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THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY IN MÂLAVA, ARTHUNA AND CHANDRAVATI

By

D. C. GANGULY.

Thesis submitted for Ph.D. Degree (Internal) in June 1930.

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PRÉCIS

THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY IN MALWA, ARTHUNA AND CHANDRAVATI.

After the collapse of the imperial power of the Guptas, Northern India was split up into a number of independent states. They were governed by numerous ruling dynasties till they were conquered by the Moslems in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The history of India of this period, as a matter of fact, is the narrative of the rise and fall of these ruling houses. The Paramâras were one of those dynasties, who ruled in Malwa, Arthuna and Chandravati. Upendra, the founder of the family, was a member of the Raṣṭrakûṭa race. He, with the help of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Govinda III, established his authority in Malwa, about 810 A.D., by the total expulsion of the Gurjara-Pratihâras. Upendra's son, Ḍambarasiṃha, was the founder of the Arthuna branch. The fifth king, Sîyaka-Harṣa, exalted the family to the imperial rank by defeating the Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan. Since then the family, following the custom of the age, assumed the mythical name Paramâra. Sîyaka's son, Muñja, was the founder of the Chandravati, Jalor and Bhinmal branches. Muñja's nephew, Bhoja, was well known for his military success and literary achievements. The Paramâras lost their political power in the early years of the fourteenth century A.D. During their magnificent rule, ~~of the Paramâras,~~ Malwa rose to the acme of its glory, being enriched by literatures and adorned by beautiful temples and lakes.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.
E.C.	Epigraphia Carnatika.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscription.
J. Bo. Br.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
I.A.	Indian Antiquary.
J.Am.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
Vienn. Or. Journ.	Vienna Oriental Journal.
Bom. Gaz.	Bombay Gazetteer.
A.S.I.	Archaelogical Survey of India.
Prabandhâ	Prabandhacintâmaṇi.
Navaś	Navasâhasâṅka-carita.
Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., W.C.	The Progress Report of the Archaelogical Survey, Western Circle.

INTRODUCTION.

After the collapse of the imperial power of the Guptas in the latter part of the 5th century A.D., Northern India was split up into a number of independent states. The Maitrakas of Valabhi rose into importance and ruled eastern Saurâṣṭra up till the middle of the 8th century A.D.(1) A branch of the Câḷukya dynasty held sway over Gujarat for some time (A.D. 634-740).(2) In Western Malwa, Yaśodharman (532 A.D.), a great general, established his authority.(3) The Kaṭaccuris asserted their supremacy over Ujjain.(4) The Guptas revived their suzerainty over Eastern Malwa after the overthrow of the newly-established Hûṇa sovereignty.(5) The family of Śaśâṅka wielded the sceptre of Bengal, and made its mark in high political achievement.(6) The Maukharis occupied an extensive territory around Kanauj.(7) In Thanesar Prabhâkaravardhana acquired an independent status for his family.(8) Harṣavardhana, younger son of Prabhâkaravardhana, ascended the throne in 606 A.D., After the death of Grahavarman at the hands of Devagupta of Malwa, the Maukhari sovereignty in Kanauj became extinct. Harṣavardhana transferred his capital to Kanauj, and tried to establish paramount sovereignty over Northern India. It has not yet been definitely established how far he was able to realise his ambition. When Hinen Tsang visited India about 630 A.D.,

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(1) Bomb. Gaz. Vol. I, Part I, pp. 78 ff.

(2) Ibid, pp. 107 ff.

(3) Fleet's Gupta Inscription, p. 146. (Vol. I.)

(4) E.I, Vol. IX, p. 296. (5) J.A.S.B.,1920, pp. 113 ff.

(6) Bâṅglâr Itihâs, by R.D. Banerji, Vol. I, pp 99 ff.

(7) Fleet's Gupta Inscription, Vol. I, pp. 219 ff.

(8) The Life of Harṣa, by Dr. R.K. Mukherjee.

he found the country divided into a large number of independent states. Ujjain was at that time under the suzerainty of a Brahman king. The political supremacy of Harṣa's family came to an end with his death in 646 A.D. After this the Guptas of Bihar revived their authority for a short time, but were subsequently overcome by the Gawḍas.(1)

In the early part of the 8th century A.D. the Pratihâras of Mâlava emerged from comparative obscurity into the political arena of Central India. Long before this one branch of these Pratihâras had established its authority in Jodhpur, in Rajputana.(2) After the 8th century A.D. Western Mâlava and Avanti were known under the generic name of Mâlava.

In the middle of the 8th century Bengal witnessed the rise of a new and powerful dynasty in the Pâlas.(3) In the latter part of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th, there was a long protracted war between the Pratihâras of Malwa and the Pâlas for the supremacy over Kanauj, which was then ruled by Cakrâyudha. The Pratihâras had to confront another formidable enemy in the Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan. In the early years of the 9th century, being hard pressed by the Râṣṭrakûṭas, the Pratihâras had to surrender Malwa to their control, which was then entrusted to the charge of Upendra, the founder of the Paramâra dynasty, by the Râṣṭrakûṭa Govinda III. The Pratihâras, however, were compensated for their loss of Malwa by their success on the north. The Pâlas ultimately gave way, and the Pratihâra supremacy was established in Kanauj.

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(1) J.A.S.B., 1920, p. 322.

(2) Jour. Dep. Le. Vol. X, pp. 6, ff.

(3) "The Pâlas of Bengal", by R.D. Banerji, Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In the ~~latter part of the 9th century and the~~ early part of the 10th (A.D.), the Pratihâras reconquered Malwa and established paramount sovereignty over the greater portion of Northern India. Their kingdom extended up to the foot of the Himalaya on the north, North Bengal on the east, the Narmada on the south, and Saurâṣṭra, Sind, and the Punjab on the west. In the middle of the 10th century A.D., this vast empire collapsed, and was divided among a number of independent ruling dynasties. The Paramâras ~~firmly established themselves in~~ regained the sovereignty of Malwa. The Candellas[1] made themselves masters of a vast territory around Bundelkhand. The Kalacuris[2] ~~rose into~~ importance in Jubbulpore. The Caulukyas[3] founded a kingdom in Gujarat. Northern and Southern Marwar were governed by the Câhamânas, and the Guhilas made themselves prominent in Mewar.[4] Later on, in the latter part of the 11th century A.D., Kanauj was conquered by the Gâhaḍavâlas,[5] and in the early years of the 12th century A.D., the Senas[6] made themselves masters of Bengal. The Paramâras, Caulukyas, Câhamânas, Guhilas, Kalacuris, Candellas, Gâhaḍavâlas and Senas were the last great Hindu ruling dynasties of Northern India. They held sway over it with unquestioned supremacy till they were overthrown by the Moslems. The narrative of the rise and fall of these dynasties constitutes the history of Northern India at this period. Hence there is a supreme importance in the study of the History of the Paramâras.

In 1901 Captain Luard and Mr. Lele wrote a short

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(1) I.A., Vol. XXXVII, p. 114.

(2) Cunningham's Archaeological Survey, Vol. X.

(3) Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 156.

(4) History of Mediaeval India, Vol. II, by C.V.Vaidya.

(5) Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, p. 86.

(6) Bâṅglâr Itihâs, by R.D. Banerji.

paper on the Paramâras of Dhar in the Dhar District Gazetteer. It is not a comprehensive work on the subject, and since then much more material bearing upon the Paramâra history has been discovered. In the following pages I have tried to make a comprehensive and critical study of the subject, with the help of all the available evidence. The book has been divided into ten chapters. The first one deals with the origin of the Paramâra dynasty. Chapters Two to Seven comprise the political history of the Paramâras of Malwa; the eighth chapter dwells upon the general condition and civilisation of Malwa during their suzerainty, whilst the ninth and tenth chapters deal respectively with the Paramâras of Candrâvati and Arthuna. A few pages at the end of the tenth chapter have been devoted to narrating the short history of the Paramâras of Jalor and Bhinmal, though actually they do not fall within the scope of the subject. This has been done to complete the history of the Paramâras in general. The book will be entitled, "The History of the Paramâra Dynasty", at the time of its publication.

THE HISTORY OF THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY in MÂLAVA, ARTHUNA and CHANDRAVATI.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PARAMÂRAS.

It was popularly believed that the founder of the PARAMÂRA Family took his birth from a fire-pit on Mount Abu. The great poet Padmagupta was a contemporary of both the kings Vâkpati-Muñja (A.D. 972-995) and his successor Sindhurâja. In his Nava-sâhasâṅka-carita, it is narrated that[1] Mount Abu (Arbuda) was a place of great sanctity where Vasiṣṭha, the first of the judges of Atharvana-Song and the house-priest of Ikṣvâku, had his residence. He had a wish-granting cow which was once stolen and carried off by the son of Gâdhi (i.e. Viśvâmitra). This made him greatly indignant, whereupon he threw an offering into the fire with some holy sayings. At once a hero sprang out of the fire, with bow and crown and golden armour. He forcibly wrested the cow from Viśvâmitra and ~~restored~~ it ~~back~~ to Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha became highly pleased, and having given him the name of Paramâra, which means 'Slayer of the Enemy', made him supreme ruler of the earth. From this hero a family originated which ~~was held~~ ~~received~~ high esteem ~~by~~ virtuous kings. In course of time there was born a king named Upendra, who was a member of this family.

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(1) Sarga XI, vv. 64-76.

Bardic tales of Rajputana[1] relate that while the Sages were passing their days in deep meditation and acts of devotion, the "daityas" (demons), who were always bent on mischief, became furious at those pious practices. The Brahmans dug pits for burnt sacrifices; but the demons obstructed them by throwing ordure, blood, bones and flesh into them. On this the priests, gathering round the fire-pit, prayed to Mahâdeva for help. The great god took pity on them. A being arose; but as he was destitute of martial qualities, the Brahmans placed him as a guardian of the gate, for which he was named Pṛthvîdhara, which ultimately was contracted to Parihâra and Pratihâra. A second being issued from the palm of Brahmâ's hand, and was named Caulukya. A third came forth, and was named Paramâra, 'Slayer of the Enemy', who, with the assistance of the other two, gave battle to the demons, but failed to vanquish them. Then, following Vasiṣṭha's prayer for further help, another mighty figure sprang forth from the fire with deadly weapons in his hands. He, being "Caturaṅga" (four-armed), was given the name Cauhân. Through his military skill or the demons were defeated and killed.

Another bard narrates that[2] once Indra made an image of dûrvâ grass (panicum dactylon), sprinkled over it the water of life, and threw it into the fire-pit. Next the 'Sajîvana-mantra' (life-giving spell) was repeated, whereupon a mace-bearing figure sprang from the flames, shouting "Mar, Mar!" ('Slay!'). He was given the name Paramâra ('Slayer of the Enemy'), and received Abu, Dhar, and Ujjain as his heritage.

According to Mûkjî,[3] the bard of the Khici-cohân, "The Solâṅki, who was given the appellation of Caluk-Rao, owed his origin to the essence of Brahmâ. The Pwâr (i.e. Para-

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(1) Tod's Annals of Râjasthân, ed. by Crooke, Vol. I, p.113; A.S.I. (Cunn.) Vol. II, p. 255.

(2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 485. (3) A.S.I. (Cunn), Vol. II, p. 255.

mâras) originated from the essence of Śiva, and and so the Pariyâr from the Devî's (Goddess') essence. The chosen race, the Cauhân, issued forth from the fount of fire and wandered forth, leaving Abu for Abhârh."

While a particular bard denies the fire-origin of the Paramâras, others maintain that not only the Cauhâns but the Paramâras, Parihâras, and Caulukyas as well were members of the fire-race. But none of the dynastic inscriptions of any of these families except those of the Paramâras, speaks of their fire-origin. The earliest known record of the Câhamânas is that of its Dholpur branch in Eastern Rajputana, which is dated A.D. 842.(1) The Harṣa stone inscription of Vigraharâja, dated 973 A.D., is the earliest known dated inscription[2] of the main Câhamâna line. The Dholpur inscription simply states that the dynasty belongs to "the goodly race of the eminent lord of the earth, Câhavâna", and the Harṣa stone inscription too speaks of the dynasty without any reference to the fabulous stories related by the bards. The Vadnagar praśasti(3) of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, dated 1151 A.D., states that Caulukya, the founder of the dynasty, was created out of water of the Ganges in the hollowed palms (culuka) of Brahmâ. Similarly the Pavihâras or Pratihâras(4) are found to trace their descent from the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa.

In the Â'în-i-Akbarî(5) the author acknowledges the fire-origin of the Paramâras, though he tells a quite different story in that connection. It is said that about two thousand three hundred and fifty years before the fortieth year of the divine era (i.e. B.C. 761), an ascetic named "Mahâbâh" burnt the first flame in a fire temple and devoted himself to performing religious rites. People who desired

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(1) E.I., Vol. V, App. No. 12. (2) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 116.
(3) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 296. (4) Ibid., Vol, XVIII, p. 110
(5) Translated and annotated by Blochmann and Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 214, ff.

to attain eternal salvation sacrificed their offerings in that temple of fire and were greatly attracted to that form of worship. This ~~greatly~~ alarmed the Buddhists. They approached the temporal lord and succeeded in inducing Him to put a stop to that form of worship. The people now became very much mortified, and prayed to God for a hero who would be able to help them and redress their grievances. The Supreme Justice created from this fire-temple a human figure equipped with all the qualities of a soldier. The latter within a short time succeeded by the might of his arm in removing all obstacles that stood in the way of the peaceful performance of ~~the~~ fire-worship. He assumed the name Dhanji and transferring his seat from the Deccan, established himself on the throne of Mâlwah. Putrâj was the fifth descendant of this line. But as he died without leaving any issue, Âditya-Ponwâr was elected by the nobles as his successor. He was followed by a line of kings who were called the "Paramâras".

We may now consider what the inscriptions of the Paramâras state regarding the subject in question. The Udayapur praśasti[1] of the reign of Udayâditya (about 1060 A.D is the earliest known inscription of the main family of Dhârâ to register the mythical birth of the founder of the house. It states that "there is in the West a son of the Himâlaya, 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, Viśvâmitra forcibly took from Vasiṣṭha (his) cow. Through his (Vasiṣṭha's) power, a hero arose from the fire-pit, who ~~singly~~ worked the destruction of the enemy's army. When he had slain the enemies, he brought back the cow; then that sage spoke: 'Thou wilt

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 236.

become a lord(of kings) called 'Paramâra'." The other inscriptions which in general narrate the same story, are:-

i. The Nagpur stone inscription;(1)

ii. The Vasantgadh inscription of Pûrṇapâla, dated 1042 A.D.;(2)

iii. The Mount Abu inscriptions, Nos. I and II;(3)

iv. An unpublished inscription in the Acaleśvara temple at Abu;(4)

v. The Pâṭṇârâyaṇa inscription;(5)

vi. The Arthuna inscription of the Paramâra Câmuṇḍarâja;(6)

vii. The Mount Abu inscription.(7)

The account of these inscriptions agrees fully or partly with that given by the Navasâhasâṅka-carita. Needless to say, none of them helps us greatly in solving our problem. The only thing which can reasonably be gleaned from them is that 'Paramâra' was not the name of a race but of a family, which was first raised to high eminence by a hero after whom the family was called. The inscriptions clearly state that the family was known as the 'Paramâravaṃśa' because it took its descent from 'Paramâra'. The case was similar to that of many other ruling dynasties of ancient India. Mahârâja Gupta was the founder of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of Magadha, and the family evidently derived its name from him.(8) The Pratihâras were a branch of the Gurjara race. They described themselves ~~on rare occasions~~ as Gurjaras,(9) and always preferred to be known as Pratihâras. Lakṣmaṇa, the hero of Hindu mythology, who bore the title of Pratihâra, is believed to have been the founder of this family.(10)

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(1) E.I., Vol. II, p. 180. (2) ibid., Vol. IX, p. 11.

(3) ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 200.

(4) I.A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193, footnote 2.

(5) ibid., Vol. XLV, p. 77. (6) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 295.

(7) ibid., Vol. IX, p. 148.

(8) Gupta coins, Mr. Allan, Introduction, xiv.

(9) E.I., Vol. III, p. 266. (10) ibid., Vol. XVIII, p.110.

As this was the case, it is small wonder that the name "Paramâra" is not found in early Indian literatures as denoting a race, caste, or any of its subdivisions.(A)

An inscription(1) dated V.S. 1005 = 948 A.D., of the reign of the Paramâra Sîyaka II, has recently been discovered in the village of Harasola in the Prantej Taluq of the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. It is the earliest known record of the dynasty,(2) and runs as follows:-

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(A) Almost all Indian historians are of the opinion that the 'Paramâras' were not original settlers in India. They say that the Paramâras came to India in the 5th or 6th century A.D., with the nomadic Hûṇa tribes which brought about the destruction of the mighty Gupta empire. Mr. Watson,(a) following a Gujarati tradition, states that the Câvaḍa Vanarâja was called a Paramâra, and speaks about a genealogy (Vaṃśâvalî) in which Vanarâja's family is described as having taken its descent from Vikramâditya of the Paramâra tribe.(b) Câvaḍas, Câpas, Câpotkaṭas are synonymous terms. The fact that the Câvaḍas were Gurjaras is known from the astronomer Brahmagupta. He says that he prepared his work at Bhinmal in A.D. 628, under the Gûrjara Vyâghramukha, who belonged to the Câpa dynasty.(c) Mr. Forbes points out that Jayaśekhara, the Câvaḍa ruler of Pañcasâr, was called a Gurjar lord.(d) From all this it follows that the Paramâras, who were Câvaḍas, were members of the Gurjara race. Mr. J. Campbell adds

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(1) Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras 1924, p.303.

(2) Mr. D.B. Diskalkar, of the Rajkot Museum, quotes the most important portion of its Sanskrit text in the footnote of his article "New Lights on the Early History of the Paramâra Rulers of Mâlava". Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 303. E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 237.

(a) I.A. Vol. IV, p. 147. (b) ibid., p. 148.

(c) Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 138, Footnote 1.

(d) Râs Mâlâ, Vol. I, p. 34.

"Parama-bhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-śrîmad-Amoghavarṣa-deva-pâdânudhyâta-parama-bhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-śrîmad-Akâlavarṣa-deva-pṛthvî-vallabha-narendra-pâdânâm |

Tasmin kule kalmaṣa-moṣa-dakṣo jâtaḥ pratâpâgni-hutâripakṣaḥ |
Bappaiparâjeti nṛpaḥ prasiddhas tasmât suto bhûd anu Vairisiṃha |
durvâra-ripu-bhûpâla-raṇa-râgaika-nâyakaḥ |
nṛpaḥ śrî-Sîyakas tasmât kula-kalpa-drumo bhavat ||

Sa evaṃvidhaḥ..... Śrî-Kheḍaka-maṃḍalâdhipati-pratipaṭṭi-pratibaddha-bhaktiḥ mahâ-maṃḍalika-cûḍâmaṇiḥ mahârâjâdhirâja-pati śrî-Sîyaka ..... badhayati yathâ Yogarâjasyopari Yâtrâ-samaya-saṃsiddha-kâryânantaraṃ vyâghuṭitair-Mahî-nadî-taṭa-nivâsibhir asmâbhiś caṃdrârka-yoga-parvaṇi Śiva-nâthaṃ samabhyarcya Śrîmad-Ânaṃda-puraṃya-nagarâya ... Śvabhujyamâna-Mohaḍavâsaka-viṣaya - saṃbaddha-Kumbhâpâṭaka-grâmaḥ pratipâditaḥ |"

(A) two other points in support of this theory of the Gurjara origin of the Paramâras.[a] He states that the Gurjara Ôsvâls are Paramâras, and Râjâ Hûṇa, who rendered help to the king of Chitor against the Arabs, is said to have been a Paramâra. Dr. Bhandarkar also supports Mr. Campbell, and draws our attention to the fact that,[b] "the Firojpur Gurjaras of the Punjab have a tradition that they came from Dârnagar in the South. As Dhârâ was from the beginning the seat of the Paramâras," argues the learned scholar, "it is very likely that the Firojpur Gurjaras were a collateral branch of the former." As all of the four tribes, viz., the Câhamânas, the Caulukyas, the Paramâras , and the Parihâras claim descent from the Agnikuṇḍa (Fire-pit), it may be assumed that they belonged to one and the same race. The Parihâras were undoubtedly Gurjaras.[c] This settles also the origin of the other three members of the 'Agni Kula'.

(a) Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, p. 485.

(b) J.Bo.Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 428-29; Ibbetson, Census of the Punjab, p. 268. (c) Rajore Stone inscription. E.I., Vol. III, p. 266.

It may be summarised as follows, in English:-

"Parama-bhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara Akâlavarṣa-deva Pṛthvîvallabha meditated upon the feet of Parama-bhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Parameśvara Amoghavarṣa-deva. In the renowned family of that sovereign was born the king Vappaipaṛâja, who was efficient in eradicating crime and who burnt his enemy by the flame of his power. His son was the famous Vairisiṃha, ~~The latter~~ was followed by Sîyaka, a brave warrior invincible to his enemies in battles. This mahâmaṇḍalika-cûḍâmaṇi and mahârâjâdhirâjapati, to whom devotion was shown by the submission of the rulers of the Kheḍaka province, on his way back from a successful expedition against Yogarâja, granted from his camp on the bank of the Mahi to a certain person the village Kumbhapâṭaka, in the district of Mohaḍavâsaka."[1]

(A) Another eminent scholar who upholds the above view is Dr. A.F.R. Hornle. He describes[(a)] the Pratihâras, the Paramâras, the Cohâns, the Candels, the Kachhwahâs, etc., as constituent elements of the Gurjara race.

Now all these arguments advanced by the learned scholars are open to discussion. Tradition is their main source of evidence. No authentic material has yet been discovered to prove a Gurjara origin of the Paramâras. Even Mr.Watson remarks that[(b)] "although the above traditions etc. are not sufficient grounds to assert positively that the Câvaḍas are a branch of the Paramâras, yet they seem to convey the possibility of this being the case." Much may be said against Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion. The inscriptions of the Câhamânas, the Caulukyas and the Pavihâras do not assert anything about their fire-origin. On the contrary, they tell

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(1) The combination of the titles mahâmaṇḍalika-cûḍâmaṇi and mahârâjâdhirâjapati is unusual. But it is not very uncommon in ancient Indian records. In the Kayadra inscription of Dhârâvarṣa, the king is called mahârâjâdhirâja mahâmaṇḍaleśvara. (vide post p. 275.)

(a) J.R. A.S., 1905, p. 31. (b) I.A. Vol. IV, p. 148

Mr. Diskalkar also gives a summary of this inscription with some special remarks. In his opinion, "nothing is said in the record as to the relation, the Râṣṭrakûṭa kings bore to the family of Sîyaka. It seems that the words immediately following the genitive case ending in the word "Narendra-pâdânâm" in line 5, and expressive of that relation, were again through mistake left to be engraved. It would appear that the founder of the Paramâra family drew his authority from the Râṣṭrakûṭa Akâlavarṣa. The name of the Râṣṭrakûṭa sovereign to whom Sîyaka himself owed his allegiance, is not given.(1)

(A) us quite different tales in that connection. The grouping of these three races under 'Agnikula' is nothing but a figment of imagination of the bards of the later ages. Again, it does not seem to be quite proper to infer that the Paramâras were Gurjaras because there is a tradition that the Firozpur Gurjaras once lived in Dhârnagar.

Dr. Lassen thinks(a) that the Paramâras are the Porvarai mentioned by Ptolemy, and remarks that "Their name in this form comes nearer to the old Paramâra than to that of the present time Purwar or Powar, of which we get the second in Powargarh, i.e. Powargadh, fort of Powar, the name of Campanir, the old capital of the district in North Gujarat." Mr. Burgess(b) rightly objects to this assertion put forward by Dr. Lassen, pointing out that Porvarai of Ptolemy means a people, while the Paramâras were only a Kṣatriya family, from which no name of a district as yet is known to owe its origin.

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(1) Mr. Diskalkar makes an alternative suggestion in this connection, which runs counter to his above quoted remark (E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 237 ff.) He thinks that the inscription probably hints at a kinship between the Râṣṭrakûṭas and the Paramâras. It may be that the founder of the latter dynasty was born of a princess of the former.

(a) Ind.-Alterthumsk, III, p. 822. (b) I.A, Vol. XXXVI, p.166, (footnote).

I think that Vappaiparâja is an engraver's mistake for Vappairâja. We have authentic evidence to prove that Vairisiṃha's father was Vâkpatirâja.(1) Hence there cannot be any shadow of doubt that Vappaiparâja and Vâkpatirâja are the names of one and the same king. Vappaïrâja is a prakrit form of Vâkpatirâja. In the Gaudavaho Kâvya the author Vâkpatirâja is described as Vappaïrâya.(2) The father of Vairisiṃha cannot be taken as the founder of the family, as he was preceded by Sîyaka I, Vairisiṃha I, and Upendra.(3) Under these circumstances it cannot be asserted that Vâkpatirâja was the first to obtain territory for his family from the Râṣṭrakûṭa Akâlavarṣa.(3) The assumption of the title Mahârâjâdhirâjapati by Sîyaka proves that, by that time, he had thrown off the yoke of the Râṣṭrakûṭas, whose hold over Mâlava came to an end after its conquest by the Pratihâra Mahîpâla.(4) There is no valid reason for suggesting that a complete line of verse, after "Narendrapâdânâṃ", is left out by mistake. The verse is in perfect order. "Tasmin Kule" is to be understood as expressing the fact that Vappaiparâja was born in the renowned family to which Akâlavarṣa belonged. Hence, in my opinion, the Harsola grant finally settles the long-disputed question of the origin of the Paramâras. The Râṣṭrakûṭa origin of the Paramâras is further proved by the fact that Vâkpati-Muñja assumed the Râṣṭrakûṭa titles of Amoghavarṣa, Śrîvallabha, and Pṛthvîvallabha.(5) No other inscription of this dynasty has been found ~~up till now~~, to throw any light in that direction. The case is similar ~~with~~ that of the Pratihâras. They are never mentioned as Gurjaras in their records except on one occasion.

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 237; I.A. Vol. XXXVI, p. 169.

(2) Kâvyaprakâśa, ed. Maheścandra Nyâyaratna, 1886, p. 119.

(3) E.I., Vol. I, p. 237. (4) Vide Chapter II, p. 36 ff

(5) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 51. .... Amoghavarṣa-devâparâbhidhâna-śrîmad-Vâkpatirâja-deva-pṛthvîvallabha-śrîvallabha-narendra-devaḥ Kuśalo ll See also I.A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.

The original home of the Paramâras must have been in the Deccan, which once formed the home dominion of the Imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas. It is also stated in the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī[1] that Dhañji, the founder of the Paramâra family, established himself in the sovereignty of Mâlava, transferring his seat from the Deccan.[2]

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(1) Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

(2) The question may reasonably be asked why the Paramâras in their later records made no mention of their Râṣṭrakûṭa origin. In the Epigraphic records of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A.D. (E.I. Vol. X, p. 17; Vol. IX, p. 248.), a number of petty ruling families are found to describe themselves as members of the Râṣṭrakûṭa race. The cause of the omission of the Paramâras to do so is not very far to seek. Padmagupta's Nava-sâhasâṅka-carita, written between the years 996 - 1000 A.D., is the earliest known record to describe the family as "Paramâra", and to mention the mythical birth of its founder. At the time of writing four royal grants have been discovered which were issued by the earlier Paramâra kings, before Padmagupta wrote his book. In none of them is the family to which those kings belonged entitled "Paramâra." On the contrary, they are found claiming relations with the Râṣṭrakûṭa race. In that age, as has been noticed above, it was a general custom among the imperial ruling dynasties to trace their origin from some mythical heroes and to name their families after them. The records of the Pratihâras present very decisive evidence to that effect. They were evidently Gurjaras (E.I, Vol. III, p. 266) by race; but they persistently designated themselves as Pratihâras because they believed that the epic hero Lakṣmaṇa-Pratihâra was the founder of their family. The Paramâras did not make themselves an exception to this general rule. After their attainment of the imperial power they too seem to have put forward similar pretensions.

I shall now endeavour to trace the course of events which ~~that~~ led the Paramâra family to depart from its ancient home and to establish numerous settlements in the north of the Narmada.

It is an established fact that the main branch of the family ruled in Mâlava or Avanti. This country, prior to the establishment of the Paramâras, was ruled by a Pratihâra branch of the Gurjara race, whose royal residence was fixed at Ujjain.(1) The kingdom of this Pratihâra family seems to have extended up to the Narmada, nearly seventy miles south of Ujjain, beyond which lay the dominion of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa.(2) Nâgabhaṭa I, the founder of this dynasty, began his career of administration about 725 A.D.(3) The Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan were a constant source of trouble to the government of these Pratihâras. Dantidurga the founder of the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom, is reported to have made the Gurjara lords among others doorkeepers (Pratihâra) when the great "Hiraṇya-garbha" was performed in Ujjain by the Kṣatriyas.(4) Nâgabhaṭa I was followed by Kakkuka, Devarâja, and Vatsarâja. As regards the last mentioned king, we learn from a passage of the Jaina Harivaṃśa(5) that he was ruling in Avanti in Śaka (expired) 705= 783-84 A.D. Vatsarâja was succeeded by Nâgabhaṭa II, during whose reign(6) the hostility between the Pratihâras and the Râṣṭrakûṭas reached

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(1) J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 23 footn. (2) Mâlkhed in the Nizam's Dominions.

(3) J. Dep. L, Vol. X, p. 26. (4) E.I. Vol. XVIII, pp.238-39.

(5) I.A. Vol. XV, p. 141; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 197, footnote 2; J. Dep. L. Vol., X, p. 23, ff.

(6) Nâgabhaṭa's inscription is dated 815 A.D. (J. Dep. L., Vol X. p. 36). He died in V.S. 890 = 833 A.D. (E.I., Vol. XIV, p.179 footnote 3). As the only known date of his predecessor, Vatsarâja, is 783 A.D., he must have ruled between this date and 833 A.D.

its culminating point, in consequence of which Mâlava was lost to the former. In the early years of the 9th century A.D. Govinda III (794-814, A.D.) was on the throne of the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom. In regard to one of his military exploits, ~~the~~ verse 16 of the Râdhanpur plates,(1) dated Śaka 730 (expired) = 808 A.D., informs us that "Seeing that the sole way to preserve his fortune was to bow down at his (Govinda III's) feet, the lord of Mâlava, versed in policy, bowed to him from afar with folded hands."(2)

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(1) E.I., Vol. VI., pp. 238-39.

(2) (a) It is known from the Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarṣa I, (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 253), that Govinda III conquered Mâlava, having followed the course of the Narmada. The Baroda plate of Karkarâja, dated 812 A.D. (I.A. XII, p. 160), lays down that Govinda III made Karkarâja, who was the ruler of Central and Southern Gujrat, a 'door-bar' of the Gurjaras for the protection of the king of Mâlava. It will be shown below that these Gurjaras were none other than the Pratihâras of Jodhpur. A close consideration of the above two records establishes the fact that 'Mâlava', as mentioned in the Râṣṭrakûṭa records, denotes Eastern Mâlava or Avanti.

(b) Verse 15 of the Radhanpur plates records that "the Gurjara in fear (of Govinda III) vanished nobody knew whither, so that, even in a dream, he might not see battle." The Sanjan copper plate of Amoghavarṣa I tells us that Govinda III was a "destruction to the valour of the head of the thundering Gurjaras" (V. 32). The ~~same~~ second inscription again reports that the fame of Nâgabhaṭa was carried away by the same Râṣṭrakûṭa chief (v. 22). Dr. R.C. Majumdar thinks that the Gurjaras referred to above, were none other than Nâgabhaṭa and his family (J. Dep. L., X, p. 44). But a comparison of the above two verses of the Sanjan plate will show that Nâgabhaṭa is ~~exclusively~~ carefully distinguished from the Gurjaras. The Nilgund inscription, dated 866 A.D. (E.I., Vol. VI, p. 106. v. 5),

The Mâlava king referred to above is to be identified with Nâgabhaṭa II, who, as we have just seen, mounted the throne of Avanti after the close of the reign of Vatsarâja. Regarding Nâgabhaṭa's defeat by the same Râṣṭrakûṭa chief, we further learn from verse 22 of the Sanjan plate of Amoghavarṣa that:(1) "Carrying away in battles the fair and un-invincible fame of kings Nâgabhaṭa and Candragupta, he (Govinda III), intent upon the acquisition of fame, uprooted, like 'sali' corn, other kings in their own dominions, who had become destitute of all fortitude, and afterwards reinstated them in their own places."

From the comparison of the above two verses of the Radhanpur and Sanjan plates, it appears that, though Govinda III carried away the glory of Nâgabhaṭa by extorting his submission, he allowed the latter to rule his territory for a certain period. It is known(2) that the same Râṣṭrakûṭa monarch launched a campaign against the northern countries and in his triumphant march advanced to the Himâlaya, whereupon Dharmapâla, king of Bengal, and his vassal Cakrâyudha of Kanauj surrendered themselves to his mercy. This glorious achievement must have followed his victory over the king of Mâlava, whose kingdom evidently bordered the northern boundary of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. But immediately on his return

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finally settles the matter by stating that the Gurjaras, whom Govinda III vanquished, dwelt in the hill fort of Citrakûṭa, which is to be identified with the modern Chitorgadh, in Udaipur state, Rajputana (cf. Chitorgadh ins. of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, E.I. II, p. 421). The Pratihâras of Jodhpur, who, in the early years of the 9th century A.D., regained power and prestige under Kakka, held sway over this part of the country (J. Dep. L., Vol. X. pp. 48-49). Hence there can hardly be any doubt that the Gurjaras, alluded to in the Rădhanpur and Sanjan plates were this branch of the Pratihâras.

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(1) E.I, Vol. XVIII, p. 253.

(2) ibid., Vol. V, 23.

from the northern expedition he is found to have changed his policy regarding Mâlava and some other neighbouring provinces in the south. Verse 24 of the Sanjan plates records that[1] "Govinda III returned from there (i.e. from his northern expedition) (thinking) that it was the work of the ministerial servants, and following again the bank of the Narmada as if (following his own) prowess, and acquiring the Mâlava country along with Kosala, Kaliṅga, Vaṇṇga (Veṇgi), Ḍâhala and Oḍraka, that Vikrama himself made his servants enjoy them."[2]

It is quite evident from the above verse that this time Govinda III finally expelled Nâgabhaṭa from his ancestral dominions and entrusted the charge of the administration of Mâlava to one of his chiefs. No doubt can be entertained that Mâlava was, on this occasion, permanently incorporated into the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire, for, in subsequent years Govinda III is found to take sufficient care for the protection of its ruler against the incursions of the Gurjaras.

Nâgabhaṭa, though he was not strong enough to cope successfully with the Râṣṭrakûṭa power, was evidently a general of a high order. Having now been deprived of his paternal throne, he thought it wise to try his luck in the north. There he found that the whole of the region from

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(1) E.I. Vol. XVIII, p. 253. (2) Kosala is the upper valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries, from the source of the Narmada on the north to the source of the Mahanadi itself on the south. Veṇgi corresponds to the modern Vegi or Pedda-Vegi, a village in the Godavari District. Ḍâhala is the Cedi country, whose capital was Tripurî (mod. Tewar, 6 miles west of Jubbulpore, on the Narmada).

Mr Cunningham, on the evidence of the report of Hiuen Tsang, states that Kosala was bounded by Ujjain on the north, Mahârâṣṭra on the west, Orissa on the east, and Andhra and Kaliṅga on the south. This shows that all these countries

Bengal right up to the border of the Punjab was under the sway of the Pâlas of Bengal, and that a chief, named Cakrâyudha, had been ruling in Kanauj as their protégé.(1) Of the Pâlas and the Râṣṭrakûṭas, the former were evidently the less powerful. It has been noticed above that the Pâla Dharmapâla and his subordinate Cakrâyudha had, on a previous occasion, been forced to submit to the military power of Govinda III. Hence the rise of Nâgabhaṭa, as verse 10 of Bhoja's Gwalior inscription(2) purports to say, was possible only if he could defeat the king of Bengal. He enlisted the services of Kakka, the Pratihâra king of Jodhpur, Bâhukadhavala, the feudatory chief of Saurâṣṭra, and some other princes, and marched against Bengal.(3) Dharmapâla arrayed his army near Monghyr to oppose him, but was defeated and forced to retreat.(4) It was now very difficult for Cakrâyudha to hold his position any longer. He surrendered his territory of Kanauj to Nâgabhaṭa, where a new Pratihâra sovereignty was readily established.(5) Subsequently, Nâgabhaṭa made another attempt to regain his lost dominion of Mâlava, and apparently succeeded in capturing an outlying fortress of that country.(6) But the effect of this achievement was but temporary. During

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which Govinda III conquered, were contiguous. (An. Geog., edited by S.N. Majumdar, p. 603).

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(1) Bânglâr Itihâs, by R.D.Banerji, Vol. I, pp. 191 ff. (2nd edition

(2) E.I, Vol. XVIII, p. 112. (3) J. Dep. Le, Vol. X. p. 40.

(4) ibid.; E.I, Vol. XVIII, p. 112, v. 10. (5) Vatsarâja is described as the ruler of Avanti. The Prabhâvaka-carita (E.I. Vol. XIV, p. 179, fn. 3) mentions his successor, Nâgabhaṭa, as "Nâgâvaloka of Kanauj." In the early years of the 9th century A.D. Cakrâyudha was the ruler of Kanauj, who is reported to have sustained a reverse at the hands of Nâgabhaṭa. Hence there can hardly be any doubt that it was during the reign of Nâgabhaṭa that Kanauj became a kingdom of the Pratihâras. (6) E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112, v. 11.

the reign of Nâgabhaṭa's successor Râmabhadra (A.D. 833-835), Gwalior formed the southern boundary of the Pratihâra kingdom of Kanauj.(1)

Not only the Pratihâras of Kanauj, but also those of the Jodhpur branch, were a constant source of trouble to the newly established Mâlava government.(2) These Jodhpur Pratihâras gained new life and vigour under their ruler Kakka, who acquired much reputation by fighting successfully against Dharmapâla of Bengal at Monghyr.(3) Kakka was apparently a contemporary of Govinda III and Nâgabhaṭa II, as his son and successor Bawka is known to have been ruling in V.S. 894 = A.D. 837.(4) His success over the king of Bengal encouraged him to lead an army against his south-eastern neighbour, the new ruler of Mâlava, whose name is not definitely mentioned in any record. He seems to have gained a preliminary success over the latter. But Govinda III readily came to the assistance of his feudatory , and succeeded in routing Kakka's forces. After this, as a safeguard against further trouble, the Râṣṭrakûṭa monarch appointed his feudatory Karkarâja a guardian for the protection of the highroad to Mâlava against the incursions of the Gurjaras. Karkarâja's grant, dated 812-13 A.D., tells us that(5) "having for the purpose of protecting(the king of) Mâlava, who had been struck down, caused his (Karkarâja's) arm to become the excellent door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gurjaras, who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauḍa and the lord of

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, pp. 154, ff.

(2) In the middle of the 6th century A.D., the Gurjaras advanced from their settlements in the Punjab towards Rajputana. About that time the Pratihâra Haricandra founded a kingdom in the territory now roughly represented by the Jodhpur State. He was followed by a line of princes, who maintained their political authority ~~upto~~ until the middle of the 9th century A.D. (J.De Le, Vol.X, pp7, 13 14)

(3) E.I. Vol. XVIII, p. 98, v. 24. (4) ibid., p.95.

(5) I.A, Vol. XII, p. 164, v. 39 - Baroda plates.

Vaṅga,- his master (Govinda III) thus enjoys his other (arm) also as (embodying all) the fruits of sovereignty."(1)

This is, in my opinion, the real history of the overthrow of the Pratihâra rule in Mâlava, which was henceforward governed by a subordinate chief of the imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas. The date of this memorable event can be fixed within the narrow limit of a few years. From the Radhanpur plates, dated 808 A.D., we know definitely that Govinda III, on the humble submission of the old king of Mâlava, allowed the latter to govern his own territory. But the Sanjan plates, dated 871 A.D., inform us that it was finally acquired by the same Râṣṭrakûṭa king, and was handed over to one of his officers for administration. This proves that Mâlava became a part of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire some time after 808 A.D. The Baroda plate of Karkarâja, as has been observed above, records the arrangements which Govinda III made for the protection of the Mâlava prince against the onslaughts of the Gurjaras. As this grant is dated 812-13 A.D., the acquisition

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(1) I agree with Dr. R.C. Majumdar in thinking that Nâgabhaṭa, Kakka and others formed a confederacy against Dharmapâla, and defeated the latter in Monghyr (J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 40). If this proves to be true, then the allied army must have achieved this success before 812-13 A.D., the date of the Baroda plate of Karkarâja, in which the fact is recorded. It has been seen above that, as the result of this victory, Kanauj fell into the hands of Nâgabhaṭa. Henceforth it was the chief seat of the Pratihâras for a long time. It follows from this that, when the Baroda plate was issued in 812 A.D., Nâgabhaṭa was ruling in Kanauj and Kakka in Jodhpur. Under these circumstances Karkarâja, who was the ruler of Central and Southern Gujarat, could only serve as a "doorbar" of the territory of the Jodhpur Pratihâras, and not of the kingdom of Nâgabhaṭa, which lay far to the north-east of Mâlava, at Kanauj.

of Mâlava and the appointment of a ruler over it by Govinda III must have taken place before that date. From all these facts it can safely be asserted that, between the years 808 and 812 A.D., the Gurjara Pratihâras were expelled from Mâlava and its sovereignty was assumed by a new ruling chief, as a vassal of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa.

I shall now try to show that this new ruler of Mâlava was, in all probability, Upendra-Kṛṣṇarâja, the founder of the Paramâra dynasty.

The Râṣṭrakûṭas, having conquered a large tract of land on the north of the Narmada, divided it generally among the efficient members of their own family. Govinda III posted his brother Indrarâja, who was the father of Karkarâja of the Baroda plate, in the province of Lâṭa and Gujarat.(1) Similarly in Pathari, in the Bhopal Agency of Central India, and in Bijapur, in the Jodhpur State of Southern Rajputana, other Râṣṭrakûṭa princes are found ruling about this period.(2) Between Pathari and Gujarat lay the country of Mâlava. It is very ~~likely~~ probable that Govinda III set up another member of his family in the government of this country, which was undoubtedly a responsible office. The Harsola grant of Sîyaka II, quoted above, testifies to the fact that Upendra and his successors were descended from the royal family of the Râṣṭrakûṭas. The Ā'Īn-i-Akbarī states that the hero who founded the Paramâra dynasty in Mâlava came there from the South.(3) The period when Upendra assumed the royalty of Mâlava can now be approximately determined. Vâkpati-Muñja, the seventh king in descent from Upendra, ascended the throne between 971 and 972 A.D. If a period of twenty-five years is allowed to each reign, Upendra's accession is to be considered as having taken place in the first quarter of the

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(1) I.A., Vol. XII, p. 163, line 30.

(2) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 248; ibid., Vol. X, p. 17.

(3) Translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, pp. 214, ff.

9th century A.D.] Professor Bühler is of opinion that Upendra ascended the throne of Mâlava shortly after 800 A.D.(1) It has already been seen above that the charge of the government of Mâlava was undertaken by a new ruling chief after the overthrow of the Pratihâra dynasty, between the years 808 and 812 A.D.] This ~~fits well~~ corresponds with the period in which Upendra flourished. All these considerations, in spite of the absence of any definite evidence, favour the identification of Upendra with the subordinate chief whom Govinda III appointed to rule the country of Mâlava. He probably followed the Râṣṭrakûṭa army in its northern march, and was ~~favoured~~ entrusted with this office in return for his valuable military service. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that he "gained the high honour of kingship by his valour."(2)

Thus we see that it was from the south of the Narmada that the Paramâra family was brought to Mâlava by Upendra Kṛṣnarâja. ~~The latter~~ Kṛṣnarâja was followed by a line of kings who ruled this country for nearly five hundred years, till the dynasty was finally overthrown by the Moslems.

Archaeological research has discovered the existence of some more branch-lines of the Paramâras, four in number ~~ing altogether four~~, who held sway over the modern Banswara, Mount Abu, and the Jodhpur State in Rajputana.

The history of the Paramâra family of Banswara, which was anciently known as Vâgaḍa, is to be gathered from the Arthuna inscription(3) of Câmuṇḍarâja, dated 1080 A.D., and the Panhera inscription(4) of Maṇḍalika, dated 1059 A.D., The origin of this family is also traced from the hero Paramâra, who was believed to have been born from the fire-pit on Mount Abu.(5) In the

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 225. (2) ibid., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 7.
(3) ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 297. (4) A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.
(5) E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 303-4.

lineage of this hero was born Vairisiṃha, whose younger brother was Ḍambarasiṃha. In the lineage of ~~the latter~~ Ḍambarasiṃha there was a king named Kakkadeva, who was followed by a long line of princes.(1) I agree with Dr. Barnett in thinking(2) that this Vairisiṃha is identical with the Vairisiṃha I who was the son and successor of Upendra Kṛṣṇarâja. It follows, therefore, that this Paramâra family was a collateral branch of the main house of Dhârâ, and settled in Banswara in the middle of the 9th century A.D.

Numerous historical records stand to prove that a Paramâra family held sway for a long time over Mount Abu, which lies in the ~~modern~~ Sirohi State of Rajputana. The Vasantgaḍh inscription(3) of Pûrṇapâla is the earliest known record of this family. It relates that, through the anger of Vasiṣṭha, a hero was born from whom the Paramâra family took its origin. In his lineage there was a king Utpalarâja, from whom sprang Araṇarâja. ~~The latter~~ Araṇyarâja was followed by a long line of princes who were known as the rulers of Arbudamaṇḍala.

An inscription from Mount Abu,(4) while describing the story of the fire-birth of the great hero Paramâra, tells us that in his lineage ~~there~~ was Kanhâḍadeva, in whose family was born Dhandhu, ~~who was~~ the lord of the town of Candrâvatî, in Mount Abu. ~~The latter was evidently the same as~~ Dhandhu may reasonably be identified with the father of Pûrṇapâla of the Vasantgaḍh inscription. As no king named Kanhâḍadeva is found in the genealogy of the Paramâra rulers of Mount Abu, as stated by the Vasantgaḍh inscription, it appears that ~~in all probability~~ probably he preceded Utpalarâja. We have ample evidence to prove that the names Kanhâḍa and

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(1) E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 303-4.

(2) ibid., p. 296.

(3) ibid., Vol. IX, p. 10.

(4) ibid., Vol. IX, p. 155.

Kṛṣṇarâja are synonymous. In the two Mount Abu inscriptions,[1] both dated 1287 V.S., the Paramâra Somasiṃha's son and successor is mentioned in one place as Kanhâḍadeva and in another place as Kṛṣṇarâjadeva. In the Ujjain plate of Vâkpati-Muñja,[2] the earliest ruler of the family is mentioned as Kṛṣṇarâjadeva, who is identified by all the modern scholars[3] with Upendra, the founder of the sovereignty of his family in Mâlava. In ancient records[4] ~~just~~ like Kanhâḍa of the Mount Abu inscription, Upendra is described as born in the lineage of the hero Paramâra and the first king of the family. Taking all these things into consideration, I am inclined to believe that Kanhâḍa of the Mount Abu inscription is identical with Kṛṣṇarâja of Vâkpati-Muñja's Ujjain grant.[5]

Vâkpati-Muñja, seventh in descent from Upendra-Kṛṣṇarâja, was also known by the name Utpala.[6] In my opinion, this Paramâra king is to be identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Vasantgaḍh inscription. Of all the rulers of the Paramâra family, Vâkpati-Muñja, or Utpala, was the first to lead his army into the neighbourhood of Mount Abu, during his military excursions. If all the records[7] ~~throwing~~

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(1) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 42; cf. ibid. p. 222, line 26. Kanhâḍa is a regular Prakrit equivalent for Kṛṣṇa.

(2) I.A., Vol VI, p. 52. (3) J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXI, p. 114, fn.; E.I., Vol. I, p. 225; I.A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

(4) E.I., Vol. I, p. 225; I.A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

(5) In the Mount Abu inscription, Dhandu is described as the foremost of the heroes that were born in the family of Kanhâḍadeva (Tat-kula-kamala-vîrâgraganî Dhaṃdhuḥ)-(E.I., Vol. IX, p.155,v.5) This suggests that ~~the former~~ Dhandhu was removed by several generations from ~~the latter~~ Kanhâḍa. Hence Kanhâḍadeva cannot be identical with Adbhuta-kṛṣṇarâja, who was the grandfather of Dhandu.

(6) I.A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 163. (7) E.I., Vol. X, p. 20; I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 18; E.I., Vol. XI, pp. 67, ff.; ibid., Vol. IX, p. 71, vide post, p. .

throwing light on his northern conquest, are considered together, it follows that he, having conquered Mewar and its neighbourhood, reached the country of Marwar and threatened to overthrow the existing Câhamâna government.(1) There follows in the next chapter, an exhaustive discussion of this subject ~~has been elaborately discussed below to~~ proving that he succeeded in wresting the southern portion of it, though his attempt to conquer Nadol met with signal failure.(2) Prior to undertaking the expedition against Marwar, he must have conquered Mount Abu, which ~~stood in~~ barred his line of approach to that country. During this time he probably established several Paramâra settlements in his newly conquered territories and appointed his son Araṇyarâja to look after the administration of the province of Abu (Arbudamaṇḍala).(3)

Of the remaining two branch lines, it is known that one established its authority at Jalor and the other at Bhinmal, both of them being situated in Jodhpur State, Raj-

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(1) vide footnote 7 on previous page. (2) ibid.,

(3) Some scholars suggest that Mount Abu was the original home of the Paramâras, whence they migrated to Mâlava and there founded ~~there~~ a kingdom of their own ("The Early History of India", by V.A. Smith, p. 410, 4th ed.) This is entirely based on the traditional belief that the founder of the Paramâra family took his birth from a fire-pit on Mount Abu. In my opinion, very little importance should be attached to this mythical story. Tradition also connects the birth of the founders of the Câhamânas, Caulukyas, and Pratihâras with the same Mount Abu. It ~~will~~ would not be ~~fair~~ wise to infer from this that all of them originally lived on it and later migrated in different directions. Mount Abu has been considered as a place of great sanctity from time immemorial. The author of the above story probably connected it with that locality in order to make it more attractive and popular.

putana. The history of the ~~former~~ Jalor branch is known from an inscription[1] found at Jalor, bearing the date V.S. 1174 = 1117 A.D. Here the genealogy of the family is drawn from Vâkpatirâja, whose son was Candana. Candana apparently flourished in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., which was also the ~~reign~~-period of Vâkpati-Muñja's reign (973-996 A.D.).[2] This leads me to conclude with Dr. Bhandarkar that Vâkpati of the Jalor inscription is apparently the same as Vâkpati-Muñja of Dhârâ.

