* by Bāṇa. (NS. Edn. 1937). 120.
4. BG, IX, pt. I, 440.
5. EI, I, 72
6. N.C. Mehta, *The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Literature*. 486; JBORS. XO. 502. R.C. Majumdar, JDL, X, 3 n. 2.
7. IA, XIII, 82
8. BG I, pt. I, Appendix IV. 480.
9. *Pañchatantra* IV, 9.
10. Udyotana, *Kuvalayamala* quoted in *Apabhramśa Kāvyatrayi*, GOS XXXII, Intr. 93.
11. IA, XV, 141: also cf. *Brihatkatha Kosa* SJG. Intr. 121.
12. Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihara Bauka, JRAS, 1894. 4-9.
13. EI, IX, 199 ff.
14. E.I.V, 211. Identified with modern Jodhpur.
15. EI V, 210, n. 3.
16. E&D. I, 13, ff.
17. Ghatiyala Inscription of Pratihāra Kakkuka No.I, V. 3 EI. IX, 279-81.
18. RT, V, 349-55 (Stein's Eng Tr. 305 ff).
19. BG I, Pt.I, 128, n.4.
20. EI I, 128.
21. BG, I, Pt.I, 469.
22 EI, III, 266,
23. EI, XI, 142.
24. JBBRAS, XVI, 173-4.
25. EI. X, 20, ff.
26. *Sarasvatikanthābharana*. II. 13· (NSP Edn. 1934), 142.
27. *Vikramānkadevacharita*, XVIII. 97.
28. *Mudrita-Kumudachandra* (Sri Jaina Yasa Vijaya Granthamala), 6.
29. Peterson Report. V. 80.
30. IA X, 159.
31. *Ganadhara Sardha Śataka Prakaraṇa* 68, (Bombay 1916).
32. DV. VI. v. 7, p 477.
33. *Moharājaparājaya*, 16 (G.O.S. IX)
34. *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*; XIV, v. 3. (G.O.S. XIV)
35. *Surathdarsana*, XV, v. 8, p. 103 (Kavya-Mala Series, No.11, Bombay, 1902).
36. Catalogue of Palm Leaf Mss. in the Bhandars at Jesalmere, Eard, J. (G.O.S.), *Aprauddhagranthabhrit parichaya*, 60, and 3.

APPENDIX II

1. *JBBRAS*, XI, 413; *IA*, XL. 7.
2. R. S. Satyasraya: Origin of the Chālukyas B. V. Krishna Rao: The Origin and the Home of the Chālukyas, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, III, 386-410.

3. *IA*, VI. 191; Bhāratiya-Vidya (Hindi-Gujarati) I. 73; *IA*, LVIII, 234.
4. DV, II, v. 2; IX, v. 145; XII, v. 14; XIV, vv. 53, 72, 73; XVI, vv. 8, 12; XVIII, vv. 24, 81, 93, 96.
5. *JBAS*, 1912, 712
6. *Mbh.* (Calcutta Ed.) VI, 71, v. 20. Poona edition has accepted the reading 'Chuchupa' though several Mss. have the reading Chuluka (Poona Ed. vol. VII. 394, f.n.)
7. Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, LVII, vv 40-1
8. Brihat-Saṁhitā, IX, 15, 21; XIV, 8. XVI, 35.
9. *IA*, IV. 364
10. *JIH*, XX, 65; *JBAS*, 1912, 788.
11 P C Bagchi: Chulika, Sūlika, and Chulika Paiśāchi, *IHQ*, XXI.
12. *EI*, XIV, 110
13. *EI* III, 54.
14. *EI* XV, 156
15 *JBORS*, VIII, 84

APPENDIX III

1. D. R. Mankad, 'Derivation of Chāḷukya and Chāhamāna', *BV*, VI, 5 (*n.s.*) 1945, 107.
2. Recently edited by V. V. Mirashi. "The Varunasarmaka Grant of Chamuṇḍarāja (Gupta?) year 103? a revised study', *BV*, VI 5 (*n.s.*) 90-3. For several places of occurrence of the words discussed in the present note refer to the same paper.
3. This form of the word is found in the Kodi grant of Mūlarāja. *IA*. XI, 191 ff.
4. *Brihatkathākośa*, (SJS, XVII) Introduction. 101.
5 *Uttarapurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra referred to in Aladorf's *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, 125.
6. *Padmacharita* of Ravisheṇa (*MDJG XXIX*). IV, 122.
7. In this connection it is pertinent to note that c was an affricate in Pk. and hence partly allied in pronunciation to s. See Grierson, "The Pronunciation of the Prakrit Palatal's', *JRAS* 1913, 391-6.
8 *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, SJS, I, 15 v. 23.

APPENDIX IV

* I am grateful to Prof. H. C. Bhayani for the grammatical notes.

1. Rāj. G. H. ઘઈ, The Paiśāchi tendency to disaspirate soft aspirate consonants and then to harden them is peculiar to Kashmiri Gujuri.
2. 'Having taken.' The conjunctive participle in ઈને is the same as that of Hindi.
3. 'I went'? The form cannot be made out.
4. Rāj. G. ઘણી.
5. Rāj. G. ઘણાં, સાથન.

6. H. का का. Grierson has आनो for the Yusufzai Gujuri and Ajari only, see n. 24 below. cf. also बेह-का n. 15 and सिंध-का (S b).
7. Mew. H. मेरी, H. Pers. H. सिंदगानी 9. Rāj. G. etc. रे.
10. This adverb signifying 'near' is peculiar to Kashmiri Gujuri.
11. According to the Gujuri specimens collected by Grierson, the s-future is unknown to Gujuri. It forms its future with -गा. But this song evidences future forms in -स. Among the Rājasthani dialects Mārwari (Thali), Jaipuri and Nimādi have the s-future.
The termination -ऊ for the first person plural is common in the Rājasthani dialects.
12. Ap. Rāj. G. S. होल्लि See n. 1. 13. Mew. H. हैं.
14. G. नाळुं, H. नाला 'rivulet.'
15. Grierson has बेस This auxiliary use of चा (cf. n 6) to modify other verbal ideas is common to G. and H.
16. H. मने 17. H ने, 18. Rāj. G. H. केवे.
19. G. चिडावुं, चिडाडुं, H. चिढ़ाना, 20. Rāj G. H कैवा
21. Probably here and at 4 a below the word is दाखा (<दाक्षा) ('hall' as in 5 a. See LSI IX iv 881, phrase no 229. Then ते is an ablative postposition signifying 'from.' Grierson gives only नूं as the abl. postposition for the Kashmiri Gujuri. But Gujuri of Hazara and Yūsufzai Afridi has ते, Mewati also has ते.
22. 'flowing.' 23. 'near.' Mew नीयो. G. नेवे, Sk निकट
24. 'Come.' Grierson gives आव for the Kashmiri Gujuri. आ is peculiar to the Yūsufzai dialect. Probably it is due to Hindi influence. Cf. n. 6 above.
25. Per. H. बिन्या 26 'Let us meet'? See n. 11. 27. ?
28. 'plant.' H. बूटा ? 29. H. लाई 30. Per. H. अवानी
31. H. पीनेवाला, 32 ? 33. 'in the end.' 34. H. मतरा
35 Grierson gives चल for the Kashmiri Gujuri, while चन is given for the Yūsufzai dialects
36. 'rose.' Mew. चढ़ना,
37. 'and.' Grierson gives ते as peculiar to the Hazara Gujuri.
38. 'clung to.' With this obscure form in ची (apparently with a past sense) cf. चेचियानी IV 2 a and सुचे IV 2 b.
39. See n. 21.
40 See n. 8.
41. Grierson has मिला for the dative sing. of the 1. pers. pronoun.
42. See n. 2. 43. Mew. H. तेरे, 44. H. बिन, G. बिना, Sk. विना.
45. Probably, 'We shall die,' the plural being used for the singular as in Sanskrit. Perhaps सुकेसों in 1 a is to be explained similarly. For the future termination see n. 11.