Our knowledge about the history of the Bhinmal branch is mainly limited to ~~what is~~ the evidence furnished by an inscription[3] ~~which was~~ discovered in the wall of a temple in Kiradu. The record is dated 1218 V.S. = 1161 A.D. Here Sindhurâja is described as the earliest member of the family, whose son and successor was Dûsala. ~~The former~~ Sindhurâja may probably be identified with ~~as~~ the younger brother and successor of Vâkpati-Muñja. Vâkpati, as has been noticed above, once proceeded as far as the country of Marwar, in the course of his military campaigns. It may be that during that time Candana and Dûsala were ~~respectively~~ posted in Jalor and Bhinmal respectively as viceroys of the imperial house of Dhârâ.

If my above assertions prove to be true, we may find here some landmarks of the history of the Paramâras' gradual expansion. The tradition runs that the Paramâras were divided into thirty-five branches (śâkhâs),[4] viz.: The

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle), 1919, p. 54. (Unpublished).

(2) Vide post, p. 307.

(3) Unpublished.

(4) Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Râjasthân. Ed. by Crooke, 1920, Vol. I., pp. 111-112.

1	Mori	13	Bhiva	25	Harnar
2	Soḍhas	14	Kalpusar	26	Caonda
3	Saṅkhala	15	Kalmoh	27	Khejav
4	Khair	16	Jipra	28	Kohila
5	Umja	17	Pasra	29	Papa
6	Sumra	18	Dhumta	30	Kahovia
7	Vihal or Bihal	19	Balhar	31	Dhand
8	Mepawat	20	Kaba	32	Deva
9	Sagra	21	Umata	33	Barhar
10	Barkota	22	Rehar	34	Rikamra
11	Puni	23	Dhunda	35	Taika.
12	Sampal	24	Sorathia		

Nothing is known ~~to us about~~ their early existence. They were, no doubt, the ramifications of the early ruling Paramâra families. The existence of some of these branch-lines can be traced now in Western Rajputana and the Kathiawar Peninsula.(1)

Now, if all these discussions are briefly summarised, it follows that between 808 and 812 A.D. Upendra, a member of the Râṣṭrakûṭa race, obtained the sovereignty of Mâlava, through the favour of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Govinda III, who wrested the country from the Pratihâra Nâgabhaṭa II. Later ~~on~~, when his successors assumed imperial rank, they, following the general custom of the age, traced their descent from a mythical hero named Paramâra. Ḍambara-siṃha, a son of Upendra, founded a principality in the modern Banswara State. In the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. three more junior lines branched off from the ruling family of Dhârâ and established governments in Abu, Jalor, and Bhinmal, where they ruled for a long time. The Paramâras, as they multiplied in the course of ages, split up into numerous small branches and settled in various parts of Rajputana, Gujarat and Katiawar, in most cases without attaining to any considerable political power.

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(1) Bom. Gaz., Vol. IX, Part I, pp. 127-28.

CHAPTER II.

In this and the following chapters, I shall now try to narrate the history of all the known branches of the Paramâra dynasty. It has been noticed already that the family which held its sway in Malwa formed the main line, and the others were its offshoots. These rulers of Malwa played an important rôle in the history of ancient India, and once attained a high imperial position. They were sometimes designated as lords of Malwa and sometimes as kings of Avanti. They were also known as rulers of Ujjain and Dhârâ. In their palmy days, the boundary of their realm extended on the north up to the modern Kotah and Bundi States,(1) beyond which lay the territory of the Kacchapaghâtas of Dubkund and the Guhilots of Mewar;(2) on the east up to Bhilsa, Hoshangabad and part of the Sagar District(3) which bordered on the kingdoms of the Kalacuris of Tripurî and the Candellas of Jejâkabhukti; on the south ~~by~~ to the river Godavari(4) and the country of Khandesh,(5) beyond which lay the dominions of the Câḷukyas of Kalyani; on the west up to the river Mahi,(6) which ~~divided~~ separated it from the land of the Caulukya rulers of Gujarat. In the latter part of the tenth century A.D., when Padmagupta flourished (972-1000 A.D.), Ujjain became for a time the seat of its government.(7)

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(1) Transactions of the R.A.S., Vol. I, pp. 227 ff.

(2) E.I., Vol. II, p. 232. (3) I.A., Vol. XX, pp. 83-84.

(4) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 33. (5) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

(6) Proceedings & Transactions - Oriental Conference, Poona, p. 319; ibid., Madras, 1924, p. 303, fn.; E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 236.

(7) Navasâhasâṅka-carita, Sarga XI, verse 99.

prasâsti parito viśvam Ujjayinyâm puri sthitaḥ \
ayam Yayâti-Mândhâtṛ-Duṣyanta-Bharatopamaḥ \

The modern city of Ujjain is situated on the right bank of the Sipra, in Gwalior State, Central India Agency, and the ancient site lies in ruins about a mile to the north of it. It is an old city of great repute. Long before the ascendency of the Paramâras, Dhârâ had attained to the position of the chief city in Malwa. Îśvaravarman, the Maukhari king of Kanauj, repelled an attack of the king of Dhârâ.(1) Padmagupta describes Dhârâ as the "other city" of the king Sindhurâja, and also as the "capital of his race."(2) This proves that it was at Dhârâ that the family first established its government. In the early part of the 11th century A.D. the city was rebuilt,(3) and the royal residence was transferred thither. In the Pârijâtamañjarî, Dhârâ is described as the city of palaces, containing beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills around it.(4) It was famous for its skilful musicians and learned scholars. A high state of civilisation and refinement prevailed there.(5) It is the modern town of Dhar, the headquarters of the State of the same name in Central India, and is three-quarters of a mile long and half a mile broad. Mr. Cunningham remarks that "As the citadel is outside the town, the whole circuit of the place cannot be less than 3½ miles."(6)

UPENDRA

We have dealt at length in the foregoing chapter on the course of events that led to the settlement of the Paramâra family in Malwa. There we have noticed that Upendra was the first king of this dynasty, and was a subordinate chief of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Govinda III. Both the

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(1) Fleet's Gupta Inscription, p. 230.

(2) Aparâ-purî; kula-râjadhânî; Navasª, Sarga I, vs. 90-91

(3) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 46. (4) E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 101, ff.

(5) ibid. (6) An. Geo. p. 562.

Udayapur Praśasti[1] and the Navasâhasâṅka-carita[2] record that Upendra was a king of great valour, and was particularly famous for performing a "multitude of sacrifices." The latter further tells us that the king reduced the burden of taxes borne by his subjects.[3] It again recounts that his fame spread far and wide - which formed the subject-matter of the Song of Sîtâ and which comforted the latter, just as Hanumâna ~~was the cause of the consolation of~~ consoled the weary mind of Sîtâ, the wife of the epic hero Râma during her captivity in the city of Laṅkâ (Ceylon).[4] The Prabandha-cintâmaṇi[5] reports that there was a poetess named Sîtâ who lived in the court of Bhoja. It may be that the above verse of the Navasâhasâṅka-carita refers to a certain eulogy which was composed by that poetess in honour of Upendra.[6]

In the two land grants[7] of Vâkpati-Muñja, there appears a name Kṛṣṇarâja, at whose feet Vairisiṃha II, the father of Sîyaka-Harṣa, meditated. Mr. Hall remarks that the names Upendra and Kṛṣṇarâja are synonymous.[8] As the Udayapur Praśasti does not mention any king by the name Kṛṣṇarâja, the latter is to be identified with the former. Mr. Hall's view is supported by Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Bühler and Mr. Burgess.[9]

Upendra began his rule between the years 808 and 812 A.D.,. We may, for the sake of convenience, provisionally take it as 809-810, A.D.. A period of 162 years had elapsed between this date and the year of the accession of Vâkpati-Muñja (971-972 A.D.). This gives approximately a period of 27 years reign to each generation from Upendra to Sîyaka II.

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 225. (2) Sarga XI, v. 76.

(3) Ibid., vv. 76, 78. (4) Ibid., v. 77.

(5) Prabandha°, p. 63. (6) Vide Chapter VIII, p.

(7) I.A., Vol, VI, p. 48; ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 160.

(8) J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXI, p. 114, fn.

(9) E.I., Vol. I, p. 225; I.A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 167.

Following this, Upendra's reign came to a close in 837 A.D.

The Udayapur Praśasti of the rulers of Malwa informs us that Upendra was followed by Vairisiṃha I, Sîyaka I, and Vâkpati I.[1] Padmagupta, though he does not expressly mention the names of Vairisiṃha I and Sîyaka I, confirms the fact of their succession by stating that between Upendra and Vâkpati I there came a number of rulers.[2]

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 225.

(2) Tasmin gate narendreṣu tadanyeṣu gateṣu ca | . Tatra Vâkpatirâjākhyaḥ pārthivendur ajāyata || (Navas°, Sarga XI, v. 80.

Mr. C.V. Vaidya denies the succession of Vairisiṃha I, Sîyaka I and Vâkpati I, and remarks that the Udayapur Praśasti's account regarding those three kings is conventional (History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, p. 123). I do not find any grounds in support of this assertion. Padmagupta, who is one of the earliest authorities to give the history of the Paramâra dynasty of Malwa, tells us that Vairisiṃha II's father was Vâkpati I. He further states, as we have already seen, that between ~~the latter~~ Vâkpati I and Upendra there came a number of other rulers. In these circumstances it cannot be asserted that the Udayapur Praśasti's account regarding the immediate successors of Upendra is altogether conventional. It should not be deemed absurd that Vairisiṃha I, Sîyaka I and Vâkpati I were followed by another set of kings bearing similar names in the same order. Several inscriptions furnish us with the following genealogical table of the Kalacuri rulers of Ratanpur, where the same sort of repetition is to be noticed:

(3)	Ratnarâja (or Ratneśa)	(7)	Pṛthvīdeva
(4)	Pṛthvīśa (or Pṛthvîdeva)	(8)	Jājalladeva
(5)	Jājalla (or Jājalladeva)	(9)	Ratnadeva
(6)	Ratnadeva	(10)	Pṛthvīdeva.

(E.I., Vol. I, p. 46).

VAIRISIṂHA I.

Vairisiṃha I succeeded to the throne, after the close of his father's reign, about the year 836-7 A.D. His younger brother, Ḍambarasiṃha, received the province of Vâgaḍa, probably from him, and ruled there as a feudatory of the House of Malwa.(1) Nothing in particular is known to us about the military exploits of this new king. The poet relates that he erected pillars of victory in different parts of the earth and levied taxes from a large number of kings who were very favourably disposed towards him on account of his divine qualities.(2) On the strength of this verse some scholars are inclined to attribute to him the erection of the iron pillar at Dhârâ.(3) He was succeeded by Sîyaka I about 863 A.D.

SÎYAKA I.

Our knowledge concerning the reign of this king is also very meagre. He is described as a great conqueror and is said to have slain a host of his enemies.(4) His successor was Vâkpati I, who probably ascended the throne about the year 890-91, A.D.

VÂKPATI I.

Verse 10 of the Udayapur Praśasti(5) describes this chief as "a sun for (those) water-lilies, the eyes of the maidens of Avanti." This indirectly proves his supreme control over that country. He is compared with Śatamakha (Indra)(6) for his military valour, and his armies are said to have drunk the waters of Gaṅgâ and of the ocean. This is no doubt a panegyric of the poet.

VAIRISIṂHA II.

Vâkpati's rule seems to have come to a close about the year 917-18 A.D., when the charge of the government

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(1) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 296. (2) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 237.
(3) A.S.I., 1902-3, p. 207. (4) E.I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 9.
(5) Ibid. (6) Ibid.

was assumed by his son Vairisiṃha II, who was also known by the name of Vajraṭa.(1)

Our information regarding the military exploits of these five Paramâra rulers, from Upendra to Vairisiṃha II, is very scanty. This is because they still held their authority as subordinates ~~to~~ of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan, and did not possess resources enough to wage aggressive war against the powerful neighbouring chiefs. In fact, the rise of the Paramâras entirely depended upon the decline and downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihâra power in the north and of the Râṣṭrakûṭa suzerainty in the south. In the following paragraphs I shall try to show how, passing through many adversities, they ultimately succeeded in throwing off the yoke of subordination. It was probably during the early part of the reign of Vairisiṃha II that the Paramâra rule suffered an eclipse at the hand of the Pratihâras of Kanauj.

The Pratihâra Râmbhadra, son of Nâgabhaṭa II, was weak and destitute of military valour.(2) He was succeeded by Bhoja, who was famous for his skill in ~~the art of~~ warfare. This monarch distinguished himself by numerous conquests, and extended the boundary of his realm far and wide. In the south-west the Câḷukyas of Saurâṣṭra seem to have acknowledged his sway.(3) But his attempt to push his arms further met with signal failure. He could not force his way into the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom, which extended up to Malwa and Lâṭa on the north. He was defeated by Dhruva II, the Râṣṭrakûṭa chief of Lâṭa, some time before 867 A.D.(4) That Malwa still formed a part of the Râṣṭrakûṭa dominion is shown by several epigraphic records. The Nilgund inscription,(5) dated 866 A.D., of the reign of Amoghavarṣa, reports that the king was worshipped by the lord of Malwa. On the eve

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(1) E. I., Vol. I, p. 237, v. 11. (2) J. Dep. L., Vol. X. p. 47.
(3) E.I., Vol. IX. pp. 1 ff. (4) I.A., Vol, XII, p. 181.
(5) E.I., Vol. VI., p. 102.

of his march against the kingdom of Kanauj, the Râṣṭrakûṭa Indra III (914 A.D.) halted at Ujjain and paid his devotions to the temple of Mahâkâla.(1) So long as Indra III was on the throne of the Deccan, the Pratihâras of Kanauj could not gain much advantage in the south.(2) But his death, shortly before 918 A.D., was followed by anarchy in the Râṣṭrakûṭa kingdom. Govinda IV contrived to put his own elder brother, the successor of Indra III, to death, and usurped the throne.(3) He was tyrannical, and during his reign lawlessness and disorder ~~tormented~~ convulsed the great Râṣṭrakûṭa empire.(4) The Pratihâra government, which only a few years back had suffered a rude shock at the hand of Indra III,(5) did not let the changed situation in the Deccan pass unnoticed. The Pratihâra Bhoja I was followed by Mahendrapâla I and Bhoja II. Mahîpâla, who ruled between 914 and 946 A.D., succeeded Bhoja II.(6) He was a great warrior. The recent outbreak of the revolution in the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire offered him free scope for the display of his military talents. His armies in their triumphant march moved from country to country. Râjaśekhara, the court poet of Mahîpâla, gives the following vivid description of his master's military achievements, with a touch of poetic inspiration.(7)

"Of that lineage was born the glorious Mahîpâladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of the Muralas, who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate, who has driven the Kaliṅgas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kulûtas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas; and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramaṭhas."

Most of the countries described here bordered the Pratihâra empire, and Dr. R.C. Majumdar has ably shown that there

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(1) E.I. Vol. VII, pp.29-30 (2) J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 66.
(3) E.I., Vol. VII, p. 34. (4) Ibid.,Vol. IV, p. 288.
(5) Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 28. (6) J. Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 75.
(7) Ibid., Vol. X, p. 63.

is no valid reason to ~~disbelieve~~ regard the above description merely as a poetic hyperbole.(1) Kuntala was the name of the country south of the Narmada, over which the Râṣṭrakûṭas ruled. Mahîpâla seems to have conquered and annexed the country of Malwa just about this time.

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur District (United Provinces) were evidently feudatories of the Pratihâras of Kanauj. Guṇâmbodhi, a prince of this family, became a favourite of Bhoja (934-990 A.D.), and obtained land from him.(2) He helped this ~~latter~~ Pratihâra King with men and arms in his conquest of Bengal.(3) His successor was Ullabha, who was again followed by Bhâmâna-Deva. The last-mentioned king was apparently a contemporary of the Kanauj king, Mahîpâla (914-931, A.D.), who was the grandson of Bhoja. It is known from the Kahla plate that he distinguished himself by the conquest of Dhârâ.(4) As he was a petty local ruler under the Pratihâras of Kanauj, it was certainly impossible for him to undertake, on his own account, any military expedition against such a distant country as Malwa. In all likelihood he accompanied his overlord Mahîpâla on his southern march and shared that victory with him. It settles one important fact, that Malwa was not conquered by the Pratihâras before this time. But that it was annexed to the Kanauj empire about this period admits of no doubt. The Partabgarh inscription,(5) dated 946 A.D., of the reign of Mahendrapâla II, who was the son and successor of Mahîpâla, records that, in the year 946 A.D., Mâdhava was the great feudatory lord and governor of Ujjain, and Śrîśarman, who was a commander-in-chief, was carrying on the affairs of state at Maṇḍapikâ (modern Mandu, in the Dhar State, C.I.), under this Prati-

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(1) J.Dep. L., Vol. X, p. 64, ff.

(2) E.I., Vol. VII, p. 89, v. 9. Kahla plate of Soḍha Deva, v. 5, 1134.

(3) Ibid.; J. Dep. L. Vol. X, p. 52.

(4) .... nija-vijayi-pa(d-o)ddhâra-Dhârâvanîśa-(hṛśya)t-sena-jaya-śrû-haṭha-haraṇa-kalâ-dhâma Bhâmânadevaḥ (v. 13

(5) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 176. E.I., Vol. VII, P-87.

hâra monarch. Mâdhava, having worshipped the god Mahâkâla at Ujjain, on the Mîna-Saṃkrânti day, granted the village of Dhârâ-padraka for the maintenance of the temple of Indrâditya-deva at Ghoṇṭa-varṣikâ. This indubitably proves the supreme control of the Pratihâras of Kanauj over Malwa ~~in~~ at this period. But this state of things did not long continue. Mahîpâla was the last great king of his dynasty. Within a very short time after the accession of his son, Mahendrapâla II, the vast Pratihâra empire began to disintegrate. It may be noted here that the dismemberment of the two great imperial dynasties of India, viz, the Pratihâra and the Râṣṭrakûṭa, began about the same time, in the middle of the tenth century A.D. This offered a golden opportunity to the other subsidiary ruling families to take the best advantage of it. Yaśovarman, the Candella king of Bundelkhand (925-50 A.D.), seems to have been the first among them to assail the Pratihâra empire.(1) He wrested from it the greater portion of its southern territories. Some time before 953 A.D. the Candella kingdom is found to extend(2) from the river Jumna on the north to the frontiers of Cedi on the south, and from Kalinjar on the east or north-east to Gopâdri or the modern Gwalior on the north-west. ~~This speaks much for~~ Such an advance illustrates only too clearly the disastrous condition ~~into which~~ of the Pratihâra government, ~~was reduced.~~ The empire which once stretched up to the river Narmada on the south had now been pushed back so far that it was bordered by Gwalior.

During this period of turmoil and disorder the dethroned Paramâra Vairisiṃha II, who seems to have been ~~meanwhile~~ living in exile, did not remain inactive. He availed himself of the situation to the best of his ability, and spared no pains to revive the Paramâra rule in Malwa. He fell upon the viceroy of Mahendrapâla II and blotted out the last vestige of Pratihâra supremacy by his total expulsion. Verse 11

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 132, v. 23.

(2) Ibid., p. 134, v. 45.

of the Udayapur Praśasti[1] seems to give a hint to that effect. It records that[2] "By that king (Vairisiṃha II) the famous Dhârâ was indicated, when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the edge of his sword." Mr. Bühler remarks[3] that this expression means: "smiting the foe with the edge of his sword, the king indicated that Dhârâ belonged to him."

Thus Paramâra rule was re-established in Malwa. From this time forward its outlook was completely changed, and its angle of perspective differently shaped. The old ruling families were fast vanishing from the political platform, yielding place to a new set. The Paramâras, as we shall see below, seized every opportunity to increase their power.

SÎYAKA-HARṢA.

Vairisiṃha II died soon after the reconquest of Malwa. He was succeeded by his son Sîyaka, some time before 949 A.D. Sîyaka was also known as Harṣa.[4] It is now beyond all dispute that Sîyaka and Harṣa were names of one and the same king, as both are described in the epigraphic records as the father of Sindhurâja.[5] The Udayapur Praśasti and Arthuna inscription mention him as Harṣa,[6] and Merutuṅga calls him by the name Siṃhadantabhaṭa.[7] But in the rest of the ancient records the king is introduced to us as Sîyaka. Mr. Bühler thinks[8] that the complete name of the king was probably

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 235.

(2) Ibid.- Jâtas tasmâd Vairisiṃho 'nyanâmnâ loko brûte [Vajraṭa]svâminaṃ yaṃ |
Śatror vvarggaṃ dhârayâser nnihatya Śrîmad-Dhârâ sûcitâ yena râjñâ || V.11.

(3) Ibid. Footn. 86. (4) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 299, v. 19.

(5) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 227; I.A. Vol. VI, pp. 51, 53.

(6) E. I., Vol. I, p. 227; vol. XIV, p. 299, v. 19.

(7) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 30.

(8) E.I., Vol. I, p. 225.

Harsimha, both parts of which were used as abbreviations. He further remarks that "The form Sîyaka is a half Prakritic corruption of Simhaka, for in modern Gujarati and other dialects the termination simha becomes in names not only Simha or Singh, but very commonly Si which is immediately derived from the Prakrit Siha. Thus Amarsi is used instead of Amarasimha, etc.." I beg to differ from the learned scholar on this point. Sîyaka was the name of an early Paramâra chief, and it follows from this fact that it can stand by itself as a proper name.

Two inscriptions of Sîyaka's reign have recently been discovered.

(a) The Harsola grant[1], dated V.S. 1005, Mâgha = 949 A.D., January, records that Sîyaka on his return from a successful expedition, encamped on the bank of the Mahî river. On that occasion, having worshipped the god Śivanâtha, he granted the two villages of Kumbhâroṭaka and Sîhakâ, in the Mohaḍavâsaka-viṣaya, ~~respectively~~ to Lallopâdhyâya, son of Govardhana, and his son Nînâ Dikṣita, respectively who were inhabitants of Ânandapura. Of the localities mentioned above, Mohaḍavâsaka is to be identified with the modern village of Mohḍasa. The river Mahî, which flows into the Gulf of Cambay, still retains its ancient name. Ânandapura is the modern Vaḍnagar, in the Baroda State.

(b) The second record[2] is an odd copper plate, the first part of which is lost. It is evidently a land grant, containing the sign manual of Śrî-Sîyaka, which was issued on the fifteenth day of the dark half of the year Saṃ 1026 = 969 A.D., October. The record was executed by the dâpaka Kaṇhapaika ~~under the~~ orders of the king.

War with the Câlukyas of Saurâṣṭra.

Sîyaka was a great general and an able soldier. He found an open field for the display of his warlike activities, and began to frame extensive schemes for conquest.

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(1) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 236. (2) Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 177.

The first objects of his attacks seem to have been the Cālukyas of Saurāṣṭramaṇḍala. The princes of this family had been ruling their territory as vassals of the Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj.(1) Bāhukadhavala, an early ruler of the dynasty, appears to have helped Nāgabhaṭa II in his war against the Pālas of Bengal and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan.(2) Avanivarman II, who was also called Yoga, was his great-grandson.(3) He probably offered strong opposition to Vairisiṃha II in his war against the Pratihāras, and subsequently intrigued for the revival of the Pratihāra supremacy in Malwa. This perhaps led Sīyaka to launch a campaign against his western neighbour. On this occasion he seems to have secured the alliance of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Kheḍakamaṇḍala (modern Kaira, in Gujarat), whose territory lay in his way to Saurāṣṭra, and thereby made his position stronger than before. The Harsola inscription purports to say that Yogarāja was completely defeated. Sīyaka, on his way back from that campaign, halted on the bank of the Mahī, and made, as we have said, a grant of land in favour of two Brahmans.(4) In that record he showed his great reverence for the prince of Kheḍakamaṇḍala, probably as a token of gratitude for his invaluable services.(4)

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 1, ff. (2) J. Dep. L., Vol. X, pp. 40, 42.

(3) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 2.

(4) In the 10th century A.D., no king of the name of Yogarāja is known to have ruled in the western part of India, except the Cālukya chief mentioned above. The earliest known date of this prince is 899 A.D.,(a) and the latest known date of his immediate predecessor is 893 A.D.(b) I am inclined to think that it was this chief who sustained a defeat at the hand of Sīyaka. If this proves to be true, he must have ruled for at least half a century, which is not at all an absurd length. The reigns of the Bengal king Nārāyaṇapāla,(c) the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa,(d) and the Caulukya Bhīma II,(e)

War with the Hûṇas.

Some time afterwards Sîyaka launched another campaign against a Hûṇa prince whose territory seems to have been to the north-west of Malwa.(1) Balavarman, father of Yogarâja of Saurâṣṭra, defeated and killed the Hûṇa prince Jajjapa in battle.(2) The Navasâhasâṅka-carita tells us that Sîyaka, having slaughtered the Hûṇa princes, turned their harem into a dwelling-place for the widows.(3) The Hûṇa prince who was defeated by him seems to have been a successor of Jajjapa. The war with the Hûṇas, however, did not come to a close until the end of the tenth century A.D.

War with the Candellas.

About this time the Candellas of Jejâkabhukti extended their territory up to Bhilsa on the west. The Khajuraho inscription, dated 954 A.D., registers(4) the fact that at this time the Candella kingdom extended as far as Bhâsvat (Bhilsa), which was situated on the bank of the river Mâlava. Sîyaka's bid for fortune on the west seems to have involved him soon in a war with the Candellas. But his progress was successfully retarded by the latter. The Candella Yaśovarman (925-950 A.D.) is described in the Khajuraho inscription(5) as "a God of Death to the Mâlavas."

War with the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa.

In the third quarter of the tenth century A.D. the dismemberment of the Pratihâra empire was all but complete. It was a transitional period in the history of ancient India.

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each covered more than fifty years.

(a) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 2. (b) Ibid., p. 1.
(c) Bânglâr Itihâs, by R.D. Banerji, Vol. I, p. 225, (2nd ed.)
(d) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 401, ff. (e) Ibid., Pt. I. p.197.

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(1) Navas°, Sarga XI, v. 90. (2) E.I. Vol. IX, p. 8, v.17
(3) Akaṅkaṇam akeyûram anûpuram amekhalam |
Hûṇâvarodham vaidhavya-dîkṣâ-dânam vyadhatta yah || (Sarga XI, v. 90)
(4) E.I., Vol. I, p. 134, v. 45. (5) ibid., p. 126, v. 23- Kâlavan Mâlavânâm.

The old ruling dynasties were fast declining in power, and making room for others to come forward and to play the imperial rôle. We have noticed the change in attitude of the Candella government. The Kacchapaghâtas firmly established themselves in Gwalior and Dubkund, on the north of Malwa.(1) In North Gujarat, a Caulukya family under Mûlarâja I, having overthrown the old Câvaḍa government, established ~~their~~ its sovereignty at Anhilwar (modern Patan in Baroda).(2) In the south, the influence of the Râṣṭrakûṭa power was on the wane, and, as it were, waiting for the final day of its destruction. The critical consideration of this political situation led Sîyaka to try his strength in the south. He gave up all projects for renewing hostilities on the north, east and west, and directed his arms for the first time against the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. In this bold enterprise he was assisted by his feudatory Kaṅka of Vâgaḍa. The Râṣṭrakûṭa Khoṭṭiga (971 A.D.), who was the brother and successor of Kṛṣṇa III (945-956 A.D.), was at that time on the throne of the Deccan.(3) He hurried his army over the northern boundary of his realm, in order to oppose the Paramâras. A fierce battle took place on the bank of the Narmada, at a place called Kalighaṭṭa,(4) in which Kaṅka died fighting bravely, though not before he had broken down the barrier of the Râṣṭrakûṭa army.(5) Khoṭṭiga sustained a heavy defeat in this encounter, and retreated to his capital. But Sîyaka seems to have been bent on conquering the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. He pursued the vanquished monarch and reached the gates of Mānyakheṭa. Khoṭṭiga could not repel the invading forces of Malwa, and surrendered his capital to their mercy. The city was apparently sacked by the victors. Dhanapâla, in the concluding

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(1) E.I., Vol. II, p. 232; I.A. XV, p. 202.

(2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 157. (3) Ibid., Pt. II, p. 422.

(4) A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19. (5) E.I. Vol. XIV, p. 296; A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.

verses of his Pâïyalacchî, states that he completed this work[1] "when one thousand years of the Vikrama era and twenty nine besides had passed, when Mānyakheḍa (or Mānyakheṭa) had been plundered in consequence of an attack by the lord of Mâlava."

The date expressed here in the Vikram era corresponds to 971-2 A.D. It has been noticed that at this time Khoṭṭiga was on the throne of Mānyakheṭa. The Malwa king referred to above was, in all probability, Sîyaka, as the Udayapur Praśasti makes mention of his victory over Khoṭṭiga.[2] The Navasâhasâṅka-carita[3] also records his success over the lord of Rāṭṭapaṭî, whom I am inclined to identify with this king of the Rāṣṭrakûṭas. But though the historic city of Mânyakheṭa was occupied and pillaged by the armies of Sîyaka, they could not conquer its main fort, where the royal residence was fixed. It was successfully defended by the western Gaṅga Mârasiṃha II. The Sravana Belgola epitaph states that[4] "He (i.e. Mârasiṃha II) by the strength of his arm (protected the encampment of the emperor, when it was located at the city of Mânyakheṭa."

This Gaṅga prince was a contemporary of both Sîyaka and Khoṭṭiga, as he began his reign in 963-4 A.D., and ended it between 973-4 A.D.[5] Some scholars are of the opinion that the passage in question of the above record may be taken to

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(1) Edited by Bühler: Introduction, p. 6. Pāïyalacchí, vs. 276, 277, 278.

(2) Tasmâd abhûd ari-nareśvara-saṃgha-sevâ-garjjad-
-gajeṃdra-rava-suṃdara-tûrya-nâdaḥ |
Śrî-Harṣa-deva iti Khoṭṭigadeva-lakṣmîṃ jagrâha yo yudhi
nagâda-sama-pratâpaḥ || (~~Read — nareśvara: senâ~~.
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 23[illegible], v. 12.)

(3) Smita-jyotsnâ-daridreṇa vâṣpâḍhyena mukhenduna |
Śaśaṃsur vijayaṃ yasya Rāṭṭapâṭîpati-striyaḥ ||
(Sarga XI, v. 89. Navas°)

(4) E.I., Vol. V, p. 179. (5) Ibid.

refer to the struggle that took place between the Râṣṭrakûṭa Kakka II and Tailapa II, the founder of the new Cāḷukya empire in the Deccan.(1) But this view loses much of its strength if the whole situation is taken into consideration. It is an evident fact that Tailapa's victory was immediately followed by the final extinction of the Râṣṭrakûṭa sovereignty and the establishment of a new Cāḷukya empire in the Deccan. In view of this, Sîyaka's success cannot be regarded as more than temporary. Hence Mârasiṃha's boast of protecting the encampment of Mânyakheṭa gains much more justification, if it relates to the conflict between Sîyaka and Khoṭṭiga.

A critical review of all these courses of events brings home to us the fact that the Paramâras were mainly instrumental in working out the destruction of the mighty Râṣṭrakûṭa empire. They inflicted a crushing defeat upon Khoṭṭiga on the banks of the Narmada, overran his kingdom, and finally pillaged and sacked the imperial city of Mânyakheṭa. This undoubtedly pressed heavily upon the military resources of the Râṣṭrakûṭas, which made it easier for Tailapa II to gain the throne of the Deccan by the annihilation of their power. At present, it is very difficult to determine precisely how much Sîyaka profited by his southern expedition. During the reigns of his son Vâkpatirâja and of his grandson Bhoja, the upper courses of the Godâvari formed the southern boundary of the Paramâra kingdom.(2) It is highly probable that the extension of the Paramâra kingdom up to that limit was due to Sîyaka.

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(1) E.I., Vol. V., p. 170, footnote 3.

(2) Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 33; E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.

Siyaka was the real founder of the Paramara kingdom, and the first imperial ruler of his family. From the position of a petty local chief, he succeeded by his ingenuity and military skill in occupying a place among the foremost rulers of his age. He left behind him a vast empire which extended on the north up to the Banswara State[1]; on the east to Bhilsa[2]; on the south to the Godavari; and on the west up to the Mahi.[3] Shortly after his return from the southern expedition, he seems to have abdicated his throne in favour of his son Vakpatiraja. Padmagupta tells us that in the latter part of his reign the king adopted the life of an ascetic, "clothed himself in the grass-robe of a royal sage," and ~~exclusively~~ devoted himself exclusively to the practice of austerities.[4] Vadaja was the name of his queen.[5] Besides Vakpati he had another son, Sindhuraja. He closed his reign some time between the years 970 and 973 A.D.

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(1) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 295.

(2) This is inferred from the Khajuraho inscription (E.I. Vol. I, p. 134, v. 45), which tells us that in the year 954 A.D. Bhasvat, or Bhilsa, on the bank of the river of Malwa, was the southern limit of the Candella kingdom.

(3) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.

(4) Vasikrtaksamalo yah ksamam atyayatam dadhan/
Rajasramam alamcakre rajarsih kusa-civarah ||
(Navas°., Sarga XI, v. 88.)

(5) Ibid.,v. 86.

CHAPTER III

VÂKPATI -MUÑJA

Two inscriptions of Vâkpati's reign have been discovered.

The first[1] is dated V.S. 1031 = 974 A.D., and was issued from the royal residence at Ujjain. There was a Brahman philosopher named Vasantâcârya, son of Dhanikapaṇḍita, who was originally an inhabitant of Ahicchatra. King Vâkpatirâja, who is described as paramabhaṭṭâraka mahârâjâdhirâja, having bathed in the waters of the Śiva lake, and worshipped the Lord of Everything, granted this Brahman philosopher the Taḍâr[2] by name Pipparikâ, for the spiritual merit of his parents as well as of himself. The village was situated on the bank of the Narmada, in the northern part of the bhoga of Gardabhapânîya. It was bounded on the north by a small stream flowing into the ditch belonging to Cikhillikâ; on the east by Agâravâhalâ; on the south by the Piśāca-tîrtha, and on the west by the Gardabha river. The record was executed by Kaṇhapaika, who is probably the same person as is mentioned in the grant of Sîyaka dated 969 A.D.[3]

The second inscription[4] is dated V.S. 1036 = 979 A.D. It was issued from the royal camp at Bhagavatpura, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Its object is to record that the glorious king Vâkpatirâja, at the request of Âsinî, the wife of his Mahâsâdhanika Mahâîka, granted the village of Sembalapuraka, attached to the Tiṇisapadra-Twelve, with

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(1) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 51. (2) Dr. Hall reads this as Vaḍâr. (3) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.

(4) I.A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.

all the incomes accruing to it, to meet the expenses of the worship of the Bhaṭṭârikâ, the glorious Bhaṭṭeśvarî at Ujjayanî, and for the upkeep of her temple. The inscription was written in the camp of Guṇapura, and the order was executed by Rudrâditya.

Of the places mentioned above, Ahicchatra is to be identified with the modern Adikot near Ramnagar in Rohilkhand. Cikhillikâ is the modern Chikalda, now a tract of land in the territory of Holkar. The Piśâcatîrtha retains to this day its ancient name. Mr. N. Janardana identifies the Gardabha river with the modern Khaja, now in the jurisdiction of the Râja of Dhar.(1) Guṇapura is probably the modern Godurpura, on the south bank of the Narmada. The rest of the localities cannot now be identified.

Mr. Venkayya suggests that Vâkpatirâja mentioned in the Puṣkar inscription was probably the same person as Vâkpati Muñja.(2)

Vâkpati bore the appellations of Śrîvallabha and Pṛthvîvallabha,(3) which were the family epithets (birudas) of the imperial Râṣṭrakûṭas of the Deccan.(4) Amoghavarṣa,(5) Utpala, and Muñja were his other names. In the Nagpur praśasti(6) he is described as Muñja, and in the rest of the inscriptions of his dynasty he is mentioned as Vâkpati. That Vâkpati and Muñja were names of one and the same king admits of no doubt. King Arjunavarman, in his commentary on Amarusataka, known as Rasikasaṃjîvanî states that Vâkpatirâja, otherwise known as Muñja, was one of his predecessors.(7) Similarly, there is ample evidence to prove his identity with the king Utpala. In the Navasâhasâṅka-

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(1) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 50. (2) A.S.I., 1909-10, p. 127.

(3) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 51; Vol. XIV, p. 160.

(4) E.I., Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 2. (5) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 51.

(6) E.I., Vol. II, p. 184, v. 23.

(7) "Asmatpûrvajasya Vâkpatirâj-âparanâmno Muñjadevasya." Kâvyamâla, p. 23.

-carita, in one place Vâkpati is spoken of as the elder brother of Sindhurâja, who followed him (on the throne) after his death.(1) But in another place,(2) where the history of the early Paramâra kings of Malwa is narrated, Sindhurâja is reported to have mounted the throne of Utpalarâja. Here the absolute omission of the name Vâkpatirâja by the poet proves the identity of the two. This is further confirmed by the fact that the authorship of a verse, ascribed to Utpalarâja by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra, is attributed to Vâkpatirâja by Vallabhadeva.(3)

Merutuṅga tells an interesting story(4) in connection with the birth and early life of Vâkpati. Siṃhadantabhaṭa (i.e. Sîyaka) was for a long time without any child. Muñja was not, as a matter of fact, his own son. Once, while the king was on his royal circuit, he came across a new-born child in a thicket of muñja grass, whom he immediately picked up lovingly in his own arms. He brought him up and intended to make him his successor. The child was given the name Muñja, in memory of ~~with reference to~~ his discovery in the grass of that name. Some time later a son was born to the king, who was called Sindhula (i.e. Sindhurâja). This unexpected event, however, did not shake the king's affection for Muñja, who made a great impression on his mind by his princely qualities. Once he paid a surprise visit to the residence of Muñja, when the latter was in his bedchamber with his wife. The unexpected arrival of the king threw Muñja into confusion. He had no opportunity to get his wife out of the room, and in his excessive shyness he hid her behind a sofa to avoid the notice of the king, who came straight into the room, and told him at once the object of his visit. He related the whole story of his birth and adoption, and spoke of his present desire to make him finally his successor to the

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(1) Sarga I, vv. 6-7. (2) Sarga XI, vv. 92, 101.

(3) Subhâṣitâvali, 3413.

(4) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 30.

throne. Last of all he emphasised his wish that Muñja should be friendly and affectionate towards his younger brother, Sindhurâja, and then left the palace. Shortly afterwards the coronation-ceremony of Muñja was celebrated amidst great joy and festivity. It is said that subsequently Muñja put his wife to death, lest she should carelessly betray the secret of his birth.

At present we have no other evidence to corroborate the above story. It may be that Sîyaka, finding himself childless in the early years of his life, adopted Muñja as heir to his throne, and confirmed the arrangement even when some time after a son was born to him.

With the accession of Vâkpati, a new era dawned upon Malwa. A new spirit breathed through every sphere of life, and the country began to grow in wealth and riches. The consolidation of the empire was complete, and the government was based on a strong foundation. Henceforward the Paramâra kings did not limit their activities merely to the undertaking of military expeditions for conquest, but also directed their attention to the cultural development and social welfare of their subjects. It will be seen below how, under a powerful monarchy, the people of Malwa grew into a powerful nation. Rudrâditya was the king's minister,[1] and Mahâîka[2] and the poet Dhanika[3] were respectively Mahâsâdhanika and Mahâsâdhyapâla of his government.

Having ascended the throne of Malwa, Vâkpati seems to have directed his energy in the first place to the expansion of his kingdom. His territory was surrounded by a number of powerful ruling dynasties. He now launched upon a series of campaigns against them.

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(1) Prabandhac°., p. 33. (2) I.A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.
(3) H.H. Wilson, "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus," 1835. p. XX.

War with the Kalacuris.

The crowning achievement of Vâkpati was his victory over the Kalacuris of ~~Cedi~~ Tripurî. The ~~latter~~ Kalacuris ruled over the northern part of the Central Provinces, and their capital was established at Tripurî. Their king Yuvarâja II, who ruled from about 975 to 1000 A.D., was a contemporary of Vâkpati. His father Lakṣmaṇa entered into an alliance with Tailapa II by giving him his daughter Bonthâdevî in marriage.(1) He also increased the prosperity of his kingdom by successful military conquests. Having defeated the lord of Kosala, he despoiled him of a very costly effigy of Kâliya, and when in the course of his military expeditions he reached the western shore of the sea, he earned religious merit by dedicating that image in the temple of Someśvara.(2) Besides Yuvarâja II, he had another son, Śaṃkaragaṇa, who was his immediate successor on the throne, being later followed by Yuvarâja II. These two royal brothers appear to have been lacking in that military skill which had distinguished their father. As regards Yuvarâja II, the panegyrists seem only to delight in extolling his religious activities, though some customary verses are offered to demonstrate his military achievements.(3)

It was when the Kalacuri government was in the hands of this weak ruler that Vâkpati marched against Cedi, and ~~although~~ Yuvarâja, although he opposed him with all his armies, ~~they was~~ were signally defeated; many of his officers were killed on the battlefield, and the whole of his kingdom lay prostrate before the Paramâras. Vâkpati next directed his victorious troops towards Tripurî, the capital of the Kalacuris, and within a short time conquered and occupied that city. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that Vâkpati defeated Yuvarâja in battle, slaughtered his generals, and

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(1) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 296.

(2) E.I., Vol. I, p. 266, v. 62.

(3) Idem, ibid. p. 269.

established his supremacy in Tripurî.[1] This is corroborated in general by the Kauthem grant[2] of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya V, in which it is stated that Utpala destroyed the power of the Caidyas, i.e. the people of Cedi.

Wars with the Guhilas and the Câhamânas.

Vâkpati's achievements in the north were also epoch-making. The Guhilas of Medapâṭa, or Mewar, were the first objects of his attacks in that direction. At that time they seem to have been governed by their king Śaktikumâra (977 A.D.), who was the son and successor of Naravâhana.[3] Vâkpati probably came into conflict with this prince, and inflicted a severe defeat upon him. He destroyed his elephant forces, plundered Âghâṭa (modern Ahar, near the Udayapur Railway Station), the capital of Mewar, and forced him to flee from his kingdom. In this predicament the Guhila prince, having been deprived of his throne, took shelter under the Râṣṭrakûṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî.[4] This

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(1) Yuvarâjaṃ vijityâjau hatvâ tad-vâhinî-patîn |
Khaḍgam ûrdhvîkṛtaṃ (kṛto) yena Tripuryâṃ vijigîṣuṇâ || 15
(E.I., I, p.235, v.)

(2) ~~Hûṇa-praṇa-hara-pratâpa-dahano yātrâ-trasan - Māravaś~~ (Vide post, P. 62, fn. 2.)
~~Caidya-cchedy-akhila-kṣamâ-jaya-naya-Vyutpanna-dhîr Utpalaḥ~~ etc.
~~(I.A., XVI, p. 23, lines 41-42.)~~

(3) E.I., Vol. VIII, App. I, p. 13.

(4) Dha(va)lo vasudhâ-vyâpî caṃdrâd iva caṃdrikâ-nikaraḥ ||
bhaṃktv-Âghâṭam ghaṭâbhiḥ prakaṭam iva madaṃ Medapâṭe bhaṭâ-
nâṃ
janye râjanya-janye janayati janatâjaṃ raṇaṃ Muṃjarâje
(Śrî)* mâṇe (pra)naṣṭe hariṇa iva bhiyâ Gûrjareśe vinaṣṭe
tat-sainyânâṃ (śa)raṇyo harir iva śaraṇe yaḥ surāṇâṃ va(ba)bhū
va ||

(Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍa, vv. 9, 10. E.I. Vol. X, p. 20.)

(Bijapur lies on the route from Udaipur to Sirohi, near Mount Abu.)

This success tempted Vâkpati to push his arms further west, and ~~which~~ soon brought him into conflict with the Câhamânas of Marwar. The Câhamânas ~~latter~~, under the rule of their king Śobhita, had extended the boundaries of their kingdom up to Mount Abu,(1) by the forcible extirpation of its ruling chief.(2) About this time Śobhita's successor, Balirâja, was on the throne of Marwar. Vâkpati seems first to have ~~first~~ wrested from him Mount Abu(3) and the southern part of his dominion as far as Kiraḍû, which lies sixteen miles north-west of Balmer in the Jodhpur State. The Kauthem grant of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya V, records that, at the approach of Utpala, the people of Marwar trembled.(4) A stray verse of Padmagupta, probably composed shortly after the death of Vâkpati, tells

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(1). E.I., Vol. IX, p. 75, v. 7.

(2). In the Sevadi copper-plates of the Câhamâna Ratnapâla, dated Saṃ. 1176, Śobhita or Śohita is designated as the lord of Dhârâ (E.I., Col. XI, p. 309, v. 5). I think it is an engraver's mistake for "Thârâ", which was the most celebrated city in Marwar during the latter part of the 12th century A.D. Professor Kielhorn suggests that it was the capital of that country. The Moharâja-parâjaya, an allegorical play, was first acted at Thârâpadra-pura, during the reign of the Gujarat king Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A.D.)

"Yad adya Maru-maṃḍala-Kamalâ-mukha-maṃḍana-karpūra-patr-âṃkura-Thârâpadrapura-pariṣkâra-Kumâra-vihâra-kroḍâlaṃkāra-Śrî-vîra - Jineśvara-yâtrâ-mahotsava-prasaṃga-saṃgataṃ{"
(Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1880-81, by Prof. Kielhorn, p. 33.)

(3). There is no direct evidence to prove that Vâkpati ever conquered Mount Abu. But his conquests of Mewar and Marwar imply the conquest of Abu, which lies between them.

(4). Ante p. 52, footnote 2.

us that the king's fame still caused the pearls to dance in the necklaces of the women of Marwar, where his servant got a strong footing.(1)

Vâkpati now divided this newly conquered territory among the princes of the royal family of Dhârâ. He established his son Araṇyarâja in the province of Arbuda or Abu, set up his other son, Candana, in Jalor, and entrusted to his nephew Dûsala the government of Bhinmal, whose authority extended up to Balmer on the west.(2) Having thus secured a strong footing, he seems to have made an attempt to conquer Naddula (Nadol), the capital of the Câhamânas. But his rival Balirâja showed himself equal to the occasion and successfully defended his territory. The Sundha hill inscription tells us that he dispersed the army of Muñja.(3) This defeat of the Paramâras must have taken place some time after 982 A.D., a date which falls in the reign of Balirâja's grandfather, Lakṣmaṇa.(4)

War with the Hûṇas.

About this period Vâkpati seems to have led an expedition against the Hûṇas and to have won a complete victory over them. The Kauthem grant tells us that Utpala destroyed the lives of the Hûṇas.(5)

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(1) Tatra sthitaṃ sthitimatâ varadeva daivâd
bhṛtyena te cakita-cittam iyaṃtyahâni |
Utkaṃpini stana-taṭe hariṇekṣaṇânâṃ
Hârân praṇarttayati yatra bhavat-pratāpaḥ ||
"There (i.e. in Marwar), O good king (i.e. the king of Malwa), thy servant got a footing, as fate would have it, and there he remained so many days, curious at heart - there, where thy fame sets dancing the pearls on the quivering breasts of the deer-eyed women." (J. Bo. Br., Vol, XVI, p. 173)

(2) Ante, Chapter I, pp. 25, ff., et vide Chapters IX & X, pp.

(3) .... Balirâjadevo Yo Muṃjarâja-va(ba)la-bhaṃgam acîkarat taṃ ||
v. 7, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 75.

(4) A.S.I., 1907-8, p. 228. (5) Ante, p. 52, footnote 2.

War with the Caulukyas of Gujarat.

Some time after his conquest of Southern Marwar, Vâkpati involved himself in a war with the Caulukyas of Gujarat.(1) The Caulukya king, Mûlarâja I, who ruled from 941 to 997 A.D., was his contemporary.(2) At the approach of the Paramâras, the Caulukya armies became terrified. Mûlarâja tried to oppose the advance of his enemies, but was miserably worsted in the resultant battle. Hard pressed by the victors, he fled with his family into the desert of Marwar. His armies, bereft of a leader and guide, knowing not what to do, sought refuge with the Râṣṭrakûṭa Dhavala of Hastikuṇḍî. The Bijapur inscription tells us that when the power of the lord of the Gûrjjaras was shattered, as the result of his terrible fight with the king Muñja, his armies sought protection from Dhavala, who immediately gave them adequate shelter.(3) Now Mûlarâja's miseries knew no bounds. He passed his days in extreme hardship

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(1) A verse of Padmagupta recounts that Vâkpati established his authority over Marwar before his fight with the Gûrjaras. J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, p. 173; vide ante p.53,fn.4.

(2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 156; I.A., Vol. LVIII,p. 234.

(3) Ante, p. 52, footnote 4. Vâkpati died some time before 997 A.D. Hence the Gûrjjara king mentioned in this verse was in all probability Mûlarâja I, who ruled from 941 to 997 A.D. The latest known inscription of his reign is dated 995 A.D. (E.I., vol. X, p. 76.)

The expression "Gûrjjareśe vinaṣṭe" referred to in the same verse must be taken to mean "the power of the lord of the Gûrjjaras having been destroyed." It should not be considered as referring to the death of Mûlarâja I, who is reported to have been killed by the Câhamâna Vigraharâja of Śâkambharî. (Hammiramahâkâvya. I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 59.)

without food or drink. The forlorn condition to which the Gûrjjara king was reduced, is very pitifully described by Padmagupta in the following verses:

(i) "He neither eats food nor drinks water; he keeps not the society of women; he lies on the sand, puts from him all worldly pleasures, and courts the hottest sun. O Lion of the House of Mâlava, it seems to me that this Gûrjjara king is doing penance in the forests of Marwar because he is eager to obtain an atom of that prasâda which is the dust of your feet."

(ii) "The silly Gûrjjara queen, as she wanders terror-stricken in the forest, ever and anon casts her eyes on her husband's sword, to see if there be no water there, for often in the past she has heard the bards say, 'Great King, the hosts of your foes have been engulfed in the battle stirred up by your sword's edge (or torrent)."(1)

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(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XVI, pp. 173, 174.

(i) âhâram na karoti nâmbu pibati straiṇam na saṃsevate
śete yat sikatâsu mukta-viṣayaś caṃḍâtapaṃ sevate |
Tvat-pâd-âbja-rajaḥ-prasāda-kaṇikâ-lâbhonmukhas tan-marau
manye Mâlava-siṃha Gûrjara-patis-tîvraṃ tapas tapyate ||

(ii) magnâni dviṣatâṃ kulâni samare tvat-khaḍga-dhârâkule
nâthâsminn-iti baṃdivâci bahuśo deva śrutâyâṃ purâ |
mugdhâ Gûrjara-bhûmipâla-mahiṣî pratyâśayâ pâthasaḥ
kâṃtâre cakitâ vimuṃcati muhuḥ patyuḥ kṛpâṇe dṛśaw ||

(There seems to be a pun on Dhârâ in the above verse.)