46. 'small' 'little.' See LSI. IX iv. 951, phrase no. 233.
47. ? 48. 'his'? 49. Per. H. खबर.
50. Rāj. G. H. Sans न, 51. हैवें is H. subjunctive 3. sing.
52. G. (dial). केवें 'where.' 53 = सजना ?
54. 'living'? cf. वगदा in 3 a.
55. Perhaps this मी is the same as the Nom. plural of the demonstrative pronoun signifying 'these.'
* These specimens appear much influenced by Hindi.
56. विना is peculiar to Kashmiri Gujuri.
57. 'near.' See f. n. 10 to the song (7).
58. Grierson has कोई 'and'
* The melody (Rāga) in which this song is sung is the same as that in which one of the Gujarati marriage songs is sung.
58a G. उठवुं, H. बहना, 59. Raj. G. भाइ. LSI. gives भाइ. See n 1 on song.
60. This syllable is commonly used in Rāj. and Guj. song.
61. G. लावयां 62. H. आन. 63. H. मी cf. n. I on Son [1].
64 G. लावुं, H. लाना. Old G. ल्यावुंतु. 65. G. बहेन.
66. H. सारा 'all.' 67. S शब्दम् ! G. साद 'call.'
68. 'with.' It is peculiar to Hazara and Kashmir Gujuri.
69. See n. 63.
70. Grierson gives कोण for Kashmīri Gujuri, कुण for Hatan Gujuri Cf. G. कोण, कुण.
71. Mewati, H. तू, G. तुं, 72. 'Money'. 73. H. कुस.
74. Raj G. H. पीच, 75. See n. 58.
76. It ought to be पालो (= G. मलो) according to n. 1 on Song [1]. 77. 'road',
78. pres. part of आ cf. वगदा at [3a] and 6a and notes thereon.
79 See n. 2 on Song. [3]. 80. 'talk' Sindhi गाल.
81. H. खबर हो जाना, 82. H. बदी.
83. G. डुःखनीमारी afflicted with misery.
84. H. गला G. गळु 'throat.'
85. For o सां see n. 11 a Song I. 86. H. रोना, G. रोवुंके.
87. and 91. see n. 38 Song I. 89. Slip of hearing?
89. and 92. 'mouth'? G. मोंढानो, 90. चावुं, चदवु.
93. see n. 49 on Song I. 94. G. H. नवी S. नवें.
95. C मुओ. 96. See n. 25 on Song I
97. H. बन. 98. H. पूछना, G. पूछवुं S. पूछ दिवा.
99. 'मी' is 'this' 100. =Sk. पण्डित.
101. Gen. of the 2 person pronoun is वारो in Gujuri according to LSI. So our form is possibly due to Hindi influence.
102. Cf. H. किस. 103. Cf. G अधुणा, Sk. अधुना 'now.'
104. = मेरां See n. 1 on Song I. 105. See n 23 on Song I.

106. 'brother'?
* ō does not rhyme with ā as it ought to in a Dohā
107. Grierson 'Specimens of the Pahāri Languages and Gujari' in the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) Vol. IX. Pt IV, p. 925.
108. Alberuni's India, Sachau's Translation. I. 202.
109. LSI, pp. 923-929. 110. Ibid, Vol IX, Pt. II, p. 44.
111. Ibid, IX, iv. pp. 10-12. Note of V. A. Smith.
112. Bom. Gaz. I Pt. I Appendix III; Bhandarkar, 'Gurjaras' JBBRAS XXI, 405 ff. Forbes, 'Rasa-mālā' I, 40; EHI, 428 ff.; JRAS, 1909, 55 56; Hoernle, JRAS 1905a, 668, 662
113. LSI, IX, iv, pp 10 ff.
114. *Harsacarita*: Ns Ed. 1931, 120
कुणाद्दीणकेहलीं सिन्धुराजस्वसारं गृहीत्वागतो ∴ ∴ ∴ प्रतापशीलं यशो प्रभाकरवर्धनो भाव राजाधिराज.
115. N. C Mehta, 'The Pictorial Motif in Ancient Indian Literature' 486; JBORS, XII. 502, R C Majumdar. JDLK. 34. 2
116. Epi. Ind. I, 72.
117 IA, XII. 82.
118. Watters, On Yuan Chwang p. 243.
119. 'Gwalior Prasasti of Mihira Bhoja' ASI 1903-4 p. 280, Epi Ind. XVIII. pp. 101-114.
120. JASB, LV, I, 40
121. Halāyudha, *Pingala-sūtra-Vṛtti*—
श्रीशीलकुलजः प्रतिनारायणभक्तनुरुक्रमः । सकलमुर्वीकुलः श्रीमान्मुञ्जसिंह जयति ।
is quoted in Ojha's 'History of Rajputana,' Vol 1, p. 75 n. 1.
122. Epi. Ind. X, 20 ff
123. Ibid. III, 226.
124. LSI, Vol. IX, Pt. IV, pp 10 ff.
125. Vincent Smith approvingly quoted by Grierson, LSI. IX, IV, p. 12.
126. Ibid, p. 15.
127. Epi. Ind III, 266.
श्रीमज्जयभट्टारिकानां महाराजश्रीनागभटदेवस्य श्रीमन्नदेवो महाराजश्रीमान्मीनाक्षदेवनुनुकुलकर प्रतिहारान्वयः ∴ ∴ ∴ सर्वभौमत्वमवाप्य श्री शुभ्रतेजोभरलब्धसंज्ञैकत्वमेतश्च ॥
128. LSI, IX, iv, p. 12.
129. Ibid
130. Ibid.
131. Ibid.

APPENDIX V

1. For *Ratnamālā* see Eng. Tr. by Forbes in JBBRAS, IX.
2. FC (Tr by Tawney), 18.
3. Ibid.
4. JBBRAS, IX, 149
5. Ibid.
6. SJG, 12
7. SJG, 51.

8. Sanatkumāracharitam; A section from Haribhadra's Nemināthu-charita edited by Hermann Jacobi, 132. Cf *Ibid.*, Introduction, VI.
9. BG, I, pt.I, 109. f.n. 2.
10. IA, XV, 141.
11. PCa, XI, v. 107.
12. IA, XII, 193; Ibid, XXIII, 114, no 8.
13. IA, XII, 196, ff; IA, XVIII, 90.
14. PC, 16.
15. Ibid, 22
16. RV, (Hindi-Gujarati). 1939. I. 85
17. KUG. I. vv. 24-29.
18. Sambhar Inscription of Jayasimha. IA, LVII, 234.
19. RHT, 396, f.n. 2.
20. BG, I, pt I, 469.

APPENDIX VIII

1. For Karna's defeat and the fall of Anahilavāda are historical facts. the details regarding Kamala Devi and Devaldevi are being examined here.
2. *Ashiqa;* TF
3. *Ashiqa;* TF
4. TF; Ferishta has no authority for the details. which must, therefore, be taken to be his imagination.
5. Ibid.
6. *Ashaqa* (Text); 141,
7. ibid
8. ibid
9. ibid
10. Badauni: *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh* (Tr. by Ranking), 1, TF. Amir Khusrau does not mention what happened to Deval after Khizr's death, though he states that Khizr was murdered because Qutb ud-Din wanted Deval.
11. *Ke man gruchek ashkara taj daram*
Nihan khnd-ra kam az kam me-shumaram
Ashiqa (Text),
12. *Man an Khiz-rin ke ab-i-Khizr daram*
Wa lekin ab-i-khweish khurdam ne-aram.
Ibid.
13. *Shudam bas sar-buland az khidmat-i-pusht*
Namudam raj'at an dibacha bar dust
14. *Na lafz-i-Hindist az Farsi kam*
15. *Ashiqa*
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid, 141
20. Ibid, 307.
21. *Shah an-dam bud hazir pesh-i-nabid*
Kitab-i-Ashiqi-ra sharh me-dad.

22. Barani: *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* Text 251. Tr. E&D, III, 164.
23. The exact words of Nizam ud-Din are, "Zanan wa dukhtaran Dewal Rani" (wives and daughters Dewal Rani Text, p. 69). Dr. Quanungo points out that here the construction of the sentence does not admit of the insertion of the name of Deval Rani, which is apparently the scribes interpolation.
24. E&D, III, 177.
25. *Ashiqa*, Text. 272, E&D. III, 179.
26. Ibid.
27. Ke dari dar sara-i-dawlat-i-khesh
Mubarak-ru-e-dokhtar-i-daulat-andesh.
Ibid. Text, 84.
28. Pas an-gah ba-Ansari-i-namvadgari
Nishani tazist-ra-farmani
Firistad as dunlat-khana-i takht
Ke an daulat rasad dar khana-e-bakht.
Ibid, 84.
29. Dar in sana chunan shud Shah ra-zan-e
Ke bastand as an Rai-i-Karan ya-e
Ibid, Text, 85.
30. Ibid, 142.
31. Ibid, 227.
32. Ibid. 235-36
33. *Ashiqa*, (Aligarh Lithograph. 1917). p 280, v. 9.

APPENDIX IX

1. Haig, S.W.—*Cambridge History of India*. III. Chapter V, pp 91–126 (Cambridge, 1928).
2. Lal, K. S.—*History of the Khaljis* (Allahabad, 1950)
3. Lal, K. S. Op. cit., pp. 16, 17.
4. Abul Hasan Khusrau—*Ashiqa* or *Ishqunja* or *Dewalrani Khizr Khan*, lithographed edn. edited by Rashid Ahmad Ansari, pp 1–316 (Aligarh, 1917).
5. Jaisi, Malik Muhammad.—*Padmavat*, *Jaisi Granthavali* edited by R. C. Shukla (Allahabad, 1935). See also Grierson and S. Dvivedi's excellent edn. of text and translation (Calcutta, 1911).
6. Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Ferishta—*Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* or *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah* (Lith. edn. Bombay 1831)
7. Kishori Saran Lal, Op. cit., pp. 129, 130.
8. Ojha, G. S. Vide Munshi, K. M., *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Pt. III p 228, (Bombay, 1944).
9. Gupta Jagan Lal, *Nagari Pracharini Patrika* (N. S.) XI, pp. 407–427 (1930)
10. Munshi, K. M., *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, Pt. III, pp. 225–226. (Bombay, 1944).

11. Muhammad Wahid Mirza.—*The Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*, p. 180 (Calcutta, 1935).
12. Lal, K. S., Op. cit., pp. 84, 86, 190, 307 for Kamaladevi and pp. 173, 190–192, 225, 297, 298, 303, 333–335 for Duvaldevi.
13. Lithographed edn., p. 41, verses 3–9.
14. *Op. cit.*, p. 307, verses 2, 3.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 307, verses 6–8.
16. *Op. cit.*, p. 44, verse 16
17. Ferishta, *Op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 179, 180, 203, 204, 205, 206, 216, 219, 227. As has, however, been pointed out by Ansari (*Op. cit.* pp. 25, 261 part of the account of this episode in Ferishta is based on Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari's work *Jahanara*. This was compiled about the middle of the sixteenth century, and can hardly be regarded as a contemporary source. Unfortunately it has not been possible to consult this work in original.
18. Nizamuddin Ahmad.—*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Bibliotheca Indica edn. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, text I, pp. 141, 157, 178, 187 (Calcutta, 1927).
19. Abdul Qadir Badaoni *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, Bibliotheca Indica edn. of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, text I, pp. 189, 190. In the work there is no mention of Kamaladevi, but Devalrani is described as one of the family of Rai Karan, with whom Khizr Khan fell in love and later married
20. Ansari, *Op. cit.*, pp. 19–72
21. Muhammad Habib—*Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, pp. 56–67 (Bombay, 1927).
22. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, *Op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180.
23 Gupta, Jagan Lal, *Loc. cit.* (1930)
24 Kishori Saran Lal, *Loc. cit.* (1950).
25. Haig, S W., *Op. cit.* pp. 112, 113, 121, 112
26. Elliott, H. M. in Elliott & Dowson *History of India* Vol. III, pp. 544 557 (London, 1871).
27 Bayley, E. C.—*Local Muhammadan Dynasties: Gujrat*, pp. 36–39 (London, 1886). In this account references are given to the accounts in *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and *Mirat-i-Sikandri*
28 Thomas, E. *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 176, 177 footnotes and p. 185 (London, 1871).
29. Ziya (Diya) Barni—*Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, Bibl. Ind. edn of As. Soc Bengal, p. 361 See also Habib, M. The Campaigns of Alauf-Din Khilji. *Being the Khazainul Futuh of Hazrat Amir Khusrau*, p. X (Madras, 1931). and K. S. Lal, *Op. cit.*, pp. 386–392.
30 Ziya Barni. *Op. cit.*, pp. 237, 238.
31. Ziya Barni, *Op. cit.*, p. 359.
32. For *Futuhus-Salatin*, see Mahdi Husain's edn. (Agra, 1938) and Lal, *Op. cit.*, pp. 395–397.
33. Barni, *Op. cit.*, p. 251.
34. Lal, K. S., *Op. cit.*, p. 74.
35. Lal, K. S., *Op. cit.*, p. 83, note 9.