These verses of Parimala are quoted by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra in his "Aucityâlaṃkâra". As has been noticed very often, Padmagupta, whose other name was Parimala, was a court poet of Vâkpati and his immediate successor Sindhurâja (Navas°, Sarga I, vv. 6, 7,). The poet in the above verses, as quoted by Kṣemendra, intends to glorify the achievements of a Malwa king, who established his authority in Marwar and who was dead at the time when

War against Lâṭa.

The conquest of Northern Gujarat offered a fresh inducement to Vâkpati to continue his military policy in the west. He seems next to have turned his arms against the Lâṭa country, which comprised the land ~~in~~ between the rivers Mahi and Tapti. Bârappa, a member of the Caulukya race and the general of the Karṇâṭa king Tailapa II, was at that time its ruler.(1) Vâkpati seems to have gone to war with him and to have won a decisive victory. The Udayapur praśasti records his victory over the people of Lâṭa.(2)

~~All~~ these conquests made Vâkpati for a time master of an extensive territory which comprised the Kalacuri kingdom on the east, Gujarat and Lâṭa on the west, and Mewar and southern Marwar on the north. But none of these newly-conquered provinces, except southern Marwar, remained long under the control of the Paramâras. The Caulukyas and the Kalacuris regained their territories within a very short time, and ruled them quite independently. The cause of Vâkpati's failure to establish his paramount sovereignty over them is not very far to seek. He required a large army and resources to maintain his authority over them, but he could not meet these demands, as he had to

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these verses were composed. Only Vâkpati ~~(only)~~ is known to have carried his victorious arms into Marwar. Having been pressed hard by his forces, Mûlarâja and his armies fled into the north, and took refuge with Dhavala, whose territory lay just on the eastern border of Marwar. In ~~Under~~ these circumstances the Malwa king referred to in these stray verses of Parimala is, in all likelihood, Vâkpati.

(1) Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 159.

(2) Karṇâṭa-Lâṭa-Kerala-Cola-Śiro-ratna-râgi-pada-kamalaḥ
yaś ca praṇayi-gaṇârthita-dâtâ kalpadrumaprakhyaḥ ||
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 14.)

array all his forces on the southern frontier of his kingdom to keep in check the progress of the newly established Câḷukya government.

The Udayapur praśasti[1] tells us about Vâkpati's victory over the Coḷas and the Keralas. The contemporary Coḷa kings were Madhurântaka-Uttamacoḷa (969-985 A.D.) and Râjarâja I (985-1012 A.D.)[2]. Nothing is known as to the name of the prince who was on the throne of the Cera country about this time.

War with the Câḷukyas of Karṇâṭa.

The final overthrow of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire in the Deccan was almost co-eval with the accession of Vâkpati to the throne of Malwa. It has been noticed in the previous chapter that the Râṣṭrakûṭa Khoṭṭiga succeeded, with the help of Mârasiṃha, ~~succeeded~~ in driving Sîyaka and his armies from Mânyakheṭa. But the Râṣṭrakûṭas had hardly managed to recover from their losses before another formidable enemy, probably more terrible than the Paramâras, invaded the plains of the Deccan and threatened to overthrow their imperial government. The leader of these invading forces was Tailipa II of the Câḷukya race, of whom mention has occasionally been made before. Khoṭṭiga's successor, Karkarâja, could not stem the tide of ~~his onward march~~ this invasion, and eventually surrendered to him his capital and kingdom. After this there was a scramble for the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire between the Paramâras and the Câḷukyas. In fact, it was quite impossible for Tailapa to establish a permanent sovereignty in the Deccan until he could destroy the power of the ambitious Paramâras. This led to the beginning of a hard struggle for supremacy, between the two neighbouring dynasties, which continued for many generations. In one of his early attempts Vâkpati was routed

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(1) E.I., Vol. I., p. 235, v. 14.

(2) E.I., Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 22.

by the armies of Tailapa. The Nilgund inscription[1] of Tailapa II's ~~the latter's~~ reign, dated Śaka 904 = 982 A.D., records that, "on hearing the name of whom (Tailapa II), which he acquired by the extirpation of all the armies of hostile kings, Coḍas, Andhras, Pâṇḍyas and the king Utpala, bewildered, deliberate what to do, where to go, and where to dwell." The king Utpala, referred to here, was none other than Vâkpati. Besides this particular invasion, he seems to have launched several more campaigns against the Deccan, and in most cases, to have achieved successful results. Merutuṅga tells us that, before the final termination of the war, Muñja defeated Tailapa six times.[2] The Udayapur praśasti also records his victory over the Karṇâṭa army.[3] But all these preliminary victories, gained by him, could not break down the strength of the Câḷukyas. Now the glorious period of his reign had passed and the day of his fall was fast approaching. The sun which rose with a thousand beams in the east, now became pale just before its ~~retirement~~ setting. In the last battle the glorious Muñja, a king of unprecedented valour, fell a captive in the hands of Tailapa, and having passed his days in endless miseries, suffered execution in the camp of his enemy. The tale of his extreme sufferings, which tradition handed on through the years to succeeding generations, at last excited emotion and pity in the heart of the Jaina teacher, Merutuṅga, who flourished in the 13th century A.D., and found a fitting expression in his 'Muñja-Prabandha'. He narrates that Muñja, being

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(1) Yasya śrutvâbhidhânaṃ sakala-ripu-nṛpânîka-nirmmûlanotthaṃ
kiṃ (ka)rttavyaṃ kva yâma(ḥ)# kva ca vasatir iti vvyâkulâś cintayanti
Coḍândhrâdhîśa-Pâṇḍyôtpala -mahipatayo yena
câṃbhodhi-sîmâ kṣmâ rûmâ svîkṛtâ yo hasati nṛpa-guṇair âdirâjân Nabâdin #

(E.I., Vol. IV., p. 206, lines 7, 8, 9.

(2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 33. (3) Ante p. 57, footnote 2.

constantly harassed by the raiders of Tailapa, determined to invade his kingdom. His minister, Rudrâditya, who was then suffering from some ailment, tried to dissuade him from his proposed undertaking, but finding him sternly set upon his purpose, requested him not to cross the Godavari. In this connection he reminded the king of an old saying which predicted misfortune to any Malwa king who should ever cross that river in the course of a military excursion.

His repeated success in warfare made Muñja over-confident of victory on this occasion also. He paid no heed to the good advice of his minister, and having marched a long way, at last pitched his camp on the other side of the Godavari. When Rudrâditya heard that the king had thus deliberately flown in the face of his counsel, he ascended his funeral pyre, preferring death to the shock of seeing the frightful calamity he felt to be awaiting his beloved master. Shortly afterwards Muñja confronted his enemies, and a fierce battle ensued. But his destiny was sealed, and he paid the penalty for rejecting the warning of his far-sighted minister, in defeat and capture at the hands of Tailapa, who had gained his success by fraudulent methods.

Now his sufferings knew no bounds. He was tied with a rope, confined in a wooden cage, and thrown into the prison of Karṇâṭa. His other ministers, who had arrived subsequently, dug a secret tunnel and made all arrangements for his escape; but owing to his foolishness and indiscretion, their efforts on his behalf completely failed. During the short period of his incarceration, he fell in love with Mṛṇâlavatî, a sister of Tailapa, who was detailed to attend him in prison, and to her he disclosed the arrangements made by his officers for his escape, requesting her to follow him to his own country. But the lady betrayed the trust confided in her and reported the matter to her brother, the king. This made Tailapa more

revengeful and heartless than before . He ordered his servants to bind the captive king with cords and to lead him from door to door to beg his daily meal. Thus, having been reduced to an object of scorn, the Paramâra king who once held sway over a vast tract of land, walked through the streets of his enemy's city with a begging bowl in his hand. The endless sorrows of his heart poured through the silent tears of his eyes and often ~~came out as~~ in the form of deep sighs. In his extreme agony Muñja bewailed his lot and at intervals cried aloud:

"I have lost my elephants and chariots. I have lost my horses; I have lost my footmen, servants have I none.

"So, Rudrâditya, sitting in heaven, invite me eager to join you."

On another occasion, while begging, he thus addressed a woman who had jeered at his miserable plight:

"Foolish fair one, do not show pride, though you see me with a little pot in my hand.

"Muñja has lost fourteen hundred and seventy-six elephants.

"Do not be distressed, O Monkey, that I was ruined by her;

"Who has not been ruined by women, Râma, Râvaṇa, Muñja and others?"

"Do not weep, O my jailor, that I should have been made to wander by her,

"Only by casting a sidelong glance, much more when she drew me by the hand.

"If I had had at first that discretion which was produced too late,

"Says Muñja, O Mṛṇâlavatî, no one would have cast an obstacle in my path.

"Muñja, that treasury of glory, lord of elephants, king of the land of Avanti,

"That creature who was long ago produced as the dwelling-place of Sarasvatî,

"He has been captured by the lord of Karṇâṭa, owing to the wisdom of his ministers,

"And has been impaled on a stake: alas! perplexing are the results of Karma." (1)

The officers of the Câḷukya king, thus leading Muñja through the streets for a long time, at last brought him to the place of execution. They severed his head from his body, moistened it with thick sour milk, and fixed it on a stake in the courtyard of the royal palace.

In this way Tailapa wreaked his vengeance upon his stubborn enemy, and Muñja was relieved of his untold miseries.

Merutuṅga's version of Vâkpati's overthrow and execution, which we have just given, is corroborated in its main details by the epigraphic account of the Câḷukyas. The Kauthem grant of Vikramâditya V (2) records that Utpala was cast into prison by his grandfather Tailapa. The Gadag inscription (3) of Vikramâditya VI boasts that the valiant Muñja was slain by that monarch's remote predecessor, Tailapa II. The Ā'īn-i- Akbarī also corroborates this assertion by stating that Muñja lost his life in the wars of the Deccan. (4)

In this fight with the Paramâras, Tailapa was probably helped by his feudatory Bhillama II, who ruled in Southern Khandesh, on the border of the Paramâra kingdom. (5) The

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 34, 35.

(2) Hûṇa-prâṇa-hara-pratâpa-dahano yâtrâ-trasan-Mâravas
Caidya-cchedy akhila-kṣamâ-jaya-naya-vyutpannâ-dhîr Utpalaḥ
Yenāty ugra-raṇâgra-darśita-va(ba)la-prâcuryya-Śauryodayaḥ
kârâgâra-niveśitaḥ kavi-vṛṣā yaṃ varṇṇayan ghûrṇṇate ||
etc. (I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, lines 41-43.)

(3) E.I., Vol. XV, p. 350, v. 2. (4) P. 276. Jarrett,

(5) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 513, cf. E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 69.

Sangamner copper plate of this Yâdava chief states that he crushed the military force of the great king Muñja and "thereby made the goddess of fortune observe the vow of a chaste woman in the home of the illustrious Raṇaraṅgabhîma."(1)

Bhillama's father Vaṇḍiga was a feudatory of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Kṛṣṇarâja.(2) It is very likely that, after the fall of the Râṣṭrakûṭas, this Yâdava family transferred its allegiance to the new Câḷukya government. Tailapa II, Muñja's adversary, had the appellation of Âhavamalla, which is almost synonymous with Raṇaraṅgabhîma. Taking all these things into consideration, Professor Kielhorn identifies the latter with Tailapa II. Dr. Barnett does not support this view, but if Professor Kielhorn is right, the above verse of the Sangamner plate is significant in as much as it makes clear the fact that Vâkpati was the main obstacle in the way of Tailapa's founding a Câḷukya empire in the Deccan, and his subsequent defeat and death alone made it possible for ~~the latter~~ Tailapa to establish a permanent sovereignty. In this circumstance it is not quite impossible that Vâkpati, who had persistently troubled the Câḷukya king for more than twenty years, fell a victim to the vengeance of the latter in the manner described by Merutuṅga.

Amitagati completed his Subhâṣitaratnasaṃdoha in V.S. 1050 = 993 A.D., when Muñja was on the throne of Malwa.(3) Tailapa II, the destroyer of Muñja, died shortly before 998 A.D.(4) Hence the execution of the Paramâra king must have taken place between these two dates.

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(1) (Sve)nârâti-karâla-kâla-ra(ca)nâ-caṇḍâ(si)-daṇḍena yo hatvâ Muṃja-mahâ-nṛpa-praṇayinîṃ saṃgrâma -raṃgâṃgaṇe lakṣmîm amvu(mbu)dhi-mekhâlâ-valayita-(kṣmâ)-varttinîm bhûpa-śrî-Raṇaraṃga-bhîma-bhavane sâkṣât-kula-strî-vratam prâpayad ||

(E.I., II, p. 218, lines 40-42.

(2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part.II, p. 512-13.

(3) ZDMG, Vols. 59 & 61; Kâvyamâlâ series No. 82, ed. by Bhavadatta Śâstrî & Parab, Bombay, 1903.

(4) Bom.Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 432.

Vâkpati's great ambition for military conquest did not make him unmindful of the internal development of his kingdom. He was himself a great poet, and granted without stint enormous bounties to those who devoted their lives to literary work. By his liberal patronage, unvarying devotion to the goddess of learning, and rich contributions, he brought about a renaissance of Sanskrit literature in Malwa. Padmagupta was his chief court-poet[1]; Dhanañjaya, Bhaṭṭa Halâyudha, Dhanika, Dhanapâla, Śobhana and other poets[2] flourished under his beneficent patronage.

He excavated many beautiful tanks in Malwa, one of which, situated at Dhârâ, is still called after his name Muñjasâgara. He is also said to have built many temples and embankments at Ujjain, Maheshwar, Onker-Mândhâtâ and Dharmapuri.

Vâkpati was a paternal ruler, whose efficient administration greatly endeared him to his subjects. As a warrior, as a poet, and as an architect, he far excelled many of his contemporaries. By his successful achievements in various ~~aspects~~ walks of life, he enhanced the name and fame of his family and illumined the country over which he ruled. His ~~astounding~~ commanding personality and mighty valour won high laurels for him. The strength of his powerful arms humbled the pride of the peoples of Cedi, Lâṭa, Marwar, Gujarat, and Mewar. Merutuñga states that Tailapa II won his victory over this Paramâra king by fraudulent methods and not by the superiority of his military power. In these circumstances Vâkpati's failure in the south does not in any way prejudice his fame as a gallant soldier and good general. His death was a real loss to his kingdom. It was deeply felt by his subjects, whose lamentations seem to be voiced in the following lines of Padmagupta.

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(1) Navasâhasâṅka-carita, Sarga I, v. 6.

(2) Vide Chapter VIII, p. 256 ff.

"O hill of the river of Love, O crest-jewel of kings,
O store of the ambrosia of goodness, O milky ocean of wit,
O lover of Ujjayinī, O thou who wert a manifest God of Love to young women, O kinsman of the good,
Moon of the arts, where, O king, art thou gone?
Wait for me."(1)

SINDHURÂJA

Though Vâkpati had two sons, Araṇyarâja(2) and Candana,(3) who were appointed governors of Mount Abu and Jalor respectively, the succession to the throne fell to his younger brother Sindhurâja. This was probably done in pursuance of the arrangement made by Sîyaka II just before his abdication. The Prabandhas(4) tell us that Bhoja was the immediate successor of Muñja, and deny the intervention of Sindhurâja as a ruler between them. In this connection they narrate a story to the effect that the two brothers Muñja and Sindhurâja were at enmity with one another for a long time, and that the feud ended finally with the lifelong imprisonment of the latter.(5) But the discovery of a large number of authentic documents prove the baselessness of this statement. At least five dynastic inscriptions stand to prove that Sindhurâja was the immediate successor of Vâkpati, and none of them gives the slightest hint of unfriendly relations between the two

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(1) Hâ śṛṃgâra-taraṃgiṇî-kulagire hâ râja-cûḍâmaṇe
Hâ saujanya-sudhâ-nidhâna haha hâ vaidagdhya-dugdhodadhe!
Hâ devOjjayinî-bhujaṃga yuvatî-pratyakṣa Kandarpa hâ
Hâ sad-bâṃdhava hâ kalâmṛtakara kvâsi pratîkṣasva naḥ ||
(J. Bom. Br., Vol. XVI, p. 174.

(2) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 11. (3) An unpublished inscription, vide post. p.

(4) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 36.

(5) Forbes' Râs Mâlâ. Edited by H.G. Rawlinson, 1924. Vol. I., p. 85.

brothers. Padmagupta, in the Navasâhasâṅka-carita[1], while concluding his remarks on Vâkpati, relates that "he (i.e. Vâkpati), when in course of time ~~he~~ set out for the city of the husband of Ambikâ, laid the earth on the arm of this (Sindhurâja), which is marked by scars of the bowstring." On this Professor Bühler rightly remarks that[2] "strictly interpreted, this sentence would mean that he made his brother 'Yuvarâja' (heir-apparent) on his deathbed, and solemnly appointed him his successor. But considering that we know Vâkpati's manner of death, this view is not admissible. But the passage may indicate that Sindhurâja had become 'Yuvarâja' some time before Vâkpati's fatal expedition."

Sindhurâja assumed the appellations of Kumâranârâyaṇa and Navasâhasâṅka. He is generally described by Padmagupta as Avantîśvara, Paramâra-mahîbhṛt, and Mâlavarâja.[3] Yaśobhaṭa, who was also known as Ramâṅgada, was his chief minister.

No inscription of Sindhurâja's reign has yet been discovered. Our main source of evidence is the Navasâhasâṅka-carita of Padmagupta. The object of this book is to record in the form of a story some of the incidents leading to the marriage of the king with the Nâga princess Śaśiprabhâ. The narrative runs that, once upon a time, when the king Navasâhasâṅka, accompanied by his minister Ramâṅgada, was engaged on a hunting expedition on the Vindhya mountain, he saw at a distance a very beautiful spotted antelope, wearing a gold chain round its neck. The king, in order to ~~get hold of~~ it, shot an arrow and succeeded in inflicting a wound ~~upon its body~~. The antelope at once fled away with the arrow still sticking into its body. The king intended to follow it, but was dissuaded by his minister, who persuaded him to take sufficient rest for the day. Next

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(1) puraṃ kâla-kramât tena prasthitenâmbikâ-pateḥ /
maurvî-kiṇâṅkavaty asya pṛthvîdoṣṇi-niveśitâ ॥ (Sarga XI, v.98)

(2) I.A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 65. (3) Navas., Sarga I., vv. 6, 11, 102, 1, 15, 2, 51, 3, 19.

morning the king, in the course of his fruitless pursuit after the wounded antelope, met with a swan on the bank of a lotus-pond, carrying a string of pearls in its beak. With a little effort he obtained possession of that necklace, inscribed on which he discovered the name Śaśiprabhâ. This excited in him a strong desire for the acquaintance of the owner of the ornament.

Śaśiprabhâ was the daughter of the Nâga prince Śaṅkhapâla, and she was very fond of wandering about on the Haraśaila, on the Malaya mountain, and on the Himâcala. This princess of surpassing beauty, in the course of one of her excursions on the spur of the Vindhya mountain known as Kusumâvacûla, had to stay on the sandbank of the Śaśâṅkasûti.(1) There, one day, she found her pet animal, the spotted antelope, wounded with an arrow which still remained embedded in its body, and on which was engraved the name "Navîna-sâhasâṅka-Sindhurâja."(2) She reflected that the king who styled himself a "new Sâhasâṅka" must be one of high rank and authority. She felt a strong desire to meet him, and this secret desire of her heart was made known to her attendants.

The Nâga maiden Pâṭalâ, a member of the princess's retinue, while searching in the mountain woods for the lost necklace of her mistress which had been carried off by a swan, probably in mistake for a lotus-root, came upon the king, and conducted him forthwith to Śaśiprabhâ. The princess received him in silence, and the Goddess of Love entered into her heart. The king also became highly enchanted with her beauty, and reciprocated her love.

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(1) i.e. the Narmada or Revâ.

(2) Navîna-Sâhasâṅkasya kâmadevâkṛter ayam /
Mâlavaika-mṛgâṅkasya Sindhurâjasya Sâyakaḥ // Navas°, Sarga VI, v. 11.

But to his disappointment, the princess and her attendants were immediately carried away miraculously to the Nâga capital Bhogavatî, in the underworld. The king, enamoured as he was of the beauty of the princess, determined to secure her hand at any cost. In company with his minister, he appealed to the goddess Narmadâ for assistance in discovering the princess's whereabouts, and the goddess told him that Śaśiprabhâ was the daughter of the Nâga king Śaṅkhapâla, whose hereditary enemies were the demons (Asuras). The demon-king Vajrâṅkuśa had his capital at Ratnâvatî, which lay at a distance of 50 gavyûti ~~or nearly 200 miles~~ from that place, i.e. from the bank of the Narmada. Śaṅkhapâla declared that he would give the hand of his daughter to the hero who should be able to secure the golden flower lying in the pond attached to the pleasure-house of the demon-king, and should present it ~~for~~ as an ornament ~~of~~ her ear. It was evident that no one could fulfil such a condition as that without first breaking the power of Vajrâṅkuśa.

Sindhurâja determined, at any rate, to undertake an expedition against the demon-king. The difficulties in the way, and the knowledge that many a king before him had met with signal failure in similar attempts, could not deter him from his enterprise. On this occasion he was helped by the Vidyâdharas under their prince Śaśikhaṇḍa, whose father was Śikhaṇḍaketu, and by the Nâgas under their general Ratnacûḍa. The allied armies in the course of their onward march first pitched their camp on the bank of the Trimārgagâ,(1) i.e. Gaṅgâ, and subsequently halted in a forest on the outskirts of Ratnâvatî.

On the refusal of Vajrâṅkuśa to hand over the lotus-flower in friendly fashion, Sindhurâja launched a terrible

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(1) Navasâhasâṅka-carita, Sarga 14, v. 85; Gaṅgâ-varṇana, ibid, vv. 79-87.

attack upon the demon armies. A fierce battle ensued, in which the minister Rāmāṅgada lost his life at the hand of Viśvāṅkuśa, the son of the demon-king.(1) Sindhurāja, however ultimately succeeded in defeating and killing Vajrāṅkuśa. He conquered his capital and readily ~~got~~ took possession of the golden lotus.

Having entrusted the charge of the province to Ratnacūḍa, he then proceeded to Bhogavatī. The Nāga-king received him with great respect, and made him a valuable gift of a crystal "Śiva-liṅga", and his marriage with the princess Śaśiprabhā was celebrated with great rejoicings and festivity.

This is the sum and substance of Padmagupta's Navasāhasāṅka-carita. In the first quarter of the 13th century A.D, the poet Madana wrote the Pārijātamañjarī, the object of which was to represent in the form of a drama the course of events leading to the union of his patron king Arjunavarman with the Gurjara princess Vijayaśrī. Though the whole plot is based on a myth, its historical background has now been proved by the discovery of a number of inscriptions.(2) As regards Navasāhasāṅka-carita, we have also sufficient reason to believe that it represents a solid historical fact in the garb of a romantic story. The poet expressly tells us that the object of his narrative is to record the life-story of Sindhurāja, which he has undertaken not from motives of poetic pride, but at the command of his master.(3) That the book has something of an historical char-

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(1) Navas. Sarga XVII, v. 60. (2) Vide Chapter VII, p. 186.

(3) (a) etad vinidra-kumuda-dyuti-Padmaguptaḥ
Śrī-Sindhurāja-nṛpateś caritaṃ babandha ‖ (Verse 1)

(b) yac cāpalaṃ kiṃ api mandadhiyā mayaivam
āsūtritaṃ narapate Navasāhasāṅka |
ājñaiva hetur iha te śayanī-kṛtogra -
rājanya-mauli-kusumā na kavitva-darpaḥ ‖
(Grantha-praśasti, v. 4.)

acter, and is not purely fantastic panegyric, is further proved by the fact that the death of the minister Ramâṅgada at the hands of the demon-prince is mentioned in the narrative, though it could safely have been omitted without any material injury to the plot. Professor Bühler remarks[1] that "the story which Padmagupta relates in his Navasâhasâṅka-carita with the peculiar breadth of the Mahâkâvyas, has, without doubt, a historical background. Not only did the hero of the poem - king Sindhurâja - ~~did~~ really exist; the other people too, who appear in the poem as Nâgas, Vidyâdharas, Asuras, etc., have played a part as comrades or enemies of the king. Meanwhile it will be difficult to fix the true names and positions of the historical characters which appear in Padmagupta and must be left to others."

I will now endeavour to trace the main historical outline upon which the plot is based.

Having eliminated the apparent mythical portions, we get the following facts in the narrative on which to base our enquiry.

There was a Nâga king ~~named Śaṅkhapâla~~ whose capital was at Bhogavatî; he was a contemporary of Sindhurâja, and he had a daughter named Śaśiprabhâ. The family to which ~~Śaṅkhapâla~~ the Nâga king belonged were devout worshippers of Śiva. The demons, whose territory was apparently quite close to that of the Nâgas, were their hereditary enemies ~~of the latter~~.

In ancient Indian literature, the demons (Asuras) represent the non-Aryan population. The capital of this particular branch of the non-Aryan tribe was at Ratnâvatî, which was situated four gavyûtis or about two hundred miles south of the Narmada, which Sindhurâja had to reach after crossing the "Trimârgagâ". This river is to be identified, in all probability, either with the Penganga or with the Wainganga, both of which are tributaries of the Godavari.

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(1) I. A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 154.

It will be seen below that the poet very likely meant the Wain-gaṅga latter. Though the actual name of the demon country is not mentioned, the king's name, Vajrâṅkuśa, suggests that the country was, in all likelihood, that known as Vajra. In ancient literature Vajranagara is mentioned as the name of the capital of a demon prince, named Vajranâbha.(1) The Eastern Câḷukya Vijayâditya (A.D. 799-843) and his grandson Guṇaga-Vijayâditya (A.D. 844-888) bore the epithet "Tribhuvanâṅkuśa", which means "Elephant-goad of the three worlds."(2) The name of the demon prince who killed the minister Ramâṅgada was Viśvâṅkuśa, which with a slight difference conveys the same meaning as "Tribhuvanâṅkuśa". Following this, Vajrâṅkuśa might be taken to mean "The Elephant-goad of the country of Vajra." There was a large wood in this Vajra country through which Sindhurâja had to pass before he finally entered its capital Ratnâvatî. Ratnâvatî is described by the poet as a place full of gems.(3)

The ancient name of the modern Wairagadh, in the Chanda District, Central Provinces, was Vajra or Vajrâgaḍh.(4) It lies about two hundred miles south of that part of the course of the Narmada where it leaves the western border of the Paramâra kingdom. It is separated from the western and northern tracts of the Central Provinces by the Wainganga. The usual route from Malwa to Vajra is crossed by this tributary just by the latter country. In early times Vajra was famous for its diamond mines.(5) In the Burhān-i-Ma'âṡir,(6) it is stated that in the year 1474 A.D., Sultān Muḥammad Shāh II, son of Sultān Humāyūn Shāh, ruler of the Bahmanī kingdom, being aware of the existence of a diamond mine in the district of Wairagadh, sent his general 'Ādil Khān to conquer it from its ruler Jatak Rāya. On the approach of the Muham-

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(1) M. Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 879.

(2) I.A. Vol. XX, pp. 100-02. (3) Navas° Sarga XVII, v. 74.

(4) E.I., Vol. X, p. 27. (5) A.S.I., (Cun.), Vol. VII, p.129

(6) I.A., Vol. XXVIII, p. 286.

madan army the latter submitted, and the Sultān enriched his treasury with the diamonds that were taken from this conquered province. The Ā'īn-i-Akbarī also speaks of a[1] diamond mine in Bīrāgaḍ (i.e. Vajrâgaḍh), which was under the dominion of the Mughal emperor Akbar. In the Kuruspal stone inscription[2] the Nâga Someśvara (A.D. 1097) is described as the "diamond-piercer" (Vajra-bhedaka), from the fact that he conquered the country of Vajra. There was also a big forest in that locality which contained a large number of wild elephants. Râjendra Coḷa I (1012-1042 A.D.) carried off many herds of elephants from Vairâgaram, which is the same as Vajrâgaḍh.[3]

As regards the ancient rulers of this country, the local tradition informs us that a line of Mâna or Mâni, apparently an aboriginal tribe, ruled there for a certain period of time. In the Settlement Report[4] of the Chanda District, within the jurisdiction of which Wairagadh is situated, Mr. Louis Smith states that the Gonds conquered this country about 870 A.D., prior to which it was under the sway of the Mâna princes. But this view has been refuted in the Chanda District Gazetteer of 1909, where it has been pointed out that the Gonds came into possession of that part of the country in the 13th or 14th century A.D. If this proves to be true, then, during the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries A.D., the country of Vajra and its neighbourhood were certainly under the dominion of the non-Aryan Mâna kings, who are admitted to have preceded the Gonds there. That Vajra formed a separate province under its own rulers about this period, admits of no doubt. The Ratanpur inscription[5] of the Kalacuri Jâjalladeva, dated 1114 A.D., tells us

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(1) Jarrett, pp. 229-230. (2) E.I., Vol. X, p. 30, v. 10.

(3) S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 127. (4) 1869, p. 61.

(5 E.I., Vol. I, p. 33.

that the king received annual presents from the chiefs of the Maṇḍalas of Vairâgara and others.

Thus from all these facts we find that Padmagupta's description of the demon country corresponds in the main with that of the ancient territory of Vajra.

On the south-eastern border of Vajra lies the modern Bastar state, which was under the sway of a Nâga dynasty in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries A.D.(1) The princes of this family designate themselves as 'lords of the eminent city of Bhogavatî.' They were devout worshippers of Śiva.(2) Our present stock of knowledge does not furnish us with the names of the princes who preceded the king Dhârâvarṣa of this family. He flourished in the middle of the 11th century A.D. The earliest known date of his son and successor Someśvara is Śaka 1019 = 1097 A.D.(3) These Nâga rulers were members of the Chinda family;(4) Cand Bardâi groups them among the thirty-six royal Râjput races. The relation between these Nâga chiefs and the rulers of Vajra was evidently inimical. The Kuruspal stone inscription(5) of the Nâga Someśvara states that the king conquered the country of Vajra and burnt its forest. Thus the circumstantial evidence would seem to suggest that this Nâga dynasty is indicated by the family of Śaṅkhapâla to which Padmagupta refers.

Padmagupta tells us that Sindhurâja was helped by the Vidyâdhara prince Śaśikhaṇḍa. The Vidyâdharas are described in ancient literature as a class of demi-gods. Śaśikhaṇḍa was also the name of a mythical Vidyâdhara prince.

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 160, ff.; P.R. Ass. Arch. Supdt. for Epigraphy, S. Circle 1908-9, p. 111, ff.

(2) Nâgavaṃśodbhava-Bhogavatî-puravareśvara. E.I. Vol. IX, p. 134; Vol. X, pp. 32, 35, 38. (3) Ibid., Vol. X, p. 37.

(4) Pṛthvîrâja Râso, Canto I, p. 54. (Nâgaripracârinî Granthamâlâ)

(5) (ma)Pura-bhadrapattanâdhârya-vajram api Vajra-(bheda)kaḥ Vajra-saṃbhava-purâṭavîdavobhâti (so)mana-(ma)hîtale v. 10 (E.I. Vol. X, p. 30 line 19)

The Śilâhâras ruled in Koṅkan, which runs along the western coast of the Indian peninsula. They were divided into many branches,(1) of which the most northerly established its government at Sthânaka, the modern Thana.(2) It was formerly a feudatory of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa.(3) The Bhadana grant(4) of the Śilâhâra Aparâjita, dated 977 A.D., shows that though the king although he continued to bear the title of a subordinate chief, he was not a vassal of the Câḷukyas of Kalyani. In their epigraphic records Śilâhâra princes trace their pedigree from the mythical king Jîmûtavâhana, who is mentioned in early literature as a king of the Vidyâdharas.(5) Aparâjita's grandson, Chittarâja (1026 A.D.), is referred to in his inscription(6) as one who was by nature a Vidyâdhara. Candaladevî or Candralekhâ, the queen of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya VI and the daughter of a Śilâhâra chief of Karaḍ, is mentioned by Bilhaṇa as a Vidyâdhara princess.(7) From all these it may be concluded that the Śilâhâras represented the mythical Vidyâdharas. In my opinion the Vidyâdharas referred to by Padmagupta were none other than these Śilâhâras. This is further confirmed by the fact that the poet locates the home of these people close to the sea.(8)

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(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff. (2) Ibid.

(3) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 16, 404, 40, 406; Aparâjita assumed independent power about the year 997; ibid.,p. 16.

(4) E.I., III, p. 273. (5) Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 265; Kathâsaritsâgara, Chaṗ. 22, & 90, Vol. I, pp. 174; Vol. II, p. 307, Transl. by Tawney. (6) E.I., Vol. XII, p. 263, line 18.

(7) Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga VIII, v. 3, & IX, v. 27; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 449; E.I., Vol. XII, p. 266.

(8) In the 13th Sarga, Śaśikhaṇḍa gives the following account of himself to Sindhurâja. He dwelt on the mountain Śaśikânta, and his father was Śikhaṇḍaketu, a prince of the Vidyâdharas. Once a rumour went forth that a representation of Viṣṇu made of sapphire had risen out of the sea. The people of the town flocked to witness the wonder. He also, in company

No king of the name of Śaśikhaṇḍa is found in the genealogical table of the Śilâhâras. It may be that the poet has concealed the identity of a real prince under a mythical name. If my suggestion proves to be true, Śaśikhaṇḍa in this instance may be taken to represent the Śilâhâra Aparâjita, who was a contemporary of Sindhurâja.(1)

Taking all these things into consideration, it may be asserted that the theme of Padmagupta's Navasâhasâṅka-carita is one of Sindhurâja's adventurous expeditions against the Mâna king of Vajra. The general outline on which Padmagupta has based his story may be given, from the above discussion, as follows:

The ancient Nâga dynasty of the Bastar State was at constant enmity with its neighbours, the non-Aryan kings of Vajra. In the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., a king of that Nâga family, having failed to cope successfully with the Mânas in battle, turned to the Paramâra Sindhurâja for help. The Paramâra king readily granted his request, and marched with an army against the Mâna chief. In this campaign, he was accompanied by his minister Ramâṅgada, and was assisted apparently by the Śilâhâra Aparâjita and the Nâga armies. In the course of his long march he once pitched his camp on the banks of the Wainganga and subsequently halted in a wood in the Vajra country. On the eve of his attack upon the Mâna capital Ratnâvatī, he demanded submission from the Mâna chief, but, on the latter's peremptory refusal a fierce battle followed. Ramâṅgada lost his life at the hands of the Mâna prince. Sindhurâja slew the Mâna king in the battle, and finally conquered Ratnâvatī. The Nâga king, as a token of gratitude for his services, gave him his daughter in marriage. Sindhurâja adorned the new bride with rich jewels, which he obtained through plundering the Mâna capital, and then made a triumphant march to his own kingdom.

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with his wife, proceeded to the seashore, to satisfy her curiosity.

(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XIII, p. 13; E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 273.

Some time before his victory over the Mâna king, Sindhurâja seems to have come into conflict with the Kalacuris of Mahâkosâla,(1) whose territory lay on the north-eastern border of the Vajra country. Its capital was at Tummâna - modern Tumana, a village in the Bilâspur District in the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces.(2) Padmagupta records Sindhurâja's victory over the king of Kosala, which evidently meant Dakṣiṇa-Kosala.(3) The vanquished chief of Kosala seems to have been Kaliṅgarâja, the founder of this junior Kalacuri branch.(4) It is also to be noted here that the Nâga dynasty of the Bastar State was at war with these Kalacuris. The Nâga Śomeśvara was defeated and captured in battle by the Kalacuri Jâjalladeva (1114 A.D.).(5)

It is doubtful whether Sindhurâja, during the course of his military excursions, advanced as far as the country of the Muralas, as is stated by Padmagupta.(6) Murala is the same as Kerala, which is to be identified with the modern Malabar coast.(7) Professor Bühler(8) suggests that the poet might have meant by it the whole Dravidian District, and have referred to the continuation of the struggle between the Câḷukyas and the Paramâras during the reign of Sindhurâja. But this is quite inadequate.

War with the Hûṇas.

On the north Sindhurâja seems to have tried to carry out the military policy of his predecessors. The

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(1) E.I. Vol. I, p. 33. (2) ibid.; I.A. Vol. LIII, pp. 267ff.

(3) Uditena vairi-timira-druhâbhitas
Tava nâtha vikrama-mayûkha-mâlinâ |
Nihitâs tvayâ mahati śoka-sâgare
Jagatîndra Kosala-pateḥ purandhrayaḥ || (Sarga X, v. 18, p.161, fn. 11.)

(4) E.I., Vol. I, p. 33. (5) Ibid.

(6) Navas°., Sarga X, v. 16.

(7) N.L. Dey's Geog. Dictionary, pp. 98, 134.

(8) I.A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 171; E.I. Vol. I, p. 229.

fight with the Hûṇas, which began during the reign of Sîyaka, was now brought to a successful termination. Both the Udayapur praśasti[1] and the Navasâhasâṅka-carita[2] glorify his success over the Hûṇa king.

Vâgaḍa was the name of the territory which now comprises the modern Banswara and Dungarpur States. The southern portion of it had been ruled by a junior branch of the Paramâras as vassals of the house of Dhârâ.[3] Sindhurâja seems to have wrested its northern portion from the Guhilas of Mewar. His victory over the people of that country is narrated in the Navasâhasâṅka-carita.[4]

War with the Caulukyas of Lâṭa.

The Lâṭa chief Bârappa, who seems to have been defeated on one occasion by Vâkpati, subsequently lost his life at the hands of the Caulukya Câmuṇḍarâja, son of Mûlarâja.[5] The Caulukyas on that occasion appear to have conquered the whole of Lâṭa. But Bârappa's son, Goṅgirâja, was a brave general. He succeeded in regaining his paternal territory, overthrowing the supremacy of the Caulukyas. A copper-plate grant of Trilocanapâla,[6] dated 1050 A.D., states that,

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(1) Tasyânujo nirjjita-Hûṇarâjaḥ śrî-Siṃdhurâjo vijayârjjita-śrîḥ |
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 16.)

(2) Apakartum atra samaye tavâtta-bhîr
Manasâpi Hûṇa-nṛpatir na vâñchati |
ibha-kumbha-bhitti-dalanodyame harer
na kapiḥ kadâcana saṭâṃ vikarṣati || (Sarga X., v. 14).

(3) Vide Chapter X, p.

(4) Asi-kânti-jâla-jaṭilâgra-bâhunâ
raṇa-sîmni nâtha nihateṣu bhartṛṣu |
bhavatâ?tra Vâgaḍa-vadhû-janaḥ kṛto
yati-sandhi-vigraha-kathâ-parâṅmukhaḥ || (Sarga, X., v. 15.)

(5) Dvyâśraya, by Hemacandra, 6th Sarga; Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Pt.I, p. 159.

(6) ~~Bom. Gaz. Vol. I, Part I, p. 156.~~
E.I., Vol. XII, P. 203.

"Goṅgirâja relieved his own land like the great Viṣṇu, the land that was seized upon by powerful enemies like demons." But, apparently, before he could fully establish his authority on his paternal throne, he had to confront an invading army of the Paramâras. The war which followed resulted in his temporary defeat. Sindhurâja's successful expedition against Lâṭa is mentioned by Padmagupta.(1)

War with the Caulukyas of Gujarat.

All these successful military feats undoubtedly added lustre to the career of Sindhurâja. His campaigns in the neighbourhood of Gujarat soon involved him in a quarrel with the Caulukyas of Aṇahilwara. At the time when the Paramâras were struggling in the Deccan under Vâkpati, Mûlarâja made good use of the respite to increase his resources. By his political ingenuity he succeeded in leaving behind him a strong and well-established empire.(2) His son Câmuṇḍarâja (997-1009 A.D.), who in his youth had distinguished himself by the conquest of Lâṭa, was a worthy successor. It was during the early part of Câmuṇḍa's reign that Sindhurâja launched a campaign against Gujarat. But Câmuṇḍarâja offered a successful resistance and completely routed the Paramâras. The Vadnagar praśasti(3) of Kumârapâla, dated

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(1) Rabhasâd apâsya maṇi-kaṅkaṇâvaliḥ
kanak-âravinda-kaṭakeṣu te 'sinâ |
na kim arpitâni nṛpa Lâṭa-yoṣitâṃ
sphaṭikâkṣa-sûtra-valayâni pâṇiṣu || (Navas°, Sarga X, v. 17.)

(2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part I, p. 156.

(3) sûnus tasya babhûva bhûpa-tilakas Câmuṃḍarâj-âhvayo
yad-gaṃdha-dvipa-dâna-gaṃdha-pavanâghrâṇena dûrâd api |
vibhrâṣyan mada-gaṃdha-bhagna-karibhiḥ śrî-Sindhurâjas tathâ |
naṣṭaḥ kṣoṇî-patir yathâsya yaśasâṃ gaṃdho 'pinirnâśitaḥ || V.6.
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 297.) Read Kṣoṇi-pater.

1151 A.D., states that, seeing from afar the armies of Câmuṇḍarâja, Sindhurâja, together with his elephant forces, made such a cowardly flight that all his well-established fame was lost by it.(1) This defeat of the Paramâras had a serious effect upon their political authority in the north. It seems to have led to the relaxation of their supremacy over Mount Abu and Southern Marwar, which eventually culminated in the temporary overthrow of the Paramâra rule in the latter province, in the third decade of the 11th century A.D.(2)

Side by side with his political activities, Sindhurâja energetically fostered the literary movement which had been vigorously carried on in Malwa under the patronage of his predecessors. Padmagupta tells us that(3) "The seal which Vâkpatirâja put upon my song when he was about to enter heaven (by his death), Sindhurâja, brother of that friend of poets, now breaks." By this he means that the loss of Vâkpati silenced him, and now the genial patronage of Sindhurâja revives his poetic genius.

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(1) Jayasiṃha, who flourished about the fourteenth century of the Christian era, says in his Kumârapâla-carita that Sindhurâja was killed in the battle by Câmuṇḍarâja: "Râjâ Câmuṇḍarâjo 'tha yaḥ Sindhurâjam ivonmattaṃ Siṃdhurâjaṃ mṛdhe 'vadhît' (v. 31). But, in view of the above account of the Vadnagar praśasti, it cannot be maintained.

(2) vide Chapter IX, p. ~~220~~ 270.

(3) Divaṃ yiyâsur mama vâci mudrâṃ
Vadatta yâṃ Vâkpatirâja-devaḥ |
tasyânujanmâ kavi-bândhavasya
bhinatti tâṃ saṃprati Sindhurâjaḥ || (Grantha-praśasti, v. 7 ; I.A., Vol. XXXVI, p. 150, footnote 4.); vide post P. 260.

This indirectly shows that the literary activities, which had fallen into abeyance owing to the death of Vâkpati, received fresh impetus under the encouraging attention of Sindhurâja. The old poets Dhanika and Dhanapâla seem also to have adorned his court.

Sindhurâja did not rule long, and he was succeeded by his son Bhoja. As regards the duration of his reign nothing can at present be said with accuracy. ~~(at present)~~, The last known date of Vâkpati is 993-4 A.D., and the earliest known date of Bhoja is 1020 A.D.(1) Sindhurâja reigned between these two dates. Merutuṅga says(2) that Bhoja enjoyed his sovereignty for "fifty-five years, seven months and three days." This detailed information of the Jaina teacher may be provisionally accepted as true in the absence of any other evidence to the contrary. The earliest known date of Bhoja's successor, Jayasiṃha, is 1055 A.D. Following this, Bhoja's accession may be considered to have taken place in the early part of 999 A.D. This also settles the furthest limit of Sindhurâja's reign.(3)

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(1) E.I., Vol. XI, p. 182.

(2) Pañcâśat-pañca-varṣâṇi mâsâḥ sapta dina-trayam |
Bhoktavyaṃ Bhojarâjena sa-Gauḍaṃ Dakṣiṇâpatham ||
(Prabandha; Muñja-prabandha, p. 57)

(3) Lassen and others suggest that Bhoja ascended the throne in 1005 A.D.(a) Bühler removes the date to 1010 A.D.(b) I beg to differ from them, on the authority of Merutuṅga, which is the only definite available evidence to throw light on the subject.

(a) Pāïyalacchī, edited by Bühler, Introduction, p. 9.

(b) Ibid.

CHAPTER IV.

BHOJA.

According to Merutuṅga,[1] Bhoja was the immediate successor of Vâkpati on the throne of Malwa. A horoscope, cast immediately after Bhoja's birth, revealed that he was destined to rule Dakṣiṇâpatha with Gauḍa for fifty-five years, seven months and three days. This led Vâkpati seriously to consider the question of his own son's peaceful succession, and he is said subsequently to have given orders for the execution of Bhoja. When the ~~latter~~ young prince had been taken to a certain place for the fulfilment of the royal command, the officers in charge adjured him to prepare for death by commending himself to his chief deity. But he merely requested them to send to the king the following verse:[2]

"Mândhâtṛ, that lord of earth, the ornament of the Kṛta age, passed away;
Where is that enemy of the ten-headed Râvaṇa, who made the bridge over the ocean?
And many other sovereigns have there been, Yudhiṣṭhira and others, ending with thee, O king;
Not with one of them did the earth pass away;
I suppose it will pass away with thee."

The officers took pity on his youth and sent the stanza as directed. When the king read it, he regretted his conduct, and at once ordered the prince to be brought back, receiving him with great affection and according him the dignity of a crown-prince.

The same story, with slight alterations, is repeated in the Ā'īn-i-Akbarī,[3] where it is stated that after Bhoja's

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi. p. 32 (2) Ibid.

(3) Ā'īn-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, pp. 216-17.

birth his relations, on account of an erroneous horoscope, deserted him and exposed him to death, but that very soon afterwards, when the error was detected, the child was restored to their affection.

A number of contemporary records relate that Vâkpati was succeeded by his younger brother, Sindhurâja, who was again followed by his son Bhoja. In view of this fact, the above story is to be rejected in its entirety.

Six inscriptions of Bhoja's reign have hitherto been discovered.

(i) The Banswara plates, dated 1020 A.D.(1)

These plates were found in the possession of a coppersmith in Banswara. They record that Bhoja, on the anniversary of his conquest of Koṅkaṇa , granted one hundred nivartaṇas of land in the village of Vaṭapadraka, in the Ghâgradora bhoga of the Sthalîmaṇḍala, to a Brahman Bhâila, son of Vâmana, whose forefathers came there from the city of Chiñchâ. The inscription was issued in Saṃvat 1076, which corresponds to the 3rd January 1020, A.D.

Of the localities mentioned above, Vaṭapadraka is to be identified with the modern village of Baroda in the Banswara State;(2) Koṅkaṇa is the modern Konkan, the narrow strip of land that runs along the western coast of the peninsula of India. Nothing can be said definitely regarding the Ghâgradora bhoga and the Sthalîmaṇḍala. They must have comprised lands around the village of Baroda.

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 182.

(2) A Guhila inscription, dated V.S. 1291 = 1234 A.D., states that Sihadaḍeva was ruling at that time in Vaṭapadra, which is situated in Vâgaḍa (modern Banswara and Dungarpur States). P.R., (W.C.) 1915, p. 36.

(ii) The Betma plates, dated 1020 A.D.[1]

The inscription was discovered by a farmer while ploughing near the village of Betma, sixteen miles to the west of Indore in Central India.

In this record Bhoja announces to the government officials, Brahmans and other local residents, Patels and townsmen, assembled at Nālataḍâga, situated in the Nyāya-padra Seventeen, that he has granted the above mentioned village of Nālataḍâga to the learned Delha, son of Bhaṭṭa Ṭhaṭṭhaśika, who was an emigrant from Sthâṇvîśvara and whose ancestors had migrated from Viśâlagrâma. The gift was made on the occasion of the annexation of Koṅkaṇa, with the object of increasing the religious merit of the king and his parents. It was recorded in V.S. 1076, Bhâdrapada śu di. 15, which corresponds to September 1020 A.D.

Mr. Diskalkar, who has edited this inscription, suggests[2] that Nyāyapadra represents the modern town of Napad in the Kaira District, a little to the south-west of Indore. Nālataḍâga, according to him, is to be identified with the modern Nar (Nal) in the same District. Sthâṇvîśvara is evidently the modern Thanesar in the Karnal District of the Punjab.

(iii) The Ujjain plate, dated 1021 A.D.[3]

The inscription was found by a peasant when ploughing near a small stream called Nāgajhari, which is included in the sacred Pañcakrośî of Ujjain. It records that in Saṃvat 1078, Mâgha, i.e. 1021 A.D., January, Bhoja, having worshipped the lord of Bhavânî, from his residence of Dhârâ granted the village Vîrâṇâka, situated within the District to the west of Nâgadraha, to a Brahman named

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(1) E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.

(2) Ibid., p. 322.

(3) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

Dhanapati Bhaṭṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, a Ṛgvedi Brahman who was an emigrant from Śrîvâḍa, situated in Vella Valla in Karṇâṭa. The record was executed in Caitra, śudi 14, of the same year.

Nâgadraha, mentioned above, is apparently the locality around the stream Nâgajhari, where the plates were found. It is difficult to identify the village Vîrâṇâka.

(iv) The Sarasvatî image inscription, in the British Museum, dated 1035, A.D.(1)

This record is engraved on the pedestal of an image of Sarasvatî, now in the British Museum. It states that in Saṃvat 1091 = 1033 A.D. Bhoja caused this image of Vâgdevî to be erected by a sculptor, Manathala, the son of the craftsman Sahira.

(v) The Tilakwada copper plate, dated 1047 A.D.(2)

This was found by a man in the bed of the Narmada, at a place called "Nânâ Owârâ" (smaller bathing ghat), in Tilakwada, in the Baroda State.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village called Viluhaja, along with a hundred nivartanas of land from the neighbouring village of Ghaṇṭâpallî for the maintenance of the temple of Ghaṇṭeśvara. The donor was the illustrious Jasorâja, who was apparently a governor of Bhoja, in the Saṃgamakheṭaka-maṇḍala. His father was Surâditya, a member of the Śravaṇabhadra family, who had emigrated from Kânyakubja. In Saṃvat 1103 Mârga-(śîrṣa) = 1047 A.D., having worshipped Śiva, called Maṇeśvara, in the temple that stood on the confluence of the river Maṇâ with the Narmadâ, Jasorâja made this grant of land. The record was prepared by the Kâyastha Sohika, son of Aivala, of the family of Vala, at the request of the king.

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(1) Rûpam, 1924, p. 1. (2) Proceedings & Transactions of the first Oriental Conference, Poona, held in 1919, p. 319.