36. Dr. M. Habib's valuable translation of this work was, as noted already, published under the title of *The Campaigns of Alaud-Din Khilji* (Madras, 1931). The Mathnavi was completed by Amir Khusrau in 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.), and it is really too much to believe that at this date he had no knowledge of any of the events which he detailed at such length in *Duvalrani Khizr Khan* five years later.
37. See Habib, Op. cit., p. 35.
38. Vide Habib, Op. cit., p. 36.
39. Hajiuddabir, *Zafarul Wali* An Arabic History of Gujarat, edited by E. D. Ross, Vols. I-III (London, 1921)
40. Hajiuddabir, Vol. II, p. 789
41. Vassaf, Abdulla—*Tazjiyatul Amsar wa Tazriatul Asrar* or *Tarikh-i-Vassaf* (Bombay Lith. edn.). For fuller details see Lal, Op. cit., pp. 400, 401.
42. The critical edition by Defremery and Sanguinetty of Ibn Battutah's *Rehla* or *Tuhfatul Nazzar fi Gharaebul Amsar wa Ajaibul Afsar* with a French translation (Paris, 1855) has been used for this work. Vol. III deals with his sojourn in India.
43. Lal, Op. cit., pp. 398, 399.
44. Ibn Battutah Op. cit., pp. 182 201.
45. According to Ibn Battutah, this son of Khizr Khan was about ten years old Hajiuddabir (Op. cit., p. 841) also states that there was a son of Khizr Khan by Devalrani, but as Lal (Op. cit., p. 392) has rightly concluded it could not be possible for Khizr Khan to have a 10 year old son in 1318 when he is stated to have been married to Devalrani only in 1313 or 1314
46. Ibn Battutah Op. cit., pp. 188, 193, 194

APPENDIX XI

1. Cambridge *History of India*, vol. III, 120.
2. *CHI*., III, 120.
3. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi*, 86.
4. Isami, 382.
5. Cf. *CHI*., III, 120.
6. *Tughlaq Nama*, 19.
7. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, 128.
8. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 82.
9. *Tughlaq Nama*, 18; *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, (Barni), 381 to 391; *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 83, 86; Isami, 347, only gives the year 716 A.H.
10. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, 382, 383, 385. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 346 to 350.
11. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 356 to 360; *Mubarak Shahi*, 84, 85.
12. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, 399, 400. *Mubarak Shahi*, 85; *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 360, 361.
13. Barni, 11; Yahya, 85.

14. Barni, 400; Yahya, 85.
15. Barni, 30.
16. Firishta, 126.
17. Barni, 402.
18. *Ishqiya*, 273
19. *Tughlaq Nama*, 148.
20. Firishta, 127; Isami, 364.
21. Ibn-i-Batuta, II, 80, 81.
22. *Tughlaq Nama*, 22 to 26, 47. Barni, 406; Yahya, 87 and 91, Isami, 365
23. *Tughlaq Nama*, 150-1.
24. Cf. *CHI.*, III, 125, which asserts that Muslim historians record with indignation the gross insults offered to their faith. The only contemporary writer mentioned in the Bibliography to this chapter is Barni.
25. *Tughlaq Nama*, 149.
26. *Tughlaq Nama*, 57 to 70. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 367, 368
27. Yahya, 85. Barni, 410-411.
28. *Ishqiya*, 274, 275, mentions that Qutb-ud-Din demanded that Khizr Khan send his wife Kanwal Devi to the royal harem.
29. Cf. *Tughlaq Nama*.
30. Isami, 366
31. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 26; *Tughluq Nama*, 131; *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 369.
32. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, 8 to 9; *Tughluq Nama*, 57 to 70.
33. Ibid., 67.
34. Ibid, 69, *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 370.
35. *Tughlaq Nama*, 97.
36. Ibid., 63; Barni, 416.
37. Barni, 416-417; *Tughlaq Nama*, 83. *Futuh-us-Salatin*, 371.
38. *Tughlaq Nama*, 77-78; Yahya, 90.
39. Barni, 416. *Tughlaq Nama*, 92
40. Ibid., 83, Barni, 416
41. *Tughlaq Nama*, 92-93.
42. Ibid., 89-90; Isami however says (370) that it was only when Tughlaq had gathered a large army that he risked engagement
43. Barni, 415, 416.
44. Yahya, 91; *Tughluq Nama*, 78; Isami, 371 to 373.
45. Ibid., 115; Yahya, 93; Barni, 418.
46. Barni, 417
47. *Tughlaq Nama*, 113-115.
48. Yahya, 91.
49. *Tughlaq Nama*, 117-118.
50. Ibid., 121 to 131.
51. Ibid., 134; Yahya, 91.
52. Isami, 377, 378.
53. Ibn-i-Batuta, II, 87.
54. *Tughlaq Nama*, 151; Isami, 380
55. Isami, 367.

[End of Volume 13

Chandragupta II 31, 33, 124, 286, 287, 315
Chandrarāja IV 21, 98
Chandrattreyas See Chandelias
Chandrāvatī 9, 259, 303, 306, 390
Chapas 11, 25–26, 99, 117, 142, 144, 174, 202, 206, 307, 319, 323
Charmanvatī See Chambal
Chatsu ins. 100, 221
Chaulukyas 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 39, 40, 42, 48, 49, 50, 51, 56, 68, 74, 75, 80, 82, 85, 99, 107, 117, 129, 141, 149, 156, 158, 157, 158, 161, 168, 169, 181, 198, 202, 204, 206, 209, 210, 213, 214, 218, 227, 237, 243, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 261, 263, 273, 276, 279, 280, 282, 284, 292, 293–296, 297, 298, 299, 306, 309, 311, 318, 334, 335, 338, 348, 349, 358, 356, 361, 365, 366, 368, 369, 372, 378, 379, 380, 381, 383, 385, 386, 387, 388, 391, 392, 397, 409, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 424, 428, 446, 479
—Origin of 182–187, 230
—The name 184–187, 230
Chāvdas (Chāvoṭaka) 4, 6, 76, 99, 202, 205, 206, 207, 209, 214, 219, 425
Chedi 16, 139, 140, 143, 144, 152, 153, 155, 158, 175, 180, 225, 278, 280, 282, 284
Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) 8, 15, 22, 144, 152, 226, 294, 319, 320, 336, 338, 348, 402, 437, 441, 442, 486
Cultural Movements 53–57
Cunningham 16, 212, 218, 220, 474
Dadda I 22, 44, 46, 49, 50, 177
Dahala 14, 106, 117, 152, 235, 251, 277
Dantidurga 4, 24, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 124, 221
Daśarūpaka 152, 228
Daśeraka See Doskroi
Daulatpur plate 15, 55, 95, 98, 222
Dawal mari-Khiarkhan See Ajdegir
Delhi 235, 253, 281, 346, 364, 374, 375, 390, 395, 398, 399, 403, 406, 407, 428, 430, 432, 434, 450, 457, 458, 459, 461, 462, 464, 466, 467, 468, 470
Deśīnāmamālā 186
Dewāl-Sutrā 132, 133, 134, 225, 268
Devaldevī 405, 406, 407, 430, 431–434, 490, 491, 492, 497
Devapāla (of Bengal) 9, 95, 103, 104, 105
Devapāla (of Mālwa) 282, 365, 370, 385, 386, 387, 391, 394, 395, 485
Devaprasāda 297, 301, 305, 309, 310, 327, 335
Devarāja 79, 81, 95, 221
Dhamapāla 149, 162, 250, 290, 291
Dhanga 9, 152, 227, 235, 243, 256
Dhārā 8, 14, 26, 101, 141, 146, 148, 149, 155, 159, 162, 163, 172, 194, 201, 212, 243, 244, 245, 215, 217, 250, 259, 280, 282, 283, 284, 288, 292, 295, 305, 322, 318, 319, 324, 362, 363, 370, 378, 381, 382, 383, 395, 471
Dharmaśivarāja 16, 25, 26, 99, 142, 157, 170, 207, 224, 228, 294
Dharmapāla 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 103, 222, 238
Dholavīra 16, 156, 157, 163, 170, 181, 227
Dhavalapura See Dholmur
Dhulpur 11, 21, 99, 117, 223
Dohad ins. 181, 303, 304, 316, 318, 328, 429, 491
Doskroi 16, 117
Drama 426–427
Dungarpur 8, 11, 117, 145, 175, 352, 370, 388

Dadda(deva) 242, 245-247, 249, 250, 251, 252, 257, 264, 322 321, 422, 474
Dvāraka 89, 219, 280
Dvāśrayakāvya 5, 104, 253, 309, 329, 534, 438

Everyday Life 421-426

Ferishta 407, 415, 448, 449, 450, 451, 454, 455, 456, 458, 470 472, 480, 491, 493
Forbes, Sir Kinlock 5, 6, 217, 218, 219, 233, 234
Futuh us-Salatin 432, 452, 457, 478, 488, 492, 493, 494

Gāngeya(deva) 84, 200 249 250, 251, 252, 277 280
Ganda See Bengal
Ghazni, Abdul Qasim Mahmud of 172, 235, 240, 241, 242, 253-277, 292 295, 359, 367, 465, 436
Invasion of 253-277
Ghiyas ud-Din Tughlaq 452, 456, 489, 463, 464, 465 466, 467, 468, 469, 470
Ghori, Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad of 359, 360, 361, 362, 376-377, 391
Girnar (Girinagar) 1, 30, 73, 166, 311, 365, 367, 792, 475, 486
Gopagiri See Gwalior
Govinda II 80, 86, 88 90 91, 92 93 100 101 102 103, 108
Grāhariputa 184, 196, 197, 198, 261, 311
Grierson 105, 196, 198, 199, 217, 231, 232, 233
Guhilots (Guhilaputras) 11, 22, 45, 98, 100, 106, 117, 139, 142, 151, 153, 156, 358, 370, 385, 386
Gujarat, Boundaries of modern 9-11
Gujarat and its Literature 426
Gustus 29-35, 38, 39, 41, 50, 55, 57, 71, 121, 124, 137, 176, 210, 264, 288
Gürjara and Gürjaratsa Boundaries of 5-9

Gürjaratsa Consolidation of 96-100
Gürjaratsa, Linguistic Limits of 11 17
Gürjaras, Origin of the 1-5, 173-181
Gurjaras of Bhinmal 187-202
Gurvaka I (Govindarāja, Garudavāhana) 91, 96, 98, 213
Gwalior 8, 36, 77, 79, 89, 94, 95 119, 120, 137, 142, 232 178 203, 211, 212, 217 219, 221 222, 223, 227 235, 278, 281, 282, 316, 340, 357, 376, 387, 391, 435, 442, 450, 475

Halāyudha 28, 158, 162, 219, 228, 233, 475
Hammīra-mada-mardana 364, 389, 391, 486
Hammīra-Mahākāvya 289
Harsha 218, 220, 227
Hemachandra 7, 20, 21, 22, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 78, 98, 176, 179, 206, 220
Hemavatsa 178, 222
Hemakachandra 3, 4, 66, 220, 235
Harshavardhana 3, 40, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48, 51, 52-53, 63, 65, 70, 76, 116, 127, 177, 197 329, 330
Harsola grant 27, 145, 147, 226
Hastikundi 16, 150, 157 161, 191, 227
Hemachandra 5, 6 158, 163, 164 167, 168 171, 181, 182, 186, 217, 245, 246 259, 273, 274, 285, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 309, 319, 322, 323 324, 325, 329, 330, 334, 335, 336, 337, 340, 349, 350, 351, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 414, 420, 422, 424, 424, 425, 426, 427, 483
Hiuen Tsang 5, 7, 11, 21, 47, 51, 52 64, 66, 68, 70, 74, 117, 197, 198, 285, 329
Huns (Hunas) 2, 3, 28, 35-38, 39, 54, 55, 58, 68, 71, 103, 104, 119, 147, 157, 173, 176, 177, 183, 184, 244, 288
Hyderabad 56, 113, 182, 312

Dhr. Bargava 402. 442. 443, 452, 458. 460. 469. 472. 491
Dhritarash 304 385, 387. 390 391. 393. 395. 458
Dhrtiya I 24, 90 91, 97, 104 105
Dsami 130. 401. 408. 422. 423. 427 429. 469. 470. 471. 472. 486. 495. 494
Dsami-pranam Mukhe-ri 38. 39 40. 103. 256
Dvidvajapam See Jhalor
Jainism 420-421
Jaipur 14. 15. 117. 158. 179 196 217. 223. 270
Jaipaladeva 90 91
Jayasimha (of Gujarat) 261 365. 380. 381. 382. 383. 385. 387. 389. 391
Jayasimha I (of Kalyani) 202 249 297
Jayasimha II (of Kalyani) 218. 229 231. 295. 352
Jayasimha Siri 318 319. 332 344 454. 480
Jejā-bhukti 2. 12. 14 22. 97. 117. 256 320, 360 371
Jhalor 9. 13. 35. 92. 156, 158. 178. 228. 337. 340 345, 347 359 369 390. 402. 404 465
Jinadattasuri 101
Jinaprabha Siri 266 268. 269. 101 404. 468
Jinasena 86, 87. 178. 206. 227
Jodhpur 7 8, 33 40. 41, 85. 90 91, 117. 179. 178. 218. 220, 295. 302, 328. 329. 364 366. 329 330. 343, 350. 370. 390. 411 462
Kachchha 4 9 10 12. 16. 76. 110. 118. 151. 166, 167, 168. 172. 204. 214. 242 247. 258. 259 264 286. 287. 290. 292 294. 313. 396, 323. 338. 340. 362. 365. 390. 410. 413
Kaji grant 17. 170. 209 229. 250 262. 365. 366. 367. 381. 471 481 485, 487
Kara See Khajaka
Kakkuka 42 44, 78. 90. 98. 121. 220 230 222. 229
Kalachuris 9. 40, 50. 70 103 130. 152. 155. 158, 223. 224. 226. 239. 240. 252. 263. 270. 277, 279. 283. 286 287. 290. 296 298. 309
Kalhana 13. 37, 113, 145, 151, 153. 157. 201
Kalidasa 21. 62
Kalinjara 4 122. 110. 273. 279, 284
Kalpavalli 88. 256. 287
Kalyani 214
Kamala 2 3. 310 240 242. 474
Kamarupa 195, 196. 410. 430. 431 438. 440. 441. 443. 446. 490
Kanauj See Kanyakubja
Kanchi 6, 9 34 70, 76 77 81, 86, 90 91, 92 93, 98, 98 97, 99 100, 101 102 103, 104 105, 106, 107, 108 109, 111 112 114 115, 117, 118 120 121 135, 136, 140, 142, 145, 148 150, 151, 152 162 179 190 201, 203, 208, 211, 240, 242, 254, 256, 257 272 278, 281, 289, 300, 323 363 371, 372, 416
Kanchipuram 388, 389 390
Kanha 21, 90 221, 222 256
Kanhada-Karpurastava 401, 402, 403, 407
Kannada-bhukti 12. 17. 117, 152. 181. 201. 208. 220. 211. 215, 324
Kanna 17. 221 240. 278 280. 282. 283. 295 300, 301. 302. 305, 306. 307, 308 309 310, 311, 316, 324 327. 332. 422, 477 Accession of 299-300
Kanya Kumari 220-229 320. 433, 435. 436. 439. 447, 451 452, 453, 490
Karavasundari 238 239. 305
Karnataka 12. 27. 81. 205, 109, 122, 135, 140, 141 143. 144. 150, 172. 207. 244. 251 252, 253. 275. 280 285, 287, 308
Karpatta-bhujas 125. 225