(vi) The Kalvan inscription.[1]

This inscription was discovered in a village near Kalvan, in the north-western part of the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency. Yaśovarman, an officer of Bhoja, had been ruling over fifteen hundred villages, Selluka and others. In the Âudrahâḍî viṣaya of that province, which consisted of eighty-four rent-free villages, was situated the village of Mauktâpalî. Râṇaka Amma of the Gaṅga family, the chief officer of the viṣaya, while residing in the above-mentioned village, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, on the new-moon day of Caitra, granted certain pieces of land at Mahiṣabuddhikâ, in the holy tîrtha of Kâlakâleśvara, to the temple of Munisuvrata which was situated in the Śvetapâda country. The inscription also mentions the donation of two oil-mills, fourteen shops ~~of merchants~~, fourteen drammas, etc., for the benefit of the same temple. In connection with the lands granted, reference is made to the villages of Mâhuḍalâ, Hathâvâḍa, Kakaḍa, Cuḍailîvaṭa, Aṭṭani, and the city of Saṃgâma.

Kâlakâleśvara tîrtha is to be identified with the place now ten miles to the west of Kalvan where the Śaiva temple of Kâlakâleśvara is still to be found. Śvetapâda is the ancient name of Khandesh. Mr. D.B. Diskalkar gives the following suggestions regarding the identification of the rest of the localities:[2]

(a)	Selluka	is the modern	Satane, near Kalvan.
(b)	Muktâpalî	" " "	Makhamalavad.
(c)	Mâhuḍalâgrâma	" " "	Mohadi in the Dindori tâluka to the N. of Makhamalabad.
(d)	Mahiṣabuddhikâ	" " "	Mahasarula near Nasik.
(e)	Hathâvâḍa	" " "	Halasagadh fort.
(f)	Saṃgâmanagara	" " "	Sungane, capital of a petty Bhîl state on the border of the Nasik and Surat Districts.

None of these equations, however, seems satisfactory.

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(1) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 69. (2) Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 326.

As regards the date of this record, we know nothing except that it was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse, in the month of Caitra. Bhoja conquered Konkan in 1019-20 A.D. As the record contains this information, it must have been issued after this date.(1)

If to all these epigraphic evidences is added that of Al Bērūnī,(2) who states that, in 1030 A.D., Bhilsa was the eastern limit of the Malwa kingdom, the following outline of the Paramâra dominion, over which Bhoja ruled in the early part of his reign, may be sketched. It extended on the north as far as Banswara and Dungarpur, on the east to Bhilsa, on the south to the upper courses of the Godavari, Khandesh and Konkan, and on the west to the modern Kaira District.

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(1) Mr. R.D. Banerji thinks that the record was issued during the troublous period that followed the death of Bhoja. His assertion is based upon the following points:

(a) The absence of Garuḍa and Snake Seal or the emblem of the Paramâras.

(b) The absence of the date and of all mention of the reigning king as kuśalî.

(c) The absence of the customary verse at the beginning, in praise of Śiva. (E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 70)

Although some of the general characteristics of the Paramâra grant are absent from this inscription, this does not preclude the assumption that the record was issued during the reign of Bhoja. The particular care which the donor has taken to mention the name of Bhoja at the beginning of the inscription is strong evidence that it was contemporary with that king. After all, it is a grant issued by a private individual, and not a royal personage. (See for further discussion, the Journal of Indian History, Vol. II, Part III, p. 326.)

(2) Al Bērūnī's "India", translated by Dr. E.C. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 202.

After the accession of Sîyaka II, Ujjain seems to have enjoyed the position of the chief city of the Paramâra kingdom. During this period Dhârâ lost much of its importance. Bhoja rebuilt the city on a new model, and transferred his capital thither from Ujjain.(1) Rohaka was the prime minister of his government,(2) and Kulacandra,(3) Sâḍa and Surâditya(4) were his three ~~military~~ generals. Bhoja was probably a boy of fifteen or thereabouts when he assumed the government. During his reign the country became very affluent and prosperous, and the Paramâras rose to the zenith of their power. The ideals which were set up by Vâkpati were now fully realised in every sphere of life. The new king became renowned for his literary and architectural achievements. Like his predecessors, he was an intrepid warrior, an astute general, and a great conqueror. In early life he seems to have cherished a dream of establishing a paramount sovereignty over the whole of Central India. His attempt to realise this ambition soon involved him in ceaseless wars with the neighbouring rulers.

War in the South.

He seems to have selected the Deccan for his initial military adventure. After the execution of Muñja by Tailapa II, there was a temporary cessation of the long-continued war between the Paramâras and the Câḷukyas. Tailapa was followed by Satyâśraya (997-1008, A.D.), Vikramâditya V (1008-1014 A.D.), Ayyaṇa II (1014 A.D.) and Jayasiṃha II (1015-1042 A.D.). In the early years of the eleventh century A.D., the old feud between the two neighbouring families was

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 46; Al Bērūnī, who visited India in 1030 A.D., describes Dhârâ as the capital of Malwa (Sachau's translation, Vol. I, p. 202).

(2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 36.

(3) ibid., p. 46.

(4) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 72; vide ante p. 84.

revived with full vigour. Merutuṅga tells us[1] that once Bhoja was making the necessary arrangements for leading an army against Gujarat, and as this country was suffering at the time from great economic distress, Bhîma sent his agent Dâmara to the court of Dhârâ to dissuade the Paramâra sovereign from pursuing his proposed undertaking. Dâmara, to this end, arranged for a drama to be played before Bhoja, in which the execution of Muñja at the hands of Tailapa II was touchingly exhibited. This prompted the Paramâra king to direct his course, in the first place, against the Karṇâta country, in place of Gujarat, and the Bhoja-carita tells us that he subjected Tailapa to severe indignities, by way of reprisals, and finally executed him.

Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, making due allowance for some historical inaccuracies, suggests,[2] on the basis of the above story, that it was not Tailapa but his grandson Vikramâditya V who lost his life at the hands of Bhoja. Mr. Ojha, on the other hand, is inclined to identify the Câḷukya king who fell a victim to Bhoja's vengeance with Jayasiṃha II.[3] A verse in the Vikramâṅkadeva-carita[4] recounts that "Filling the whole of Svarga with the fame of his victories, Jayasiṃha received a garland of flowers, culled from the Pârijâta tree, from Indra's own hands." This, according to Mr. Ojha, points to Jayasiṃha's death on the battlefield, which may presumably be taken to have occurred in his contest with Bhoja. Mr. Venkatarama Ayyar objects[5] to Mr. Ojha's assertion, on the ground that in the ancient mythologies it was the "apsarâs" (angels) and not Indra who garlanded the hero who died on the field of battle. According to him, Bhandarkar's view seems more

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 45.

(2) The Early History of the Deccan, by R.G. Bhandarkar, p. 61.

(3) Ojha's History of the Solâṅkis, p.

(4) Canto I, v. 86. (5) I.A., Vol. XLVIII, p. 118 fn. 54.

~~plausible~~ tenable. In the absence of any other corroborative evidence and in the face of such a gross chronological inaccuracy, the above story, as narrated in the Bhoja-carita, together with Merutuṅga's version of it, should ~~only~~ be accepted only with reservation. If it contains any grain of truth, Mr. Ojha's view seems to be a nearer approach towards the correct solution of the problem. It was Jayasiṃha and not Vikramâditya V who was contemporary with Bhîma of Gujarat (1022-1064 A.D.), during whose reign Bhoja is said to have invaded the Câḷukya kingdom. Authentic information regarding the struggle between the Paramâras and the Karṇâṭas, which was a distinguishing feature of the history of this period, can be gathered from sundry contemporary records.

Some epigraphic evidence is at our disposal to prove that Bhoja, in the course of his military conquests in the south, came into conflict with the Câḷukya Jayasiṃha. The tragic circumstances, under which his uncle Muñja had died in the Deccan, were still fresh in his memory, and, as Merutuṅga tells us, prompted him to launch a campaign against Karṇâṭa. He made a temporary alliance with the Kalacuri Gâṅgeya and the Coḷa Râjendra I for a simultaneous attack upon the Câḷukya empire.(1) He seems to have achieved some preliminary successes in the contest that followed. Both the Kalvan inscription(2) and the Udayapur praśasti(3) record his victory over the Karṇâṭas. But his final attempt to establish

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(1) Kulenur inscription, E.I., Vol. XV, p. 330

(2) .... Karṇṇâṭa-Lâṭa-Gûrjjara-Cedy-â(a)dhipa-Komaṇ-esa(śa)-prabhṛti-ripu-vargga-nirddârita-janita-trâsa-yasa(śo)-dhavalita-bhuvana-trayaḥ Śrî-Bhojadeva ... (lines 6-7, E.I, Vol. XIX pp. 71-72)

(3) Cedîśvar-Eṃdraratha-(Togga)la-(Bhîma-mu)khyân
Karṇṇâṭa-Lâṭa-pati-Gûrjjaṭa-râṭ-Turuṣkân |
Yad-bhṛtya-mâtra-vijitân avalo(kya) maulâ
doṣṇâṃ va(ba)lâni kalayaṃti na (yoddhṛ)-lo(kân) || (E.I., Vol. I, p. 235, v. 19.)

supremacy over the Deccan seems to have ended in signal failure. An inscription[1] dated 1019 A.D., of the reign of Jayasiṃha, informs us that the king was "a moon to the lotus which was king Bhoja", and that "he searched out, beset, pursued, and ground down and put to flight the confederacy of Mâlava." The Kulenur inscription[2] of the same monarch, dated 1028 A.D., states that the king routed the elephant squadrons of the Coḷa, Gâṅgeya and Bhojarâja. In this defensive operation Jayasiṃha seems to have been assisted by one of his vassals named Bâcirâja, who is eulogised for having put to shame the Mâlavyas by his victorious arms.[3]

After this the hostility between the two houses seems to have ceased for a number of years. But the old quarrel soon sprang up again with the accession of Someśvara I, son and successor of Jayasiṃha, who ruled in the Deccan from 1044 to 1068 A.D. Constant wars with the neighbouring kings undermined the military strength of Bhoja in the latter part of his reign, and thus provided a favourable opportunity for Someśvara to launch aggressive campaigns against Malwa. Bilhaṇa in his Vikramâṅkadeva-carita narrates[4] that in a battle with Jhavamalla, when Dhârâ, the glory of the Paramâra lords in Mâlava, was stormed, king Bhoja fled away,

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(1) I.A., Vol. V, p. 17. (2) E.I., Vol. XV, p. 330.

(3) Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 8, p. 20, v. 37.

(4) Dîpra-pratâp-ânala-saṃnidhânâd bibhrat pipâsâm iva yat-kṛpâṇaḥ|
Pramâra-pṛthvî-pati-kîrti-dhârâṃ Dhârâm udârâṃ kavalîcakâra ||91
Agâdha-pânîya-nimagna-bhûri-bhûbhṛt-kuṭumbo'pi yadîya-khaḍgaḥ|
Bhâgya-kṣayân Mâlava-bhartur âsîd ekâṃ na Dhârâṃ parihartum îśaḥ ||92
Niḥśeṣa-nirvâsita-râja-haṃsaḥ khaḍgena bâl-âmbuda-mecakena|
Bhoja-kṣamâ-bhṛd-bhuja-pañjare 'pi yaḥ kîrti-haṃsîṃ virasîcakâra ||93
Bhoja-kṣamâpâla-vimukta-Dhârâ-nipâta-mâtreṇa raṇeṣu yasya|
Kalpânta-Kâlânala-caṇḍa-mûrtiś citraṃ prakopâgnir avâpa śântiṃ ||94

(Vikramâṅkadeva-caritam, sarga I.)

after which the Cāḷukyas took possession of the city. An epigraphic record of Someśvara I's reign, tells us that the king assailed even the city of Dhârâ, which proved invincible to early kings.(1) An inscription(2) from Sudi, dated 1059-60 A.D., says that Âhavamalla was "a submarine fire to the whole of the ocean that is the race of the Mâlavyas." The same inscription further states that Nâgadeva, a steward of the royal house of the Câḷukyas and a military officer, was a garuḍa to the serpent Bhoja," which indicates a defeat of Bhoja by this general.(3) Nâgadeva was also governor of a province consisting of the "Kisukâḍ Seventy", the "Toragare Sixty" and many "bhatta-grâmas."(4) In the Hottur inscription(5), dated 1067 A.D., Jemarasa, a feudatory of Someśvara I, is described as "a flame of doom to Bhoja." Mâdhuva was also a feudatory under this Câḷukya sovereign. An inscription from Nagai,(6) dated Śaka 980 = 1058 A.D., issued during his reign, states the fact of Someśvara's burning of Dhârâ and Ujjain. Mâdhuva himself joined in this enterprise, and takes to himself the credit of driving away the lord of Dhârâ from his capital. Guṇḍamaya was the daṇḍanâyaka of Someśvara I. An inscription, dated 1060 A.D., glorifies him by stating that he was "a royal swan strolling on both the banks of the Narmadâ, an evil comet to the Mâlava people, capturer of the fort named Maṇḍeva (modern Mandu) and was held in honour in the city of Dhârâ."(7)

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(1) Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for 1928, p. 72, line 13.

(2) Mâlavya-vaṃśârṇṇav-âkhilad = Aurbb-ânalan ... (E.I., Vol. XV, p. 87, v. 2.

(3) Bhoja-bhujaṃgâhi-dviṣaṃ, (ibid., p. 88, v. 5.)

(4) ibid., p. 92. (5) E.I., Vol. XVI, p. 86.

(6) Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 8, p. 20.

(7) An. Report of the Mysore Arch. Dep. for 1929, pp. 68-69.

From all this it may be concluded that Someśvara I, accompanied by his subordinates, Nâgadeva, Guṇḍamaya, Jemarasa and Mâdhuva, invaded Malwa in the middle of the 11th century A.D., and that Bhoja, having failed to repel this formidable force, fled away from his capital. Malwa was overrun by the Câḷukya armies, and its capital Dhârâ was sacked. Someśvara, however, soon left his enemy's country, when Bhoja returned and revived his authority. The blow was undoubtedly a severe one to the Paramâras, and during this cataclysm they seem to have lost a great part of their southern possessions. Since the reign of Sîyaka II the Godavari appears to have been the southern limit of the Paramâra kingdom; but the Sitabaldi pillar inscription, dated Śaka 1008 = 1087 A.D.,[1] proves that by that time the boundary of the Câḷukya empire had been pushed northwards as far as Nagpur in the Central Provinces. This was probably the achievement of Someśvara I, who, at one time, brought the whole of the Mâlava kingdom under his direct control. The result of this Câḷukyan invasion was disastrous to the Paramâras for more than one reason. It not only narrowed their territory, but, as we shall see, it tempted the other neighbouring rulers to take advantage of their helplessness.

War with Indraratha.

Almost about the same time that Bhoja was at war with the Câḷukya Jayasiṃha, he came into conflict with a powerful prince named Indraratha. His decisive victory over the latter is recorded by the Udayapur praśasti.[2] Indraratha was a king of no mean importance. In all probability, he was the same person who is mentioned in some Cola inscriptions of this period. The Tiruvavalangadu inscription[3] of the sixth year (1018 A.D.) of Râjendracoḷa (1012-1042 A.D.) states that the king's general "conquered

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(1) E.I., Vol. III, p. 304. (2) Ante p. 89 footnote 3.

(3) S.I.I., Vol. III, Part III, p.424.

Indraratha and captured the country of the jewel of that Lunar race, who met him (in battle) with powerful elephants, horses, and innumerable foot-soldiers." The Tirumalai rock-inscription[1] of the thirteenth year (1025 A.D.) of the same Cola monarch reports that the king captured Indraratha of the Lunar race, together with his family, in a battle that took place in the famous city of Âdinagara. The territory over which Indraratha ruled cannot now be identified; but the fact that he was at war with both the Colas and the Paramâras suggests that its situation was somewhere in the Godavari District. This finds further support from the fact that in the list of the northern countries successively conquered by Râjendracola I it precedes the Oḍḍa-viṣaya, which comprised the modern Orissa and the greater part of Kaliṅga. As Indraratha is described as being captured by the Colas some time before 1018 A.D., his reverse at the hand of the Paramâras probably took place prior to that catastrophe.

War with Lâṭa.

Having finished his wars with Jayasiṃha and Indraratha, Bhoja turned his arms against the countries bordering the western coast of the peninsula of India. His success in this direction was sweeping, and gained for him a large territory, though only for a short period. The country of Lâṭa, which extended up to Surat in the Bombay Presidency, seems to have been first assailed by him in the course of his southern march. The Lâṭa king, Kîrtirâja, son of Gohgirâja, who apparently suffered defeat at the hand of Sindhurâja, was his contemporary. The Surat grant of Kîrtirâja is dated 1018 A.D.[2] He was evidently no match for the powerful armies of Bhoja, and, being hard pressed by the latter, he seems to have surrendered his kingdom and capital to him. The Kalvan inscription and the Udayapur

(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 233. (2) Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. VII, p. 88.

prasasti[1] both record Bhoja's conquest of Lâṭa. The copper-plate grant of Trilocanapâla,[2] who was the grandson of Kîrtirâja, seems to refer to this disaster in the statement that during the reign of Kîrtirâja his fame was temporarily taken away by his enemies.

War with Konkaṇ.

The acquisition of Lâṭa emboldened Bhoja to push his arms further south. This brought him to the borders of Konkaṇ, a country extending to the Malabar coast of the Madras Presidency on the south. The Śilâhâras held sway over the northern part of this country, and their territory extended as far as Goa. They had been on friendly terms with Sindhurâja and helped him in his expedition against the Mânas of Wairagarh; but for some reason their relations with Bhoja became unfriendly. The tenth king of the family was Arikeśarin,[3] whose other name was Keśideva. The Thana plate[4] of his reign, dated 1017 A.D., records that he had been ruling the whole land of Konkaṇ, comprising many territories acquired by his own arm, and containing fourteen-hundred villages headed by Puri. In all likelihood, Bhoja invaded Konkan during the reign of this prince, and succeeded in defeating him and forcing him to acknowledge his suzerainty. On his return to Malwa he celebrated this event with great pomp and ceremony, making liberal gifts to Brahmans. His own records relate that the ceremony for the conquest of Konkan was performed on the 3rd January, 1020 AD,[5] and that its final annexation was concluded in the month of September of the same year.[6] The Śilâhâras, however, continued

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(1) Ante, p. 89, footnote 3.

(2) I.A., Vol. XII, p. 204.

(3) E.I., Vol. XII, p. 253; Asiatic Researches Vol. I, p. 357.

(4) E.I., Vol. XII, p. 254.

(5) Konkaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi, E.I. Vol. XI, p. 182.

(6) Konkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya-parvaṇi, ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.

to rule over Konkan, probably as vassals of the Paramâras,[1] till they were subjugated by the Câḷukyas of Gujarat in the early part of the 12th century A.D.[2] The Bhandup plate of Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Chittarâja, the immediate successor of Arikeśarin, dated 1026 A.D., records that this prince was ruling over the whole land of Konkan, containing four-

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(1) Some are inclined to think that during this period the Śilâhâras of Northern Konkan were feudatories of the Câḷukyas of Kalyani (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 436). At present no evidence is available to support this view. The Miraj plates of the Câḷukya Jayasiṃha II, dated 1024 A.D., state that the king, having taken the wealth of the lords of the Seven Koṅkaṇas, encamped at Kolhapur for the purpose of conquering the northern country (... Sapta-Koṃkaṇâdhîśvarāṇâṃ sarvvasvaṃ gṛhîtvâ uttara-dig-vijayârthaṃ Kolhâ(llâ?)-pura-samîpa-samâvâsita ... I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 18). (For Seven Koṅkaṇas, see Proceedings & Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, pp. 381-82). This clearly points out that the northern part of Konkan which lies north of Kolhapur (in the Bombay Presidency) still did not come under the control of the Câḷukyas. The Sudi inscription of the reign of Someśvara I, dated 1059 A.D. (E.I., Vol. XV, p. 91), praises the king for shattering the hosts of Konkan. An inscription of the reign of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya VI, dated 1084 A.D., (E.I. XV, p. 103), records that the Koṅkaṇas trembled before this monarch. All these facts serve to show that the relations between the Câḷukyas and the Koṅkaṇas were those rather of enemies than of overlord and vassal.

(2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 24.

teen hundred villages, headed by Puri.[1] Similar claims are also put forward by his successors in their epigraphic records, in which they always assume the epithet of a subordinate chief.

About this time, i.e. in the third decade of the eleventh century A.D., the perilous situation created by successive invasions of Moslems in Northern India led Bhoja to stop his aggressions in the south. The disastrous condition to which his near neighbours were reduced by these new invaders made him fully conscious of his own position. He probably had to array all his forces on the northern boundary of his realm in order to offer a strong resistance to their apprehended invasion.

War with the Moslems.

Bhoja never had to fight with the Moslems in defence of his own realm. At the time of his accession to the throne Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī was beginning his military operations against India.[2] Firishta tells us that, "In the year 399 H. (1008 A.D.), Mahmūd having collected his forces, determined again to invade Hindûstân, and to punish Anandpâl who had shewn much insolence during the late invasion of Multân. Anandpâl, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other

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(1) I.A., Vol. V, p. 277. On the strength of the Miraj plates, Mr. Diskalkar suggests that Konkaṇ was wrested from Bhoja by the Câlukya Jayasiṃha some time before 1024 A.D. (E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 321) But a critical examination of the above report shows that by the Seven Koṅkaṇas which Jayasiṃha conquered are meant the territories south of Kohalpur, and that the countries north of that still remained to be conquered. I agree with Mr. P.V. Kane in thinking that the ruler of the Seven Koṅkaṇas referred to above must have been a Kâdamba king of Goa. (Proceedings & Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, p.380

(2) Elliot's History of India, Vol. II, pp. 446, ff.

princes of Hindûstân, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Râjas of Ujjain, Gwâliâr, Kâlinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmir entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjâb with a greater army than had ever before taken the field against Amîr Sabuktigîn. Anandpâl himself took the command, and advanced to meet the invader." In the battle that followed the Hindûs were ultimately defeated and 8,000 of them were killed.

In the early years of the 11th century A.D. Ujjain was the capital of the Paramâra government, and in 1008 A.D. Bhoja was apparently on its throne. If Firishta's report proves to be true, it is to be maintained that the Paramâras rendered assistance to Ânandapâla in his war against Maḥmūd. Mr. V.A. Smith[1] accepts Firishta's statement as correct. Sir Wolseley Haig[2] remarks on this that "the number and consequence of Anandpâl's allies are perhaps exaggerated, but it is evident from Maḥmūd's excessive caution that Anandpâl had received considerable accession of strength and the army which he led into the field was a very different force from that which Maḥmūd had so easily brushed aside on his way to Multân." None of the early Muhammadan historians says anything about the participation of the other Hindu chiefs in the battle as mentioned by Firishta. Hence this account should be accepted with due reservation.[3]

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(1) Oxford Hist. of India, p. 191, 2nd ed.

(2) Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. III, pp. 15-16.

(3) In the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī it is written that "when Maḥmūd resolved upon returning home from Somnât, he learned that Parama Deva, one of the greatest Râjas of Hindûstân, was preparing to intercept him. The Sultān, not deeming it advisable at the time to contend with this chief, went towards Multân, through Sind." (Elliot, History of India,

(1)

The Udayapur praśasti records that Bhoja conquered the Turuṣkas by means of his mercenaries. Malwa was never invaded by the Moslems during his rule. Hence it seems that he sent his mercenaries to fight with the Moslems somewhere outside his kingdom. It is not definitely known where and when his troops encountered this enemy. I can only hazard a conjecture upon this point. Firishta states that, in the year 435 A.H. (1043 A.D.), the rāja of Dehlī, in conjunction with other rajas, retook Hansy, Tahnesur, and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Madood had entrusted them. The Hindoos from thence marched towards the fort of Nagrakote, which they besieged for four months; and the garrison being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, was under the necessity of capitulating."(2) It may be that Bhoja sent troops to the assistance of the king of Delhi in his war against the Moslems.

Vol. II, App. 473-474.) This information is also contained in Firishta. (Elliot, Hist. of India, Vol. VI, pp. 219-20). Some are inclined to think that by Parama Deva is meant "Paramāra-deva", who is to be identified with Bhoja. (Downfall of Hindu India, C.V. Vaidya, p. 158).

Firishta writes that "Reinforcements arrived to the Hindus on the third day (of the attack of Somanāth), led by Parama Deo and Dābshilīm, whom Mahmūd attacked and routed, slaying 5000 Hindus." (Elliot, History of India, Vol. IV, p. 182, footnote 2.). It is very likely that the Parama-Deva alluded to in the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī is the same as Parama Deo just referred to, who is to be identified with Baramdeo or Bhīmadeva of Gujarat.

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(1) E.I. vol. I, P. 235. V. 19.

(2) Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 118. cf. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, pp. 32-33.

Mr. Stirling points out from the annals of Orissa that Bhoja is there described as having ruled from B.C. 184 to B.C. 57, and as having routed the army of the Yavanas from Sind. It seems, as Professor Kielhorn thinks, that the king referred to above was none other than Bhoja of Malwa, who is ante-dated by about twelve centuries.(1) We have no other evidence to throw light on the subject.

War with the Kalacuris.

In the foregoing chapter it has been seen that Vâkpati II, in the course of his military excursions, overran the Cedi country and plundered its capital Tripurī, from which its ruling sovereign Yuvarâja II had fled. The Kalacuris, however, within a very short time succeeded in regaining the upper hand. They did not then re-instate Yuvarâja on the throne, since he had shown such abject cowardice on the approach of the Paramâras. Instead they chose Kokalla II, the son of the deposed monarch, as their ruler.(2) His successor was Gâṅgeya-Vikramâditya, whose earliest known date is V.S. 1076 = 1019 A.D.,(3) and who closed his reign shortly before 1042 A.D.(4) He was a powerful king, and during his reign the Kalacuri government first attained an imperial position. He conquered the king of Gauḍa and brought Tîrabhukti under his sway.(5) In the early years of his reign he entered into an alliance with Bhoja and Râjendracoḷa for the simultaneous invasion of the Karṇâṭa country.(6) But, as we have seen, the allies were discomfited and routed by the Câḷukya Jayasiṃha II.(7) The alliance, however, was subsequently broken, and the old feud between

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(1) E.I., Vol. III, p. 338. (2) ibid., Vol. II, p. 5.

(3) J.A.S.B., 1903, p. 18. (4) E.I., Vol. II, p. 297.

(5) J.A.S.B., 1903, p. 18. (6) Ante, p. 89.

(7) Ante, p. 90.

the Paramâras and the Kalacuris revived. Bhoja with his skilful warriors marched against ~~the latter~~ Tripurī and won a decisive victory over Gâṅgeyadeva. Both the Kalvan inscription[1] and the Udayapur praśasti[2] extol Bhoja's victory over the Cedi king. In the Pârijâta-mañjarī it is said that he "fulfilled his desires in a festival which was the defeat of Gâṅgeya."[3] The latter is evidently identical with the Kalacuri monarch of the same name. Bhoja's victory over Gâṅgeya says much for the extent of his high military power.

Gâṅgeya was succeeded by his son, Karṇa (1041-1072 A.D.) who was an astute general and one of the greatest of the Hindu kings of ancient India. During his reign the war with the Paramâras continued in full swing. He made an alliance with the Caulukya Bhîma, and simultaneously attacked Malwa from the east and the west. But so long as Bhoja was alive he could not secure any advantage of great consequence.[4]

War with the Candellas.

Having completed his excursion on the south, Bhoja seems to have turned his arms against his northern neighbours. The kingdom of the Candellas of Jejâkabhukti bordered the Paramâra territory on the north-east. It has already been seen that in the middle of the 10th century A.D. the Candella Yaśovarman was at war with the Paramâras

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(1) Ante p. 89, footnote 2. (2) Ibid., footnote 3.

(3) Valgad-vâṇa(b)-jaya-kṣamo vijayate niḥśeṣa-gotrâṇa-kṛt
Kṛṣṇaḥ Kṛṣṇa ivÂrjuno 'rjuna iva śrî-Bhojadevo nṛpaḥ |
Visphûrjad-viśameṣu-vedha-vidhurâṃ râdhâṃ vidhatte sma yas
tûrṇaṃ pûrṇṇa-manorathaś ciram abhûd Gâṃgeya-bhaṃgot-save ||
(E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 101, v. 3.)

(4) Prabandha°, p. 74.

of Malwa.[1] He was followed by Dhaṅga (950-999 A.D.) and Gaṇḍa (999-1025 A.D.). Gaṇḍa was followed by Vidyâdhara (1025-1040 A.D.), who was renowned for his bravery and warlike activities. He defeated and killed the Pratihâra Râjyapâla of Kanauj[2]. The Kalacuri Gâṅgeya had also to yield to his military force.[3] It was very difficult for Bhoja to carry out his military operations freely in the north until the forces of Vidyâdhara had been shattered. This led him to attack the ~~latter~~ Candella king, but with no very favourable result ~~to himself~~. The Mahoba inscription of the Candellas vaunts the superiority of Vidyâdhara over Bhoja by recording that "Bhojadeva, together with the moon of the Kalacuris worshipped full of fear like a pupil (this) master of warfare (i.e. Vidyâdhara), who had caused the destruction of the king of KânyaKubja."[4]

War with the Kacchapaghâtas of Gwalior and the Gûrjara-Pratihâras of Kanauj.

His reverse at the hands of the Candellas, ~~however~~, did not, however, discourage Bhoja from pursuing ~~his~~ military operations on the north. He appears to have cherished the ambition of conquering Kanauj, which was then passing through a transitional period, due to the collapse of the imperial

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(1) E.I., Vol. I., p. 123. (2) Ibid., Vol. II, p. 233.
(3) Ibid., Vol. I, p. 219. Vidyâdhara was a contemporary of Gâṅgeyadeva. Hence the moon of the Kalacuris referred to here must be identified with the latter.

(4) Tasmâd asau ripu-yaśaḥ-kusumâharo 'bhûd Vidyâdharo nṛpatir apra(ti) ... (v. 20.)

Vihita-Kanyâkubja-bhûpâla-bhaṅgam
Samara-gurum upâsta praudha-bhîs talpa-bhâjam
Saha Kalacuri-caṃdraḥ śiṣyavad Bhojadevaḥ ॥ (v. 21)

(E.I., Vol. I, pp. 221-222.)

power of the Gûrjara-Pratihâras. In the middle of the tenth century A.D., the Paramâra Vairisiṃha II wrested Malwa from the Pratihâra Mahendrapâla II (946 A.D.), or his successor Devapâla (949 A.D.). Since then the government of Kanauj had been fast declining in power, and its kingdom was reduced to a small territory around its capital. Devapâla was followed by Vijayapâla (960 A.D.) and Râjyapâla (1025 A.D.) The last-mentioned king, as has been noticed above, was killed by the Candella Vidyâdhara. He was succeeded by Trilocanapâla (1027 A.D.) and Yaśaḥpâla (1036 A.D.) successively, after which there is no further trace of the Gûrjara-Pratihâra dynasty.

This state of things on the north gave Bhoja a very wide field for the display of his military skill. His northern neighbours, the Kacchapaghâtas of Dubkund, were sworn enemies of the Pratihâras of Kanauj. The prince Arjuna of this family assisted the Candella Vidyâdhara in defeating and killing Râjyapâla.(1) His successor was Abhimanyu, with whom Bhoja seems to have entered into an alliance on the eve of his northern expedition. Abhimanyu's assistance was a great asset to the Paramâras in securing the success of their military operations. The Dubkund inscription dated V.S. 1145 = 1088 A.D., of Abhimanyu's grandson Vikramasiṃha states that(2) "The highly intelligent king, the illustrious Bhojadeva, has widely celebrated the skill which he (Abhimanyu) showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons."

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(1) E.I., Vol. II, p. 237.

(2) (Sû)nu-(cchi)nna-dhanur-gguṇaṃ vijayino 'py âjau vijityo-(rji)taṃ
jâto 'smâd Abhimanyur anya-nṛpatîn âmanyamânas tṛṇam ||
Yasyâtya(dbhuta)-vâha-vâhana-mahâ-śastra-prayogâd iṣu-
prâvîṇyaṃ pravikatthitaṃ pṛthu-mati-śrî-Bhoja-pṛthvî-
-bhujâ |
(E.I., Vol. II, p. 237-8, lines 17-18.)

The alliance with the Dubkuṇḍ prince did not provide Bhoja with a free passage to the border of the kingdom of Kanauj. Now another branch of the Kacchapaghâtas, holding sway over Gwalior, stood as a barrier in his way. Kîrtti-râja, the successor of Maṅgalarâja, seems to have been on the throne about this time.(1) He arrayed his army to offer a successful resistance to the approaching Paramâra forces. In the fierce battle that followed, the latter suffered a severe reverse. The Sasbahu inscription(2) of the Kacchapaghâta Mahîpâla tells us that Kîrttirâja defeated the countless host of the prince of Malwa. The Malwa army received

(1) The Kacchapaghâta Mahîpâla was ruling in 1093 A.D. (I.A., XV, p. 33), and the earliest known date of his successor is 1104 A.D. (ibid., p. 202). Padmapâla, who was the cousin and predecessor of Mahîpâla, died at an early age (ibid, p. 43, v. 30). Taking 1104 A.D. as the last date of the latter and allowing a reign of 20 years to each generation, except in the case of Padmapâla, the genealogy of this family stands thus:

	Vajradâman	977 A.D.(a)
	:	
	Maṅgalarâja	999 A.D.
	:	
	Kîrttirâja	1019 A.D.
	:	
Mûladeva	Bhubanapâla	1039 A.D.
	:	
	Devapâla	1059 A.D.
	:	
	Padmapâla	1074 A.D.
	:	
	Mahîpâla	1084 A,D, - 1093 A.D.
	:	
	Successor	1104 A.D.

(a) Known date 977 A.D. (J.B.A.S. XXXI, p. 393).

(2) Kiṃ brûmo 'sya kathâ(dbhu)taṃ narapater etena śauryâbdhinâ
Da(ṇḍ)o MÂLAVA-Bhûmipasya samare (saṃ)khyâm atîto jitaḥ|
Yasmi(n bhaṅgam ॥)pâgate diśi diśi trâsât kar âgra-cyutair
ggrâmîṇâḥ sva-gṛhâṇi kunta-nikaraiḥ saṃcchâdayâṃcakrire॥
(I.A., Vol. XV, p. 36, v. 10.).

such a terrible shock on this occasion that the spears fell from their hands through fear, and were subsequently collected by the villagers (apparently of Gwalior) and heaped around their houses.

Notwithstanding his failure to bring the Gwalior chief under his control, Bhoja succeeded at any rate in forcing his way through the kingdom of Kanauj. There he fell upon the Pratihâras, whose king at that time was probably Yaśaḥpâla, and won so decisive a victory that the dominion of the Pratihâras was completely extinguished, never to recover, and its place was taken by that of the Paramâras. The Udayapur praśasti tells us that[1] Bhoja conquered the lord of Cedi, Indraratha, Toggala (?), Bhîma, Karṇâṭas, the lord of Lâṭa, the king of the Gûjaras, and the Turuṣkas. The Bhîma mentioned here was evidently the Caulukya king of Gujarat; hence the king of the Gûrjaras mentioned in the same connection may be taken to mean some other ruling chief, who is to be identified with the Pratihâra prince of Kanauj. Merutuṅga[2] also gives a hint of Bhoja's victory over the ~~same~~ king of Kanauj.

Kanauj did not, however, long remain under the control of the Paramâras. It was subsequently ~~taken~~ conquered by the Kalacuri Karṇa. In the latter part of the 11th century A.D. the Gâhaḍavâlas under Candradeva established their sovereignty over it. The Basahi plate of Govindacandra, dated V.S. 1161 = 1104 A.D. states that[3] "In the lineage named Gâhaḍavâla there was a victorious king, the son of Mahiala, named Candra-

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(1) E.I., I, p. 235, v. 19. (2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi p. 44.

(3) Yâte śrî-BHOJA-bhûpe vivu(bh)dha-vara-vadhû-netra-sîmâ-tithitvaṃ
śrî-Karṇṇe kîrtti-śeṣaṃ gatavati ca nṛpe kṣmâtyaye jâyamâne |
bharttâraṃ yaṃ va(dha)ritrî tri-diva-vibhu-nibhaṃ prîti-yogâd upetâ
trâtâ viśvâsa-pûrvvaṃ samabhavad iha sa kṣamâ-patiś Candradevaḥ ||
Dviṣat-kṣitibhṛtaḥ sarvvân vidhâya vivaśân vaśe | Kanyâkubje
'karod râjâ râjadhânîm animditâm || (I.A. Vol. XIV, p. 103, lines 3, 4, 5)

Bhoja died some time before 1055 A.D., after which, no doubt,

deva, who, when on the death of king Bhoja and king Karṇa, the world became troubled, came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanyâkubja." If this verse is read in the light of the information supplied by the Udayapur praśasti, it suggests that Bhoja established some kind of political authority over Kanauj for ~~some~~ a time. At the close of his reign the country passed under the sway of Karṇa, after whose death anarchy and disorder prevailed there, until Candradeva of the Gâhaḍavâla dynasty, assumed the sovereignty and succeeded in restoring peace and order.

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there was turmoil and disorder in the Malwa country. But with the accession of Jayasiṃha, about 1055 A.D., all disturbances subsided for some years. The Kalacuri Karṇa, to whom the inscription certainly refers, died in 1072 A.D., and was peacefully succeeded by his son, Yaśaḥkarṇa. ~~Under~~ In these circumstances the statement of the poet, referring to anarchy and disorder bears true significance, if the word "Dharitrî" mentioned above is taken to mean the kingdom of Kanauj. We have evidence to prove that in ancient Indian records the term "world" or "earth" was used to indicate a a particular territory. In the Vasantgadh inscription of Pûrṇapâla Mount Abu is described as the bhûmaṇḍalam (i.e. earth). (E.I., Vol. IX, p. 13, v. 8.) In the Udayapur praśasti, Dhârâ* is described as the earth (vide p. 124, fn. 1). The subject is made more clear by the statement of the inscription that Candradeva came to the rescue of the earth and became king, having established his capital at Kanauj. We know that Candradeva ruled only over a small territory around Kanauj. According to the information of the inscription the anarchy broke out in the earth, i.e. in Kanauj, after the death of Bhoja and Karṇa. This suggests, though it does not definitely establish, that those two kings had some kind of political authority over Kanauj.

War with the Chamba prince.

In the course of his northern march Bhoja seems to have entered into a war with the ruling dynasty of Chamba, in the Punjab. In the Bhoja-carita a story runs that a "Yogi" (ascetic) from Kashmir came to Malwa, and, having transformed its ruler, Bhoja, into a parrot, himself became the king of Dhârâ. The enchanted prince, while flying in the forest of Candrâvatî, was caught by a Bhîl and was handed over to king Candrasena of Candrâvatî, who placed him under the care of his young daughter. The Yogi was subsequently killed by Candrasena, whereupon Bhoja regained his human form and got back his throne.(1) Major Tod remarks on this story that "if any historical fact is meant under this allegory, it would probably be that an invader from the north despoiled Bhojadeva of his kingdom, that he fled in disguise to the wilds, and was carried from his concealment by the wild tribes, and finally through the daughter of Candrasena obtained liberty and aid to regain his kingdom." It is not yet corroborated by any other evidence that Bhoja ever was deprived of his kingdom by any northern invader. Nor is anything known of the king Candrasena of Candrâvatî who is described as his contemporary. But it may be suggested that he came into conflict with a powerful chief of the Punjab. The Tilakwada copper-plate of Bhoja, dated 1047 A.D., informs us that the general Surâditya stabilised the royal fortune of Bhoja by slaughtering Sâhavâhana and others in battle.(2) No king of the name of Sâhavâhana isyet known to have ruled quite contemporaneously with Bhoja. There was a family of princes who ruled over

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(1) T.R.A.S., Vol. I, p. 224.

(2) Sâhavâhana-saṃgrâme anyeṣâm api bhûbhujâṃ ‖ hatvâ yodhâṃ(n?)sthirâṃ lakṣmîṃ Bhojadeve cakâra yaḥ ‖ (Proceedings and Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 324.)

Chamba in the Punjab during the 11th century A.D.(1) The most powerful king of this dynasty was the Paramabhaṭṭâraka-mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-Sâlavâhanadeva, also known as Sâhilladeva, Sâla, Sahila and Soila, who assumed, in addition, the magnificent titles of Sâhasâṅka, Niśśaṅkamall and Maṭamaṭa-siṃha.(2) He defeated the Kîra forces, the lord of Durgara, and the Turuṣkas.(3) His allegiance was sought by the ruler of Trigarta,(4) and he received homage from the lord of Kulûta; but, as the Râjataraṅgiṇî informs us,(5) his power was checked by Ananta, the king of Kashmir. This happened between A.D. 1025 and 1031.(6) It makes Sâlavâhana a contemporary of Bhoja. It may be that he was identical with the Sâhavâhana of the Tilakwada inscription. Bhoja had close relations with Kashmir, which is on the northern border of Chamba.(7) As regards Sâlavâhana's further military exploits, the Chamba copper-plate states(8) that he, "by destroying in Kurukṣetra the array of the elephants of his enemies, had acquired for himself the name of Karivarṣa." Kurukṣetra still retains its ancient name, and is a sacred place in the Karnal District, in the Punjab. Bhoja might have met with this Chamba prince on that historic battlefield. The fact that Sûrâditya claims to have established the fortune of Bhoja by defeating Sâhavâhana suggests that his overlord had to suffer some preliminary reverses in the battle, though finally he ~~came out~~ emerged victorious.

War with the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî and Nadol.

Bhoja's warlike activities on the north soon brought him into close contact with the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî

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(1) I.A., Vol. XVII, pp. 8-9. (2) Ibid. (3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid. (5) Translated by Stein, Bk. VII, Vol. I, p. 218.

(6) Cun. Geo., p. 162.

(7) Chronicles of Kaśmîr (Râjataraṅginî), Stein, Vol. I, p. 284.

(8) I.A., Vol. XVII, p. 8.

modern Ajmer). The king Vîryarâma, successor of the Câhamâna Vâkpati II, was then on the throne of that country. Bhoja attacked him and inflicted a severe blow to his military power. The Pṛthvîrâjavijaya tells us that the glory of Vîryarâma was destroyed by Bhoja of Avanti.(1) This brilliant success over the main branch of the Câhamânas encouraged Bhoja to turn his arms against their collateral branch, holding sway over southern Marwar. After Vâkpati-Muñja's defeat at the hand of the Câhamâna Balirâja, there was a cessation of hostilities between the two families for some time. Balirâja was followed by Mahindu, Aśvapâla and Ahila.(2) These princes, though ruling only over a small territory, maintained a military force strong enough to cope successfully with their ambitious neighbours. Ahila succeeded in routing an army of Bhîma of Gujarat.(3) His successor, Anahilla repelled a second invasion of the same Caulukya monarch and distinguished himself by the conquest of Śâkambharî.(4) He had now to face the formidable forces of the Paramâras. Fortune was no more favourable to Bhoja than it had been to his uncle Muñja. He was defeated and his general, Śâḍha, lost his life in the encounter.(5)

War with the Caulukyas of Gujarat.

Bhoja's struggle with the Caulukyas of Gujarat was a protracted one. The signal discomfiture of his father, Sindhurâja, by the Caulukya Camuṇḍarâja undoubtedly left a deep impression on his mind. In the early years of his reign an untoward event soon entangled him in a fresh quarrel

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(1) Agamyo yo narendrâṇâṁ sudha-dîdhiti-suṇḍaraḥ |
Jaghne yaśaścayo yas ca Bhojenâvanti bhûbhujâ ||(5th Sarga, v. 67)

(2) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 71. (3) Ibid. (4) Ibid.

(5) Dṛṣṭaḥ kair na caturbhujaḥ sa samare śâkaṃbharîṃ yo va(ba)-lâj jagrâhânu jaghâna MÂLAVA-PATER Bhojasya Sâḍhâvayam|
(E.I., Vol. IX, p. 75, v. 17.)

with that monarch. Hemacandra tells us that[1] once Câmuṇḍarâja, being penitent for committing incest with his own daughter, Câciṇî Devî, entrusted the charge of the government to his eldest son Vallabharâja and set out for Kâśî (Benares) on a pilgrimage for the expiation of his sin. On his way, to his abject humiliation, the Râjâ of Malwa forced him to give up all the insignia of royalty. He assumed a mendicant's garb and proceeded on his way. But, having accomplished his object at the holy place, he returned to Anhilwar and lost no time in impressing on his son the necessity for strong action against the insolent Râjâ of Malwa. Vallabharâja accordingly marched forth with a large army to take revenge upon his father's enemy. On his way he was met by a number of other kings, bringing him valuable gifts, and, in accordance with their advice, he pursued his journey by the route through the Kuntaladeśa, and thereby avoided the difficulty of crossing the two rivers Pârâpârâ and Sindhusindhu; but, unfortunately for him, he fell a victim to a serious type of smallpox before he reached Malwa. The efforts of his physicians were in vain, and, when it was quite evident that he had no chance of recovery, he left instructions to his generals to stay their advance and return to Gujarat. They accordingly marched back to Anhilwar after the death of their beloved master (1010 A.D.). Câmuṇḍarâja received the news with deep sorrow and retired to Śukla Tîrtha (near Broach), on the banks of the Narmada, entrusting the government to his second son Durlabharâja.[2]

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(1) Dvyâśraya, Seventh Sarga, pp. 521. ff.

(2) Merutuṅga gives an exactly similar account in his Prabandhacintâmaṇi. According to him the Malwa king, Muñja, humiliated the Caulukya Durlabharâja. This cannot be maintained in view of the fact that Durlabharâja's accession took place more than a decade after Muñja's death. (Prabandha, p. 30).

The fact of Vallabharâja's march against the Malwa king is also contained in an epigraphic record which was issued about the time when the Dvyâśraya was composed. It says that,[1] "From him (i.e. Câmuṇḍarâja) was born a crest-jewel among princes named Vallabharâja, who astonished the circle of the earth by his bold deeds. Densely dark smoke rising from the empire of the Mâlava king, who quaked on hearing of his marching, indicated the spread of the fire of his anger."

Merutuṅga also corroborates this event by stating that the king died of smallpox, while investing the fortifications of Dhârâ, in the country of Mâlava.[2] Arisiṃha's "Sukṛta-saṃkîrtana"[3] and Jayasiṃha's Sukṛta-kîrtti-kallolinî[4] celebrate this fact as a victory of Vallabharâja over the Malwa king. The Malwa king referred to by all these authorities, was evidently Bhoja.

Hemacandra also relates[5] Bhoja's encounter with Durlabharâja (1010-1022 A.D.), the immediate successor of Vallabharâja. On this occasion the cause of the quarrel is described as quite different from that which induced Vallabharâja to invade Malwa. It is narrated that Mahendrarâja, the king of Naduladeśa (Nadol), arranged a "Svayaṃvara" assembly for the selection of a bridegroom for his sister

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(1) Tasmâd Vallabharâja ity abhidhayâ kṣmâpâla-cûḍâmaṇir
Jajñe sâhasa-karma-nimita-camatkâra-kṣamâ-maṇḍalo
Yat-kopânala-jṛṃbhitaṃ piśunayâ tat-saṃprayâṇa-śruti-
Kṣubhyan-Mâlava-bhûpa-cakra-vikasan-mâlinya-dhûmodgamaḥ ||
Read - nirmita°; piśunayatyetatprayâṇa°.
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 297, v. 7.)

(2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 29. (3) Sarga II, v. 13.

(4) Yaḥ śrî-Mâlava-bhûpa-bhâla-phalaka-prasveda-bindu-cchala-
pratyagra-prathita-praśasti-vikasad-dor-vikramopakramaḥ ||
(Sukṛta-kîrtti-kallolinî v. 32).

(5) Dvyâśraya, Sarga VII, pp. 547, ff.

Durlabha-devî. Besides Durlabharâja, the king of Gujarat, the rulers of Aṅgadeśa, of Kâśî, of Ujjayinî, of Kurudeśa, of Mathurâdeśa and of Andhradeśa were present in the assembly. From among them all the princess ~~chose out~~ selected the king of Gujarat as her future husband. This made the other chiefs extremely jealous, and later, when the bride and bridegroom were proceeding towards Paṭṭana (Anahilwara), they fell upon them and attacked them murderously. But fortunately their malice was frustrated by the powerful Gujarat army, to which the Râjâ of Aṅgadeśa is said to have submitted, while, of his companions, the Râjâ of Malwa threw down his weapons, the Râjâ of Hûṇadeśa took to flight, the Mathurarâja left the battlefield to call to his assistance the Turks and mountaineers, the Râjâ of Andhradeśa was wounded, and the Râjâs of Kuru and Kâśî fled away disgraced. After this victory Durlabharâja marched to his capital in great triumph with his newly-won bride.

The Râjâ of Malwa, referred to above, was, in all probability, Bhoja. The Nadol king, Mahendra, who is mentioned in the Sundha hill-inscription[1] as Mahindu, was a contemporary of both Durlabha and Bhoja.[2] Though there is no chronological inaccuracy, the story seems to be an imaginary one.

Hemacandra does not enlighten us with any information regarding Bhoja's fight with Bhîma, the successor of Durlabharâja. But we have ample authentic evidence to prove that they were at enmity with each other for a long time. Merutuṅga informs us[3] that, at first there was a close alliance between these two monarchs, but later on, Bhoja renewed hostilities by waging a war of aggression against the Anhilwar government. Once, while the country of Gujarat

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 71.

(2) Mahendra's predecessor, Balirâja, was a contemporary of Muñja (972-995). This places the reign of Mahendra in the early part of the 11th century A.D.

(3) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 41.

was on the verge of famine owing to the want of rain, he made extensive preparations to invade it. Bhîma's agent, Dâmara, succeeded in averting the danger by a diplomatic move. But this only postponed the immediate outbreak of hostilities, and subsequent events enabled Bhoja to carry out his original project of invading the kingdom of the Caulukyas. On one occasion Bhîma proceeded to the Punjab and, crossing the lower Indus, attacked Sind.(1) The king of that country, Hammuka, was not strong enough to withstand the army of the Caulukya lord, and submitted to the invader. But, while Bhîma was thus acquiring high distinction in the north-west by the display of his military qualities, his kingdom of Gujarat was threatened by an invasion of the Paramâras. Merutuṅga tells us(2) that, taking advantage of his absence from Gujarat at the time when he was fighting in Sind, Bhoja despatched his general, Kulacandra, to ravage Aṇahilwarā. Kulacandra sacked the imperial city, sowed shell-money at the gate of the clock-tower of the royal palace, and extorted a record of victory from the government. The loss to the Caulukyas was so great that the "sacking of Kulacandra" has passed into a proverb. On his return to Malwa he was severely blamed by Bhoja, in whose opinion he ought to have sown charcoal. The above report of Merutuṅga is not corroborated by any other authority in detail. Bhoja's victory over Bhîma is described by the Udayapur praśasti.

After his return from Sind, Bhîma seems to have set himself entirely to the destruction of the power of Bhoja. Since the conquest of Mount Abu by Muñja, the princes of a junior branch of the main Paramâra family had been conducting its administration. Probably as a preliminary to his attack on the central government of Dhârâ, Bhîma directed

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 46-47.