Kashmir 2, 4, 28, 46, 111, 112, 119, 136, 153, 179, 180, 187, 195, 196, 199, 230, 234, 273, 279, 285, 298, 324, 365
Kāśī See Benares
Kathiawari See Saurāshtra
Kautilya 125, 126, 254
Kavi 12, 317
Kāyastha 117, 195, 225
Kelhana 340, 342, 359, 362, 370, 372, 389, 390
Khajuraho 21, 147, 152, 226, 227, 235, 472
Khandesh 10, 81, 274, 386
Khasars 2, 2, 3, 197, 199
Kheḍigas 302, 313, 319
Khetaka (mandala) (purse) 7, 9, 11, 21, 75, 80, 86, 101, 140, 147, 148, 293, 311, 266, 267, 290, 298
Khizr Khan 400, 401, 402, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 410, 411, 412, 413, 419, 421, 423, 424, 426, 428, 493, 494
Kīrtida 8, 106, 228, 304, 310, 338, 339, 342, 343, 351, 362, 370, 419, 478
Kīrtikaumudī 169, 171, 320, 485
Kīrtivarman I 42, 56
Kokalla I 205, 224, 235
Konkana 249, 250, 251, 260, 298, 317, 347, 349, 410, 474
Krishna III 27, 85, 144, 146, 178, 149, 151, 215, 226
Kshemaraja 297, 308
Kumarapāla 6, 10, 191, 206, 228, 245, 304, 308, 308, 309, 320, 325, 328, 329, 334, 335–360, 361, 379, 388, 396, 413, 420, 423, 424, 425, 426, 428, 480, 481
- Accession 335–337
—Chronology of Reign 337–340
—Wars 340–345
—Consolidation of Empire 345–349
—Influence of Jainism 349–353
Kumārapāla — Character and Personality 353–356
Kumāramātya-(Mahāpātra-)śāsana 69, 200, 210, 212, 388, 389
Kumāramātya — position 235, 310
Kumārapāla-prabandha 181, 280
Kumāravamśāvali 66, 278, 229
Lakshana-karma 295, 296, 368
Lāṭa 7, 8, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 21, 23, 24, 49, 51, 59, 79, 80, 82, 101, 102, 207, 208, 109, 110, 118, 126, 130, 143, 145, 147, 149, 158, 163, 169, 174, 175, 177, 203, 227, 244, 245, 247, 248, 249, 251, 265, 267, 278, 280, 282, 297, 298, 303, 310, 320, 330, 343, 348, 349, 363, 364, 397, 370, 372, 385, 386, 391, 393, 394, 430, 414, 416, 418, 498
Lāṭeśvara-śiva 206, 207, 327, 379, 380, 387, 388, 389, 391, 392, 393, 394, 397
Lauḍrāpāṭaka 263, 282, 484
Mahā-Bhārata 11, 252
Mahādeva 12, 16, 33, 37, 38, 39, 57, 68, 101, 105, 116, 117, 198, 200, 300, 309, 374, 418
Mahāpāṭra Pradyota 37, 55
Mahāpāla 30, 35, 54, 38, 40, 105, 118, 123, 256
Mahendrapāla 23, 100, 120, 116, 118–123, 131, 135, 138, 145, 146, 159, 208, 212, 213, 214, 223, 226, 227
Mahī 7, 10, 22, 37, 49, 50, 80, 92, 99, 108, 143, 147, 265, 287, 288, 289, 293
Mahipāla (Āgahilavāḍa) 208, 223, 238
Mahīpāla (Kanauj) 14, 15, 59, 131, 135, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 147, 149, 150, 161, 180, 207, 208, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 225, 226, 238, 240
Maitraka s 36, 37, 40, 41–42, 51, 75, 118, 149, 257

Mālava 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 28, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 51, 80 89, 92, 93, 100-102, 110, 117, 121, 140, 143, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 155, 157, 158, 174, 175, 176, 208, 221, 222, 225, 245, 246, 248, 249, 259, 265, 278, 280, 281, 282, 287, 288, 295, 296, 297, 299, 300, 303, 305, 306, 307, 308, 312, 316, 317-321, 325, 334, 336, 343, 344, 345, 348, 353, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 367, 369, 372, 373-380, 381, 383, 386, 391, 391, 395, 398, 399, 410, 437, 457 474, 478, 480, 487
Malik Kafur 408, 430, 435, 445, 451-155, 458, 462
Mammaṭa 289
Manasollāsa (See also Medhātithi) 60, 61, 73, 124, 129, 220, 224
Māṇasārāha 16 148, 149 152
Marwad 8, 10, 20, 158, 157, 158 198, 200 201, 304, 346, 337 338 341, 342, 345, 349, 358, 359, 370, 389, 390, 391, 391, 437
Mallināthadeva 3, 16 133, 180, 198, 200
Malloura (Mallapaṭṭana) 23, 153, 209, 255 270
Maukhariṣa 37, 40, 41, 42
Medapāṭa 8, 106, 117, 225, 265, 280, 281, 349, 358, 370, 390, 396, 410
Medhātithi (See also Manusmṛti) 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 220, 224, 254, 272
Mehsana 7, 9, 11, 410, 411
Merutuṅga 5, 100, 158 199, 202, 204 205, 210, 212, 244, 249, 251, 260 290, 295, 296, 297 305 313, 332, 335, 337, 347, 351, 352, 356, 357, 358, 380, 397, 401, 404, 408, 474, 478 479, 480, 483, 487
Mewad 15, 22, 156, 158, 196, 199, 200, 201, 319, 385, 402, 420
Mihira Bhoja 4, 12, 15, 21, 22, 25, 35, 76, 77, 79, 89, 93, 94, 95 96-139 139, 141, 145, 146, 151, 153, 178, 179, 180, 186, 201, 206, 207, 208, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 219, 222, 233, 315, 326, 327, 330
—Empire 117-120
—Political Concepts 127-128
—Social Conditions 178-204
—Literature and Culture 134-138
Mihirakula 37, 38, 55, 288
Mīnalādevī 297 298, 300, 305, 306, 307, 310
Mīnāṣāvadi 159, 160
Mudita-Kuvalayāchandra 181, 229, 480, 489
Mūlarāja 5, 6, 9, 16, 17, 23, 25, 95, 99, 144, 157, 158 160-173, 182, 198, 202-215, 218, 229, 230, 240, 245, 246, 251, 270, 294, 306, 311, 313, 334, 338, 383, 387, 395, 397, 409, 411, 433
—Ancestors of 202-215
Mūlarāja II (Bala) 309 359-360, 372, 378
Multan 15, 117, 115, 123, 153, 239, 263, 265, 266, 248, 250, 436, 439, 464, 465
Munja (Vakpati) 16, 18, 28, 101, 147, 150 154-163, 164, 172, 181, 198, 202, 227, 228, 236, 237, 241, 243, 244, 247, 248, 250, 252, 259, 278, 281, 283, 288, 289, 292, 294, 310, 330, 392, 475
Muñjāla 297, 298, 305, 318 319, 423
Murajavāsa 158, 161
Murtaẓā Khān ur Tawarikh 448, 490, 492
Nadūla 8, 9, 144, 156, 235, 246, 257, 255, 279, 280, 281, 294, 297, 316, 318, 339, 340, 342, 345, 346, 351 358, 360, 362, 372 389, 390, 393

Nāgārjuna I (Nāgavalokā) 22. 77. 78. 79. 81. 82. 87. 101. 112, 121, 288, 329
Nāgārjuna II 21, 24, 25, 26. 87-95, 98, 80. 101. 102. 103. 109. 113. 121, 178, 203, 204. 207 208 211. 212, 213. 214. 218 222, 335
Nāgārjunakonḍa 184
Nahrilpur See Broach
Nārāyaṇa See Bezan(a)
Narmadā 2. 10, 12, 39, 49 54, 58, 80. 82, 90, 110. 115, 137, 140, 149. 158, 162. 281. 286, 296, 358, 359, 386, 411
Nasik 56. 64. 81 115. 248. 249
Nasir ud-Din Khusrau Shah 395, 430, 432. 435, 449. 453, 455-471
Narasiṁhasaṅka-charita 18. 101, 147, 162. 218, 243 244. 288
Navasari 24, 77, 80, 140. 415
Nemināthcharita 300, 234
Nepal (cf.-Bhā 402, 438, 443, 449 450. 456 472. 480. 492
Padmagupta 16, 18, 20. 101, 150, 156, 157, 161, 162, 281, 240. 244, 288
Padmanābha 402, 408
Paṅgārachchhā 149, 163. 227. 259. 474
Pālas See Bengal
Pālavas 42, 51
Pampa-bhārata 15. 141
Pañchasara 202. 203, 205, 207
Paraśurāma's 8, 11, 13. 18, 19, 20. 26-28. 45. 68. 100. 101, 102 107., 111, 139, 140. 145, 144. 145, 146. 147, 153-160. 164, 166, 169. 170. 198, 208, 218, 219, 223, 227. 228. 235. 236. 239. 244, 245. 246, 247, 248, 249, 259. 267, 290. 298, 292, 294, 295. 299. 304. 306 320, 340, 342. 344, 347, 356, 361, 362, 366. 369, 370. 384. 389, 394, 395, 473. 486
Pārijātamañjarī 252, 381, 382, 474, 481
Pāṭaliputra 37. 286
Patan See Aṇahilavāḍa
Pehova 12, 111. 119, 180. 224
Peshawar 39 332
Prabandhachintāmaṇi 5, 154. 159. 167, 203, 205, 208. 250. 282, 349, 401
Prabandhas 6 112. 164, 169. 202, 204. 206, 208, 209. 243, 245 246. 260, 297, 298, 301. 308. 317. 321, 325. 327. 345. 348. 349, 350. 351. 354, 356, 360, 361, 371, 389, 395, 406. 483
Prabhākaravardhana 3. 40. 47, 197
Prabhasa See Somanātha
Prabhāvakachharita 89. 93. 94. 206
Prachaṇḍa-pāṇḍava See Bālabhārata
Pratabgarh 11, 21, 99, 117, 150. 223. 226
Pratihāra's 2. 5, 9, 11. 12, 13, 16, 18, 19-26, 21, 22. 23, 24, 25. 26. 28. 40. 43-48. 50. 51. 52. 68, 76, 78-79, 84. 85, 87. 88, 89, 90, 92 93, 94, 95. 97, 98. 99. 100, 101. 102. 105. 110, 111. 112, 117, 118, 119, 137, 144, 145, 146, 149, 149, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 158, 168. 177, 178, 179, 180, 184. 197. 198, 200, 206, 215, 218. 220. 221, 222, 223. 235, 261. 264, 277. 278, 409. 417
Prithulaka See Pehova
Prithvichandra-charita 358
Prithvipāla 206, 237
Prithvīrāja 308 311, 347 360, 362, 370, 371. 373, 374, 375. 485
Prithvī-rāja-Rāsa 18, 19
Prithvirājavijaya 299. 317, 482
Pulakeśi I, 24. 42
Pulakeśi II, 4, 24, 42, 43. 48, 51, 56, 74
Pulakeśi Avantijanāśraya 24, 76, 77, 80, 81, 112
Punjab 1. 12, 37, 45, 104, 111, 112, 116, 119. 120, 142. 179. 182, 188. 194, 195. 200, 254, 255, 257, 262. 270, 272. 274, 320. 348. 463. 465

Qutb ud-Din Mubarak 430, 433, 435, 442, 448, 449, 452, 453, 454, 455, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 465, 470, 484 485, 486, 490, 494
Radhanpur 17, 101, 242 461 476
Rajasekhara 12, 15, 117, 118, 131, 135, 170, 142, 143 178, 217, 225 478
Rajasthan 7, 15, 40, 117, 153, 157, 158, 194, 195
Rājataraṅgiṇī 112, 272, 289, 365
Rajendra Chola 237, 238, 241, 249, 280
Rajora 16, 150, 198, 200
Rajputana 1, 2 11 14, 85, 136 174, 176, 177, 181, 186, 191, 196, 197, 199, 200, 201, 223, 227, 228, 265, 267, 287, 320, 338 343, 473, 479 485
Rāmabhadra 84, 85, 86, 107, 121, 209, 211, 212, 213
Ranthambhor 365 374 382 389, 437 439, 446, 465
Rashtrakūṭa/s 4, 8, 9, 12, 16 24, 26, 27, 41 42, 75, 77, 79–83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 90, 92, 93, 95, 100, 101, 102, 103, 107–111, 123, 135, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148 149, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157 203, 214 221, 237 418
Ratnamālā 5, 202, 203, 207, 220, 223, 234
Ravikirti 48, 51
Ravivarman (Mahakshatrapa) 7, 73
Sabarkantha 7, 9, 410
Sakarmati 22, 147, 250, 265, 290
Śākambharī (Sambhar) 5, 9, 11, 21, 98, 117, 144, 153, 164, 169, 170, 172, 213, 214, 255, 265, 279, 290, 291, 304, 305, 315–317, 318, 329, 335, 338 339, 341 345
Sānsanta 20, 21
Saptaśatapuṇḍa 30, 122
Sarpan plates 4, 179, 217, 219, 221 222
Śaṅkarāchārya 57, 62 137
Śaṅkaravarman 4, 112, 119, 179
Sanskrit 57–59
Santi Stūpa 252
Saptapura 295, 305, 306, 307, 313, 423
Saptaśatas (or S. 21, 98, 174, 316, 323, 345, 347, 348, 349, 358, 378
Sarasvati 7, 8, 9 10, 11, 12, 114, 208, 240 291 301, 302, 303
Sarpagati-Kanthāśrayana 191, 225, 241, 473
Śatānīka 30, 52, 57
Satyāśraya-Pṛthivīvallabha 11, 172, 217 258, 267, 329 411
Siddharaja Jayasimha 185 Great 9 14, 17 181 225, 234, 242 300–305, 330, 337, 338, 341 342, 343 346, 353, 354, 362, 368, 369, 370, 371, 376 379 389, 392 473, 477, 420 422, 423, 429, 433, 479, 480
Consolidation of Power 304 311
—Conquest of Saurāshtra 311–315
—Conquest of Śākambharī 315–317
Founder of Modern Gujarat 321–378
—Last years 338–339
[A copper-plate of Jayasimha Siddharaja (V.S. 1156) has been found at Ladol in the Mehsana district granting some land for the maintenance of a step-well (*Vāpi*) Cf Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1959 (Vol. II, p. 308)].
Sind(hu) 36, 51, 68, 80, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 132, 133, 167, 200 221, 239, 244, 245, 265, 277, 287, 291, 295, 316, 320, 465, 467, 468
Siddhoraja 3, 16, 18, 23, 166, 228, 241, 273–275, 277, 279, 281, 288, 302, 473