(2) Ibid., p. 46; Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 163-64.

his forces against ~~the latter~~ Bhoja's feudatory, Dhandhu, the then Paramâra ruler of Abu. Dhandhu was no match for the vast Caulukya army, and, being hard pressed, fled to Malwa to the protection of Bhoja.(1) Mount Abu was easily conquered by Bhîma,(2) who then incorporated it into his own kingdom. A distinguished personage, named Vimala, was appointed to govern the province as his viceroy, and built there a temple of Âdinâtha in Vikrama saṃvat 1088 = 1031 A.D.(3)

The loss of Abu by Dhandhu evidently implied the loss of control over it by the Paramâras of Malwa. Hence Bhoja did not allow the incident to pass unnoticed. He took up the cause of Dhandhu, and strained every nerve to recover the lost province. Bhîma was eventually forced to withdraw, and the authority of the Paramâras was re-established there. A general description of Bhoja's glorious victory over his enemy is given in the Udayapur praśasti.(4) Though at present there is no direct evidence to prove that he wrested Mount Abu from the Caulukyas, the fact that Dhandhu's son and successor, Pûrṇapâla, was ruling over it in the middle of the 11th century A.D., quite independently of Gujarat,(5) leads us to that conclusion. It was quite impossible for either Dhandhu or Pûrṇapâla to recover their paternal throne from Bhîma without external aid.

The latter part of Bhoja's reign was as unhappy and inglorious as those of his predecessors Muñja and Sindhurâja. Incessant wars with his neighbours ~~wore out~~ deteriorated his military strength, and it was further weakened by the terrible blow inflicted on it by the Karṇâṭa king Someśvara,

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 151. (2) ibid. (3) ibid.

(4) E.I., Vol. I, p. 235.

(5) Ibid, Vol. IX, p. 11.

shortly after 1044 A.D. The latter, as has been said already, ravaged Malwa, plundered its capital, and forced Bhoja to flee. After this, the country was exposed to the occasional attacks of marauding bands of foreign soldiers. The extent of lawlessness that prevailed there during this period can well be estimated from the narrative of Merutuṅga. It is said that[1] on one occasion, when Bhoja went to pay his devotions to his family goddess in the outskirts of the city of Dhârâ, he was attacked by a roving band of Gujarati soldiers, and, being taken unawares by this unexpected incident, immediately galloped back to the city. As he was passing through the main gate, two Gujarati cavalry-men, named Âḷûya and Akolûya, blocked his way, but nothing untoward happened and he escaped unhurt.

This disordered state of things came at length to its logical conclusion. Bhoja grew old, and his days were numbered. There was no one in the royal family strong enough to control the situation. And just at this critical moment, says Merutuṅga, Bhîma entered into an alliance with the Kalacuri Karṇa for the invasion of Malwa with a simultaneous frontal and rear attack. It was stipulated in their agreement that, in case of victory, they should divide the conquered territory between them in equal shares. The allied forces advanced towards Malwa under the leadership of the two most eminent generals of the age. In this difficult position, Bhoja, though dejected and disheartened, made all possible arrangements for a suitable defence. Unfortunately, however, he was overcome by a bodily malady, and died in the midst of the war. His successor, Jayasiṃha, could not withstand the onslaught of the attacking forces, and surrendered to them.

The whole kingdom of the Paramâras now lay prostrate before Bhîma and Karṇa, who marched triumphantly into the royal city of Dhârâ.

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 73-75.

The above account given by Merutunga finds corroboration in its main outlines in many ancient records. The Vadnagar praśasti[1] of the reign of the Caulukya Kumârapâla states that Bhîma was terrible to his enemies and loving to his friends. "What wonder was there that his horses, supremely skilled in accomplishing the five paces (called dhârâ), quickly gained Dhârâ, the capital of the emperor of Mâlava?" Someśvara in his Kîrti-kaumudî[2] says that Bhîma vanquished Bhoja, king of Dhârâ, and spared his life.[3] The Sukṛta-saṃkîrtana narrates Bhoja's defeat at the hand of Bhîma. Jayasiṃhadeva records[4] that before the greatness of Bhîma the arm of Bhoja faded away like the lotus.[5] Merutuṅga further tells us that after the conquest of Malwa Karṇa incorporated the whole of it into his own kingdom without giving any share to Bhîma. But the latter (Caulukya king), through his agent Dâmara, forced ~~the Kalacuri king~~ to surrender to him a golden shrine and an image of Śiva. Hemacandra mentions nothing about the battle between Bhoja and Bhîma, but partly corroborates the latter statement of Merutuṅga by relating that Karṇa defeated Bhoja, king of Mâlava, and, being hard pressed by Bhîma's agent Dâmodaraṃ, surrendered to him the "maṇḍapîkâ", which he took from Bhoja.[6]

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(1) Bhîmo 'pi dviṣatâṃ sadâ praṇayiṇâṃ bhogyatvam-âsedivân|
Kṣoṇî-bhâram idaṃ babhâra nṛpati(ḥ) Śrî-Bhîmadevo nṛpaḥ |
Dhârâ-pamcaka-sâdhanaika-caturais tad-vâjibhiḥ sâdhitâ |
Kṣipraṃ Mâlava-cakravartti-nagarî Dhâreti ko vismayaḥ‖
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 297, v. 9.)

(2) Sarga II, vv. 16-18. (3) Sarga II, vv. 17-20.

(4) Kumârapâla-carita, v. 34.

(5) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 74-75.

(6) Dvyâśraya, Sarga, IX, v. 57, p. 692.

Thus ended the long career of Bhoja, admittedly a king of superior merit and rare valour. There is no doubt that he had to pass through many vicissitudes, yet the fact that he was a military leader of a high order admits of no question. The power of his mighty arm was felt by the Karṇâṭas and Śilâhâras on the south, the Cedis on the east, and the Caulukyas on the west. His valiant soldiers made a triumphant march through Kanauj and Ajmer on the north. Merutuṅga relates that[1] when Bhoja went out for conquests -

"The Cola king enters the bosom of the sea, the Andhra king repairs to a hole in a mighty mountain;

"The king of Karṇâṭa does not wear his turban, the king of Gujarat frequents the mountain torrents;

"Cedi, that warlike monarch, flickers with weapons; the king of Kânyakubja is here bent double."

The bards sang before the king -

"O Bhoja, all the kings are distracted with the burden of the fear of the advance of thy army only.

"On the floor of thy prison, the angry wrangle about a place on which to lay their beds,

"Has increased in the night among these mutual rivals who thus dispute,

"'The king of Koṅkaṇa sleeps in the corner, Lâṭa near the door, Kaliṅga in the courtyard;

"'You are a new arrival, Kośala; my father also used to abide on this level spot.' ..."

This description, though poetic in expression, contains a great deal of truth. A brief survey of the king's military career will show that he came into conflict with almost all the chiefs referred to in the above verse. His successes in the early years of his reign were sweeping, and put him into possession of vast territories.

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi , p. 44.

Great as were Bhoja's military successes, his attainments in the peaceful arts are even more to be admired. His versatile mind did not limit its activity only to the business of war; it was directed also towards building up in Malwa an ideal kingdom. Schools were established for the proper education of his subjects.(1) Sufficient emoluments and bounties were granted to those who devoted their lives to the cultivation of literary science. He himself was a great poet, and spent his days in the company of erudite scholars.(2) He was beloved by all the literary men of his age, and his unbounded liberality gave them fresh encouragement to pursue their work. The great poet Bilhaṇa lamented his failure to meet with him, and felt in the very core of his heart as if,(3)

"Assuming a voice in the cooing of the pigeons that nested on the lofty turrets of her gates, Dhârâ as it were cried piteously in disguise: 'Bhoja is my king. He, forsooth, is none of the vulgar princes. Woe is to me!' Why didst thou not come into his presence?"

Bhoja's activities in the field of architecture also deserve special notice. The Udayapur praśasti(4) credits him with the building of a large number of temples. To-day very few remains of his extensive work can be traced, owing to the fact that, since the final conquest of Malwa by the Moslems, a large number of ancient Hindu temples have been ~~were~~ converted into mosques by the new rulers.

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(1) Vide post, Chapter VIII, p.252. (2) Ibid. P.249.

(3) Bhojaḥ kṣmâ-bhṛt sa khalu na khalais tasya sâmyaṃ narendrais
tat-pratyakṣam kim iti bhavatâ nâgataṃ hâ hatâsmi|
Yasya dvâroḍḍamara-śikhara-kroḍa-pârâvatânâṃ
Nâda-vyâjâd iti sakaruṇaṃ vyâja-hâreva Dhârâ||
(Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga 18, v. 96.)

(4) E.I., Vol. I, p. 238, v. 20; vide post, chapter VIII, p.231

Malwa enjoyed a happy existence during this period. The people passed their days in joy and merriment. Firishta tells us that[1] "Twice yearly Rāja Bhoja kept a great feast which lasted forty days, during which all the most celebrated dancers and singers of Hindoostan being assembled, he distributed food and wine; and at the end of the feast new clothes and ten miskals were presented to each guest."

Bhoja was well known for his munificence and liberality. In his Ujjain plate[2] he lays down the following maxim, which seems to have been the motto of his life:

"Of wealth, which is as fleeting as a flash of lightning or a bubble of water, there are two good fruits or uses, and only two: one is its employment in charities and the other is the maintenance thereby of other men's fame."

All this speaks for the broadness of his mind. As a conqueror, as a poet, and as a builder of architecture, he deserves a high place among the sovereigns of ancient India. As a benevolent monarch he had hardly any parallel. He left behind him an abiding impression that survives even to this day.

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(1) Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, Introduction, p. lxxvi.

(2) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 55.

CHAPTER V.

It has been seen in the foregoing chapter that Bhoja fell ill, and died suddenly in the midst of his war with the combined forces of the Kalacuris and the Caulukyas. His enemies captured the imperial city of Dhârâ, and held it by their superior force for some time. Jayasiṃha, Bhoja's successor, had no chance of regaining his throne with the petty resources at his disposal, unless he could secure adequate reinforcements from outside. During this period Someśvara I of Karṇâṭa, who commanded a vast military force, was the only king who could ~~really help~~ render any effective service to him in his difficulty; and Jayasiṃha, therefore, putting aside all racial jealousies and family pride, sought his assistance.(1) Though the old sore caused by the constant enmity between the Câḷukyas and the Paramâras was still unhealed, Someśvara deemed it politic to take up the cause of the dethroned Paramâra chief. He probably thought that the extinction of the Paramâra government in Malwa would rather help his two neighbours to strengthen their arms, which might in the near future be raised against himself. Karṇa had already sent his general, Vapullaka,(2) to make conquests for him to the south of the Narmada, and the latter, the valiant officer, within a short space of time, scored a great success by the conquest of the Śvetapâda country (between the years 1051 and 1061 A.D.), and of the province of Lâṭa.(3) It was quite apparent that the next victim of his attack would be the Câḷukya kingdom of the Deccan. Someśvara, therefore, sent his son, Vikramâditya, a distinguished general, with a large army

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(1) Vikramâṅkadeva - carita, Sarga 3, V. 67.

(2) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 70.

(3) Ibid.

to help the cause of Jayasiṃha. After a hard contest, the Câḷukya prince succeeded in routing Karṇa and Bhîma, and drove them from the Land of Malwa, establishing Jayasiṃha once more on his throne.(1) Thus, after suffering a temporary collapse, the Paramâra government reasserted itself, though bereft of its pristine glory.

JAYASIṂHA I

Two inscriptions of Jayasiṃha's reign have been discovered.

(1) The Mandhata plates(2) were issued from the royal camp itself at Dhârâ, on the 13th of the dark half of Âṣâḍha of the year Saṃ 1112, corresponding to 1055 A.D. He records in it the grant of the village Bhîma of the Maktula (group of) forty-two in the Pûrṇapathaka maṇḍala, for the maintenance of the Brahmans of the paṭṭaśâlâ at the holy Amareśvara. Of the localities, Amareśvara is evidently the modern place of pilgrimage of the same name near the island of Mandhata, on the south bank of the Narmada, in the Nimar District. As for Pûrṇapathaka maṇḍala, I suggest that it was a province bounded by the Purna, a tributary of the Tapti river. The rest of the localities cannot be identified.

(2) The Panhera inscription(3) was issued by Jayasiṃha's feudatory, Maṇḍalika, who had been governing the country of Vâgaḍa. It is dated V.S. 1116 (1059 A.D.).

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(1) Sa Mâlavenduṃ śaraṇaṃ praviṣṭam akaṇṭake sthâpayati sma râjye |
kanyâ-pradâna-cchalataḥ kṣitîśaḥ sarvasva-dânaṃ bahavo 'sya cakruḥ ||
(Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga 3, v. 67.)

(2) E.I., Vol. III, p. 46.

(3) A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19 (unpublished.)

Jayasiṃha did not long enjoy the sovereignty of Malwa. A few years after his accession he encountered another catastrophe, which again swept away his throne, and overthrew the Paramâra government. The Panhera inscription[1] relates that his feudatory Maṇḍalika captured in battle the commander Kaṇha with all his horses and elephants, and handed them over to him. ~~Nothing is known about~~ The name of the king in whose service Kaṇha was is not known. Aṅka, (1049, A.D.), the Raṭṭa chief of Belgaum, was a vassal of the Câḷukya Someśvara I.[2] His nephew, Kanna II or Kannakaira II, ruled as a feudatory of the same Câḷukya king in the second half of the eleventh century A.D.[3] It may be that this Kanna was the same as Kaṇha of the Panhera inscription, and was captured by the Paramâras when he joined the Câḷukya army on its campaign against the northern countries. This defeat of his general probably drove Someśvara I to take up arms again against Malwa. At any rate, in the latter part of the sixth decade of the eleventh century A.D., the relations between the two houses of Dhârâ and Kalyâṇi became unfriendly. Someśvara, however, did not take any immediate action against the Paramâra king, probably because he was afraid of the intervention of the Kalacuri Karṇa, who by that time, had gained a considerable ~~much~~ reputation as a great conqueror. The same political considerations, which once induced him to support the Paramâras, might now persuade Karṇa to espouse their cause. It was quite evident that the Kalacuri monarch would not tolerate any attempt on the part of the Câḷukyas to extend their kingdom up to Malwa by the complete extinction of the Paramâra government. Hence Someśvara, guided probably by his political wisdom, entered into an alliance with Karṇa to invade Malwa. He despatch

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(1) ~~Ibid.~~ A.S.I., 1916-17, P. 19.

(2) J. Bo. Br., Vol. X, p. 187.

(3) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, pp. 551-552, 1082 and 1087 A.D. are the two known dates of Kanna.

his feudatory the Hoysaḷa Ereyaṅga,[1] with a large army to the assistance of his ally. Jayasiṃha made a strenuous attempt to defend his kingdom, but utterly failed to check the progress of the enemy. In the fierce battle that followed he lost his life, and Malwa was easily conquered by the invaders. Karṇa, together with the Karṇâṭas, took possession of the imperial city of Dhârâ, and there unfurled again the glorious banner of victory. The Nagpur praśasti[2] gives an account of Jayasiṃha's death in the battle, and the conquest of Malwa by the combined forces of Karṇa and the Karṇâṭas. An inscription[3], dated 1100 A.D., of the reign of Ereyaṅga, records that he defeated a host of kings, between the Hima mountain and Setu, at the bidding of the Câḷukya emperor. "With the hot rage in Nannuge's breast as the witness of fire, and by means of Dhârâ (otherwise, with the pouring of water), he suddenly wedded the goddess of Valour, - the brave Poysaḷa king. As the maṇḍapa was consumed in the burning of the Khâṇḍava (forest), so the fire of the Poysaḷa king's glory sprang up in the Vindhya mountains and seized the city of Udhapuram of his enemies."

Udhapuram may be the same as Udayapur, in the Gwalior State, Central India.

The Shimoga Taluq inscription[4], dated about 1112 A.D., of the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana states that his father, Ereyaṅga, was a right hand to the Câḷukya king. "Trampling down the Mâlava army, he did not spare Dhârâ, but burnt and scattered it."

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(1) For the dates of Ereyaṅga see p. 140â, footnote 2.

(2) E.I., Vol II, p. 185.

(3) E.C., Vol. V, AK, No. 102a, p.152.

(4) Ibid, vol. VII, Sh, No. 64, p. 24.

The Belur copper-plate[1] of the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana, dated 1117 A.D., records that Ereyaṅga, in a conquest of the North, captured Dhârâ, the stronghold of the lords of Malwa, which ~~had been rendered prosperous by~~ owed its prosperity to king Bhoja. An inscription[2], dated 1150 A.D., of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha I, the successor of Viṣṇuvardhana, corroborates this fact by stating that Ereyaṅga burnt in a moment Dhârâ, the capital of the Malwa king. Another inscription[3], dated 1161 A.D., of the same prince, records that "while Câḷukya was looking on, Ereyaṅga, without effort, plundered the Mâlava king's hill fort, which was too strong for the Câḷukyas." A third inscription[4], dated 1164 A.D., of the reign of Narasiṃha, registers the fact that "Ereyaṅga subdued with his army the great Dhârâ, the chief place in the Mâlava kingdom, and thus conferred victory on (his) emperor."

UDAYÂDITYA

The Paramâras thus again lost their supremacy almost before they recovered from the shock which they had received a few years previously. But in these dark days there was one ray of light on the eastern horizon, which gradually expanded, and which dispersed all the black clouds from the sky of Malwa. The

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(1) Dhârâ-dhâro bhuja-balavatâṃ Mâḷavâdhîśvarâṇâṃ
Bhojenaujo-vijita-ripuṇâ varddhitâ yâ prasiddhâ |
sâbûd âposanam ahita-bhû-bhojane yasya pûrvvaṃ
Kauberâśâ-vijaya-samaye varṇṇyate kiṃ sa vîraḥ ||
E.C. Vol. V, p.26, Hn. No. 53; E.C. Vol.V, p.128, Bl.No.58.

(2) E. Car., Vol. I[I], No. 349.

(3) E.C. Vol. V, p. 163. AK. No. 117.

(4) E.C. Vol. IV, Part II, p. 119.

Udayapur prasasti tells us that[1] "When that devotee of Bharga (Siva i.e. Bhoja) whose brilliance resembled that of the sun, had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhârâ, was filled with the dense darkness of his foes, (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose king Udayâditya as it were another sun, destroying the darkness of powerful foes, with the rays issuing from his sword, (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour. Lo! how easy was the rescue of this earth for that Paramâra, by whom the primeval boar was restored without difficulty."

The Nagpur inscription makes matters clearer by stating that "When he (Bhoja) had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation Udayâditya became king. Uplifting the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karṇa, who, joined by the Karnnâṭas, was like the mighty ocean, he acted like the holy Boar."[2]

It is evident from the above verses that the authority of the Paramâras in Malwa, though it received a severe blow at the hand of its foreign enemies, was soon revived by a hero known as Udayâditya. He is described in the Udayapur prasasti as a relation of Bhoja. An inscription[3] from Udayapur, in

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(1) Tatr-âditya-pratâpe gatavati sadanaṃ Svargginâṃ Bhargga-bhakte
vyâptâ Dhâreva dhâtrî ripu-timira-bharair mmaula-lokas tadâbhût |
visrastâṃgo nihatyodbhaṭa-ripu-ti(mi)ram khadga
raṇyo bhâsvân-iv-odyan-dyutim udita damdâṃśujâlai -
janâtmodayâditya devaḥ ||
(E.I. Vol. I, p. 236, V. 21; p. 238.)

(2) Tasmin Vâsava-va(ba)ndhutâm upagate râjye ca kulyâkule
magna-svâmini tasya va(ba)ndhur Udayâdityo 'bhavad bhûpatiḥ |
yenoddhṛtya mahârṇṇavopama-milat-Karṇṇâṭa-Karṇṇa-pra(bhu)-
murvvîpâla-kadarthitâṃ bhuvam imâṃ śrîmad-Varâhâyitaṃ ||
(E.I., Vol. II, pp. 192, 185, V. 32.)

(3) J.A.S.B., Vol. IX, p. 549.

Bhilsa, furnishes us with more detailed information regarding his pedigree. It relates that there was a prince named Sauravira, (Śûravîra), a member of the Paramâra (Pâvara) family, who carved out a principality of his own in Mâlava. He was learned, pious, liberal, valiant, and possessed of both his own and his enemies' armies. His son was Gondala, who was a receptacle of noble qualities, devoted to the Gods, a conqueror of his enemies, and famous for his own deeds. His son was Gyâtâ (Jñâtâ), whose son again was Udayâditya, the great destroyer of the enemy (ari-bala-mathana), who, having obtained the eastern territory, proceeded to the interior of Mâlava,(1) which was formerly governed by his ancestors.(2) The country was made glorious by him.

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(1) Mâlave madhya-deśam gatvâ sthânam prasidhih.....

(2) The inscription under review was discovered in the Nîla-kaṇṭheśvara temple, and is edited in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.IX, p.547. The editor takes "Ari-balamathana" as a proper name, and makes ~~him~~ its possessor a successor of Gondala, omitting the name of Gyâtâ (Jñâtâ). He is further of opinion that Aribalamathana went to Mâlava, and recovered Madhyadeśa, which had formerly been governed by his ancestors, and was later on usurped by the inimical râjas. He was succeeded by his son Udayâditya.

Mr. Hall contends that the word 'Sauravira', rightly Śûravîra in the monument adverted to, is not the name of a king. Gondala is the first regal personage whom it notices. His son seems to be Gyâtâ, for which 'Pâtâ' has been printed; the vernacular corruption perhaps of 'Jñâtâ', nominative of Jñâtṛ. Ari-bala-mathana, if such be the true reading, is an epithet of the doubtful 'Gyâtâ', and can by no possibility be a proper name. Udayâditya is represented as the son of the last; and he is distinctly stated to have been ruling in Saṃ1116, or Śaka 981. (J. Am.O.S., Vol.VII, p.35.) I agree with Mr. Hall in thinking that "Ari-bala-mathana" is not a proper name. But I am inclined

It follows from the above record that Udayâditya and his predecessors belonged to a junior branch of the Paramâra family. They seem to have been ruling as feudatories of the Imperial house of Dhârâ, in the east of Malwa, at Udayapur, in Bhilsa. Jayasiṃha ruled up to the early part of 1059 A.D. In the middle of the same year his kingdom was invaded by the combined forces of the Kalacuris and the Karṇâṭas, and he lost his life in battle against them. As we have seen above, during those evil days Udayâditya ~~stood as~~ proved the saviour of the Paramâra kingdom, and entirely recovered it from the grip of the foreign armies. There was no other prince in the royal house of Dhârâ strong enough to hold the reins of government in that difficult situation. Hence the royal power was entrusted to Udayâditya, whose claim so evidently superseded that of all others. A faint recollection of this event has been embodied in the Âîn-i-Akbarî[1], though in a somewhat altered version. It runs thus :- "Munja gave thanks to God, welcomed Bhoja with much affection and appointed him his successor. When his son Jayacând's reign was ended, none of the Ponwâr caste was found worthy to succeed. Jîtpal, of the Tonwar caste, who was one of the principal land owners, was elected to the throne, and thus, by the vicissitudes of fortune, the sovereignty passed into his family."

It is evident that Jayacând, mentioned above, is identical with Jayasiṃha, and Jîtpal is possibly the same as Udayâditya.

A number of inscriptions of Udayâditya's reign have been discovered. The Udayapur praśasti[2], which has often been

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Footnote (2) continued.
to take it as an epithet of Udayâditya. If the record is studied in the light of the Udayapur praśasti and the Nagpur inscription, it must be maintained that Udayâditya, and not Gyâtâ (Jñâtâ), rescued his ancestral dominion of Malwa and established his authority over it.

(1) Translated by Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 217.

(2) E.I., Vol. I, p. 233.

referred to above, is engraved on a slab of stone, and is now lying in front of the Nîlakaṇṭheśvara temple, at Udayapur, in Bhilsa. It is highly important and interesting, inasmuch as it furnishes us with ~~much~~ information of great significance for the reconstruction of the early history of the Paramâras of Malwa. It is the only available record which supplies a complete genealogy of this family of rulers from Upendra to Bhoja. It is undated, and seems to have been issued during the early part of the king's reign.

Two short inscriptions,(1) one of which is dated Sam 1137 = 1080 A.D., have been found in the temple of Nîlakaṇṭheśvara. Two more short inscriptions of his reign, one in the "antarâla" of a temple at Un, in the Nimar District,(2) and the other on a pillar attached to Bhoja's school at Dhârâ,(3) have been discovered.

A stone inscription(4) in Sarvasukhiyakothi at Jhalrapatan, in Jhalawar State, Rajputana, was executed in Sam 1143 = 1086 A.D. in the victorious reign of Udayâditya. It records that the Paṭṭakila Janna, the son of the Paṭṭakila Câhila, who was born in the family of Tailika, built this temple of Śiva and the tank in Cirihilla between Câḍâghansa Kûpikâ and Vruvasaka. He promised to make an annual gift of four palas of oil and a lump of sweetmeat in the ceremony of Sendhavadeva. The inscription was engraved by ~~a~~ Paṇḍita Harsuka. As the record is engraved on a stone, there was less chance of its being carried any great distance away from its original situation. Hence the temple, which Janna built, seems to have been somewhere near Jhalrapatan.

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(1) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 83; Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey (Western circle), March, 1914, p.66.

(2) A.S.I., 1918-19, p.17.

(3) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 351.

(4) J.A.S.B., 1914, p. 241.

This locality was under the sway of the Paramâras of Dhârâ even up to the middle of the thirteenth century A.D.[1]

From the evidence of these inscriptions, it may fairly be inferred that the kingdom over which Udayâditya held sway extended at least up to Jhalrapatan on the north, Bhilsa on the east, and the Nimar District on the south. This proves that Udayâditya succeeded in regaining almost the whole of the territory over which his predecessor Bhoja ruled in the latter part of his reign. The Bheraghat inscription of the Kalacuri Narasiṃha[2] designates him as the king of the province of Malwa, and the Karnbel inscription[3] of the Kalacuri Jayasiṃha describes him as the lord of Dhârâ.

Udayâditya was admittedly a military commander of a high order. But our information as to his further warlike activities is not very extensive.

WAR WITH THE CÂLUKYAS OF KARṆÂṬA

After the expulsion of the Karṇâṭa army from Malwa in 1059 A.D., Âhavamalla Someśvara I did not make any other attempt to invade it. His son, Bhuvanaikamalla - Someśvara II, succeeded him on the throne in 1069 A.D., and enjoyed the sovereignty up to 1076. A.D. He renewed the quarrel with the Paramâras, and, shortly before 1071 A.D., despatched an army under the daṇḍanâyaka Gaṅga Udayâditya to attack their territory. The Paramâra Udayâditya certainly spared no effort to offer successful resistance, but he had to acknowledge a temporary defeat at the hands of the Câḷukya general. An inscription[4] from Sudi describes Someśvara II as

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey (Western circle), 1913, p. 56.

(2) Mâlava-maṇḍalâdhinâthOdayâditya. E.I., Vol. II, p. 12.

(3) Dhâr-âdhîśOdayâditya. I.A., Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

(4) E.I., Vol. XV, p. 97.

"A blazing submarine fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mâlavyas." The Balagami stone inscription,[1] dated 1071 A.D., of daṇḍanâyaka Udayâditya, reports that "completely defeating the Mâlava king, who had raised his enmity, and all those who had secretly conspired against the throne and against the guru, and seizing their property and women laden with jewels, he handed them over to his emperor."

Someśvara II was overthrown by his younger brother Vikramâditya VI in 1076 A.D. Vikramâditya seems to have led a successful campaign against Malwa shortly after his accession to the throne. An inscription,[2] dated 1077 A.D., from Shikarpur Taluq, records that "he was the source of a great fever of terror to the king of Dhârâ."

These reverses, however, did not materially disturb the peaceful continuance of the Paramâra rule.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT

Udayâditya was faced with no less trouble on the west than on the south. The Caulukya Bhîma, having failed to gain any advantage over Malwa on account of the intervention of the Karṇâṭas, spent the rest of the years of his reign in fighting with the Câhamânas in the north.[3] He died in 1064 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Karṇa, whose reign lasted until 1093 A.D. In pursuance of the military policy of his predecessors, he ~~started~~ commenced hostilities against the Paramâras, and marched his army to the border of Malwa. In the first phase of the war his success was undoubtedly decisive. Arisiṃha tells us[4] that Karṇa defeated the Mâlava king and his army, and despoiled him of an

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(1) Mysore Inscriptions, p. 164.

(2), Dharâ-nâtha-mahâ-bhaya-jvara-karaṃ ....
(E.C., Vol, VII, Sk. No. 124, p. 171.)

(3) ~~Ibid.~~ i.e., Vol. IX, p. 72.

(4) Sukṛtasaṃkîrtana, sarga II, v. 23.

image of Nîlakaṇṭha (Śiva). Someśvara[1] also gives a hint of the quarrel which ensued between Karṇa and the king of Malwa. He relates that "when the territory of the king of Dhârâ was overrun by the Caulukyas, the former's chaplain called up by incantations (or by means of a charm) an evil spirit for the destruction of his master's enemy. But Âma, the chaplain of Karṇa, succeeded by counter-incantations (or charms) in turning back the evil spirit against the conjuror, who was instantaneously killed by it."

Udayâditya, although he suffered a severe defeat in the battle, and probably lost his kingdom, did not give up all hope of regaining his throne. In those perilous hours he could not turn for help to the Câḷukyas of the Deccan, upon whom only a few years previously, he had inflicted a severe defeat. So he appealed instead to the Câhamâna Durlabha III, the king of Śâkambharî, for assistance. After the discomfiture of the Câhamâna Vîryarâma at the hand of Bhoja, friendly relations seems to have been established between the governments of Śâkambharî and Dhârâ. Hence Durlabha lost no time in sending a cavalry force to the assistance of the Paramâras in their struggle with the Caulukyas. Being thus reinforced, Udayâditya fell upon Karṇa, and within a short time succeeded in regaining his territory. The Pṛthvîrâjavijaya[2], a book written in the

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(1) Dhârâdhîśa-purodhasâ nija-nṛpa-kṣoṇîṃ vilokyâkhilâṃ
Caulukyâkulitâṃ tad-atyaya-kṛte kṛtyâ kilotpâditâ |
maṃtrair yasya tapasyataḥ pratihatâ tatraiva taṃ mâṃtrikaṃ
sâ saṃhṛtya taḍil-latâ tarumiva kṣipraṃ prayâtâ kvacit ||
(Surathotsava kavi-praśasti - v. 20).

(2) Malavendodayâdityenâśamâd evâpyonnatiḥ |
maṃdâkinî hradâd-eva lebhe pûraṇam abdhinâ || (v.76)
sâraṃgâkhyaṃ turaṃgaṃ sa dadau yasmai manojavam |
na hy uccaiḥśravasaṃ kṣîra-simdhor anyaḥ prayacchati || (v.77)
jigâya Gûrjaraṃ Karṇaṃ tamasvaṃ prâpya Mâlavaḥ |
labdhânûruḥ sûrya-rathaṃ karoti vyoma-laṃghanam || v.78.
5th Sarga.

latter part of the twelfth century A.D., tells us that the Câhamâna Durlabha was the cause of the prosperity of Udayâditya of Mâlava. Udayâditya, having received cavalry from him, defeated the Gurjara Karna and obtained Mâlava.

Udayâditya spent the remaining years of his reign in peace and happiness. He had a profound veneration for men of letters. The educational institute, established by Bhoja, at Dhârâ, flourished under his careful supervision. He engraved charts, containing alphabets and rules of grammar, on the walls of Bhoja's school at Dhârâ and also in the Chauberdera Temple at Un, for the ~~easy~~ guidance of the students.(1) He declared that they were placed there for the gratification of poets and princes.(2)

Udayâditya showed unflagging zeal also in the building of architectural monuments. He laid the foundation of the city of Udayapur in Bhilsa, and erected there the great temple of Nîlakanthesvara. An inscription from Udayapur records that this temple was built by him in 1059 A.D.,(3) and was considered the most superb of its kind in the whole of India. Another inscription,(4) discovered in the same temple, credits him with the foundation of Udayapur, Udayesvara and Udayasamudra. Udayesvara is perhaps the same as Nîlakanthesvara. At present, Udayasamudra cannot be identified. It must have been a lake or a big tank in the vicinity of Udayapur. Udayâditya is reported to have erected many other temples, caused tanks to be excavated, performed religious ceremonies, and granted lands productive of gold and corn to the Brahmans.(5) ~~There~~ It can be hardly ~~any~~ doubted that, ~~in~~ some among the group of temples at Un, ~~some~~ were his own contributions.(6)

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(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p. 350.

(2) ibid, p. 351.

(3) J.A.S.B., Vol. IX, p. 540.

(4) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey (Western circle) 1914, p. 66

(5) J.A.S.B., Vol. IX, p. 540.

(6) A.S.I., 1918-19, pp. 17-18.

Some gold coins of Udayâditya's reign have been found in the Central Provinces.(1) Besides these, no other coins of the dynasty have yet been discovered.

It will be admitted by everyone that Udayâditya's career as a king was one of unique success. He came as a boon to the Paramâras in the day of their worst calamity. ~~The most difficult and responsible task which was entrusted to him under highly adverse circumstances was efficiently conducted by him to a successful issue.~~ He restored peace and order, and ~~brought back~~ an atmosphere ~~quite~~ suitable to the peaceful pursuit of the daily avocations of life. As a true successor to the throne of Muñja and Bhoja, he paid equal attention to the healthy advancement of the literary movement. The judicious care which he took for the furtherance of education is unique in its character. In the field of architecture his achievements were marvellous. The great Nîlakaṇṭheśvara temple still stands to testify to his greatness. Thus the work set on foot by Muñja and Bhoja for building Malwa into an ideal state was in full operation during the reign of Udayâditya, and did not flag for want of royal patronage.(2)

The Râs Mâlâ(3) relates that 'Oodayâdit' (Udayâditya) had

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(1) J.A.S.B., 1920, Plate XIII, No.2.

(2) In the middle of the 11th century A.D., a family of princes had been ruling in Jhansi, in the United Provinces. An inscription on the wall of a ruined fort in that locality records that the son of Satyâvatî, a prince of this family, was in some way connected with the rule of Udayâditya, the Lord of Avanti. The record is in a most fragmentary state, and it is difficult to determine the nature of their relationship, (E.I., Vol. I, p.216). It is very likely that the prince of Jhansi rendered military assistance to Udayâditya, either in his fight against the Kalacuri Karṇa, or in his war with the Caulukyas of Gujarat.

(3) Forbes' Râs Mâlâ, edited by H.G. Rawlinson, 1924, Vol.I, pp. 117 ff.

two wives, one belonging to the Solunkhee (Solâṅki) dynasty and the other to the Wâghela (Vâghela) clan. By the former he had a son named Jug Dev (Jagaddeva), and by the latter another son called Rindhuwul (Raṇadhavala). Prince Jug Dev was an intrepid warrior, and his fame as a ~~great military~~ general spread all over India. He had three wives. The first ~~one~~ was the daughter of Raja Râj, the Dâk Chowra king of Took-Todâ, which was then under the regency of his son Beerj (Vîrya), (since Raja Râj ~~he~~ himself ~~being~~ was blind), The second was the daughter of Sidh Râj Jesingh Dev (Jayasiṃha Siddharâja), the king of Gujarat, and the third was a princess of the house of Râjâ Phool of Bhojnagar. Rindhuwul married the daughter of Gumbheer (Gambhîra), a chief of Gord. Udayâditya, being influenced by his Wâghela queen, made Rindhuwul his heir apparent. Jug Dev was reduced to poverty through the jealousy of his step-mother. He left Malwa, and accepted military service under Sidh Râj in Gujarat, in order to make a living. Within a very short time he became a favourite of his master on account of his valour and faithfulness. On one occasion he sacrificed his son, and offered his own life and that of his wife to ensure the safety of Sidh Râj from some impending peril. Some time afterwards, learning that Sidh Râj was making preparations to invade Malwa, he resigned his office and left for Dhârâ in order to defend his native country. He was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him his successor, superseding Rindhuwul. Soon afterwards Oodayâdit (Udayâditya) died, and Jug Dev ascended the throne of Malwa, which he occupied for fifty-two years.

This is the sum and substance of the story of Jug Dev, as narrated by the Gujarat chroniclers. Apart from its mythological character, it is chronologically inaccurate. Jug Dev could not have ruled for fifty-two years, since Udayâditya's second son, Naravarman, began his reign some time before 1094 A.D (1)

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(1) Vide post. P. 150.

According to the early Jaina Chroniclers, Jayasiṃha-Siddharâja ascended the throne in 1094 A.D. If this is true, and there is no valid reason for disbelieving it, he could not have been a contemporary of Udayâditya. But notwithstanding these discrepancies, it cannot be denied that Udayâditya had a son named Jagaddeva who, for some time, became the king of Malwa. Merutuṅga,(1) though he mentions the name of this prince, makes no allusion to his pedigree. According to him, the prince entered the military service of Paramârdin, king of Kuntala, ~~though he~~ and was highly honoured by Siddharâja. The Paramâra Arjunavarman, in his Rasikasaṃjîvani,(2) states that his predecessor, Jagaddeva, was very handsome and that his beauty was described by Nâcirâja. Two Hoysaḷa inscriptions(3) state that in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D., Jagaddeva was the king of Mâlava.

The Belava inscription of Bhojavarman,(4) the king of Eastern Bengal, states that Jagadvijayamalla was the son of Udayi (Udayâditya), who was a great ~~wrestler of the conquest of~~ conqueror in this world. Dr. Haraprasad Śâstrî rightly suggests that Jagadvijaya-mala of the above inscription is the same as Jagaddeva of Malwa.(5)

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p.186, cf. Kîrtikaumudî, Sarga II, v.99

(2) Yathâsmat-pûrvaja-rûpa-varṇane Nâcirâjasya
satrâsâ iva sâlasâ iva lasad-garvâ ivâdrî iva
Vyâjihmâ iva lajjitâ iva paribhrântâ iv-ârtâ iva
Tvad-rûpe nipatamti kutra na Jagaddeva prabho subhruvâṃ
Vâtâvartana-nartit-otpala-dala-droṇî-druho dṛṣṭayaḥ ॥ (P.8)

(3) ~~Vide post~~ Prof. Kielhorn takes Jagaddeva and the Mâlava lord, referred to in one of these inscriptions, as two different kings (K.S.I. No.409). But the verse in question clearly states that Jagaddeva was the lord of Mâlava. (Ep. Carnatica, Vol. II, p.168, No.349). Jagaddeva is described as the emperor of Mâlava in another Hoysaḷa grant. Vide post p. 141 f.n.2.

(4) E.I., Vol. XII, p.40, v.10; J.A.S.B., Vol.X, p.125.

(5) ibid.

Udayâditya had connections with many of the neighbouring rulers. His daughter Syâmala Devî was married to Vijayasiṃha, son of Vairisiṃha and grandson of Haṃsapâla of the Gobhila (Guhila) family.(1) Vijayasiṃha is mentioned as the ruler of Prâgvâṭa and was evidently a king of Mewar.(2) From the union of Vijayasiṃha and SyâmalaDevî was born a daughter, Alhaṇa Devî, who was given in marriage to the Kalacuri Gayakarṇa (1115-1151 A.D.). Narasiṃha and Jayasiṃha were sons of Gayakarṇa and Alhaṇa Devî.(3)

Udayâditya closed his reign shortly after 1086 A.D.(4) The tradition runs that Jug Dev was his immediate successor to the throne, but a contemporary Paramâra record states that Laksmadeva became king of Malwa after ~~his~~ Udayâditya's death.(5) Jagaddeva's name is not mentioned in any Paramâra inscription. But that he ruled in Malwa for some years about this time is borne out by the two Hoysaḷa inscriptions referred to above. In ~~Under~~ these circumstances it may therefore be conjectured that the names Jagaddeva and Laksmadeva were those of one and the same person.

LAKṢMADEVA

The Nagpur stone inscription(6) is the main evidence to throw light upon the career of this monarch. It records that,

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(1) ~~ibid~~ E.I., Vol.II, p.12, v.21; I.A., Vol.XVIII p.217 lines 15-16

(2) ibid, Vol. XVI, p. 346.

(3) The tradition runs that "Raedhuwul Puar son (or descendant) of Udayâdit of Dhâr, had three daughters, one of whom he betrothed to Jeipâl (Ujjye Pâl) Solunkhi, son of Sidh Râj, another to Beeji Râj Bhaṭṭi and the third to the Râṇâ of Cheetore." (Tod's Râjasthan, ii, 1203.)
E.I., Vol. II, p. 12.

(4) J.A.S.B., 1914, p.241; A.S.I, 123-24, p.135.

(5) E.I., Vol. II, p. 192.

(6) Ibid, p. 182.

on the occasion of a solar eclipse, he granted two villages in the Vyâpura-maṇḍala, probably for the maintenance of a temple. The date of this grant cannot be definitely determined, as there were eight solar eclipses between the years 1087 and 1094 A.D.(1) As the inscription is engraved on an ordinary piece of stone, which was evidently used for building a temple, it was less likely to have been carried any great distance from its original place. This makes it apparent that Vyâpura-maṇḍala was situated somewhere near Nagpur. Nagpur is also known as Vyalapura, which leads Mr. Bal Gangadhar Śâstrî to suggest its identification with Vyâpura.(2) The modern city of Nagpur was founded in the early years of the eighteenth century A.D., by the Râja Bakht Buland.(3) In ancient days the most important place in the district was Nandivardhana or Nâgardhana, the modern village of the same name, four miles south of Ramtek, which still contains huge remains of old forts and temples. The tradition goes that in olden times Nandivardhana was an important settlement of the Paramâras. This is strongly corroborated by the present existence of a Ponwar caste in that locality. Hence it is quite probable that a portion of the Nagpur District formed part of the kingdom of the Paramâras of Malwa. Nandivardhana was included in the dominion of the Râṣṭrakûṭas of Mânyakheṭa. In 940 A.D., the Râṣṭrakûṭa Kṛṣṇa III granted to a Kanarese Brahman a village in the district of Nâgapura-Nandivardhana.(4) After the collapse of the Râṣṭrakûṭa empire, its northern portion was taken possession of by the Paramâras, and its southern part was occupied by the Câḷukyas. In the latter part of the tenth century A.D., there was a hard contest between Muñja and Tailapa II over the boundary of

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(1) A.D. 1087, 1st August
" " 1088, 20, July
" " 1090, 24, November
" " 1091, 21, May
A.D. 1092, 9th May
" " 1093, 23, September
" " 1094, 19, March

(2) J.Bo.Br., Vol. I, pp. 264-65.

(3) C.P. Gazetteer, Nagpur District, Vol. A, p. 31¼.

(4) J.Bo.Br., Vol. XVIII, p. 248, Deoli Plate.

their territory in the Godavari District. After this, the Paramâras seem to have held sway over Nagpur until Vikramâditya VI annexed the southern part of it. The Râṣṭrakûṭa Dhâḍîbha-(ṃ?)ḍaka, an immigrant from Latalaura, hadbeen governing this newly conquered province in 1087 A.D., as a vassal of Vikramâditya.(1)

WAR AGAINST BENGAL

The Nagpur stone inscription devotes nineteen verses to a record of the military excursions of Laksmadeva. His soldierly qualities were marvellous and unsurpassed. He went out with a large army for "digvijaya" like his neighbours, the Câlukya Vikramâditya Vi and the Kalacuri Karna. Since the early years of the eleventh century A.D., the great Pâla empire had been declining into a state of insignificance, which encouraged many other ruling chiefs of Central and Southern India to fall upon it for riches and plunder. In the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D., a revolution, organised by the Kaivartas under Divvoka, broke out in Bengal, and resulted in the temporary overthrow of the Pâla supremacy in "Varendra-bhûmi" (Gauṇda or North Bengal.)(2) The king Râmapâla (1077-1120 A.D.) succeeded with great difficulty ~~succeeded~~ in quelling the revolt and regaining his throne with the assistance of his feudatories.(3) This imbroglio in the Pâla kingdom offered to Laksmadeva a very wide field for the display of his warlike activities. He entered Bengal at the head of a large army, and made a successful raid over it. It is said that, ~~being desirous of~~ in order to capturing elephants, he first proceeded to Hari's quarter (i.e. the eastern quarter) and entered the town of

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(1) E.I., Vol. III, p.304; Sitabaldi inscription.

(2) Bâṅglâr Itihâsa, Vol. I, p.277.

(3) ibid, pp. 281, ff.

the lord of Gauḍa.(1)

WAR WITH THE KALACURIS OF TRIPURÎ

During this period, the Kalacuris of ~~Cedi~~ Tripurî also fell victims to Lakṣmadeva's attack. Udayâditya had succeeded in rescuing Malwa from the domination of the Kalacuri Karṇa. Karṇa was really instrumental in bringing disgrace and ignominy on the Paramâras in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. This left a deep wound in the pride of the Paramâras, notwithstanding the fact that they subsequently regained their former position; and this wound Laksmadeva was now bent upon healing by paying ~~back~~ off old scores ~~to~~ against the Kalacuris. He advanced towards the Cedi country, and threatened to overthrow the Kalacuri government. Karṇa was now dead, and was succeeded by his son, Yaśaḥkarṇa (1072-1115 A.D.). Yaśaḥkarṇa was an intrepid warrior, and had acquired fame by his conquest of Campâraṇya.(2) But, to his discredit, he failed to withstand the attack of the Malwa army. His kingdom was overrun and his capital, Tripurî, was stormed by Laksmadeva, who afterwards encamped on the bank of the Narmada, at the foot of the Vindhya hill, where his elephants rested after the fatigue of the battle, bathing in the waters of the river.(3)

Laksmadeva is reported to have come into conflict with the armies of Aṅga and Kaliṅga. Verse 43 of the Nagpur

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(1) Prayâti yasmin prathamaṃ diśaṃ harer jjihîrṣayânanya-samâna dantinâṃ |
yathâviśad Gauḍa-pateḥ puraṃ dara(s tathâ) śaśaṅke sahasâ puraṃdaraḥ ||
(E.I., Vol. II, p.186, v. 38.)

(2) E.I., Vol. II, p.11.

(3) utsâhonnati-sannimitta-janitâjasra-prayâṇa-krameṇ
-âkramya Tripurîṃ raṇaika-rasikân-vi(ddhvaṃ)sya vidveṣiṇaḥ |
yenâvâsyata Vindhya-nirjhara-marut-saṃcâra-câr-ûllasal
-lîl-odyâna-latâ-vitâna-vasatau Revopakaṇṭha(stha)le ||
(v. 39, E.I., Vol. II, p. 186)

inscription records that[1] "Even the troops of elephants of Aṅga and Kaliṅga, kindred to the elephants of the quarters, and bulky like mountains set in motion by the storm at the destruction of the universe, and rivalling rain-clouds, dark like herds of hogs kept for pastime, - even they had to sue for mercy, when they were bewildered by the union of the storm-wind with the powerful elephants belonging to the princes of his army."

Aṅga comprised the modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr, in Bihar, and formed a part of Râmapâla's territory.[2] Kaliṅga was the modern Northern Circars, a territory between Orissa and the Dravidian (Drâviḍa) country, bordering the sea. According to Mr. Cunningham, it did not extend beyond the Godavari on the south-west and the Gooliya branch of the Indravati river on the north-west.[3] Professor Rapson identifies it with the country between the Mahanadi and the Godavari.[4] Lakṣmadeva possibly fought with the Aṅga army during his invasion of Bengal. Or it may be that he routed an aggressive campaign of the Aṅga army under Râmapâla.

After the restoration of peace in Northern Bengal Râmapâla turned his attention to retrieving the past glories of his family.[5] He advanced against Utkala and Kaliṅga, and brought them into subjection.[6]

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(1) Ye dik-sindhura-va(ba)ndhavaḥ kṣaya-marut-lolâdri-sa(tta)-bhîtaḥ krîḍâ-kroḍa-kuṭumva(mba)-kâ(nti)-jalamukṣa-vra(bra)hmacaryâ-jusaḥ yat-senâ-nṛpa-gandha-sindhura-marun-maitrî-vihastîkṛtais tair apy Aṅga-Kaliṅga-kuñjara-kulair yuddhâ(ya) va(ba)ddho 'njaliḥ (v.43)
(E.I., Vol. II, p. 187; ibid p.193)

(2) Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. V, No.3, pp. 93-94.

(3) Ancient Geography p. 591.

(4) Ancient India, p. 164.

(5) Râmacarita, III, 10.

(6) Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. I, p. 15.

The conquest of Kaliṅga probably encouraged him to invade the Paramâra kingdom, which extended up to the Nagpur District, and was not very far from it. On that occasion he might have been assisted by the Kaliṅga army in his military operations. But, as has already been seen, his progress was successfully checked by Lakṣmadeva.

Lakṣmadeva's ambition for military glory induced him to fight against the powerful chiefs of the Deccan and Southern India. He found it expedient to maintain friendly relations with Vikramâditya VI. An inscription,(1) dated 1129 A.D., probably exaggerates this fact by stating that "the Mâlava and other kings, trembling, submitted to his command with fear, making friendship, agreeing with all he says, and are in the enjoyment of their kingdoms." "For were it not so, he would at once without pity, have sent those great kings to enjoy the kingdom of the gods."

WAR WITH THE HOYSAḶAS

The Hoysaḷas of Mysore, who were feudatories of the Câḷukya sovereigns of Kalyani, seem to have made an attempt to shake off their yoke of subordination, in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. Lakṣmadeva took this opportunity to make an alliance with Vikramâditya VI for an invasion of the territory of the Hoysaḷas. The Hoysaḷa Ereyaṅga was at that time ruling in Mysore as representative of his old father Vinayâditya.(2)

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(1) E.C., Vol.VII, SK.No.100, p.68. of E.C. Vol II, (Sravana Belgola Ins.) No. 349.

(2) The history of the Hoysaḷas of this period is confusing, and requires a special study. Ereyaṅga was a Yuvarâja in 1062 A.D. and according to the statement of an inscription, continued to be so until at least ~~up to~~ 1096 A.D. (E.C. Vol.VI, Kd. No.142; introduction P.11.) But in one of his inscriptions, dated Saka 1015 = 1095 A.D., he designates himself as mahâmaṇḍaleśvara (Annual Report of the Archaeological Department Mysore, 1924, p.31). His latest known date is 1100 A.D. (E.C., Vol.V. AK. 102a). He had three sons, Ballâḷa I, Viṣṇuvardhana and

Ballâḷa I, Viṣṇuvardhana and Udayâditya were his three sons, who were intrepid warriors. Lakṣmadeva, accompanied by the Câḷukya army, overran Mysore and besieged its capital, Dorasamudra.(1) Upon this, the three sons of Ereyaṅga showed themselves equal to the occasion, and offered a stubborn resistance to the invading army. Lakṣmadeva could not stand before this opposition, and was forced to withdraw. We have a considerable amount of evidence throwing light upon this event. An inscription,(2) dated 1196 A.D., refers to tells that "Ballâḷa drove back in battle the force which came to attack him, so that even the Mâlava emperor Jagadeva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Welldone, horseman'; to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vîra-Ballâḷa', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world." The Sravana Belgola inscription,(3) dated 1159 A.D., states that "Viṣṇu,

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Footnote (2) continued.

Udayâditya. Ballâḷa's inscriptions are dated A.D. 1104 and 1108 (E.C., Vol.V, Hn. No.161; Ann. Report Arch. Dep. Mysore, 1925, p.56). The dates of Viṣṇuvardhana's inscriptions range from 1100 A.D. (E.C., Vol. VI, Kd, No.164.)

(1) The modern village of Halebid in the north-east of the Belur taluk of Hassan District, Mysore.

(2) kâḷegadoḷ taḍaṅgaḍidu mundaṇa thaṭṭin avuṅki pâydoḍ â - |
Mâlava-cakravartti Jagadevane tanna madândha-sindhuraṃ |
kîḷ iḍe pûtu râvutene râvutan allen idircou vîra -
Ballâḷan en endu meṭṭi tivid âḷtanav accariy âytu dhâtriyoḷ ||
(E.C. Vol. Vi, Tarikere Taluq, No. 45)

(3) api ca||cakri-preṣita-Mâḷaveśvara-Jagaddevâdi-sainyârṇna-vaṃ
ghûrṇnantaṃ sahasâpibat karataḷenâhatya mṛtyu-prabhuḥ
prâk pascâd asinâgrahîd iha mahîṃ tat-Kṛṣṇavenṇâvâdhi
śrî-Viṣṇur bbhuja-daṇḍa-cûrṇnita-nitântottuṅga-Tuṅgâcalaḥ ||
(E.C. Vol. II, Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola (revised edition) No. 349, p. 168.)

powerful like Yama striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mâlava king Jagaddeva and others sent by the emperor."

An inscription,(1) dated 1161 A.D., records that Viṣṇuvardhana, while still a youth, defeated Jagadeva. The Belur Taluq inscription,(2) dated 1117 A.D., registers the fact that "In Dorasamudra they (Viṣṇu and Ballâḷa) defeated the army of Jagadeva, painted the goddess of Victory with the blood of his elephants for vermilion, and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace." Narasiṃha I 's inscription,(3) dated 1164 A.D., records that the three brothers Ballâḷa, Viṣṇu and Udayâditya destroyed the army of Jagadeva in Dorasamudra. The earliest known date of the record containing the report of Jagadeva's defeat is 1100 A.D.(4)

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(1) E.C., Vol. V., Bl. No. 193.

(2) Ibid. Bl. No. 58; Hn. No. 116.

(3) Ibid, Vol. IV, No. 30, Mr. Fleet thinks that Jagaddeva referred to in the Hoysaḷa grants "may be an ancestor of, or possibly even identical with, the Sântara prince Jagaddeva of Paṭṭipombuccapura, who has been mentioned in connection with the Western Câḷukya kings Perma-Jagadekamalla II and Taila III." (Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 494.) But this does not bear any examination when confronted with the available authentic evidence. Jagaddeva, with whom the three Hoysaḷa brothers fought, is expressly mentioned as the king of Mâlava in two Hoysaḷa inscriptions. Sântara Jagaddeva, referred to by Mr. Fleet, ruled in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., his inscription being dated A.D.1149 (Mysore Inscription, p. 97; cf. E.C. Vol. VIII, Sg. No. 131.). His grandfather Tailapa's inscriptions range from A.D. 1089 to A.D. 1106. (E.C. Vol. VIII, Sg. No. 103; Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, 1923, p. 117.). The battle between Jagaddeva and the Hoysaḷas took place before 1100 A.D.

(4) E.C., Vol. V., AK. No. 34 cf. English text, p. 122, footnote.

WAR WITH THE COLAS

About this time nearly the whole of Southern India was under the supremacy of the Colas. In the early years of the eleventh century A.D., the Cola kingdom extended on the north to the river Tungabhadra and the lower course of the Kistna. With the accession of Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070-1118), the kingdom of the western Câlukyas of Vengi and that of the Colas of Kanci were merged into one. This extended the northern boundary of the Cola dominion up to the river Godavari, within less than three hundred miles of the boundary of the Paramâra kingdom. The intervening territories between these two kingdoms were the target of attack for many military adventurers of this period. Kulottunga I, when he was Crown Prince, ravaged Vayirâgaram (modern Wairagarh), which lies only a few miles south of the Nagpur District.(1) Laksmadeva now came into conflict with the Colas, who were at that time governed by Kulottunga I. His success on this occasion was sweeping. We are told that, when he directed his steps towards the south, the Colas and the other tribes bowed low before him.(2) Next, in the course of his predatory excursions he is said to have reached Tâmraparnî, which lay within the territory of the Pândyas,(3) and thence having crossed Râma's bridge, proceeded to Ceylon and reduced that island to subjection.(4) But, in the absence of any other definite corroborative evidence, it is impossible to say with certainty whether he invaded the Pândya country and Ceylon.(5) It seems to be merely the panegyric of the poet.

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(1) S.I.I., Vol. III, Part II, p. 132.

(2) E.I., Vol. II, p. 187, v. 46.

(3) It is now (locally) called Tambaravari, in Tinnevelly, which rises in the Agastî-Kuta mountain. Ibid, v. 47.

(4) ib. v. 48.

(5) On the Nagpur stone inscription, Prof. Kielhorn remarks that "according to the poet's account, Laksmadeva subjugated the earth in all directions; but the only tangible and probably true facts mentioned are an expedition undertaken against Tripurî, the well-known capital of the Cedi kingdom, and perhaps some fights

SUBJUGATION OF THE HILL TRIBES

Having finished his eastern and southern expeditions, Lakṣmadeva is reported to have advanced against the West,. The Dvyâśraya relates (1) that, during the reign of Siddharâja-Jayasiṃha

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Footnote (5) continued.

with the Turuṣkas or Muhammadan invaders alluded to in verse 54, which speaks of the king's encampment on the banks of the river Vaṅkṣu, and contains a well-known play on the word kîra." (E.I., Vol. II, p. 181.) With due deference to the learned scholar, I do not agree with him in every respect. It is to be borne in mind that the 'Praśasti' was composed by the king Naravarman, the younger brother and successor of Lakṣmadeva. It contains fifty-eight verses, of which nineteen are devoted to the praise of Lakṣmadeva, three to Udayâditya and three to Bhoja, the glory of the Paramâras. The poet-king is extremely vague in describing the military achievements of all his predecessors and of himself, with the exception of Lakṣmadeva, of whose exploits he writes particularly definitely. This is a matter which, of course, calls for special consideration and remark, ~~of course.~~ At present we have no other material to put forward as corroborative ~~evidence to~~ evidence of the information under review, namely, ~~as~~ That supplied by the Nagpur inscription. But this does not in any way make the facts incredible, if they are not otherwise so. The report of Samudragupta's conquests, as gathered from the Allahabad Pillar inscription, is not supported by any other evidence, yet no doubt is entertained by historians regarding its genuineness. Lakṣmadeva inherited from his father a kingdom whose minimum extent lay between Jhalrapatan on the north, Bhilsa on the east, Nagpur and the Nimar Districts on the south, and the Banswara state onthe west. The possession of such an enormous

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(1) Sarga XII.

(1095-1145 A.D.), the Râkṣasas were a source of constant trouble to the pious ṛsis (religious mendicants), residing in Siddhapura. The ṛsis besought Siddharâja for help, whereupon the king advanced with his army to chastise those barbarians. The Râkṣasa leader

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Footnote (5) continued.

territory proves that the Paramâras retained great authority and power even in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. Their ruler was certainly not less powerful than his neighbours, ~~the fact of~~ whose conquests of far countries, ~~is~~ are recorded by a large number of inscriptions. With the decline of the imperial power of the Pâlas, Bengal became a ~~favourite ground of attack for~~ powerful attraction to foreign military adventurers. The Candella Dhaṅga (950-1001, A.D), the successor of Yaśovarman, conquered Râḍha and Aṅga (E.I., Vol.I p. 143); the Kalacuri Gâṅgeya (1020-1040, A.D.) defeated the king of Aṅga (ibid, Vol. XI, p.143). His successor, Karṇa (1040-1072 A.D.), won victories over the rulers of Vaṅga and Gauḍa (ibid, Vol. II, p.11,). Râjendra Coḷa (1012-1042 A.D.) some time before 1025 A.D., conquered Orissa, Dakṣiṇa Râḍha, and Vaṅgâladeśa, and defeated the Pâla Mahîpâla, who was deprived of his elephants and women in battle (ibid, Vol. IX, p. 231). The Câḷukya Someśvara is celebrated as a wind to the cloud that is the kings of Vaṅga and others (ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 97). His successor, Vikramâditya VI (1076-1128 A.D.), is said, as Crown Prince, to have carried his victorious arms up to Gauḍa and Kâmarûpa, ~~when he was Crown Prince~~ (Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Sarga III, v. 74). In the first quarter of the 11th century A.D., the Yâdavas of Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga, migrated to East Bengal and established there a sovereignty of their own. In the latter part of the same century, Sâmantasena, a Karṇâṭa Kṣatriya, founded a kingdom in southern Bengal. Considering all these things it cannot be maintained that it was impossible for Lakṣmadeva to carry on a raid over Bengal. He gave his daughter in marriage to a Varman king of East Bengal. Similarly, a survey of the above discussion (in the text) regarding Lakṣmadeva's conflicts with the kings of Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Cola will make it clear that they were

Bârbara, assisted by the brother of the king of Antaradeśa, opposed him on the bank of the Sarasvatî, but was defeated and brought under control.(1) The Râkṣasas were, no doubt, wild hill tribes dwelling in the mountains of Gujarat. Lakṣmadeva is credited with a victory over the Timiṅgalas and other monsters who resided in the Mainâka mountain(2) on the west. The Mahâbhârata locates this mountain on the western border of India, in or near Gujarat.(3) The Timiṅgalas were probably one of those hill-tribes who were subjugated by Siddharâja.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS.

Lakṣmadeva's achievement on the north was not less glorious than his victories in other directions. Verse 54 of the Nagpur inscription records that(4) - "being encamped on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu, which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron-filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turuṣkas, whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kîra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvati, was eloquent beyond measure, and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage."

The Vaṅkṣu was an arm or small branch of the Ganges,(5)

Footnote (5) continued.
not, after all, beyond the range of probability. A large number of Hoysaḷa inscriptions record that Jagaddeva, the emperor of Mâlava, advanced up to Mysore in his military campaigns.

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(1) Dvyâśraya, Sarga XII, pp.113-114. (2) E.I., Vol.II, pp.187-188, vs.50-51.
(3) Chapter LXXXXIX.
(4) khelotkhâta-Turuṣka-datta-vilasad-vâhâvalî-vellana
-klâmyat-kuṅkuma-kesarâdhika-mṛdau Vaṃkṣûpakaṇṭha-sthale |
Yenâvâsya Sarasvatî-savidhatâ sâdhikya-vâk-pâṭavas
câṭun utkaṭa-(pa)tri-pañjara-gataḥ Kîrâdhipo 'dhyâpyata ||
(E.I., Vol. II, p. 188).
(5) M. Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary.

which cannot now be identified. Sarasvatî is evidently the name of the river in the Punjab, which rises in the Sirmur hills, known as the Sewalik, in the Himalayan ranges, and enters the plains at Ad-Bardi in Ambala. It receives as tributaries the Markanda and other streams, and joins the Gaggar near the village of Rasula[1]. The Brahma-Saṃhitâ mentions the Kîras as a people inhabiting the country to the north-east together with the Kashmiras.[2] The Baijnath inscription[3] records that there was a family who ruled in Kîragrama. The king Laksmaṇa of this family was ruling in 804 A.D.[4] Kîragrama is the modern Kṛgaon, a small town on the east of Kangra, about thirty miles east of Kat-Kangra. The name of the locality itself suggests that there was a settlement of Kîras. The Kîras mentioned in the Nagpur inscription were apparently those living in the Kangra District, nearly a hundred miles south of which the river Sarasvati flows. The names of the successors of Laksmaṇa are not known. But the existence of the Kîras as a ruling dynasty can be traced from the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The Pâla Dharmapâla (780-815 A.D.) defeated the Kîras.[5] The Candella Yaśovarman (925-950, A.D.) obtained an image of Vaikuntha from the Kîra Sâhi, who received it from the ruler of Bhoṭa.[6] Sâhilladeva, the king of Chamba, who flourished in the second quarter of the eleventh century A.D., is described as a "blazing fire of the Kîra forces fanned as by the wind by the Durgara lord, assisted by the Saumatika."[7] When the Kalacuri Karṇa (1042-1072 A.D.) gave full play to his heroism, the Kîra stayed at home like a parrot in a cage.[8]

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(1) For further information, see J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 51.

(2) XIV, 29.

(3) E.I., Vol. I, p. 163.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Gauḍa-lekha-mâlâ, p. 14.

(6) E.I., Vol. I, p. 129, v. 63.

(7) I.A., Vol. XVII, pp. 8-9.

(8) E.I., Vol. II, p. 15 v. 15.

In the third decade of the eleventh century A.D., a part of the Kangra District was included in the empire of Ghaznî. The fort of Nagarkot (the modern city of Kangra, about 30 miles north-west of Kiragaon), was conquered by Mahmûd in 1008-1009 A.D.(1) In 1043 A.D., a confederacy of the Hindus, under the leadership of the Râjâ of Delhi, wrested Nagarkot from a Muhammadan governor.(2) About this time Lahore was the centre of the Muhammadan rule in India. Its governor, Nûshtigîn, reconquered Nagarkot in 1051 A.D.(3) This was the easternmost Muhammadan possession in India during this period. The existence of such a fearful enemy so far within the Kangra District was certainly a source of danger to the safety of the Kîras. The Nagpur inscription, as we have already seen, tells us that Laksmadeva eradicated the Turuskas (khelotkhâta), and then encamped on the banks of the Vankṣu. This clearly shows that he did not repel any aggressive operations on the part of the Muhammadans, but drove them off from some of their settlements. It may be that he wrested Nagarkot from them, ~~Nagarkot~~ and freed the Kîra land from their domination. If this supposition is correct, it will be easy to understand why the Kîras who were shut up in a big cage made a flattering speech in his honour.

Laksmadeva was a gallant soldier and an astute military leader. The name of Jagaddeva is still fresh in the memory of the people of Western India for his high military skill. He was undoubtedly a towering figure of the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D., and, like a meteor, flashed across the horizon of Central India for a short time, and then disappeared, leaving behind him everlasting fame. Worthy son of his family as he was, he succeeded in exalting the position of the Paramâras to the foremost rank among imperial powers, after it had suffered so many vicissitudes in the course of the last few decades.

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(1) Elliot - History of India, Vol. II, App. p. 444.

(2) Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, pp. 118 ff.

(3) Ibid, p. 132.

The Belava grant of Bhojavarman records that Jagadvijaya-malla, son of Udayi, gave his daughter Mâlavya Devî, in marriage to Sâmalavarman, king of East Bengal.(1)

Lakṣmadeva closed his reign some time before 1094 A.D., and was succeeded by his younger brother Naravarman.

NARAVARMAN

Naravarman assumed the epithet of Nirvâṇa-Nârâyaṇa. Six inscriptions of his reign have so far been discovered.

(1) A slab of stone containing an inscription(2) was found near a tank situated about a mile to the south of Udayapur, in the Bhilsa District. It records the construction of a tank in

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(1) Vîraśriyâm ajani Sâmalavarmma-devaḥ
Śrîmân-jagat-prathama-maṅgala-nâmadheyaḥ
kim-varṇṇayâmy akhila-bhûpa-guṇopapanno
doṣairmmanâg api padaṃ na kṛtaḥ prabhur mme 9.
TasyOdayî sûnur abhût prabhûta-durvvâra - vîreṣv api saṅga
-reṣu /
Yaś-candrahâsa-pratibimbitaṃ svam ekaṃ mukhaṃ
sammukham îkṣate sma ||
Tasya Mâlavyadevy â+sît kanyâ trailokya-sundarî
Jagadvijayamallâya vaijayantî manobhuvaḥ ||(11)
(J.A.S.B., Vol. X, p. 127 (new series)

Mr. R. G. Basak thinks "Jagadvijayamalla" is an adjective of "Manobhu" (E.I., Vol. XII, p. 42). Mr. R.D. Banerji supports Dr. H.P. Śâstrî, who takes it to be a proper name. Mr. Banerji suggests that "tasyaOdayî sûnur", in line 17, is a mistake for "tathOdayî sûnur". In my opinion Dr. Śâstrî is right in his assertion, as it is known from other sources that Udayâditya had a son, Jagaddeva. (J.A.S.B. Vol. X, p. 125. (N.5.))

(2) A.S.I., 1923-24, p. 135 (unpublished).

V.S. 1151 = 1094 A.D., when Naravarman was ruling his kingdom. The tank was evidently the very one close to which the record was discovered.

(ii) The stone inscription[1], found in Nagpur, has often been referred to above. It states that, in V.S. 1161 = 1104 A.D. the king made a gift of the village Mokhalapâṭaka in addition to the two villages granted by his brother Lakṣmadeva, in Vyâpuramaṇḍala. It was probably dedicated to the maintenance of the temple which the inscription next refers to. Mokhalapâṭaka cannot be identified now.

(iii) Colonel Tod discovered an inscription on a marble stone at Madhukaraghar in Harauti (modern Bundi State)[2]. It describes the predecessors of Naravarman as being Sindhula, Bhoja and Udayâditya, and records the construction of a temple of Śiva by the illustrious Haradeva at Banjsthân, which lay in the extremity of the Dakhin and Udicya deśa. The inaugural ceremony of the temple was performed in Sam, 1164 = A.D. 1107, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Haradeva was the son of the learned Mahâdeva and the grandson of Rudrâditya. He takes pride in having increased the glory of the king Naravarman, and was probably an important officer of the latter's government. Colonel Tod is of the opinion that the name Madhukaragha was subsequently given to this Banjsthân. The Dakṣinadeśa and the Udicyadeśa were separated by the Madhyadeśa, in which Malwa was situated. Hence nothing ~~can be determined~~ regarding the precise localisation of Banjsthân can be determined from ~~from the description of~~ the inscription. It may be assumed that the temple on which the stone inscription was affixed was not very far from Madhukaraghar. The locality may be identified with the modern Bundi State[3].

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(1) E.I., Vol. II, p. 180.

(2) Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 226. The facsimile of the inscription is not available.

(3) It is suggested that the country was named Bundi after a Mînâ chieftain called Bûnda, who flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D. (Imp. Gaz. of India, Vol. IX, p. 87.)

(iv) A copper-plate inscription,[1] recently discovered, is a deed for granting several plots of land, situated in the village of Kadambapadraka, in the pratijâgaraṇaka of Mandâraka, in the Upendrapura maṇḍala. The province was under the charge of Mahâmaṇḍalika Râjyadeva, who was an officer of Naravarman. The recipient was Dviveda Âśâdhara, son of Dîkṣita Devaśarman and the grandson of Dviveda Nârâyaṇa. The lands were granted piecemeal on different occasions. On one occasion the king made a gift of twenty plough-measures, and on another, in Saṃ. 1159 = 1102 A.D., Râjyadeva granted ten plough-measures and his wife Mahâdevî gave four ploughs. The whole record was issued in Saṃ. 1167 = 1110, A.D. The localities mentioned above cannot be identified.

(v) On the outskirts of the town of Bhilsa there is an old mosque known as Bijamandira. On one of its pillars there is an inscription[2] of the reign of Naravarman, in which he is given the epithet of Nirvâṇa-Nârâyaṇa. It records that it was by the grace of the Goddess Cacikâ (or Carcikâ) that the lord of Dhârâ assumed the sovereignty of the earth. She was the favourite goddess of Naravarman, who bestowed ~~on him~~ all the qualities of a good ruler. This suggests that the present building was originally a temple of Carcikâ which was subsequently converted into a mosque.

(vi) In the Bhojaśâlâ at Dhârâ there is a short inscription[3] representing Naravarman as a defender of religion. ~~and letters.~~

WAR WITH THE CANDELLAS.

Notwithstanding the discovery of so many inscriptions of the reign of this monarch, our knowledge of his political career is very meagre. Some documents of the neighbouring dynasties, however, throw a ray of light upon the period under review. It has been noticed

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, (Western Circle), 1921, p. 54. (unpublished).

(2) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1914 p. 59, (unpublished). (3) J.Bo.Br., XXI, p. 351.

in the foregoing chapter, that Bhoja entered into a war with the Candella Vidyâdhara. Vidyâdhara was succeeded by Vijayapâla (1040-1050 A.D.), Devavarman (1050-1065 A.D.), and Kîrtivarman (1065-1100 A.D.). With none of them are the Paramâras known to have made war. Kîrtivarman was succeeded by Sallakṣaṇavarman (1100-1110 A.D.), who was evidently a contemporary of Naravarman. The Candella kingdom was next to that of the Paramâras. Udayapur, which was an important centre of the Paramâra government, was in the Bhâillasvâmi mahâdvâdaśaka.(1) The Candella Madanavarman made a grant of land in 1134 A.D., while residing in Bhâillasvâmi.(2) Sallakṣaṇavarman entered into hostilities with Naravarman and won a victory over him. An inscription from Ajaigarh(3) tells us that he took away the fortune of the Mâlavas and the Cedis.

WAR WITH THE COḶAS.

Naravarman seems to have come into conflict with the Coḷas and suffered a reverse. The Vikrama-Coḷan-Ulâ tells us that Vikrama Coḷa (1118-1133 A.D.) defeated the kings of Siṃhala, Koṅkaṇa and Mâḷava.(4)

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

After Udayâditya's victory over the Caulukya Karṇa there was a temporary cessation of the struggles between Gujarat and Malwa. Karṇa's successor, Jayasiṃha-Siddharâja (1096-1145 A.D.), was very young when he ascended the throne of Anhilwara, in 1196 A.D. His mother, Mayaṇalladevî, became ~~the~~ regent and managed the affairs of the state for some time. Shortly after his assumption of the charge of government for himself, the quarrel with Malwa broke out again with renewed intensity. Merutuṅga tells us that,(5) when Siddharâja was absent from Gujarat on a pilgrimage, the Mâlava king Yaśovarman invaded his kingdom. The Caulkya minister Sântû, who was in charge of the government, realising the weakness of his position, submitted to the

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1914, p. 59. (2) Ibid.

(3) E.I., Vol. I, p. 326. (4) I.A., Vol. XXII, p. 143.

(5) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 85, ff.

invader on humiliating terms. On his return to Gujarat, Siddharâja severely blamed the minister for his conduct and at once ordered an army to be assembled for the invasion of Malwa. Thus a war broke out with the Paramâras which continued for twelve years, and ended in the defeat and capture of Yaśovarman. It will be shown below that the Yaśovarman fell a captive to the Caulukya king in 1136 A.D., after a short reign of three years. Hence, if Merutuṅga is right in his assertion, it was evidently Naravarman who overran Gujarat during Siddharâja's absence, somewhere about the year 1124 A.D.

Jinamaṇḍana's Kumârapâla-prabandha relates that Siddharâja made a vow that when he had killed Naravarman he would use his skin to make a scabbard for his sword. The war continued for twelve years, and ended in the defeat and capture of Narvarman. Siddharâja, however, did not fulfil his vow, as he was told by his ministers that kings were not to be killed. It is doubtful whether the Caulukya king really did succeed in capturing Naravarman, although there is no doubt that the latter was defeated. An inscription (1) records that Siddharâja made himself glorious by destroying the power of Naravarman.

All these reverses sustained by Malwa undoubtedly prove the degeneration of its military strength in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. Neither Naravarman nor his successors could do anything towards the restoration of its former glory. Hence, within a very short time, a most serious calamity again overtook the Paramâras, and led to the extinction of their political power for a long time to come.

Naravarman was himself a poet and a patron of those who devoted their lives to literary activities, giving them both sympathy and material support. He composed many hymns and verses. (2) He built many temples, though few remains of them can be traced now. According to the evidence of epigraphic records, he carried on his architechtural activities in Nagpur (3) and Bhilsa. (4)

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(1) Unpublished. (2) E.I. Vol. II, p. 188.

(3) E.I. II, p. 188. (4) Progress Report, (W.C.) 1914, p. 59.

Momalā-devī, Naravarman's queen, bore him a son named Yaśovarman,(1) who succeeded his father in 1133 A.D.(2)

YAŚOVARMAN.

In the year Sam. 1191 = 1134 A.D., on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of his deceased father Naravarman, Yaśovarman, from the imperial city of Dhārā, granted the two villages of Vaḍauda and Uthavanaka to the householder Dhanapāla, a Karṇāṭa Brahman, whose grandfather Ṭhakkura Mahirasvāmin, came to Ujjain from the place called Adrelav(i)ddhāvarī. The first of these two villages belonged to Surāsaṇī and the second to Uthavaṇaka. Both Surāsaṇī and Uthavaṇaka were again attached to Rājaśayana-bhoga, which was in the Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala.(3)

A copper-plate inscription,(4) with the sign-manual of Śrīmad-Yaśovarmmadeva, was issued in the dark half of the month of Mārgaśira, of the year Sam. 1192 = November 1135. Certain measures of land in Devalapāṭaka were formerly granted to two persons. On the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of the illustrious Momala-devī, Yaśovarman, having ~~changed that, gave~~ altered the previous arrangement, gave instead the village of Laghuvaimgaṇapadra and the half of the village of Ṭhikkarikā to the same grantees. Ṭhakkura Vāmanasvāmi and the Mahāpradhāna, the Rajāputra Devadhara were dūtakas.

The localities mentioned above cannot be indentified.

Yaśovarman ascended the throne of Malwa at the time when almost all its military resources were exhausted by the long-protracted war with the Caulukyas of Gujarat. He was not a capable military leader, nor had he the keen perception of a veteran statesman, which was so badly needed by the Paramāra house in those dark days ~~for the arrest~~ of its rapid decline. Hence it was evident that Malwa was again going to suffer a terrible disaster.

Vijayapāla seems formerly to have ~~formerly~~ been a governor of the Paramāras of Dhārā. He administered the territories in and around the modern village of Ingnoda, in the Dewas State. Shortly before the death of Naravarman, he appears to have deserted his overlord and

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(1) I.A., XIX, p. 349. (2) Ibid.

(3) I.A., Vol. XIX. p. 351. (4) Ibid, p. 348.

declared his independence. An inscription[1] of his reign, dated Sam. 1190, Âṣâḍha = June, 1133 A.D., has been discovered on the wall of a newly built temple at Ingnoda. It records that Mahârâjâdhirâja-Parameśvara Śrî - Vijayapâla, son of M.P. Śrî-Tihunapâla, grandson of M.P. Śrî Pṛthvîpâla, granted the village Agasiyaka to the God Gohaḍeśvara, in the pathaka of Imgaṇapaṭa - South, Imgaṇapaṭa is evidently the modern Ingnoda, where the record has been discovered. The inscription clearly shows that the disintegration of the Paramâra kingdom had begun since the latter part of the reign of Naravarman. But still more terrible calamities were awaiting Yaśovarman.

About this time the Paramâras were troubled by an invasion of the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî. Câhamâna Durlabha, who helped Udayâditya against the Caulukyas, was succeeded by Vigraharâja III, Pṛthvîrâja and Ajayarâja (or Jayadeva). A stone inscription[2] found in Adhaidinka Jhonpra, Ajmer, reports that Ajayarâja conquered the country up to Ujjain. The Pṛthvîrâja vijaya[3] tells us that Ajayarâja attacked and defeated Salhaṇa, the king of Mâlava. The Bijolian inscription[4] of Someśvara, dated 1169 A.D., reports that Jayadeva captured the daṇḍanâyaka Sulhaṇa in the ~~field of~~ battle-field, tied him to the back of a camel, and brought him to Ajmer. Ajayarâja flourished sometime before 1139 A.D., which is the earliest known date of his successor Arṇorâja. The Mâlava king, who was his contemporary, was either Naravarman or Yaśovarman. Hence, the Bijolian inscription seems to be correct in describing Sulhaṇa as a daṇḍanâyaka.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Hemacandra was a contemporary of both Siddharâja and Yaśovarman. He relates[5] that, once upon a time, a "Yoginî" (a female asiatic) came to Siddharâja from Ujjain, and advised him to go to that holy city to worship Kâlikâ and other Yoginîs, if he were desirous of acquiring high religious merit. She impressed upon him the necessity

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(1) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 55.

(2) It is now in the Ajmer Museum and has not yet been edited.

(3) 5th sarga, V. 85.

(4) J.A.S.B., Vol. LV. p. 41, v. 15. cf. J. R.A.S., 1913, p. 272. footnote 5.

(5) Dvyâśraya, Sarga XIV, vs. 5-74.

of establishing friendly relations with Yaśovarman, in order to obtain permission to enter Malwa. At this Siddharâja became incensed, and replied that he would secure his entrance there by force of arms and would take Yaśovarman prisoner. The Gujarat army then marched towards Malwa under his command. He was accompanied by the Nadola king Âśarâja (1) and by a Bhîl chieftain, whose assistance was of great value to him in that mountainous region. He reached the outskirts of the city of Ujjain without much difficulty, and pitched his camp on the bank of the Sipra. Yaśovarman offered a gallant opposition, but was defeated and taken prisoner. The whole of Avantideśa with Ujjain fell into the hands of Jayasiṃha, and was annexed to the Gujarat empire.

Merutuṅga does not say anything in particular about Jayasiṃha's conquest of Ujjain. He relates (2) that the king laid siege to the fort of Dhârâ, but having failed to capture it, was making arrangements to retreat. In the meantime his minister Muñjala managed to procure the information that a careful attack on the southern gate of the fort, which offered the weakest defence, stood a good chance of achieving success. Jayasiṃha, as soon as he heard this, rushed with his elephant force to this spot, and after a strenuous effort succeeded in capturing the city. Yaśovarman capitulated and fell a captive to the Caulukya monarch. After this event the supremacy of Jayasiṃha was established over Malwa.

Though the accounts of these two Jaina scholars differ somewhat in detail, there is a general agreement between them regarding Siddharâja's complete success over Yaśovarman, which finds strong corroboration in many ancient records. The Sukṛtasaṃkîrtana (3) tells us that Jayasiṃha imprisoned Yaśovarman, the king of Dhârâ. Both the Surathotsava (4) and the Kîrtikaumudî (5) of Someśvara relate that

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 26. (2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp.85-86.

(3) Sarga XI, v. 34. (4) Grantha-Praśasti, vs. 31-33.

(5) Sarga II.

Jayasiṃha defeated the Paramâras, conquered Dhârâ, the city of Naravarman, and threw its lord into a wooden cage.(1) The Dohad inscription of the reign of Jayasiṃha, dated 1139 and 1145 A.D., informs us that the king cast the lords of Saurâṣṭra and Mâlava into prison. The Vadnagar praśasti of Kumârapâla,(2) dated 1151 A.D., states that Jayasiṃha fettered the proud king of Mâlava.(3) The Prabandha caturviñjati relates that Jayasiṃha, after his conquest of Mâlava, subdued the kingdoms of the south, viz, Mahârâṣṭra, Tilaṅga, Karṇâṭa and Pâṇḍya. The Sundha hill inscription of Câcigadeva(4) records that Jayasiṃha secured assistance from the Câhamâna Âśârâja, Chief of Nadol, in his war against Mâlava.

Siddharâja's victory over the king of Malwa was more than a mere military raid. He incorporated the country into his own empire by the complete overthrow of the Paramâra government. Merutuṅga says(5) that Siddharâja did not allow Mâlava to remain with Yaśovarman, but established his sovereignty there. A large number of Caulukya grants(6) of different dates, ranging from V.S. 1263 to 1299, designate Siddharâja as the lord of Avanti (Avanti-nâtha), Mahâdeva, son of Damḍa Dâdâka of the Nâgara race, was appointed governor of the province of Avanti by Siddharâja.(7) A stone inscription of Jayasiṃha, dated V.S. 1195 = 1138 A.D., found at Ujjain, tells us that the king,

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(1) Yena Kârâgṛhe kṣiptau Saurâṣṭra-Mâlaveśvarau (I.A., Vol X, p. 159, v.2).

(2) dṛpyan-Mâlava-bhûpa-baṃdhana-vidhi-trastâkhila-kṣmâpatir
bhakty-âkṛṣṭa-vitîrṇa-darśana-Śiva(mû)tta-pra(bh)âvodayaḥ |
Sadya siddha-rasânṛṇîkṛta-jagad-gîtâpamâna-sthitir
jajñe Śrî-Jayasiṃha-deva-nṛpaṃtiḥ Siddhâdhirajis-tataḥ II v.II
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 297.) Read śivo mûrtta; sadyaḥ; jagad-gîtopamâna; nṛpatiḥ; Siddhâdhirâjas.

(3) Mâlava-deśa-svâyattîkaraṇânantaraṃ Dakṣiṇâpathe
Mahârâṣṭra-Tilaṅga-Karṇâṭa-Pâṇḍyâdi-râṣṭrâṇy-asâdhayat.
(I.A., Vol. XII, p. 200, Footnote 13.)

(4) Śrî-Âśârâja-nâmâ samajanivasudhâ-nâyakas tasya vaṃ(baṃ)dhuḥ
sâhâyyaṃ Mâlavânâṃ bhuvi yadasi-kṛtaṃ vîkṣya Siddhâdhirâjaḥ |
(E.I., Vol.IX, p.76, v. 26.) (5) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 87.115

(6) I.A. Vol. VI, pp. 191. (7) I.A., Vol. XLII, p. 258.

having defeated Yaśovarman, was holding Avanti-maṇḍala by force, and Mahâdeva was administering it on his behalf. As regards Yaśovarman, it is related that, within a short time, he managed to escape from the prison of Gujarat, with the help of the Câhamânas of Ajmer. He seems to have come to terms with Jayasiṃha, and eventually, to have ruled in Dhârâ, or in some other part of Malwa, as his vassal. In his inscription, dated V.S. 1191, he is described as "Mahârâjâdhirâja", a designation denoting an independent sovereign, but in a record issued a year later, in V.S. 1192, he is found to assume the subordinate title of "Mahârâja". This apparently means that by the time the latter inscription was issued he had lost his position as a paramount sovereign. At any rate Malwa became part and parcel of the Gujarat empire between the years V.S. 1191 and 1193, the latter being the earliest known date of the inscription[1] of Jayasiṃha, glorifying him as the lord of Avanti.

Malwa was not the only country that was annexed to the Caulukya kingdom during this period. Its northern boundary was extended up to Southern Marwar, where the Câhamânas of Nadol acknowledged the sway of Jayasiṃha.[2] But this monarch's imperial policy ultimately failed. He could not lead a happy and glorious life in the later years of his reign. His ~~feudatory~~ vassal, the Câhamâna Âśarâja, revolted against him.[3] Katu deva, the son of Âśarâja, is found ruling southern Marwar independently of the control of the Anhilwara government.[4] But prior to this the Paramâras of Malwa seem to have seceded from his control. The Dohad inscription[5] relates that Jayasiṃha appointed a commander for Dadhipadra and other districts (modern Dohad in Panchmahal, between Malwa and Gujarat), probably, as Professor Bühler remarks,[6] "in order to protect the high road to Mandu and Dhar - to keep it clear for his own troops, and to guard against incursions from this side." That Avanti was lost to Jayasiṃha is shown by the fact that his successor Kumârapâla, immediately after his accession to the throne, had to reconquer it from the lord of Ujjain.[7]

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(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXV, p. 322. (2) E.I., Vol. XI, p. 32.

(3) Ibid, Vol. IX, p. 76. (4) Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 34.

(5) I.A., Vol. X, p. 161. (6) Ibid, p. 162.

(7) Dvyâśraya Sargas XVI-XIX.

JAYAVARMAN.

Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Jayavarman, who declared himself to be an independent sovereign by the assumption of the title Mahârâjâdhirâja.(1) This prince probably liberated his paternal territory from the domination of the Gurjaras some time about 1138 A.D. An undated inscription(2) of his reign has been discovered. In this record, issued from his residence at Vardhamânapura, he informs the officials and the people concerned that, while residing at Candrapurî, he has granted the village of Mâyamoḍaka, in the "Vaṭa-kheṭaka - Thirty-six", to a person living at Râjabrahmapurî, who had emigrated from Adriyalavidâvari in the Dakṣiṇadeśa. The localities mentioned in the record cannot be identified.

Although Jayavarman succeeded in liberating his kingdom from the yoke of subordination, he could not long maintain his authority over it. The imperial power of the Paramâras had already been shattered, and Jayavarman could make no real attempt to recover his military power. Malwa was threatened with invasion from other quarters. The Candella Madanavarman (1128-1163 A.D.), a nephew of Narvarman's adversary Sallakṣaṇavarman,(3) attacked Mâlava about this time. The Mau inscription(4) of his reign registers the fact that he quickly overcame the king of Mâlava, who was full of arrogance. The Câḷukya Vikramâditya VI was succeeded by Someśvara III (1128-1138 A.D.), and Jagadekamalla II (1139-1149 A.D.). Jagadekamalla, at the head of a large army, fell upon Mâlava. Jayavarman could not withstand the onslaught of this powerful enemy. He seems to have been severely defeated and killed on the battle-field. An inscription,(5) dated about 1157 A.D., records that Jagadekamalla destroyed the Mâlava king. Another inscription,(6) dated 1158 A.D., states that he left Mâlava without possession. A third inscription,(7) dated about 1165 A.D.,

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(1) I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 350. (2) I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 350.

(3) I.A., Vol. XXXVIII, p. 127.

(4) Yenauddhatyaṃ dadhânaḥ sa ca sapadi samunmûlito Mâlaveśa -
Ś-tanvanto yatra bhaktiṃ paraṃ avani-bhujaḥ svâsthyam anye ca bhejuḥ |
(E.I., Vol. I, p. 198, v. 15.)

(5) Mysore Inscription, p. 58. (6) Ibid, p. 153.

(7) Ibid, p. 61.

registers the fact that he utterly despoiled the wealth of the Mâlava king. In this expedition Jagadekamalla seems to have been helped by his feudatory Hoysala Narasimha I, son of Visnuvardhana. An inscription[1], dated about 1150 A.D., reports that Narasimha overcame the Mâlava king. The Hunsur inscription[2], dated 1162 A.D., corroborates this fact and adds that his sword longed to devour the Mâlava king. The fact that Jayavarman lost his throne and kingdom is indirectly evidenced by the Bhopal grant[3] of Udayavarman. It relates that Laksmîvarman obtained the sovereignty by force, after the reign of Jayavarman had passed away.

The imperial Paramâra government thus suffered another terrible disaster, and this time had to remain without any political power for about a quarter of a century. This event must have occurred some time before 1143 A.D., the earliest known date of Laksmîvarman. After Jayavarman, a king named Ballâla held sway over Mâlava.[4] Nothing is known about his pedigree, and how he came to acquire his

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(1) E.C., Vol. IV, K, P. 32, Introduction p. 21.

(2) Ibid, H.S., No. 137, cf. Ng, No. 30, dated 1164 A.D.

(3) I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 254.

(4) Some are inclined to think that Ballâla is identical with Jayavarman (Downfall of Hindu India, Vol. III, p. 173, C.V. Vaidya). According to Merutunga's Vicârasrenî, the Caulukya Jayasimha died in Sam. 1199, Kârttika sudi 3, and his successor's cornnation took place in Sam. 1199, Mârgasira, sudi 4. We have valid reason to doubt the correctness of the above dates. Colonel Tod says that he found an inscription, which records that the Sahasralinga temple was completed by Jayasimha in Sam. 1202 (Travels in Western India, p. 142). The Dohad inscription, of the reign of Jayasimha, contains the dates Sam. 1196 and 1202 (I.A., Vol. X, p. 159). Professor Bühler, relying entirely on Merutunga's account, asserts that the latter portion of the Dohad inscription was a subsequent addition, made after the death of Jayasimha (ibid, p. 162). He further suggests that "a careful examination of the stone and of the letters would be necessary in order to decide if the pillar, on which the Dohad inscription is

his kingdom. This name was very common among the Hoysaḷas of Mysore. He might have been a scion of the Hoysaḷa dynasty, and have gained his fortune when Jayavarman was overthrown by the combined forces of the Hoysaḷas and the Cāḷukyas. Ballāḷa, however, did not enjoy his fortune for long. He soon came into conflict with the Gujarat sovereign Kumārapāla, by whom he was defeated and killed.(1) Kumārapāla then conquered Mālava. Thus, through the inscrutable ways of Destiny, Malwa again became a province of the Caulukyas, who this time established their authority over it on a firmer basis. During this period the imperial Paramāra dynasty became lost in obscurity. There was no longer a "Udayāditya" in Malwa who could offer a strong resistance to the forces of the Caulukyas. Hence the inevitable consequences followed. The Paramāras remained submerged in the depths of the deluge that flooded Malwa for a long period of years.

(Footnote 1 contd.)
is engraved, belonged to the temple of Goganārāyaṇa or not, and if the letters of the last lines show any little differences from those of the first ten." (ibid.). Mr. Burgess remarks that "rubbing shows no marked difference; but it is apparently made with a pencil, and is not quite satisfactory." (ibid, footnote 1). The Bali stone inscription (E.I., Vol. XI, pp. 32-33) records that Jayasiṃha was ruling in Saṃ. 1200. It is obvious from this that Merutuṅga is wrong in fixing Saṃ. 1199 as the date of the death of Jayasiṃha. This leaves no ground for doubting that the latter portion of the Dohad inscription, containing the date Saṃ. 1202, was issued during the reign of Jayasiṃha. The earliest known date of Jayasiṃha's successor, Kumārapāla, is Saṃ. 1202, Āśvina (Prakrit and Saṅskrit inscription of Kattywar p. 158). He must have ascended the throne about this time. The defeat and death of Ballāḷa must have happened after this. Hence, he cannot by any means be identified with Jayavarman, whose reign came to an end before 1143 A.D.

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(1) Dvyāśraya, sarga XIX; vide postø, chapt. IX, p.274

CHAPTER VI.

Kumârapâla, after the annexation of Malwa, turned his attention to its internal administration. He seems to have divided the country into a number of provinces, which he administered through his governors. The charge of the eastern division was entrusted to the Mahâsâdhanika Râjyapâla, whose headquarters were at Udayapur in Bhilsa.(1) In 1163 A.D., when this chief was in office, a certain personage named Vasantapâla made some donations for the maintenance of the temple of Udaleśvara at the town of Udayapur.(2) Kumârapâla died in 1172 A.D., and was succeeded by Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A.D.). During his reign Lûṇapasâka was in charge of the government of this province.(3) In 1172 A.D., Lûṇapasâka, for the spiritual benefit of his father, granted the village of Umaratha, situated in the Pathaka known as Bhṛmgârikâ-Catuḥaaṣṭi, in favour of the God Vaidyanâtha, at Udayapur.(4) Here the record describes Udayapur as being situated in the province (maṇḍala) of Bhâillasvâmi-mahâdvâdaśaka (modern Bhilsa). This settles the eastern limit of the kingdom over which the Caulukyas asserted their supremacy in the third quarter of the twelfth century A.D. During this period, though the imperial dynasty of the Paramâras was lost in obscurity, some of its junior branches continued to rule over the old Parmâra kingdom south of the Vindhya mountains. Their ruling chiefs assumed the titles "Samâdhigata pañca-mahâ-śabd-âlaṃkâra-virâjamâna-mahâkumâra".(5) This means that they were great princes who attained the five "mahâ-śabdas". The following are the sources of evidence from which we may reconstruct their history:

A. The copper-plate grant of the Mahârâja Yaśovarmadeva,(6) dated V.S. 1192 = 1135 A.D.

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(1) I.A., Vol. XVIII, p. 343. (2) Ibid, pp. 342-43.

(3) Ibid, p. 347. (4) Ibid.

(5) I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 352. (6) Ibid, p. 348.

B. The copper-plate grant of the Mahârâjâdhirâja, Jayavarmadeva.[1]
The genealogy given is -

P.M.P. Udayâditya
:
P.M.P. Narvarman
:
P.M.P. Yaśovarman
:
P.M.P. Jayavarman.

C. The copper-plate grant of the Mahâkumâra Laksmîvarmadeva,[2] dated Sam. 1200 = 1144 A.D. The kings mentioned are -

P.M.P. Udayâditya
:
P.M.P. Narvarman
:
P.M.P. Yaśovarman
:
Mahakumara Laksmîvarman.

Here the name of Jayavarman is omitted.

D. The Piplianagar grant[3] of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandradeva, dated Sam. 1235 = 1178 A.D. In this, the genealogy is given thus -

P.M.P. Udayâditya
:
P.M.P. Narvarman
:
P.M.P. Yaśovarman
:
P.M.P. Jayavarman
:
Mahâkumara Hariścandra, son of Laksmîvarman.

Hariścandra is mentioned in the record as having obtained his territory through the favour of Jayavarman.[4] Laksmîvarman does not appear in it among the succeeding rulers. He is merely referred to in the concluding line of the inscription as the father of Hariścandra.

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(1) ~~Ibid~~, J.A.S.B. VII, p. 348. (2) Ibid, p. 351.

(3) J.A.S.B. Vol. VII, p. 736.

(4) ... Śrî-Yaśovarmmadeva - pâdânudhyâta-parama-bhaṭṭâraka -mahârâjâdhirâja-parameśvara-śrî-Jayavarmmadeva ity etasmât pṛṣṭhatama-prabhoḥ prasâdâd avâpta-nijâdhipatyaḥ samasta-praśastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śabdâlaṃkâra-virâja-mâna-mahâ-kumâra-śrî-Hariścandra-devaḥ..... iti.
sva-hasto 'yaṃ-mahâ-kumâra-Śrî-Laksmîvarmmadeva-suta-mahâ-kumâra-Śrî-Hariścandra-deva-Paramâra-kula-kamala-kamala bandhoḥ ॥ (J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, pp. 737, 739).

E. The Bhopal grant of the Mahâkumâra Udayavarmadeva,[1] dated Sam. 1256 = 1199 A.D. The kings referred to are -

P.M.P. Yaśovarman
:
P.M.P. Jayavarman
:
Mahâkumâra Lakṣmîvarman
:
Mahâkumâra Udayavarman

It is stated that after the conclusion of the reign of Jayavarman, Lakṣmîvarman obtained the sovereignty for himself by force of arms.[2] He was succeeded by Hariścandra's son Udayavarman. Hariścandra is not mentioned here as a successor of Lakṣmîvarman but merely as the father of Udayavarman.

F. The inscription of Arjunavarman, king of Dhârâ, dated 1210, 1213, 1215, A.D.[3] The pedigree is given thus -

Bhoja
:
Udayâditya
:
Naravarman
:
Yaśovarman
:
Ajayavarman
:
Vindhyavarman
:
Subhaṭavarman
:
Arjunavarman

Here Yaśovarman's successor is given as Ajayavarman and not as Jayavarman.

G. The Mandhata plate of Devapâla,[4] dated Sam. 1282 = 1225 A.D. The genealogy given here is the same as that in A, with the

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(1) I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.

(2) ... Jayavarmmadeva-râjye vyatîte nija-kara-kṛta-karavâla prasâdâvâpta-nij-âdhipatya-samasta-praśastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śavd(bd)âla(m)kâra-virâjamâna-mahâkumâra-śrîmal-Lakṣmîvarmmadeva-pâdânuddhyâta-samasta-praśastopeta-samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śavd(bd)-âlaṃkâra-virâjam(â)na-mahâkumâra-Śrî-Hariścandra-deva-suta-Śrîmad-Udayavarmadevo vijay-odayî. (I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 254.

(3) J.Am. O.S., Vol. VII, pp. 25, 32; J.A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 378.

(4) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 108.

additional information that Arjunavarman was succeeded by Devapâla, the son of Hariścandra. In his Harsauda grant[1] Devapâla assumes the title "Samadhigata-pañca-mahâ-śabda", which connects him with the Mahâkumâra family. Hence there can be no doubt that his father, Hariścandra, was the same person as the son of Laksmîvarman.

Before proceeding to build up the history of the Mahâkumâra family out of the above materials, several facts must first be carefully considered. According to the Piplianagar grant, Hariścandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman. The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that Hariścandra's father, Laksmîvarman, made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end. It evidently follows from these two statements that Laksmîvarman and his son Hariścandra ruled over separate territories.[2] This finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of

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(1) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

(2) Professor Kielhorn reviews the situation in quite a different light, and draws the following conclusions from the above materials:-

"Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman, and Laksmîvarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama Sam. 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramâra family in Mâlava, and continued to style themselves 'mahârâjas'. The third brother, Laksmîvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman, and, as stated in E, he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mâlava, which he and his son and grandson de facto ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Laksmîvarman and, after him, his son and successor, Hariścandra, looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mâlava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariścandra, in the grant D, professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Laksmîvarman and Hariścandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of Mahâkumâra, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even

Laksmîvarman without the intervention of Hariścandra, who again excludes his father Laksmîvarman - in the Piplianagar grant - as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records

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Footnote 2 contd.

Laksmîvarman's grandson Udayavarman." (I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 348).

Professor Hall propounds another theory regarding the succession that followed the death of Yaśovarman. He says:

"As Laksmîvarman sat on the throne with his sire, it is reasonable to suppose that he was the first-born. His father, Jayavarman, also speaks of himself as if a sovereign ruler. Laksmîvarman may have died while Hariścandra was still a child, and Jayavarman have acted as regent on behalf of his nephew, to whom the government eventually devolved from him; if they did not administer it conjointly. Yet it is noticeable that Jayavarman granted away land at one period precisely as if he were the sole and substantive head of the state. Possibly the extreme youth of his ward prevented his being named at the time. Laksmîvarman being mentioned by his son, under the title of 'mahâkumâra', and not as king, it may be that he deceased during the life-time of Yaśovarman. Hariścandra designates himself in a similar manner, where he would certainly have called himself without qualification, sovereign, had he laid claim to undivided power. His complete style, in fact, is that which his father used as prince regent. Policy or some other motive, may have dissuaded him from the style of full royalty, his hereditary right. It may therefore be conjectured that Jayavarman was still living in A.D. 1179." (J.Am.O.S., Vol. VII, p. 36).

With humble submission to the above two most erudite scholars of Indian history, I beg to differ from them in their views. According to the evidence of the inscriptions, there were two ruling houses of the Mahâkumâras. I am inclined to believe that Ajayavarman was the same as Jayavarman. About this time the imperial Paramâra government became obscure, and the whole of Malwa, with Dhârâ, became part of the Gujarat empire. Consideration of all these points has led me to review the subject in a different light, as ~~has been given~~ I have shown above.

will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions.