Sarah, 20, 227, 496
Sāyaka I 135, 136
Sāyaka II 8, 19, 23, 114, 145, 147, 149, 149, 150, 154, 163, 164, 202, 230
Scandinavia 31, 36, 37, 41
Scarlet Letter 60-62, 74, 272, 273, 350, 409, 413, 419
Sea, India 80, 105, 167, 168, 171, 209, 211, 242, 257-259, 307, 321, 328, 329, 339, 340, 352, 361, 362, 365, 377, 397, 403, 404, 405, 415, 416, 419, 420, 422, 427, 428, 434, 452, 488
— Ode Invasion of 270-269
Samaprabhā 181, 335, 379
Sama-Veda (King) 308, 317, 320, 329, 338, 340, 341, 342, 349, 340, 347, 349, 370
Sama-Veda (Poet) 169, 171, 178, 181, 217, 260, 269, 295, 351, 355, 357, 360, 387, 388, 392, 393, 395, 395, 397, 457, 488
Sauth India 3, 58
Sawala See Hallamāla
Śāṇḍa 321, 368
Śaṇḍāṇḍa-satva-sandeha 161, 162
Śaṇḍāṇḍavarman 265, 264, 359, 370, 378, 379, 380, 381, 385, 386, 482, 481
Śaṇḍraka 261
Śaṇḍāṇḍa 113, 114, 123, 179, 300
Sanskrit 12, 25, 75, 117, 403, 408, 410
Śaṇḍāṇḍava 181, 230, 355, 388, 483, 495
Śaṇḍāṇḍaka 102
Śaṇḍāṇḍa-i-Ādāṇḍ 459, 449, 492
Śaṇḍāṇḍa II 149, 149, 154, 155, 158, 159, 170, 161, 164, 169, 173, 237, 310
Śaṇḍā 49, 50, 205
Śaṇḍā 362, 374
Śaṇḍā-i-Śāṇḍāṇḍā 407, 445, 456, 472, 488, 490, 492, 493
Śaṇḍāṇḍa 412-413
Śaṇḍāṇḍa 365, 366, 367, 321, 379, 389, 391, 394, 395, 396 421, 481
Thana 9, 10, 22, 75, 317, 322, 347, 408, 471
Thaneswara 36, 55, 40, 47, 48 50, 52 242, 254, 260
Tobacco-pipe 102, 290
Tobacco-pipe 401
Tod 18, 304, 478
Toramāṇa 37, 288, 375
Trade, Agriculture, Industry and Navigation 454-479
Trilochanapāla 308, 369, 529, 536, 387, 394, 395, 487
Tripur, 9, 14 135, 156, 236, 247, 282, 346, 347, 369
Tughlaq-nama 432, 457, 461, 462, 469 452, 493, 494
Udaipur 17, 18, 156, 227 223, 226, 227, 228 243, 249 252, 278, 279, 281, 283, 293 302, 324, 338, 343, 352, 385, 410, 423 474 475, 476, 484
Udayādītya 18, 289, 297
Udayanti 297, 303 309
Ujjayani 306, 328 333, 334, 335, 336, 341, 345, 356 360
Ujjayana Śāri 86, 178, 229, 313
Ujjain 4(Ujjayini) 4, 7, 8, 14 36 61 77 78, 81 82, 84, 101, 103, 112, 140, 148, 150, 162, 174, 236, 226, 260, 281, 280, 287, 289, 290 295, 300, 320, 318, 323, 323, 326, 394, 395, 479, 480
Ulugh Khan 432, 463, 461, 505, 507, 433, 436, 437, 478, 439, 440, 443, 451 452, 488
Una 118, 119, 222, 221
Uttar Pradesh See Madhya Śāṇḍa
Vadnagar 7, 22, 25, 120, 171, 206, 210, 215, 306, 338, 413, 474, 479, 480
Vāgada 8, 201, 102, 140, 175, 205, 244, 266
Vāgbhaṭa 325, 357, 515
Vākpatirāja 9, 87, 28, 144, 145, 146, 234
Valabhi 26, 46, 31-49, 51, 55, 64, 65 71, 75, 80 112, 158, 205, 261, 340, 403, 481
Vallabharāja 245-247, 474

Vanarāja Chāvdā 6, 171. 172. 203. 204, 205. 206, 207. 215. 219
Vaṅga See Bengal
Vardhamānapuri 13. 26. 89, 142. 144, 178, 207. 208, 211, 223 311, 312. 332, 343. 369
Vāruṇēśvaraṭaka grant 17, 210. 230
Vastupāla 289, 316. 338. 396, 397. 371. 379, 387. 388, 389. 391, 392. 394, 395, 396, 424, 481
Vāsudeva 21. 45, 98
Vaṭapi 24. 25. 40. 42–43 51. 56 74. 75, 80, 82, 132, 183. 184. 218
Vatsarāja 79. 85. 86 87. 89. 101, 113, 121, 170, 207, 221, 266
Vaṭṭa 42, 90, 107, 182, 218, 222
Vāṭṭahēśvaḷabhaṭṭāraka 143
Vidyādhara Chandella 242, 253, 256. 257. 262. 277. 278 282
Vijayapāla 16, 158. 253
Vikramaśīlya See Chandragupta II
Vikramārkuḍeracharita 21. 219, 229. 273
Vikramarjunavijaya See Pampabhārata
Viradhavala 262, 365, 366, 367. 379, 384. 387, 388, 389-393. 394. 426
Visaladēva 367, 394-397. 412. 485
Viṣṇiḥu-Gōtha-kalpa 208. 260. 475
Vyāghrarmukha 25, 208. 219
Waḍhwan See Vardhamānapuri
Yaśaḥpāla 181, 218
Yaśōdharman Vishnuvardhana 37. 38, 39
Yaśovarman 8. 16. 74. 147. 149. 151, 152, 190, 205, 227