The fact that P.M.P. Jayavarman was the immediate successor of Yaśovarman is borne out by Jayavarman's own inscription, the Piplianagar grant of Hariścandra, dated 1178 A.D., and the Bhopal grant of Udayavarman, 1199 A.D. But the inscriptions of Arjunavarman and Devapâla mentioned Ajayavarman instead of Jayavarman, as the successor of Yaśovarman. This leads me to think that Jayavarman was identical with Ajayavarman. Nothing is known as to the existence of enmity between Arjunavarman's family and the house of the 'Mahâkumâras', which as Professor Kielhorn contends, prevented the former from mentioning the name of Jayavarman in the genealogical list of the ruling monarchs of Mâlava. It may rather be inferred that there was a close alliance between the two houses, which subsequently helped the peaceful succession of Devapâla, the son of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandra, to the throne of Arjunavarman. If Professor Kielhorn is taken to be right in his assertion, then no reason can be offered why Devapâla failed to mention Jayavarman's name in his inscription. ~~His father~~ Through the favour of Jayavarman, Hariścandra obtained his territory ~~through the favour of Jayavarman,~~ over which his son Devapâla ~~himself~~ probably ruled in the early years of his life. As a matter of fact, the names 'Jaya' and Ajaya' were used interchangeably in early times. The Câhamâna Jayadeva, king of Śâkambharî, was the immediate predecessor of Arṇorâja, who was a contemporary of the Caulukya Kumârapâla. He is mentioned in some of the early records of his family as Ajayadeva.(1) If all these things are taken into consideration, there can hardly be any doubt as to the identification of Jayavarman and Ajayavarman as one and the same king. Keeping these things in view, the relation of the mahâkumâras may be traced in the following way. Yaśovarman had two sons Jaya or Ajayavarman and Laksmîvarman. Jayavarman, after his accession to the throne of his father, granted some territories to Laksmîvarman's son, Hariścandra, to administer on his behalf. When Ballâla conquered Malwa after overthrowing Jayavarman, Laksmîvarman ~~wrested~~ secured by force of arms a part of the old Paramâra Kingdom and established there a government of his own. This shows that there were two houses of the Mahâkumâras which were intimately connected with each other and which

(1) J.A.S.B.Vol., LV, Part I, p. 4, v.14. Cf.Prthvîrâja-vijaya, sarga V, v. 85.

ruled over different territories.

In the light of the above discussion, I shall now try to narrate the short history of these collateral branches of the Paramâra family. The rulers of these families are justified in calling themselves 'Mahâkumâras', as they were members of the imperial house of Dhârâ. But why they continued to bear that subordinate title all through their reigns cannot be clearly explained. It may be suggested that they did not assume the title of independent kingship simply from motives of political expediency, in an endeavour to avoid hostility with their powerful enemies, the Caulukyas.

HARIŚCANDRA.

It has been noticed in the previous chapter that Jayavarman began his career as an independent monarch, and ruled his dominion between the years A.D. 1138 and 1143. At the same time, within this period, he entrusted Hariścandra with the government of a portion of his kingdom. Hariścandra continued to rule over his territory even when the imperial Paramâra family was completely overthrown by Ballâla and Malwa was later on conquered by Kumârapâla. At present we have only one copper-plate inscription of Hariścandra's reign, which was found in the village of Piplianagar, in the Sujalpur pargana, Gwalior State, Central India.(1) It was issued on the occasion of a solar eclipse in Sam. 1235 = 1178 A.D. Its object is to record that Hariścandra, having bathed in the holy water of the Narmada, near the temple of the four-faced Mârkaṇḍeśvara, granted two shares of the registered rents of the village of Palasavâḍâ to the learned Brahman Daśaratha, son of the learned Sindhu. It is further stated that, on the full moon of Vaiśâkha of the same year, he gave the remaining shares of the above village, with the addition of the shares of both customary dues from the bazaar below the fort of Guṇapura, to the Brahman Malvinu, son of the learned Delu. These grants were communicated to the Government officers, the inhabitants, patels, Brahmans and others of the villages of Mamati and Palasavâḍâ, in the Madâpadra pratijâgaraṇaka of the Nîlagiri-maṇḍala, for their information.

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(1) J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 736.

Of the localities mentioned above, I am inclined to identify Nîlagiri with the modern Nilgarh fort, south of the Vindhya, about a mile north of the Narmada.(1) Guṇapura seems to have been the modern Godupura, on the south bank of the Narmada.(2) Palasavâḍâ is to be identified with the modern town of Palaswara, in the Khandesh District, Bombay Presidency, sixty-nine miles north of Malegaon. I am unable to identify Madâpadra and Mamati.

All this gives us an idea as to what constituted the dominion of Hariścandra. It comprised the western portion of the old Paramâra kingdom, south of the Vindhya. How long Hariścandra enjoyed his territory cannot be definitely ascertained. He ruled at least from A.D. 1144 to 1178. Devapâla and Udayavarman were his two sons, of whom the former seems to have succeeded to the throne. It will be seen below that Devapâla assumed the sovereignty of Malwa between the years A.D. 1215 and 1218, after the death of Arjunavarman.

LAKṢMÎVARMAN.

Lakṣmîvarman, the son of Yaśovarman, was a powerful chief. His elder brother, Jayavarman, seems to have been killed in battle against the Câḷukyas of Karnâṭa. In that period of transition Lakṣmîvarman collected strength, and forcibly took possession of the eastern part of the Paramâra empire, south of the Vindhya. An inscription(3) of his reign has been discovered. In Sam. 1200 = 1144 A.D., on the occasion of the eclipse of the moon, he re-affirmed the grant made by Yaśovarman, Sam. 1191, with a view to increasing the religious merit of his father.

Of the localities, mentioned in the record, the village Vaḍauda may be identical with Vaḍauda of the Mandhata plate of Jayavarman II.,(4) where it is described as a village in Mahuaḍapathaka. Professor Kielhorn is inclined to identify it with the modern village of Burud, about three miles north-east of Satajuna, which lies 13 miles

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(1) Indian Atlas, Sheet No: 55B; A3.

(2) Ibid, A4. The place is also mentioned in Vâkpati-Muñjas' grant, dated V.S. 1036, Vide ante, p.48.

(3) I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 351, Vide ante, p. 154.

(4) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 121.

south-west of Mandhata.[1] As regards the rest of the localities, I cannot offer any suggestion.

Laksmîvarman died some time before 1184 A.D. and was succeeded by his grandson Udayavarman, the son of Hariścandra.

UDAYAVARMAN.

An inscription,[2] dated Sam. 1256 = 1199 A.D., of Udayavarman's reign has been discovered in a field at the village Uljamun, in the Bhopal State. It records that, after bathing in the river Revâ (Narmada), at a place called Guvâdâghaṭṭa, he granted the village of Guṇaurâ to a Brahman named Mâlûśarman, the son of Yajñadhara. The village granted was situated in Vodasirâ forty-eight, belonging to the Narmadâpura pratijâgaraṇaka, in the Vindhya-maṇḍala. The maṇḍalika ksemvarâja was the 'dûtaka' of this grant.

Mr. Fleet[3] identifies Guṇaurâ with the modern village of 'Ganora', seven miles south-west of Hoshangabad. Narmadâpura, according to him, is identical with the modern Hoshangabad District, and Guvâdâghaṭṭa is the present village of Guaria, on the left bank of the Narmada. I think the modern Nemawar, on the right ~~of the~~ bank of the Narmada, represents the ancient Narmadâpura.

An inscription[4] of the reign of one Udayâditya, dated Sam. 1241 = 1184 A.D., is now lying in Bhopal. Another inscription[5] of the same chief, dated Śaka 1108 = 1186 A.D., is to be found in the 'vidyâmandira' in Bhopal State. In the latter part of the twelfth century A.D., no king of the name of Udayâditya is known to have ruled in Bhopal. The Bhopal grant, referred to above, bears witness to the fact that, about that time, Udayavarman was ruling over the Hoshangabad District and a part of the Bhopal State. In ~~Under~~ these circumstances, Udayâditya may very reasonably be identified with Udayavarman.

The reign of Udayavarman seems to have extended into the early years of the thirteenth century A.D. Nothing is known about

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(1) ~~Ibid~~, E.I. p. 120. (2) I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.

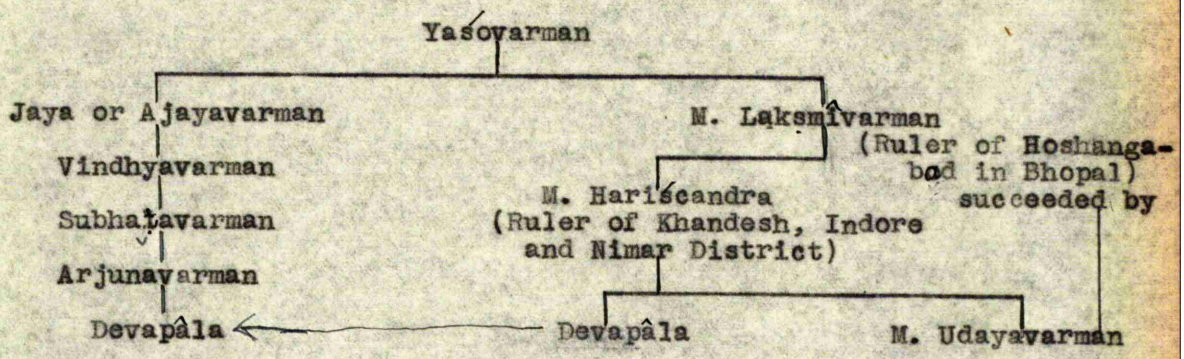
(3) Ibid, p. 253. (4) J. Am. O.S., Vol. VII, p. 35.

(5) Bhûpâle bhûmipâl-oyam-Udayâditya-pârthivah |
Tenedam nirmitam sthânam vasu-pûrneśvaraih Śakeh || (Ibid),

his successors. Devapâla, after his accession to the throne of Malwa, issued a grant of land in the Hoshangabad District,[1] in 1218 A.D. This shows that, by that time, the territory of Udayvarman had passed into his brother's hands.

From all the above circumstances, it follows that when in the fourth decade of the twelfth century A.D., the main Paramâra dynasty was overthrown, and a Gujarat sovereignty was established in its place, two junior branches of the former house under the designation of 'Mahâkumâra' continued to hold sway over the modern districts of Nimar, Hoshangabad and Khandesh. But at last, early in the thirteenth century A.D., a member of this family succeeded to the main Paramâra kingdom, and reunited these branches with the main dynasty.

The genealogy of the Mahâkumâras -



(1) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

CHAPTER VII.

VINDHYAVARMAN.

The downfall of the imperial Caulukya sovereignty in Gujarat, as a matter of fact, set in after the death of Kumârapâla in 1172 A.D. His nephew and successor Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A.D.), was not highly talented, and lacked political wisdom and commanding personality. He persecuted the Jainas, and thereby created a hostile faction in the very heart of his realm. The Jaina temples were demolished and Râmacandra, a disciple of Hemacandra (1), was roasted alive.

The king's victory over the ruler of the Sapâdalakṣa country no doubt won laurels for him, (2) but his failure in other directions was terribly disastrous. About this time the Guhila chief, Sâmantasiṃha, invaded Gujarat. In the encounter that followed Ajayapâla received a severe wound, and being disabled, left the battlefield with a broken heart. (3) The prestige of the Caulukya sovereignty was saved in that fateful war by the Paramâra Prahlâdana, Prince of Abu, whose skilful management of the army forced the enemy to retreat. (4) After a short reign of four years, in 1176 A.D., Ajayapâla lost his life at the hand of his doorkeeper, who plunged a dagger into his heart. (5) Mûlarâja II (1176-1178 A.D.), who was called Bâla-Mûlarâja on account of his extreme youth, succeeded him on the throne. (6)

RECONQUEST OF MALWA.

When the Gujarat sovereignty was represented by these weaklings, the Paramâras once more tried to regain their ancestral home of Malwa. Vindhyavarman was the son of the deposed Jayavarman, who was, in my opinion, the same as Ajayavarman. Nothing is known about his early career. When all hope of recovering his father's dominion

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 153. (2) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 186.

(3) Someśvara's Surathotsava, sarga I, v. 38.

(4) E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 202, 211, v. 38.

(5) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.

(6) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 195.

vanished he seems to have tried his fortune in the south after the death of Jagadekamalla II, in an invasion of the tottering Câḷukya empire. But his attempt was frustrated by Taila II, between the years 1150 and 1153 A.D.(1) During this period, he probably ruled in some part of Malwa south of the Vindhya mountain, or it may be that in his early days he lived as an honourable guest in the houses of the Mahâkumâras, and temporised for a fitting opportunity to fall upon the Gurjaras. The death of Kumârapâla removed a strong personality from the Anhilwar government, and the Gujarat sovereignty, as has been noticed above, fell into the hands of ~~some~~ weak rulers. The situation thus became quite favourable to the plans of Vindhyavarman, who was so anxiously watching his opportunity. He marched his army to Malwa in the early part of the reign of Mûlarâja II, and, after a strenuous campaign, recovered the whole country, with its capital, Dhârâ, from the grip of the Gurjaras. The Mandhata plate of Devapâla states that Vindhyavarman was eager to extirpate the Gurjaras, and rescued Dhârâ by force of arms.(2) This is corroborated by the inscription of Arjunavarman.(3) The Caulukyas, although handicapped by adverse circumstances, did not, however, let the matter pass so easily. Malwa was a great acquisition to the resources of the Gujarat empire. The general Kumâra, who was also a house-priest of the royal family of the Caulukyas, was despatched with a large army against Vindhayavarman. He put severe pressure upon the Paramâras, and seems to have achieved

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(1) E.I., Vol. V, p. 235.

(2) .. tasmâd Ajayavarmâbhûj jayaśrî-viśrutaḥ śu(su)taḥ ~~(11)~~
Tat-sûnur vvîra-mûrddhanyo dhanyotpati(tti)r ajâyata
Gûrjaro-ccheda-nirvvbbhamdhî Vimdhyavarmâ mahâ-bhujaḥ(11)12
Dhârayoddhṛtayâ sârddhaṃ dadhâti sma tridhâratâṃ
Sâṃyugînasya yasyâsis trâtuṃ loka-trayîm iva (11) 13
(E.I., Vol. IX, p. 108).

On this Professor Kielhorn remarks that - "By itself the sword had two edges (dhârâ); the town of Dhârâ, retaken by it, became the third edge (dhârâ)." (ibid, p. 114, footnote 2.)

(3) J.A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 378, vs. 12, 13; J.Am. O.S. VII, p.26 vs. 13, 12.

some preliminary victories. The Surathotsava[1] tells us that Kumâra, on behalf of his master, Mûlarâja II, fought a severe battle with Vindhyavarman, king of Dhârâ, who left the battlefield, though puffed up with pride. A town named Gogasthâna, belonging to that monarch, was destroyed by him, and a well was sunk on the site of his palace. Kumâra also plundered the Mâlava country and took away all its wealth, though he did not find there any gold or silver.

There can be little doubt that Vindhyavarman ultimately ~~came out~~ emerged victorious, whatever misfortunes might have overtaken him in the earlier stages of the war. It will be seen below that he was on the throne of Malwa in the tenth decade of the twelfth century A.D., long after the death of Mûlarâja II. Thus, after about a quarter of a century, Malwa resumed her life and work under the supremacy of the Paramâras. Vindhayavarman restored peace and order in the country, which in the course of a few years regained its normal state. The fear of attack from Gujarat was temporarily annulled by the state of anarchy which prevailed in that country shortly after the accession of Bhîma II to the throne of Anhilwar,[2] but in the south, the situation remained as complex as before.

In the second half of the twelfth century A.D., the Paramâras and the Caulukyas of Gujarat suffered indeed the loss of imperial position, but their southern neighbours, the Câḷukyas of Kalyani, met with a worse fate. Their government, after passing through a period of extreme stress and strain, became totally extinct by the ninth decade of the twelfth century A.D., and made room for another set of ruling dynasties. In 1162 A.D., the Kalacuri Bijjala, who was the general of the Câḷukya Taila III, ruled over the Deccan after over-

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(1) Dhârâdhîśe Vindhyavarmany avandhya-krodhâdhmâte ? pyâjim utsṛjya yâte[i]
Gogasthânaṃ pattanaṃ taysa bhaṅktvâ saudha-sthâne khânito yena kûpaḥ ||36
Gṛhîtaṃ kupyatâ kupyaṃ Mâlaveśvara-deśataḥ |
Dattaṃ punar Gayâ-śrâddhe yenâkupyam akupyatâ || 37.
(Someśvara's Surathotsava, sarga V. Kâvyamâlâ, No. 72.

(2) Kîrtikaumudî, sarga II, v. 61.

throwing his master.[1] In 1167 A.D., he abdicated in favour of his son Somadeva (1167-1177 A.D.),[2] who was again succeeded by Sankama (1177-1181 A.D). In 1182 A.D., Someśvara IV, successor of Taila III, recovered the throne of the Deccan, by putting an end to the rule of the Kalacuris.[3] But, before he could firmly establish his authority, the Yâdavas of Devagiri and the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra fell upon him, and divided his kingdom between them some time before 1189 A.D.[4] The Yâdavas found a strong king in the person of Bhillama (1187-1191 A.D.), who soon secured for his family the northern and eastern divisions of the Câlukya empire.

But notwithstanding this new upheaval and the changes of dynasty in the Deccan, the danger of attack from that quarter to the Paramâra government being ~~attacked from that quarter~~ was not removed. The imperial Câlukya dynasty was, no doubt, extinct, but its ambition for extensive conquest was inherited by the usurpers. Invasions of Malwa from the south were of constant occurrence.[5] The Kalacuri Soma waged successful wars against the Mâlavas and the Gurjaras, between 1167 and 1172 A.D. At this period, as has been pointed out, the Gurjaras occupied, by force of arms, the northern divisions of Malwa. The territories south of the Vindhya were ruled by the Paramâra Mahâkumâras. The Mâlavas, who were defeated by the Kalacuris, seem to have been those junior princes.

WAR WITH THE HOYSAḶAS.

Between A.D. 1173 and 1177, the Hoysaḷas, under Ballala II, (1173-1220 A.D.), the son of Narasimha I, made a predatory excursion on Malwa. The Arsikere inscription,[6] dated 1177 A.D., records that when Ballâḷa II mounted his horse for an expedition of victory Gurjara trembled; Mâlava gained the thickets of the Vindhyas; Coḷika spent his time on the sea-shore. The Balagami stone inscription,[7] dated 1192 A.D., tells us that 'he wore out Mâlava by entering it ~~Mâlava~~ with great force'. When the Hoysaḷas were thus ravaging the countries all around them, a league was formed by a number of ruling princes for

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(1) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II., pp. 473-477.

(2) Ibid, p. 484. (3) ibid p. 464. (4) ibid, p. 466.

(5) E.I., Vol. XV, p. 325, Madagihal inscription.

(6) E.C., Vol. V, A.K., No. 62. (7) Mysore Inscription, p. 104,

putting an effective check upon their power. The leader of this confederacy was probably the Cola Kulottunga II (1178-1216 A.D.). Vindhyavarman was no less interested than his neighbours in the suppression of the rising Hoysalas. He joined the league and contributed armies for its success. The allied forces made an onslaught on Mysore and confronted the Hoysalas. But Ballâla II proved himself equal to the occasion, and successfully routed them. Ganga Narasimha was a feudatory of the Hoysalas. An inscription(1), dated 1190 A.D., of his reign states that "The master of elephants, the Mâlava king, the warlike Lâla (Lâṭa), distinguished for his troops of horse, the Gûrjjara king with the Cola king, united came against him, but he, by himself, fought and subdued them in the field of battle, having received the command from the king Ballâla II, - this Narasimha". The Arsikere inscription,(2) dated 1209 A.D., says that Ballâla II was a fever to Cola, Mâlava and Gûrjjara. The Kadur inscription,(3) dated 1207 A.D., reports that he trampled on the Colas and slew the Mâlava army.

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

The Yâdava Bhillama, who obtained paramount sovereignty in 1187 A.D., made an extensive scheme for military excursions in the north. He seems, in the first place, to have fallen upon the territory of Vindhyavarman, and made a successful raid over it. Next, having defeated the Caulukya Bhîma II (1179-1239 A.D.), he forced his way into southern Marwar, where his progress was checked by Kelhaṇa, the Câhamâna king of Nadol.(4) The Mutgi inscription(5) of his reign, dated 1189 A.D., describes him as "a severe pain in the head of the Mâlavas" and "the dread roar of a cloud to the flocks of those swans the Gûrjjaras," etc. At this time Malwa and Gujarat were respectively under the rule of Vindhyavarman and Bhîma II. Bhillama's northern expeditions did not, however, win anything for him beyond empty glory. Vindhyavarman occupied his throne for some time after that passing episode.

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(1) E.C., Vol. VI, Kd. No. 156.

(2) ibid, Vol. V, A.K. No. 40. (3) ibid, Vol. VI, Kd. No. 127.

(4) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 77, v. 34; Vol. XI, pp. 72-73.

(5) ibid, Vol. XV, pp. 34-35, v. 9.

When the Yâdavas were thus keenly displaying their military skill in the north, and the Paramâras and the Caulukyas were busy defending their territories, the Moslems, under their great general, Shihâb-ud-dîn Muḥammad of Ghôr, knocked again on the door of Hindustân. This time they came with the vision of establishing a Moslem empire in India. After a series of conflicts, which had been carried on during the last few years, the Moslems and the Hindus confronted each other on the battlefield of Tarâorî, in 1192 A.D. Pṛthvîrâja, the great Câhamâna king of Ajmer, who, only two years previously, had inflicted a severe wound on Shihâb-ud-dîn and routed his army, found himself quite helpless on this occasion, owing to the callousness and indifference of the other princes of Hindustân. Pṛthvîrâja fell fighting on the battlefield, and the whole of Northern Hindustân, together with Ajmer was taken possession of by the Moslems. The Moslems then began to persecute the peaceful Hindus. Devastation and plunder followed in their train. Temples were razed to the ground and idols overthrown and broken. Malwa and the countries beyond it became the resort of those who wished to save themselves from the tyranny of the plunderers. Âśâdhara, a Jaina teacher, narrates in his commentary on the Dharmâmṛta (1) that when the Sapâdalakṣa country was being subjugated by Sâhibavandina (Shihâb-ud-dîn), king of the Turuṣkas, he, being afraid of religious persecution, migrated with all his family to Malwa, which was then governed by the king Vindhya. Vijayavarman was another name for this sovereign. His minister of peace and war was Bilhaṇa. An inscription, discovered at Mandu, (2) also corroborates the fact that Bilhaṇa was in the ministerial department of this monarch. From the above account it follows that Vindhyavarman was on the throne of Malwa after 1193 A.D.

Vindhyavarman's prowess as an able soldier and an astute general can hardly be over-estimated. Though he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Hoysaḷas and the Yâdavas, he rendered immeasurable service to his family by re-establishing the Paramâra supremacy in Malwa. It was due to his boundless perseverence and untiring energy

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(1) Grantha-prasasti, v. 5 f., commentary. (2) Unpublished.

that Malwa became free from foreign control. Nothing is known as to the exact date at which his rule came to an end. He was succeeded by his son Subhaṭavarman, who was also known as Sohaḍa.(1)

SUBHAṬAVARMAN.

No inscription of Subhaṭavarman's reign has been discovered. He was ~~the~~ a worthy son of his father, and inherited all his military skill. The state of degeneration, to which Gujarat was reduced, did not escape his attention, and it seems to have aroused in his heart a burning desire to avenge the wrong done to his family by its former rulers. We have seen that, since the accession of Ajayapâla, the Caulukyas had been rapidly degenerating into insignificance. The situation in Gujarat became more serious when Mûlarâja II's successor, Bhîma II, ascended the throne. His ministers and feudatories divided his kingdom among themselves, and began to rule as independent chiefs. In that troublous period, Arṇorâja, son of the sister of Kumârapâla's mother, ~~took~~ made a bold stand against all these odds for the protection of the sovereignty of Bhîma. But his attempt to reorganise the kingdom cost him his life. Then his son Lavaṇaprasâda, came forward and set himself to carry out the task left unfinished by his father.(2)

CONQUEST OF LÂṬA.

This state of disorder in Gujarat soon tempted foreign adventurers to plunder its riches. The southern king Bhillama,(3) and the king of Meru or Maru,(4) who seems to have been the Câhamâna Kelhaṇa or his successor Kîrtipâla, marched their army into the border of Gujarat, but were routed by Lavaṇaprasâda. To make matters worse, in 1194 A.D., the whole of the country was laid waste by Qutb-ud-dîn Aibak, who slew the Caulukya general, Kunwar Pal, and forced Bhîma II to flee for his life.(5) Subhaṭavarman lost no time in seizing this opportunity to advance with his army towards the Caulukya empire.

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154. (2) Sukṛtasaṃkîrtana, sarga III, vs. 19-20.

(3) E.I., Vol. XV, pp. 34-35; ibid, Vol. I, p. 23, v. 18; Kîrtikaumudî, sarga II, vs. 69, 74, 75.

(4) E.I., Vol. I, p. 23, v. 18. (4) Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 194, Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 43.

Since the latter part of the eleventh century A.D., the Anhilwan government had been asserting its supremacy over Lâṭa.(1) The Paramâra army seems to have directed its march in the first place against it. The country was ravaged and conquered by Subhaṭavarman, and was finally incorporated into his dominion. He plundered its riches and destroyed and sacked a large number of Jaina temples. At this time the Lâṭa chief Simha, who was a feudatory of the Caulukyas, seems to have transferred his allegiance to the Paramâras.(2) The Sukṛtakîrtikallolinî of Jayasimha relates(3) that Vastupâla erected many buildings, repaired the temple of Pârśvanâtha at Stambhana, and restored nineteen golden capitals in the temple of Vaidyanâtha at Dabhoi, which had been taken away by Subhaṭa, king of Mâlava. The Vasantavilâsa(4) of Bâlacandra also narrates that the minister Tejahpâla repaired a series of Jaina temples which were demolished by the Mâlava army. That Lâṭa, at this time, became a part of the Mâlava kingdom cannot be doubted. Subhaṭavarman's successor, Arjunavarman, as will be seen later on, issued a grant while residing in Bhṛgukaccha, the capital of Lâṭa.(5)

INVASION OF GUJARAT.

The Paramâra army, thus establishing a firm footing in Lâṭa, then directed its march against the Gujarat capital, Anhilwan. The city was stormed and burnt to the ground.(6) The whole of Gujarat was

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(1) Navasari grant, J.Bo. Br., Vol. XXVI, p. 250. (2) Vide post, p. 192.

(3) Śrî-Mâlavendra-Subhaṭena suvarṇa-kumbhân-uttâritân punar api kṣitipâla-mantrî|
Śrî-Vaidyanâtha-sura-sadmani Darbhavatyâm ekonaviṃśatim api prasabham vyadhatta‖ v. 174. (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X.)

(4) Tejapâla-sacivasya Bṛhaspaty-uñcchanaṃ bhavatu viṣṭapam etat|
Uddadhâra Jina-mandira-mâlâṃ Mâlavîya-dalitâm-abhito yaḥ‖ v. 4.
(Sarga V, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. VII.)

(5) Vide post p. 182; p. 195, footnote 54.

(6) Tasyâmuṣyâyaṇaḥ putraḥ Sutrâma-śrîr athâśiśat|
bhûpaḥ Subhaṭavarmmeti dharmme tiṣṭhan mahî-talam‖ 14.
Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jetuḥ pratâpas tapana-dyuteḥ|
dâvâgni-cchadmâ(dmâ)nâdyâpi garjjad-Gûrjjara-pattane‖ 15.

now at the mercy of Subhaṭavarman. His armies carried all before them, plundering and devastating till they reached the gates of the city of Somanâtha in Surâṣṭra. But at that point they were routed, and forced to retreat by Śrîdhara, a governor under Bhîma II. An inscription of the reign of Śrîdhara,(1) dated Sam. 1273 = 1216 A.D., tells us that - "He quickly made ~~again~~ again stable by the power of his mantra (by his political wisdom or charms) the country that had been shaken by the multitude of the (impetuous) war-elephants of Mâlava, resembling a forest of dark tamâla trees, and he protected glorious Devapattana by his own power."

Devapattana is identical with Somanâthapattana.

While Subhaṭavarman was thus traversing Gujarat from one end

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(1) .. (Mâlava-tamâla)-vanâyamâna-senâ-gaja-prakara-bhamguri-tâm bhuvam yaḥ|

(bhû)yaḥ Sthirâm sapadi mamtra-valena kṛtvâ Śrî-Devapattanam apâlayad âtma-śaktyâ||

(E.I., II, pp. 444-445, v. 42; p. 439, Śrîdhara's Devapattana-praśasti.

Professor Bühler thinks that it was Arjunavarman who was defeated by Śrîdhara (ibid p. 439). But, in view of the fact that Subhaṭavarman entered into the interior of Gujarat and ravaged Anahilwara, I am inclined to identify him with the adversary of Śrîdhara. We have no evidence to prove that Arjunavarman ever forced his way into Gujarat.

Footnote No.6. Contd.

(E.I., Vol. IX, p. 121, Mandhata plate of Devapâla and Jayavarman II.) 'Pattana' here means Anahilapattana (E.I., IX, p. 114, f.n. 3). In some Mount Abu inscriptions the word 'Pattana' is used as a substitute for that city; cf. E.I., VIII, p. 224, No. XII and p. 229, No.XXXII.

to the other, Lavaṇaprasâda, the minister of Bhîma II, collected a powerful army, and put up a successful opposition to him. Subhaṭavarman found it difficult to withstand this formidable contingent, and withdrew from Gujarat with all his armies. The Kîrtikaumudî,(1) when celebrating the magnificent achievements of Lavaṇaprasâda, tells us that the king of Naḍola was defeated by him; on account of his stubborn opposition and personal valour, the king of Dhârâ had to retrace his steps, and the king of the Deccan avoided hostility. Merutuṅga(2) narrates that during the reign of Bhîma II, Sohaḍa, king of Mâlava, attacked Gujarat, but retreated when the Caulukya minister made some inauspicious utterances. The Dabhoi inscription,(3) which is very fragmentary, records that "Lavaṇaprasâda, who was a repository of medicine-like valour, cured (his country) when the crowd of the princes of Dhârâ, of the Dakhin and of Mâlava, who resembled diseases (attacked it)."

All these ~~evidences~~ authorities go to prove that Subhaṭavarman was unable to establish his authority permanently in Gujarat.

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS.

The situation on the south again became very serious, and urgently required Sabhaṭavarman's presence there. The Yâdava Bhillama was now dead, and had been succeeded by Jaitugi (1191-1210, A.D.) Jaitugi was as ambitious as his valiant predecessor, and, within a short time of his accession, made a raid over Malwa. The Mâlava general, who seems to have been appointed to guard its southern boundary, sustained a defeat at his hands. An inscription from Mongoli,(4) dated about 1200 A.D., records that Jaitugi defeated a leader of the forces of Mâlava. It was, after all, nothing more than an ephemeral success, and the government at Dhârâ evidently did not suffer any material loss on account of it.

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(1) sarga II, vs. 69, 74, 75. (2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.
(3) E.I., Vol. I, p. 23. (4) ibid, Vol. V, p. 31.

Subhaṭavarman was highly talented in the art of warfare. Some of his valorous activities have already been discussed, though our stock of knowledge regarding his further adventurous excursions is very meagre. He merits the whole credit for incorporating Lâṭa into the Paramâra kingdom. He was pious and devoted to religious practices.(1) His son Arjunavarman succeeded him shortly before 1210 A.D.

ARJUNAVARMAN.

The coronation of Arjunavarman took place in the month of February, 1210 A.D. Three epigraphic records of his reign have been discovered.

(i) A copper-plate inscription(2) was brought to light while ploughing in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujalpur pargana, Gwalior State. It was issued by Arjunavarman on the occasion of his coronation on the 10th day of Phâlguna, Saṃ. 1267 = February 1210 A.D., from the fort of Maṃḍapa. It records the grant of a village named Piḍiviḍi, in the Sakapura pratijâgaraṇaka, to his priest Govinda. Govinda was a resident of Muktâvastu. His father was Jaitrasiṃha, who was the son of Somadeva and the grandson of Delhana Avasavika. The record was written by the 'Râja Guru' (royal preceptor) Madana, with the concurrence of the learned Bilhaṇa.

Of the localities mentioned, Maṃḍapa is the modern Mandu in the Dhar State. I am inclined to identify Sakapura pratijâgaraṇaka with Shujalpur pargana, and the village Piḍiviḍi with Piplianagar, where the record was unearthed.

(ii) The second inscription(3) registers the fact that Arjunavarman on the 15th of Âsâḍha, having bathed at the holy place of Somavatî, entrusted to the charge of his family priest, Govinda, the temple of Daṇḍâdhipati, in the city of Mahâkâla. Now on the 15th of Vaiśâkha, Saṃ. 1270 = April, 1213 A.D., on the occasion of a solar eclipse, while residing at Bhṛgukaccha, he notifies to all the royal officials, Brahmans, resident village-headman, people and others concerned, that he granted to the same priest the village of Uttarâyaṇa, attached to Sâvairisola.

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 108, v. 14. (2) J.A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 378.
(3) J. Am. O.S., Vol. VII, p. 33.

The record was drawn up by the royal preceptor Madana, with the acquiescence of the minister of peace and war, the learned Bilhaṇa. Sâvairisola probably means a group of sixteen villages called Sâvairi, which may be identified with Savda, a town in the Khandesh District, north of the Tapti. Bhṛgukaccha is evidently the modern Broach, and Mahâkâla is Ujjain. I cannot offer any suggestion for Uttarâyaṇa.

(iii) The third inscription[1] of the king's reign was issued when he was residing in the holy place of Amareśvara. There, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, Sam. 1272 = September, 1215 A.D., after bathing at the junction of the Revâ and the Kapilâ and worshipping the lord of Bhavânî, Omkâra, he granted Govinda Śarman some tracts of land in the village of Hathinâvara, situated on the north bank of the Narmada, in the pratijâgaraṇaka of Pagârâ. This record was also composed by the royal preceptor Madana, with the consent of Râja Salakhaṇa, the minister of peace and war. Amareśvara is the well-known place of pilgrimage near the island of Mandhata, on the south bank of the Narmada. The Kapila takes its rise in the highland of Khandesh, and disembogues opposite the temple of Omkâra Mândhâtâ, east of the Churar. The modern state of Pagar, in the Hoshangabad District, probably represents the ancient Pagara. I am unable to identify Hathinâvara.

Arjunavarman assumed the title of Trividhavîracûdâmaṇi.[2] Nârâyaṇa was his chief minister,[3] and Bilhaṇa was his minister of peace and war. The latter was relieved of his office for some time by Râja Salakhaṇa, who seems to have been the father of the great Jaina teacher Âśâdhara.

WAR WITH THE CAULUKYAS OF GUJARAT.

Arjunavarman continued the war with the Caulukyas. During his rule the Gujarat kingdom sank into a still more deplorable condition. Shortly before 1210 A.D., a usurper named Jayasimha deposed Bhîma II,[4] and wielded the sovereignty of Anhilwar for some time.

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(1) J.Am. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 25.

(2) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 102, v. 7; J.Am.O.S., Vol. VII, p. 26.

(3) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 196.

(4) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 196.

An inscription of the former's reign, dated 1223 A.D., has been discovered,(1) where he styles himself the sovereign lord of Gujarat. The other provincial governors, however, did not acknowledge his authority and still regarded Bhîma II as their suzerain lord. When Gujarat was thus parcelled out among a number of independent chiefs, Arjunavarman advanced against it with his elephant forces. He met with Jayasiṃha in the valley of the Parva mountain. Jayasiṃha could not withstand the attack of his mighty force and fled away. Subsequently a treaty seems to have been concluded between the two kings by which Jayasiṃha's daughter Vijayaśrî was given in marriage to Arjunavarman.(2)

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Professor Hultzsch offers two suggestions for the identification of Jayasiṃha as mentioned in the Paramâra grants. (E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 99.) The first ~~one~~ supports Mr. Hall's view that Jayasiṃha was no other than Bhîma II. Mr. Hall remarks that "Bhîma II is called, in one inscription, 'a second Siddharâja', Siddharâja having been the title of one of Jayasiṃha's ancestors, May not Bhîma have been popularly called 'a second Jayasiṃha' also? If so, there was a taunting appositeness in Arjuna's choosing to give him this designation, dropping the qualification of 'second'; since the real Jayasiṃha aggressed on Mâlava, took Dhârâ by storm, defeated Arjuna's predecessor, Yaśovarman, and carried him captive to Analavata." (J.Am.O.S., Vol. VII, pp. 39-40.)

The second suggestion ~~one~~ is that Jayasiṃha might have been the same as Jayatasiṃha Abhinava-Siddharâja, who temporarily usurped the throne of Bhîma II. I subscribe to this second view, with Professor Kielhorn (E.I., Vol. IX, p. 118, footnote 2), though there is some difficulty in accepting it unreservedly. An inscription, dated 1216 A.D., issued by Śrîdhara, the governor of Somanâthapattana, and another inscription dated 1218 A.D., issued by Sâmantsiṃha, the governor of Surâstra, (E.I. Vol. II, p. 439; Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kattywar, p. 205), describe Bhîma II as their overlord, who is reported to have been ruling in Anahilwara. The only definite date of Jayasiṃha's rule that is known is 1223 A.D. If he is assumed to have been defeated by Arjunavarman between the years 1209 and 1210 A.D., it must be maintained,

The earliest known record which contains this fact of Jayasimha's flight is the Piplianagar grant of Arjunavarman, dated 1210 A.D. The other two records of the same monarch and the inscriptions of Devapâla and Jayavarman also corroborate Jayasimha's defeat.(1) All of them simply mention the name of the vanquished chief, and give no details about his political relations. In Jayavarman's grant the name is given as Jaitrasiṁha instead of Jayasimha.(2) The Dharaprasasti of Arjunavarman furnishes us with rather more detailed information about this battle. It was found engraved on a slab of stone in the Bhojaśâlâ at Dhar.(3) It was composed of a drama of four acts, called Pârijâtamañjarî or Vijayaśrî. The remaining portions are lost. It was first staged in the temple of Sarasvati,(4) at Dhârâ, in the spring festival, when Arjunavarman was ruling in Mâlava. The king is described as the son of Subhaṭa and a descendant of the great Bhoja.

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(1) Deva-bhûyaṁ gate tasmin naṁdano 'rjjuna-bhûpatiḥ | doṣṇâ dhatte 'dhunâ dhâtrî-valayaṁ valayaṁ yathâ || 16 || Vâ(bâ)la-lîlâhave yasya Jayasiṁhe palâyite (E.I., IX, pp. 108-109).

(2) Ibid, p. 121, v. 17.

(3) Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 101.

(4) Ibid, p. 103, vs. 4, 9.

Footnote No.2 contd.

according to the above two private grants, that his rule was interrupted by Bhîma II between 1215 and 1218 A.D. This hypothesis seems quite unlikely. The situation, which is apparently very anomalous, may be viewed in another way. Jayasimha was no more than a usurper. Though he occupied the throne of Anahilwara by force of arms, the provincial governors of Gujarat did not acknowledge his authority, and might have continued to regard Bhîma II as their suzerain lord.

The dramatis personae are :-

Sutradhâra	...	... The stage manager.
Natî	...	... The actress
Arjunavarman	..	... The King
Kañcukin	...	... The Chamberlain
Kusumâkara	...	... The royal gardener
Vidagha	...	... The Jester
Vayasya	...	... The royal companion
Sarvakalâ	...	... The Queen
Kanakalekhâ	...	... The Queen's maid
Vasantalîlâ	...	... The wife of Kusumâkara
Pârijâtamañjarî or Vijayasrî	...	... The daughter of the Gujarat king, Jayasimha.

The scene of the first act, entitled "Vasantotsava" (the spring festival) is the ~~roof~~ top-floor of the royal palace, and that of the second act, entitled "Tâḍaṅka-darpaṇa", is the pleasure-garden on the hill of Dhârâ. The main theme of the play is as follows:-

Upon one occasion, in the valley of the Parva mountain, the Trividha-vîra-cûḍâmaṇi Arjunavarman was engaged in a battle with Jayasimha,(1) the king of the Gûrjjaras. Jayasimha, being severely defeated, fled from the battlefield.(2) The Paramâra king, who was then mounted on his war elephant, found a "pârijâtamañjarî" (a cluster of blossoms of a celestial tree) falling on his breast, which, when he touched it, immediately turned into a beautiful maiden. She was the daughter of the Caulukya king, and her name was Jayasrî.(3) The poet sees through

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(1) Trividha-vîra-cûḍâmaṇeḥ sârvabhauma-Śrî-Bhojadevânvaya-mûrddhanyasya râjñaḥ Śrîmad-Arjunavarma-devasya Gûrjara-patinâ Jayasimhena saha Parva-parvatopatyakâ-parisareṣu Hiraṇyakaśipu-kadana-kupita-vaikuṃṭha-kaṃṭhîrava-kaṃṭha-nâda-cakita-digvâraṇeṃdra-mukta-viśvaṃbharâ-nipatanodvela-saptârṇṇava-lahari-saṃpheṭa-tulya-tumula-kolâhalaḥ kalaho va(ba)bhûva||

(E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 102, ll. 7-8).

(2) ... prativa(ba)le palâyamâne jaya-siṃdhura-skaṃdhâdhirûḍhasya ... (ibid, line 9).

(3) Caulukya-mahî-maheṃdra-duhitâ devî Jayasrîḥ ... (ibid, p. 103, line 11).

his vision that "she (the incarnation of the goddess of victory), having found her death in the defeat, caused to be irrigated the young forest of tamâla-trees, which was the grief of (her) father, through the waves of the tears of the harem - she (is) this cluster of blossoms of the celestial tree, which, after being hidden in a bud, developed into a lady."(1) Arjunavarman heard a heavenly voice, asking him to enjoy her. She was taken to Dhârâ and was placed under the care of the gardener, Kusumâkara. Her residence was fixed in the emerald pavilion on the hill of Dhârâ, where she was attended by Kusumâkara's wife, Vasantalîlâ.

Sarvakalâ, the queen of Arjunavarman, who was the daughter of the Kuntala king,(2) was performing the 'Madhu' ceremony in a pleasure-garden on the hill of Dhârâ. The king, attired in the robes of spring and accompanied by his jester, entered the garden in order to watch the ceremony. Vijayaśrî and Vasantalîlâ were also witnessing it from behind a tree, screened from notice. Vasantalîlâ moved aside the branch of a tree, and, in doing so, revealed Vijayaśrî's face, which was at once reflected on the ear-ring of the queen, engaged at the moment in the ritual of the ceremony. The king, however, noticed the occurrence, and was moved with joy. The sudden change in his expression aroused the suspicions of the queen, and upon ascertaining the cause, she immediately left the garden in anger, accompanied by her maid. The king followed her, and endeavoured to appease her wrath, but all to no purpose, until at last he promised to forsake the company of Vijayaśrî.

The heroine, broken-hearted and distracted with grief, threatened to commit suicide, and finally departed, followed by Vasantalîlâ.

Here ends the second act. The remaining portions being lost, nothing is known as to the conclusion of the drama. It may be surmised that the king eventually succeeded in obtaining the queen's consent to his marriage with Vijayaśrî, and that the drama closed with their conjugal union.

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(1) Ibid, p. 100. (2) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 103, v. 11.

Kuntalendra-sutâ seyam râjñaḥ Sarvakalâ priyâ.

The main background of this play seems to have been based on actual facts.

It has been shown in a foregoing chapter that the chief object of Padmagupta's Navasâhasâṅka-carita was to celebrate Sindhurâja's union with a princess of the Nâga family. Candaladevî, the heroine of the Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, is considered to have been the real name of the queen of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya VI.(1) The fight between Arjunavarman and Jayasiṃha is evidenced by many contemporary records. Hence I agree with Professor Hultzsch(2) in thinking that the chief personages in the above play were real and not imaginary beings. Sarvakalâ seems to have been the daughter of the Hoysaḷa Vîra-Ballâla II (1172-1219 A.D.) who warred with Vindhyavarman. Merutuṅga also refers to Arjunavarman's victory over Gujarat, though he does not mention the name of his opponent.(3)

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS.

Arjunavarman was greatly troubled by an invasion from the south. The Yâdava Jaitugi, who raided Malwa during the reign of Subhaṭavarman, proved his high military valour by slaying the three kings of Kaliṅga and capturing the Andhra country, where he released a certain Gaṇapati from captivity.(4) His successor Siṅghaṇa (1209 -1241 A.D.) was no less powerful.(5) He defeated the Moslems, overthrew the Hoysaḷa Vîra-Ballâla II and humbled the power of the king of Andhra, Kakkalla, lord of Bhambhâgiri, and the Silâhâra Bhoja of Kolhapur. In the course of his northern march, he attacked Lâṭa and Mâlava. Arjunavarman and his feudatory, Sindhurâja of Lâṭa,(6) did their utmost to check his progress, but failed miserably. Sindhurâja seems to have lost his life in the encounter. The Bahal inscription,(7) of Siṅghaṇa, dated 1222 A.D.,(8) and the Paithan plates of his remote successor Râmacandra record his victory over one Arjuna, who was none other than

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(1) Vikramâṅkadeva-carita, Introduction, pp. 38 - Buhler.

(2) E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 100-101. (3) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 154.

(4) I.A., Vol. XIV, p. 314. (5) ibid.

(6) Vide post, p. 194 (7) E.I., Vol. III, p. 113.

(8) I.A., Vol. XIV, p. 316, line 27.

king Arjunavarman of Malwa. The Hammira-madamardana relates that Sindhurâja was killed by Siṅghaṇa.(1) But this excursion of the Yadava army was entirely of a predatory nature and could not produce any permanent effect.

On the whole the reign of Arjunavarman was one of peace and order. The Pârijâtamañjarî sets before us the high state of civilisation that gloried Malwa during this period. The people lived their lives in joy and happiness, and their social activities were marked by refined taste. Arjunavarman, like his predecessor Bhoja, was not only a patron of learning, encouraging in others the cultivation of literature, but was himself a great poet.(2) Madana was his court poet and Âśâdhara, the great Jaina author, lived in his kingdom, in the city of Nalakacchapura (modern Nalcha). He closed his reign shortly before 1218 A.D. No son seems to have been born to him, and the succession devolved upon Devapâla, son of the Mahâkumâra Hariścandra.(3)

DEVAPÂLA.

In his early years, Devapâla seems to have ruled in Khandesh as a successor to his father, Hariścandra. It is highly probable that he became the ruler of Hoshangabad, Nimar and Bhopal after the death of his brother, Udayavarman. It was by sheer chance that he obtained the throne of Malwa. It is probably on this account that he claims to have obtained his royalty as a boon through worshipping the goddess Limbârya.(4) He assumed the title of Sâhasamalla.(5)

Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) A stone,(6) found in the ruins of a temple in the village of Harsuda, 10½ miles from the town of Charwa, in the district of Hoshangabad, in the Central Provinces, contains the earliest dated inscription of his reign. It was issued by Keśava, the younger brother of the merchant Ḍhala, a son of Bilhaṇa, who was a son of Dosi, an inhabitant of Umḍapura, when the Parama-bhaṭṭâraka Mahârâjâdhirâja Devapâladeva was ruling at Dhârâ. The object of the inscription is to record that

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(1) Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. X, p. 17.

(2) Vide post, Chapt. VIII, p. 257. (3) Vide ante, Chapt. VI, p. 178

(4) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 311. (5) Jina-yajña kalpa, by Âśâdhara.

(6) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 310.

in Saṃ. 1275 = 1218, A.D., Keśava built a temple of Śambhu, together with a tank, on the north-eastern side of Harsapura, close to which he also set up idols of Hanumat, Kṣetrapâla, Gaṇeśa, Kṛsna, Nakulîśa, Ambikâ and others. This Harṣapura is evidently the modern Harsauda, where the inscription was found.

(ii) Three plates[1] were found near the temple of Siddheśvara at Mandhata, an island in the Narmada, in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces. They record that the king, Devapâla granted the village of Satâjuṇâ, situated in the Mahuaḍa pratijâgaraṇaka, to a number of Brahmans, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in Saṃ. 1282 = 1225 A.D. The village was split up into a number of shares and then distributed among the donees. The deed was issued from the king's residence at Mâhiṣmatî. All persons concerned were asked to pay the customary shares of their produce and money rent to the aforesaid Brahmans. It was composed by the royal preceptor, Madana, with the approval of the learned Bilhaṇa, the minister of peace and war.

Mâhiṣamtî is to be identified with the modern Maheshwar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, on the north bank of the Narmada. Satâjuṇâ is the village Satajuna, about 13 miles south-west of Mandhata. Professor Kielhorn suggests the identification of Mahauḍa with the village Mahod, about 25 miles south of Satajuna.[2]

(iii) The remaining two records[3] of the king's reign were discovered inside the entrance of the great temple of Udayapur in Bhilsa. One is dated Saṃ. 1286, Kârttika sudi, which corresponds to 1229 A.D., and the other is Saṃ. 128(9?), the last numeral being indistinct. Professor Kielhorn suggests it as 'nine,' (with great doubt that that) If he is right, the date corresponds to 1232 A.D. The second inscription was issued when Mahârâjâdhirâja Devapâla, 'the ornament of kings,' was residing in Udayapur.

All these inscriptions of Devapâla, together with those of Arjunavarman, go to prove that, in the early part of the thirteenth century A.D., the Paramâra kingdom extended at least as far as Udayapur on

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 103. (2) ibid, p. 106.

(3) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 83.

the east, Hoshangabad and Nimar Districts on the south, and the Broach District on the west. The later inscriptions[1] of the dynasty will show that it retained its boundary up to Jhalawar State on the north, and up to a part of the Sagor District on the east. But Vâgaḍa was lost to it, never to return. It had become a part of the Guhila kingdom of Mewar since the middle of the twelfth century A.D.[2] From all this it may be surmised that the later Paramâra rulers, although they could not follow in the footsteps of their predecessors in the execution of imperial schemes, yet succeeded, with few exceptions, in regaining nearly the whole of their ancestral dominion.

In the reign of Devapâla, Bilhaṇa, who had, for a time, retired from the administrative department of the government, resumed his office as minister of peace and war.

Since the liberation of Malwa from the domination of the Caulukyas, the military power of the Paramâra government had been entirely occupied with the destruction of Gujarat. Subhaṭavarman and Arjunavarman made successful raids over it, but, before ever they could establish their authority there, invasions from the Deccan forced them to withdraw their forces from the west and to array them on their southern border for the defence of their own realm. It has been noticed already that the Câhamâna Sindhurâja of Lâṭa was killed in the battle with Yâdava Siṅghaṇa. His son was Saṃgrâmasiṃha, also known as Śaṅkha. The Hammîra-mada-mardana describes him as the son of Sindhurâja and the nephew of Siṃha, king of Lâṭa-deśa.[3] He is further described in the same work as the feudatory of the Mâlava King Devapâla.[4] Merutuṅga[5] calls him a chieftain of Broach[6] (Mahâsâdhanika). The

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(1) Vide post, p. 201 (2) Vide post, p. ~~201~~ 305.

(3) Sindhurâja-tanu-janmano Lâṭa-deśâdhipa-Siṃha-bhrâtṛvya... (Aṅka I, p. 5.)

(4) Śrî-mahârâja-Devapâladevaḥ Saṃgrâmasiṃha-maṇḍaleśvarma samâdiśati| (Aṅka 2, p. 17) Devapâla is described below as the king of Mâlava (Mâlavîya-râya). ibid, p. 18.

(5) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 162.

(6) Albêrûnî (1030 A.D.) says that Bihrôj (Broach) was one of the capitals of Lârdêsh (Lâṭa), Sachau, Vol. I, p. 205.

Vasantavilâsa mentions him as a king of Lâṭa.(1)

ŚAṄKHA.

This Śaṅkha was the most prominent figure in Lâṭa during this period. He was ruler de facto, if not de jure, and his foot is said to have been decorated with a golden chain with the images of twelve feudatory chiefs. His skill in warfare was marvellous. He was engaged in fighting with both his northern and southern neighbours, viz. the Yâdavas of Devagiri and the Caulukyas of Gujarat. Some time previously Vîradhavala, the son of Lavanaprasâda, had seized Cambay, which was in the territory of Lâṭa, and had annexed it to the Caulukya empire.(2) Vastupâla was appointed to govern this new possession, and although Śaṅkha greatly resented this action, he was unable to take any active steps about it, as he was hard pressed at the time by the Yâdava Siṅghaṇa from the south. Moreover, it is probable that he could not rely on the support of his overlord, the king of Malwa, since on a former occasion, when his uncle Siṃha was attacked by Siṅghaṇa, the Mâlava king had become alarmed, and had withdrawn his support, leaving him in the lurch.(3)

Shortly after Śaṅkha's accession, the Yâdavas made a heavy attack upon Lâṭa, and advanced as far as the Narmada, but they were severely defeated and repulsed by his powerful arms.(4) About this time he was attacked by the sons of Arṇorâja from the north, but he was saved from catastrophe by the timely intervention of the Mâlava king. Not long after, another attempt was made by the Yâdavas to crush the power of the Lâṭa dynasty. This time, Śaṅkha was taken prisoner by the leader of the Yâdava army, and was produced before Siṅghaṇa. Subsequently he obtained his release by asserting his influence over the Yâdava king.(5) After that, a treaty seems to have been concluded between Siṅghaṇa, on the one hand, and Devapâla and his feudatory Śaṅkha, on the other. This gave Saṅkha a respite, and an opportunity to make an

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(1) Stambha-tîrtha-nidhanena dhanâya Śaṅkha ityabhidhayâ samaye 'smin |
Lâṭa-deśa-nṛpati Bhṛgukacchâd uccacâla calad-aśva-bala-śrîḥ ||.
(Vasantavilâsa, sarga, V. 16.)

(2) Vasantavilâsa, sarga V, Introduction p. VI.

(3) Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅk I, p. 4.

(4) Vasantavilâsa, sarga V, vs. 24-43. (5) Vasantavilâsa, ibid.

attempt at the reconquest of his ancestral territory of Cambay.

WAR AGAINST GUJARAT.

Events turned in favour of Śaṅkha when about that time, a serious trouble broke out on the northern border of the Gujarat empire owing to the invasion of the Marwar kings. Vîradhavala hurried his army to the seat of the disorder, leaving Vastupâla to keep watch on the south. At this opportune moment Śaṅkha sent an embassy to Vastupâla, demanding the surrender of Cambay, which had belonged to his predecessors. By way of threat he reminded him that no one would be able to withstand his arms, which had once ~~(even)~~ even repulsed the powerful Singhaṇa, at the same time promising him that if he would acknowledge his overlordship he would raise him from his insignificant position as governor of a port to the high status of the chief of a province. But neither threat nor bribe tempted the Caulukya minister. He bravely refused to submit to the demand, and told the embassy to inform ~~their~~ its master that while he was glad to learn that Śaṅkha had vanquished the Yâdava king, he, at the same time, regretted that the latter should have had to put on fetters in the prison of his former victim. He begged leave to mention further that the claim of his (Vastupâla's) master on Cambay far exceeded Śaṅkha's hereditary right thereto, since Vîradhavala had acquired it by force of arms.

In face of this reply, Śaṅkha at once declared war and advanced to the side of the tank called Vaṭakûpa, supported by an ally named Saida, a merchant in Cambay. Bhuvanapâla, of the Gula family, fought on the side of Vastupâla. He lost his life on the battle-field at the hand of Śaṅkha himself. When nine great warriors of Vastupâla's army fell fighting in the battle, he himself came forward and killed many soldiers, mistaking each of them for Śaṅkha. At last he came upon the real Śaṅkha, and darted his spear against him, only to see it shattered to pieces by the latter. Śaṅkha, however, was forced ultimately to flee away, having failed to resist this fresh attack.(1)

After this discomfiture, Devapâla and Śaṅkha made a coalition

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(1) Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka I; Vasantavilâsa, sarga V; Someśvara's Kîrtikaumudî, sarga V; Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 162; Sukṛtakîrtikallolinî, vs. 138-140. Jinaharṣa's Vastupâla-carita.

with the Yâdava Siṅghaṇa for the invasion of Gujarat. The departure of Vîradhavala to the north in order to quell a Moslem attack there greatly facilitated their task. The Hammîra-mada-mardana[1] is a drama in five acts, written by Jayasiṃha Sûri, the pupil of Vîrasûri, between Sam. 1276 and 1278 (1219-1229 A.D.), and was acted on the occasion of the festival of the procession of the god Bhîmeśvara at Cambay. It deals with a particular occasion upon which Vîradhavala had to meet a very critical situation. The Yâdava Siṅghaṇa, having been joined by Saṃgrâmasiṃha (Śaṅkha) was marching from the south to attack his kingdom; the Mâlava king, Devapâla, was advancing from the east, and the Turuṣkas were already at the northern gate of his realm. In that predicament, Vîradhavala, as on the previous occasion, left the entire guardianship of the east and south in the charge of Vastupâla, and himself started with a contingent to fight with the Turuṣka general, Hammîra-vîra-Mîlacchîkâra. Vastupâla engaged as his assistant, Tejahpâla's son, Lâvaṇyasiṃha, who sent spies to effect a split in the enemy's camp, (in the persons of two brothers, Nipuṇaka and Suvega) Suvega managed to insinuate himself into the favour of the Yâdava king, and Nipuṇaka succeeded in obtaining the post of horse-keeper to the Mâlava king, Devapâla. Nipuṇaka persuaded Siṅghaṇa that it would be ~~very~~ advisable for him to cease all hostilities until Vîradhavala should have spent his strength in fighting against the Turuṣkas. The Yâdava king considered this advice highly judicious, and went on carousing and merrymaking on the banks of the Tapti, instead of preparing for battle. The other spy, Suvega, had meanwhile obtained a horse with the name of 'Devapâla', to be presented to Saṃgrâmasiṃha, and forged a letter, addressed to the latter under the signature of the Mâlava king, in which Saṃgrâmasiṃha was urged to revenge his father's death by destroying the Yâdava army in its entirety, when Devapâla would fall upon them at the time of their entrance into Gujarat. In appearance this letter was merely a blank sheet of paper, but, on exposure to the sun, its contents were ~~plain to read~~ easily visible. Bearing it on his person, Suvega assumed the dress of a mendicant and allowed himself to be caught by the Yâdava army, who brought him at once before their king. Siṅghaṇa fell into the trap, and ordered Nipuṇaka to verify the truth of the story about the horse. The spy came out, and meeting Saṃgrâmasiṃha,

related to him everything about the interception of the letter and the consequent displeasure of the king. He then returned to Siṅghaṇa and assured him that the horse really bore the name of the king of Mâlava. In the meantime, Samgrâmasiṃha fled away in fear. Siṅghaṇa at once marched against Mâlava, where he was opposed by its powerful forces. Nipuṇaka and Suvega, having thus thoroughly succeeded in their task, hurried to Gujarat, and reported everything to Vastupâla, who was greatly delighted at the news. But not long afterwards, he heard that Samgrâmasiṃha was advancing with his forces to attack Cambay, and had already crossed the Mahi river. An army was at once dispatched for the defence of the port.

Here the author abruptly leaves the discourse to narrate the circumstances of the struggle that was proceeding on the northern frontier. The Moslems were ultimately repulsed, and Vîradhavala went home victorious. Presumably a treaty was then concluded with Samgrâmasiṃha, for Vîradhavala expresses his joy, on the battlefield of Marwar, at the fact that the son of Sindhurâja had become his friend.

The author of the Hammîra-mada-mardana has based his story mainly on historical facts, though it is romantic in character. The actual existence of most of the persons he describes has been proved by outside evidence. The Prabandhacaturviṃśati tells us that Vîradhavala with the help of Dhârâvarṣa defeated Suratrâṇa Maujadin, i.e. Muiz-ud-Dîn Bahrâm Shâh Iyal-Timish.(1) A fragmentary inscription from Dabhoi, records that Vîradhavala routed a combined attack of the lord of Dhârâ and the king of the Deccan. Siṅghaṇa subsequently entered into a treaty of alliance with the Caulukyas.(2)

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(1) Dhârâ-patir Dakṣiṇa---
---- yugapa(t sa)metau |
dhîras tayor eva samâna-tamtram-t
nikâ---dhas cakâra || (E.I., I, p. 28, v. 45.

(2) Report on the Search for the Sanskrit MSS. 1882-83, pp. 39, by R. G. Bhandarkar.

INVASION OF MALWA BY THE MOSLEMS.

While Devapâla was thus engaged in the destruction of the Gujarat empire, the Moslems raised their war-cry on the north-eastern frontier of the Paramâra kingdom. It has been seen that in 1192-1193 A.D., the Muhammedans conquered the greater portion of Northern India together with Ajmer. Since that time they had been ruling the conquered provinces from their capital at Delhi. Qutb-ud-dîn, the first Muhammedan ruler of Delhi, was succeeded by Ârâm Shâh who again was followed by Iyal-Timish. In 1226 A.D., Iyal-Timish pushed his arms further south and conquered the fort of Mando (Mandasor), which was on the northern border of the Paramâra kingdom. On that occasion he seems to have been defeated by Vîradhavala while trying to ravage Gujarat. About the same time, Devapâla made a combined attack on Gujarat with the Yâdavas. Racial jealousies blinded him to the danger that was awaiting him, and, for this want of foresight, he had to pay the penalty. Malwa, for the first time, fell a prey to the incursions of the Moslems. In 1233-4 A.D., Iyal-Timish reduced Gwalior to subjection, and turned his arms against Malwa. Devapâla was not prepared for this onslaught, and the Sultân easily captured the fort of Bhilsa and made a triumphant march into the city of Ujjain. Firishta tells us (1) that on this occasion the Moslem chief "destroyed a magnificent temple dedicated to Mahâkâl, formed upon the same plan as that of Somnat. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of ~~Vikramâditya~~ Bikramâjit, who had ~~been~~ formerly been prince of this country,

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(1) Elliott, History of India, Vol. II, p. 328; Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p. 211. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 55.
Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî, Vol. I, p. 622 - Raverty.

and so renowned, that the Hindoos have taken an era from his death, as also the image of Mahâkâl, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, were found in the temple. These images the king caused to be conveyed to Dehli, and broken at the door of the great mosque".

The Paramâra government thus received another rude shock, which no doubt, accelerated its decline and downfall.

The storm of the Moslem invasion passed away as quickly as it came, leaving desolation in its wake. The upheaval was tremendous, but Devapâla succeeded in restoring peace and order. Vîradhavala of Dholka seems to have availed himself of the embarrassments of the Paramâra government to wrest Broach from its feudatory, Sankha. The colophon of a palmleaf manuscript relates that Lâvanyasimha, the son of Vîradhavala's minister, Tejahpâla, was the governor of Broach in Sam. 1296 = 1239 A.D.

During the reign of Devapâla in Sam. 1285 = 1228 A.D., Âsâdhara wrote his book Jina-Yajña-kalpa, and, in Sam. 1292 = 1235 A.D, composed his Trisasti-smrti. He ascended the throne somewhere between 1215 and 1218 A.D., and ended his reign before 1243 A.D., which is the earliest known date of his son and successor Jaitugideva.

JAITUGIDEVA.

This monarch assumed the name of Bâla-Narâyana.(1) No inscription of his reign has been discovered.

From this period the history of the Paramâra dynasty is one long series of tales of ~~decline and downfall~~ rapid deterioration and collapse. Invasion after invasion from various quarters had shattered its nervous system until it finally ~~collapsed~~ broke down.

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 121, v. 22.

WAR WITH THE YÂDAVAS

We have seen that Siṅghaṇa, probably being duped by the Caulukyas, attacked Devapâla's army. This again embittered the relations between the Yâdavas and the Paramâras. Siṅghaṇa was succeeded by his grandson Kṛṣṇa early in 1247 A.D.(1) Kṛṣṇa carried on the military policy of his predecessors with fresh vigour against the Paramâras, and advanced with an army upon Malwa, which was then apparently ruled by Jaitugideva. His success over the latter was as glorious as any achieved by his predecessors, although he did not acquire any territory.(2) An inscription of his reign, dated Śaka 1174 = 1252 A.D., states that "he was a 'trinetra' to Madana in the form of the king of Mâlava," which means that he destroyed the power of the Mâlava king as the God Śiva reduced Madana, the God of Love, to ashes by the fiery glance of his third eye, when the latter tried to excite his passion for the Goddess Pârvatî.(3) Another inscription of the same monarch, issued two years earlier, in Śaka 1172 = 1250 A.D., records also the subjugation of the king of Malwa by his valorous armies.

This was not the only catastrophe which the Paramâras had to face during this period. Iyal-Timish's expedition against Malwa of only a few years back had sounded for them a deep note of warning. Since then, many more countries in Northern India had been subjugated by the Moslems. But Jaitugideva, like his father Devapâla, ignored all those episodes, and made no provision for the defence of his realm against the coming danger. He was not, of course, wholly responsible for this default, as he had to array all his forces against the Yâdavas for the defence of his southern frontier. The depredations made by the king Kṛṣṇa, no doubt, pressed heavily upon his military resources. This quickly attracted the attention of the Moslem ruler of Delhi, who was evidently on the look-out for such an opportunity. Iyal-Timish

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(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XII, p. 4, No. 5. (2) Ibid, p. 34.

(3) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 23.

was succeeded by Raziyyah and Nâṣir-ud-dîn. In 1250 A.D. Nâṣir-ud-Dîn sent his general Balban ~~for the~~ subjugation ~~of~~ the southern Hindu kingdoms. He first fell upon Narwar, ~~and~~ defeated its ruler, and then directed his march towards Malwa. The Paramâra territory probably again fell a prey to the inroads of the Moslems. The Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî tells us that "the sublime standard (of Balban) moved towards Gwâliyûr, Chandîrî, Nurwul (Nurwur), and Mâlwah, and, on this expedition they reached near unto Mâlwah." (Raverty - Vol. I, p. 690-91). Firishta records[1] that Nâṣir-ud-dîn marched to Chundery and Malwa and subdued them. He, after having appointed an officer to govern them, returned to Delhi. It is extremely doubtful whether the Moslems were, on that occasion, able to establish a permanent authority over any part of Malwa, but it is quite certain that this raid played a large part in lessening still further the declining strength of the Paramâras.

WAR WITH THE VÂGHELÂS OF DHOLKA

About this time a fresh trouble from the west embarrassed the Mâlava government. Vîsaladeva, son of Vîradhavala, ascended the throne of Gujarat in 1243 A.D. He heartily welcomed the situation created in Malwa by the successive foreign invasions. He probably recalled those dark days when Devapâla, taking advantage of his father's absence, made an alliance with the Yâdavas and invaded Gujarat. Now the time had come for him to be able to pay ~~back~~ off these old scores ~~to~~ against the Paramâras. A large Gujarat army, headed by Vîsaladeva, marched to the borders of Malwa. The Paramâra government, with its petty resources, could not stem the tide of their progress, and Vîsala made a triumphant march through the country and sacked its capital, Dhârâ. The Dabhoi inscription[2] of his reign, dated 1253 A.D., states that he won renown by defeating the king of Mâlava and the ruler of the Deccan. Another inscription[3] of his reign, dated 1260 A.D., records

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(1) Briggs' Firishta, Vol. I, p.239. Cambridge History of India, Vol.III, p. 68.

(2) E.I., Vol. I, p. 28, v. 58. (3) I.A., Vol. VI, p.212.

that "he was volcanic fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Simhana, a destroyer of the pride of the king of Mâlava and an uprooter of the government of Medapâta."(1) A third record, issued by the poet Nânâka, and dated 1271 A.D., declares that "the heavens on high became terrifically dark by the rings of smoke rising from Mâlava, set ablazing at the time of his (Vîsala's) attack." It further tells us that Ganapati Vyâsa earned high reputation by composing an essay on Vîsaladeva's destruction of Dhârâ.(2) An undated inscription(3) of the same court poet tells us that the king "adorned the land his beloved with his glory, as with strings of pearls, abandoned by, and gained in battle from the king of Mâlava."

All this evidence proved beyond doubt Vîsala's sweeping success in that enterprise. His invasion was of a plundering nature, and hence no territorial acquisition was made. After this the Paramâra government was left in a most shattered condition. Having now suffered so many disasters, it now cast only a flickering ray of its power, and began to deteriorate until it finally collapsed.

Jaitugi was amiable and loving to his subjects and beloved for his good qualities.(4) In Sam. 1300 = 1243 A.D., when he was ruling his kingdom, Âśâdhara wrote a commentary on Dharmâmrta, called Bhavyakumudacandra, in a Jaina temple in Nalakacchapura. He ended his reign some time before 1256 A.D., and was followed by his younger brother, Jayavarman II

JAYAVARMAN II

(i) Three inscriptions of Jayavarman II's reign have been discovered.(5) The earliest is found inside the fort of Rahatgarh,

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(1) Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 107, v. 4.

(2) Śrî-Vîsala-kṣmâpater Dhârâ-dhvaṃsa-mahâ-prabandha. (I.A., XI, p. 107, v. 18) (3) Ibid, p. 104, v. 6.

(4) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 121.

(5) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 84; A.S.I., Vol. X, p. 31.

a town twenty-five miles west of Sagor, the headquarter of the district of the same name in the Gwalior State. It purports to say that it was issued by the feudatory or the governor, Ukâlevândana, of Uparahâdâ mandala (province) in Sam. 1312, Bhâdrapada 7, (28th August, 1256 A.D.), when the Mahârâjâdhirâja Jaya(varma)deva was ruling at Dhârâ. The province of Uparahâdâ was certainly the territory in and around Rahatgarh, though to-day no place-name in that neighbourhood corresponds to it.

(ii) The second inscription,(1) on a stone broken into four pieces, now lying in the town-hall at Indore, was found at Mori, about ten miles west of Bhanpura, in the Indore State. It was issued during the reign of Jayavarman, in Sam. 1314 = 1257 A.D., and refers to a district called Maudi, which is evidently identical with the place Mori where the record was discovered.

(iii) The third inscription(2) was found in the village of Godarpura, on the south bank of the Narmada, in the Nimar District, Central Provinces. It contains two plates, and records that Jayavarman, from his fort of Mandapa, granted the village Vadauda, in the Mahuda pathaka, to three Brahmans, viz., Mâdhava, Janârdana and Dhâmadevaśarman. In pursuance of the king's directions in Sam. 1317 = 1260 A.D., his officer Gângadeva, having bathed at Amareśvara Kṣetra, worshipped Amareśvaradeva, and distributed the above village to the donees in various shares. The record was composed by Harṣadeva, son of the learned Gavîśa, with the concurrence of the Sândhivigrahika (Minister of Peace and War), the learned Mâlâdhara. It was corrected by the grammarian Âmadeva, and engraved by the architect Kânhada. The 'Dûta' was the Mahâpradhâna - Râjâ, Śrî-Ajayadeva.

Of the localities mentioned, Mandapa is the modern town of Mandu in Dhar State; Mahuda, which is here called a pathaka, is described in Devapâla's grant as a pratijâgaranaka,(3) the latter

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1913, p. 56 - unpublished.

(2) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 120.

(3) Ibid, p. 109, line 17.

being probably a subdivision of the former. Professor Kielhorn suggests that Vaḍauḍa is to be identified with the village Burud, three miles north-east of Satajana.[1][2]

The evidence of the above three records shows that, even in that period of degeneration, the Malwa government held sway over a territory which extended at least as far as Bhanpura in the Indore State, on the north, the Sagor District on the east, and the Nimar District on the south.

WAR WITH THE CÂHAMÂNAS OF RANTHAMBHOR

During this time the Paramâras found another strong enemy in the Câhamâna kings of Raṇastambhapura, the modern Ranthambhor, in the Jaipur State, Rajputana. A short account has already been given of the defeat and death of Pṛthvîrâja in 1192 A.D., by Shihâb-ud-Dîn Muḥammad of Ghôr. Since then the Câhamâna rule in Delhi and Ajmer had become totally extinct. Govinda Râja, the grandson of Pṛthvîrâja, established a new government in Ranthambhor, and began to rule as an independent monarch. He was succeeded by Bâlhaṇadeva.[3] The Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî[4] tells us that in 1248 A.D., Ulugh Khân, a general of the Sultân Nâṣir-ud-Dîn, advanced to conquer the mountain of Mewat and the country of Bâhar-Deo, who was the greatest of the Râjâs of Hindûstân. Again, in 1253 A.D., the Moslem general led an expedition towards Ranthambhor, Hindi and Chitor. Bâhar-Deo, the Ray of Ranthambhor, collected an army to oppose him, but ultimately fled away. I am inclined to identify Bâhar-Deo with Bâlhaṇadeva. If I am right in this, we get from the above Moslem record some idea about the period of Bâlhaṇa's reign. He had two sons, Prahlâda and Vâgbhaṭa, of whom the former succeeded to the throne, and the latter became the chief minister of the government. Prahlâda, however,

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 120. (2) Professor Kielhorn makes mention of an inscription dated Sam 1311 = 1255 A.D., found at Udayapur, in which he reads with but little doubt the name Jayasiṃha (E.I. IX, p. 118). As the facsimile is not available, nothing can be inferred ~~suggested~~ from this. (3) E.I. XIX, p. 48.
(4) Elliot, Hist.Ind. II, pp. 367, 370; Raverty Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî, (p. 828).

did not long survive his father, and died of a wound received from a lion during a hunting excursion. His eldest son, Vîranârâyaṇa, followed him to the throne. The Hammîra-mahâkâvya tells us that he was haughty and impudent, and quarrelled with his uncle, Vâgbhaṭa. The latter (Vâgbhaṭa) left Ranthambhor and went to Malwa, where he lived for some time. Vîranârâyaṇa was soon lured to Delhi by Jalâl-ud-Dîn, who made false overtures of friendship to him. As soon as he reached the Moslem capital, he was assassinated, apparently by the Sultân's orders. Ranthambhor was then conquered by the Sultân, who sent instructions to the Malwa king to put Vâgbhaṭa to death.(1) The Malwa king agreed to carry out this order, but Vâgbhaṭa, becoming aware of the plot against his life, at once slew him, and occupied the throne of Malwa. With the new resources thus obtained Vâgbhaṭa proceeded to Ranthambhor, and conquered it by the complete overthrow of the Moslems.(2) We have no other evidence to verify this report. Vâgbhaṭa's son, Jaitrasiṃha, was a contemporary of Jayasiṃha II (1269 A.D.), who was apparently a successor of the Paramâra sovereign Jayavarman II.(3) Hence, if the above report proves to be true, the Malwa king, who was killed and overthrown by him, was, in all probability, Jayavarman II. This must have happened shortly after 1260 A.D.

JAYASIṂHA II.

After the reign of Jayavarman II, we have no systematic chronology of the later Paramâra kings. We shall arrange them according to their known dates, though their relation with each other is not yet known. Jayavarman II seems to have been succeeded by Jayasiṃha II.(4) An inscription of his reign, dated Saṃ 1326, Vaiśâkha 7 = 10th April 1269 A.D., has been discovered. He seems to have been a powerful chief. Vâgbhaṭa's successor,

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(1) I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 62.

(2) Hammîra-Mahâkâvya, by Nayâcandra, I.A. VIII, pp. 62 ff.

(3) E.I. Vol. XIX, p. 47.

(4) Kielhorn's Northern List, No. 232.

Jaitrasiṃha, waged war against the Paramâras.[1] He defeated the brave Mâlava army at a place called Jhampaithaghaṭṭa, and sent hundreds of them as prisoners to Ranthambhor. He is said to have shone forth like a sun, in the glare of which Jayasiṃha burnt in Maṇḍapa (Mandu). But in spite of all these achievements, Jaitrasiṃha had ultimately to withdraw from his enemy's country. The subsequent history of his successors shows that they had no control over Malwa.

ARJUNAVARMAN II.

Jayasiṃha's death was followed by terrible internal disturbances in his kingdom. The situation is well described by a contemporary Muhammadan historian named Wassâf, who wrote his Tazjiyatul Amsâr in 1300 A.D.[2] He records[3] that - "It may be about thirty years previous to my laying the foundation of this book that the king of Malwa died, and dissension arose between his son and minister. After long hostilities and much slaughter, each of them acquired possession of a part of that country. In consequence of these disturbances, every year incursions are made into it from most parts of Hind, much property and wealth, and captives, and fine linen (Kirbâs) carried off, and as yet no change (for the better) has taken place."

The Malwa king whose death this Muhammadan historian

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(1) tato'bhyudayam âsâdya Jaitrasiṃha-ravir nnavaḥ | api Maṃḍapa-madhyastham Jayasiṃham atîtapat || 7 || Kûrmâm-kṣitîśa-kamaṭhî-kaṭhinoru-kaṃṭha-pîṭhî-viluṃṭa(ṭh)ana-kaṭhora-kuṭhâra-dhârah yaḥ Karkkarâlagiri-pâlaka-pâla-pâli-khelat-karâla-karavâla -karo vireje || 8 || Yena Jhampâithâghaṭṭe (Mâ)lavesa-bhaṭâḥ śataṃ | Va(ba)ddhâ Raṇastaṃbhapure kṣiptâ nîtâśca dâsatâm || 9 (Hammîra's inscription, E.I., Vol. XIX, pp. 49-50.)

(2) Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 24.

(3) Ibid, p. 31.

alludes to was, in all probability, Jayasiṃha II, who was ruling in 1269 A.D. Hie son, who involved himself in a quarrel with his minister, seems to have been Arjunavarman II. We have ample evidence to prove that during this period Malwa was a prey to the attacks of many chiefs of the neighbouring kingdoms.

RAID OF THE YÂDAVAS ON MALWA.

Yâdava Kṛṣṇa was followed on the throne by Mahâdeva (1260-1270 A.D.) and Râmacandra (1271-1309) ~~on the throne~~. Râmacandra carried on the traditional war with his northern neighbours, and made a successful raid on Malwa. The Thana plate[1] of his reign, dated Śaka 1194- 1272 A.D., very appropriately describes him as "a blast of the day of doom in extinguishing the lamps of the Mâlavas."

CÂHAMÂNA HAMMÎRA'S INVASION OF MALWA.

Next followed the incursions of the Câhamânas of Ranthambhor. Jaitrasiṃha was succeeded by his son Hammîra in 1283 A.D.[2] Hammîra was well known for his chivalry and generalship. Shortly after his accession he led an expedition to Malwa, and greatly crippled its military strength. His inscription[3], dated 1288 A.D., honours him for his victory over Arjuna, the king of Malwa.

INVASION OF THE VÂGHELÂS

While all the neighbouring chiefs were taking advantage of the weakness of the Paramâra government, the Vâghelâs of Dholka did not let slip their opportunity. About this time, Sâraṅgadeva (1275-1295 A.D.), the son of Arjuna and the grandson of Vîsala,

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(1) Mâlava-pradîpa-śamana-pralayânilaḥ; E.I., Vol.XIII, pp.202-205. (For other evidences Mysore Inscription pp. 20 and 46; E.C., Vol.VII, ff. No. 17; Vol. XI, Jl. 30; Dg. 59.

(2) I.A. Vol. VIII, p. 64.

(3) nirjjitya yenArjunamâji-mûrddhni Śrî-Mâlavasyojjagṛhe haṭhena ‖ 11 ‖ E.I, Vol. XIX, p. 50. The Hammîra-Mahâkâvya describes Arjuna as the Râja of Sarasapura (I.A. VIII, p. 64,).

was on the throne of Gujarat. He fell upon the Paramâras with a body of soldiers, and shattered their forces. The Cintra prasasti[1] of his reign, dated 1287, A.D., tells us that he reduced the power of the Yâdava and the Mâlava kings in battle as Garuda formerly overcame the huge-bodied elephant and the tortoise. He appears to have been assisted in this enterprise by his governor Vîsala, who is described by the Mount Abu inscription,[2] dated 1293 A.D., as a ruler of eighteen provinces, his headquarters being at Candrâvatî. The Pâṭanârâyaṇa inscription[3] of the Paramâra Pratâpasiṃha mentions him as the conqueror of the lord of Mâlava and the Turuṣkas. It seems to refer to the same campaign against Malwa as that led by Sârangadeva.

BHOJA II

HAMMÎRAS SECOND INVASION OF MALWA.

Arjunavarman occupied the throne of Malwa until at least the year 1283 A.D., the date of the accession of Hammîra to the throne of Ranthambhor.[4] He was succeeded by Bhoja II. During his reign the hostility with the Câhamânas of Ranthambhor reached its climax. Hammîra, shortly after his accession, set out on a career of military glory at the expense of the neighbouring Hindu princes without paying any attention to the extensive preparations of the Moslems for the invasion of his own territory. He conquered Gaḍhamaṇḍala and marched upon Dhârâ, where he

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(1) yudhi Yâdava-Mâlaveśvarâv-akṛta kṣîṇabalau balena yaḥ /
Pṛthu-vigraha-dhâriṇau purâ patageṃdro gaja-kacchapâv-iva //
(E.i. Vol. I, p. 281, v. 13).

(2) Asiatic Researches Vol. XVI, p. 311.

(3) Śrî-Mâlavâdhipa Ti(Tu)ruṣka-balaika-jaitra-Śrî-Bhâda-deva-suta-Vîsala-ramya-râjye. (I.A., Vol. XLV, p. 79, v. 42.) Vîsala is described here as the son of Bhâdadeva. He was, in all likelihood, the same as the governor of Sârangadeva, who is mentioned in the Mount Abu inscription.

(4) I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.

defeated the king, Bhoja II, a descendant of the famous king of that name. Thence he proceeded to Ujjain, where, bathing in the waters of the Kṣiprâ, he paid his devotions to the shrine of Mahâkâla. Finally, he returned to Ranthambhor, after vanquishing the rulers of Mewar, Mount Abu and Vardhamânapura.

This lack of statesmanship on the part of Hammîra in throwing himself headlong into a series of wars with the chiefs of his own nationality, at a time when the Muhammadans raised their war-cry on the northern boundary of his dominions, not only hastened the ruin of the Paramâras, but also brought speedy destruction upon his own government. In 1301 A.D., the Moslems under Alâ-ud-dîn Khiljî,(1) broke through the barrier of his armies, and rushed towards his capital. The Hammîra-mahâkâvya describes pathetically the manner in which the great hero met his end, when all the women of his harem, (voluntarily burnt themselves to ashes), mounting on a funeral pyre, Hammîra sallied forth from his stronghold, and made a desperate attack on his enemies. All his valiant generals died ~~fighting bravely~~ one after the other, ~~die~~ bravely fighting. "Lastly fell the mighty Hammîra, pierced with a hundred shafts. Disdaining to fall with anything like life into the enemy's hands, he, ~~severed with his own hands,~~ severed with one last effort, his head from his body, with his own hands, and so terminated his existence. Thus fell Hammîra, the last of the Cohâns!"(2)

MAHLAK DEO.

Next came the turn of the Paramâra government. The life and spirit infused into it by the ever-memorable Muñja and Bhoja had long since been blighted. ~~Now only its shadow remained, to preserve the carcase from complete degeneration.~~ Only the shadow of its former glory and honour power remained. In the meantime it suffered another terrible disaster at the hand of Lakṣmasiṃha, the Guhila king of Mewar. An inscription(4) of Râṇâ Kumbhakarṇa,

(1) Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 179.

(2) I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 73. (3) Ibid.

(4) Mâlaveśa-Gogâ-deva-jaitra-Śrî-Lakṣmasiṃha, A.S.I., 1907-8, p. 214, Lines 12-13.

dated 1439 A.D., praises Laksmasimha for his victory over Gogâdeva, the king of Mâlava. A contemporary Muhammadan historian inscribes the name Gogâ as Kokâ, and describes him as a commander (pardhân) of the Malwa king, Mahlak Deo.(1) I think Mahlak Deo succeeded Bhoja II ~~to~~ on the throne, and that Gogâ was a semi-independent chief.

FINAL CONQUEST OF MALWA BY THE MOSLEMS

Shortly after the fall of Ranthambhor, in A.H. 705 = 1305 A.D., Sultân Alâ-ud-Dîn Khiljî appeared, at the head of his picked troops, before the gates of Malwa. Mahlak Deo, together with his general Kokâ (Gogâ), collected all the forces he could muster, amounting in all to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry, and confronted the Moslems in a last but by no means less formidable effort to stem their progress ~~of the invaders~~. But Providence had decreed that the Hindus should no more hold the sovereignty of India. Hundreds of the Malwa army were slain on the battlefield, and Kokâ lost his life in the encounter. Mahlak Deo fled to the fort of Mandu, and Malwa was conquered and finally annexed to the Moslem Empire, 'Ain-ul-Mulk being appointed to carry on its administration as governor. At the order of the Sultân, 'Ain-ul-Mulk advanced towards Mandu to bring that also under subjugation. A spy led him into the fort through a secret passage, whence he suddenly fell upon Mahlak Deo, and slew him in spite of the fugitive's efforts to escape.(2)

JAYASIMHA III

The Paramâra sovereignty was now extinct in Malwa, never to revive. But for some time longer the banner of its independence was kept unfurled in Bhilsa by Jayasimha III, who was probably the successor of Mahlak Deo.(3) An inscription, inside the east entrance of the great temple of Udayapur, tells us that

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(1) Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 76.

(2) Ibid., cf. pp. 174-175

(3) I.A., Vol. XX, p. 84.

in Sam 1366 = 1209 A.D. Mahârâjâdhirâja Srî-Jayasimha was ruling there. We know nothing further about him or any of his successors. The province was conquered and annexed to the Moslem empire shortly afterwards.

Here we must close the long tale of a family of rulers, which emerged out of comparative darkness into the political arena of Central India in a burst of splendour, and dominated with unbounded authority a large tract of land for five hundred years. It withered and died out in the fires of internecine warfare, but it left behind it a great civilisation and culture which will endure for all time. In the domain of politics its achievements were magnificent; to the altar of the Goddess of Learning its contributions were immeasurable; and in the field of architecture its activities were unparalleled ~~noteworthy~~. For long it served as a bulwark for the Deccan against the torrents of the Muhammadan invasions. The great Moslem conquerors, Mahmûd of Ghazni and Shihâb-ud-Dîn Muhammad of Ghor, ravaged all the countries round Malwa, but, curiously enough, touched not a stone of the Paramâra empire. The riches of Ujjain and Dhârâ were no less glittering than those of Ajmer, Kanauj and Anahilwara; the idol of Mahâkâla was of no less repute than that of Somanâtha; yet these adventurers did not attempt any invasion of Malwa. They must have been attracted by its wealth, but the armaments of the Paramâras probably dashed to the ground all their hopes of successful plunder.

It was from one of its western neighbours that the structure ~~equilibrium~~ of the Paramâra government received the severe blow which shook it to its foundations. It was subsequently restored, but not in its former perfection; it had lost all its pristine glory and magnificence. It did not enjoy enough respite for the complete recuperation of its strength; rather the wound, first inflicted, was widened by the successive attacks of the numerous Hindu chiefs, who were its enemies, until at last the Moslems descended upon its weakened power, and finished the work of destruction. With its fall the barrier of the Deccan was broken; there was none to stem the tide of the Moslem armies, before which were swept away all the Hindu sovereignties of the south.

CHAPTER VIII

In this chapter I shall endeavour to narrate the history of social, administrative, religious, architectural and literary conditions and events in Malwa under the Paramâra dynasty.

Social & Administrative.

From the time of the eighth century A.D. the Eastern and Western portions of Mâlava were merged in one kingdom and were known under the generic name of Mâlava. The territory, over which the main branch of the Paramâras held sway, was generally known as the Mâlava-deśa.(1) The whole kingdom was divided into a number of maṇḍalas (provinces), each of which was again divided into Bhogas (the modern divisions). The 'Viṣaya'(2) is also a unit of the maṇḍala, but its relation with the 'Bhoga' cannot be definitely ascertained. Each 'Bhoga' seems to have been subdivided into 'Pathakas', and each 'Pathaka' into 'Pratijâgaraṇakas' (modern 'parganâ'). Each 'Pratijâgaraṇaka' was split up into groups, each of which was composed of a certain number of villages. The village was the lowest unit of the territorial divisions. Besides these, there ~~were~~ a large number of cities and towns, which probably served as provincial headquarters, Our knowledge of the names of all the units of the kingdom is by no means exhaustible, being limited in fact to the

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(1) Vide ante, p.27, Chapt.II.

(2) That 'Viṣaya' was a unit of the maṇḍala is clearly borne out by the Barah copper-plate of the Pratihâra Bhoja, dated 836 A.D. (E.I., XIX, p.15), It records the grant of a village which lay in the Udumbara-viṣaya of the Kâlañjara-maṇḍala, in the Kânyâkubja-bhukti. But sometimes it represented a greater unit than a maṇḍala. In the Somanâtha-pattana inscription of the reign of the Caulukya Kumârapâla, dated 1169 A.D., Bânânasî (Benares) is mentioned as a place in the Kânyâkubja-viṣaya. (Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol.III, p. 7, v.5.)

following collected from the available records.

MAṆḌALAS

1. Avanti.
2. Mahâdvâdaśaka.
3. Nîlagiri.
4. Pûrṇapathaka.
5. Saṃgamakheṭa.
6. Sthalî.
7. Vindhya.
8. Vyâpura.
9. Upendrapura.
10. Selluka.[1]

BHOGAS

1. Gardabhapânîya.
2. Ghâghradora. (in the Sthali mandala)
3. Râjaśayana. (" " Mahadvadasaka mandala)

VIṢAYAS

1. Âudrahâḍi in Selluka (containing 1500 villages).
2. Mohaḍavâsaka.

PATHAKA.

1. Iṅgaṇapaṭa.
2. Bhṛṃgârî-catuḥsaṣṭi.
3. Mahuaḍa.
4. Nâgadraha.

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(1) It is mentioned as a territory containing 1500 villages (E.I., Vol.XIX, p.74.).

PRATIJÂGARAṆAKA.

1. Amaḍâpadra. (in the Nîlagiri maṇḍala).
2. Mahwaḍa. (" " Mahwaḍa pathaka).
3. Mandâraka.
4. Narmadâpura
5. Pagâra
6. Sakapura.

GROUPS OF VILLAGES

1. Bhâillasvâmi mahâdvâdaśaka (12)
2. Maktulâgrâma-dvicatvârimśa (42)
3. Muktâpalî-Caturâśîti. (84)
(in the Âudraḥâḍi viṣaya)
4. Bhṛmgârî-catuḥṣaṣṭi. (64)
5. Voḍasirâ-aṣṭacatvârimśa (48)
(In the Narmadâpura pratijâgaraṇaka)
6. Tiniṣapadra-dvâdaśaka. (12)
7. Nayâpadra-Saptadaśaka. (17)
8. Vatakheṭaka. (36)
9. Savariśolâ. (16)

VILLAGES.

1. Agâsiyaka.
2. Ajâravâhalâ. (In the Gardabhapânîya bhoga).
3. Cikhillikâ (" " " ")
4. Piśâcadevatîrtha " " ")
5. Pipparikâ Toḍâra " " ")
6. Sambalapuraka (In " Tiniṣapadra dvâdaśaka).
7. Guṇapura. " " " "
8. Bhagavatpura " " " "
9. Kumbhâpâṭaka " Mohaḍavâśa-viṣaya.
10. Sîhakâ " " "
11. Vaṭapadraka " Ghâghradora-bhoga.
12. Nâlataḍâga " Nayâpadra-saptadaśaka
13. Vîrâṇâka " Nâgadraha-pathaka
14. Mâyamoḍaka " Vaṭakheṭaka thirty-six.

VILLAGES (continued).

15. Ghaṇṭâpallî in Saṃgamakheṭaka-maṇḍala.
16. Viluhaja " " "
17. Vaḍauḍa in Surâsaṇî) Both situated in the
18. Uthavaṇaka in the Suvarṇa-prasâdikâ) Râjasayana bhoga.
19. Saṃgavaṭṭâ in Bhṛmgârî-Catuḥsaṣṭi.
20. Umaratha " " "
21. Nâha " " "
22. Vahiḍau (mṭhâ) " " "
23. Deulî " " "
24. Lakhaṇauḍâ " " "
25. Palasavâḍâ " Amaḍâpadra-pratijâgaraṇaka.
26. Mamati " " "
27. Guṇaura " Voḍâsira forty-eight.
28. Guvâḍâghaṭṭa " " "
29. Piḍiviḍi " Sakapura-pratijâgaraṇaka.
30. Hathinâvara " Pagara "
31. Satâjuṇâ " Mahuada "
32. Kadambapadraka " Mandâraka "
33. Vaḍauḍa " Mahuaḍa-pathaka
34. Muktâpalî " Âudrahâḍi-viṣaya
35. Mahiṣabuddhikâ " " "
36. Mahuḍalâ " " "
37. Hathâvâḍâ. " " "
38. Kâkaḍa. " " "
39. Undapura.
40. Bhîmagrâma.
41. Mokhalapâṭaka.
42. Laghuvaiṃganapadra.
43. Ṭhikkarikâ
44. Devalapâṭaka.

A contemporary Muhammadan historian recounts the total number of villages which lay in the jurisdiction of Malwa. Wassâf completed his book Taziyatu-l Amṣâr in 1300 A.D. He claims to have collected the material for his work from the accounts of many travellers, who devoted their lives to making enquiries and research in Hindustan. He tells us that the country of Malwa, which was under the sovereignty of a Hindu dynasty, consisted of 1,893,000 towns and villages.(1)

Our information regarding the names of the towns and cities that rose to importance during the period under review is very small. The following few places are worth mentioning:

1. Ujjain
2. Dhârâ
3. Maṇḍapa
4. Maheśvara
5. Udayapura
6. Bhojapura
7. Vardhamânapura
8. Harṣapura
9. Narmadâpura (Namâvur)(2)
10. Candrapurî
11. Râjabrahmapurî
12. Brahmapurî
13. Devapâlapura
14. Nalakacchapura
15. Bhilsa (Bhailssan)(3)
16. Chargûn (Gâgrûn?)
17. Bijagaṛ (Bijayagaḍh)
18. Hindiâda(4)
19. Saṅgâma.(5)
20. Gogasthâna.6

The population of the country mainly consisted of the Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Kâyasthas, Vaiśyas, Śûdras, and Tailakas.(7) The Brahmans, as usual, occupied the highest position in the community. The kings offered special privileges to them, and granted lands for their maintenance. During this period a large

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(1) Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p.31.

(2) Sachau's Albêrûnî, Vol. I, p. 203. (3) Ibid, p. 202.

(4) Briggs, Firishta, Introduction, L XXVI, Elliot, Vol.VI, p.559

(5) Ante, p.85. 6. Ante. P. 174.

(7) Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 324; E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 310.

number of Brahman families migrated from the following places, and settled themselves in Malwa -

Ânandapura.

Ahicchatra.(1)

Cîncâsthâna.(2)

Sthâneśvara.

Visâlagrâma.

Bâdâvi in Belluvalla of Karṇâṭa.(3)

Adriyalavidâvarî.(4)

Muktâvasasthâna.(5)

Ṭakârîsthâna.

Śṛngapura in Madhyadeśa.(6)

Âśramasthâna.

Mahâvanasthâna.

Tripurîsthâna.

Akolâsthâna.

Mathurâsthâna.

Diṇḍvânasthâna.

Madhyadeśa.

Sarasvatîsthâna.

Hastinâpura.(7)

Mûtâvathû.

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(1) Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 303. I.A., Vol. VI. p. 52

(2) E. I., Vol. XI. p. 182.

(3) I. A., Vol. VI. p. 55 - of Vol. XXXI. p. 365.

(4) Ibid, Vol. XIX, pp. 350-51.

(5) J.A.S.B., Vol. V. p. 379.

(6) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, p. 54.

(7) E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 115-116.

The Brahmans were divided into various Gotras and Śâkhâs. The following are some of them:-

GOTRAS (1)

Capalîya	Bhâradvâja	Gautama	Harita-kutsa
Gopâli	Kâtyâyana	Vatsa	Mârkaṇḍeya
Vasiṣṭha	Kâśyapa	Mudgala	Kautsa
Kauśika	Parâvasu	Śâṇḍilya	Parâśara
Agastya	Bhârgava	Dhaumya	Audalya

ŚAKHAS (2)

Vâjimâdhyaṃdina	Śâṅkhâyana
Âśvalâyana	Rânâyani
Mâdhyaṃdina	Kaṭha
Kauthuma	Vâjasaneya

Sometimes they bore titles of distinction indicating their rank and the extent of their education, such as the following: (3)

Śrotriya	Paṇḍita	Caturveda
Śukla	Agnihotrin	Dviveda
Dîkṣita	Râjan	Yâjñika
Triveda	Upâdhyâya	
Pâṭhaka	Ṭhakkura	
Âvasathika	Mahârâja-paṇḍita	

It was through the contributions of these learned and highly talented Brahmans that Malwa rose to the position of an ideal Hindu State. The Mount Abu inscription (4) of the reign of the Caulukya Bhîma II, dated 1208 A.D., presents a true picture of the country in the following words:-

"Glory to Avanti, the home of rich men, which protects the world by the heroism of its lords, cleanses it by the pure and brilliant life of its Brahmans who follow the way

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(1) E.I., Vol.IX, pp.115-16, I.A.,Vol.XI, p.221

(2) E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 115-116. (3) Ibid.

(4) I.A., Vol. XI, p. 222

prescribed by the revealed texts, and which gladdens it through the fragrance arising from the dalliance of its passionate youths."

The Paramâra kings were Kṣatriyas. They established social relations with the various ruling dynasties of India by intermarriages. Udayâditya's daughter was married to a Guhila king. Jagaddeva gave his daughter in marriage to a Varman king of East Bengal. Arjunavarman's first queen was a daughter of a Kuntala king, and his second was a Caulukya princess. The Ganga king, Narasiṃha I (1253-1286 A.D.), married Sîtâdevî, the daughter of a Mâlava king.(1) A Gujarat prince married a princess of the Paramâra dynasty.(1a)

The country was very wealthy. Besides the dwelling quarters in every village, there were fields for growing crops, pasture-land for cattle, and woods which produced fuel. There were markets in the villages and cities, which contained the houses of traders. In each of them there were traders' associations.(2) The chief articles for sale were(3) candied sugar, jaggery, Bengal-madder, thread, cotton, cocoanuts, butter, sesam oil, salt, areca-nuts, clothing fabrics, jâla (bunch of buds), lagaḍâ (bars of gold), silver or other metal, oil, cattle fodder, sugar, grain, barley, etc.

The land measurements were nivartanas and phalakas.(4) There were different standards of measures for the different articles in the market, as for instance(5) -

Bharaka - for cocoanuts, candied sugar, jaggery, Bengal-madder, thread, cotton and grain;

Ghaṭaka (pot) for butter and sesam oil

(6) and palikâ " " " " "

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(1) E.I., Vol.V, Appendix p.53, No.362

(1a) Gadyakaraṇâmṛta of Sakala-Vidyâcakravartin. An Rep.My.Arch Dep.1929, p.12

(2) Ibid, Vol.XIV, p.310, v.75. (3) Ibid, pp.309-6.

(4) Ibid., Vol.XIX, p.74. (5) Ibid, Vol.XIV, pp. 309-10.

(6) 'Palikâ' is apparently an abbreviation of 'Pala', E.I., Vol.XI. p.41.

Mûṭaka and Mânaka[1] - for salt.

Pûlakas[2] - for jâla.

Karṣa and Pâṇaka - for oil.

Santas - for seeds of grain.

Vumvaka - for the distiller's productions.

Mûṭaka, Hâraka and Vâpa[3] - for barley.

The currency consisted of coins of various denominations in gold and silver. Some gold coins, apparently of the reign of Udayâditya, have been discovered in the Central Provinces. They are similar in type to those of the Kalacuri Gângeyadeva.[4] The legend on the obverse is -

1. Śrîmad - U-
2. -daya-de-
3. -va.

Mr.R.D.Banerji[5] suggests that the king referred to must have been of the Paramâra dynasty. The other denominations of coinage, as mentioned in the contemporary records, are -[6]

1.	Rûpaka	:	3.	Dramma	
2.	Ardharûpaka	:	4.	Vimśopika[7]	

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(1) Mânaka might have been the same as Mâṇâ. Its equivalents are:-

4 pâilâ = 1 pâyalî : 4 mâṇâ = 1 Seî
5 pâyalî = 1 mâṇâ : 2 Seî = 1 man. (E.I.XI, p.41)

(2) i.e. bundles. (3) i.e. handfuls.

(4) J.A.S.B., 1920, Plate XIII, No.2

(5) Ibid. P.84.

(6) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 310; Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 226, J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 738, v. 6; Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 38.

(7) One-twentieth of a rûpaka. (E.I., Vol. XI, p. 41.)

The King was the supreme head of the government. Over the administrative department was a body of ministers, at the head of which was the Prime Minister, who controlled all the officials and was subordinate himself to the king. His duty was to advise the sovereign upon matters of state, although, of course, his advice had no binding effect upon the king and could be disregarded by him. This was the case when Rudrâditya, the minister of Muñja, was opposed to the policy of launching campaigns against the Cāḷukyas, and the king disregarded his counsels.(1)

The minister in charge of the affairs of peace and war was known as 'Mahâsândhivigrahika'.(2)

The provincial government was in the hands of viceroys, known as 'Maṇḍalikas' and 'Mahâmaṇḍalikas'.(3) The officer in charge of a 'visaya' was called a 'Sâmanta'(4), and the king's representative in the village was the 'Paṭṭalika' (Pâṭel). The other governmental officials were -

Mahâsâdhanika(5)	Caurika	Daṇḍapâśika
Mahâpradhâna	Grâmaṭaka	Prâtirâjyaka(6)
Deśilaka	Gokulika	Mahattama

Mahâsâdhyapâla.(7)

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi p. 33.

(2) J.Am. O.S., Vol. VII, p.31.

(3) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, p. 54.

(4) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 74.

(5) I.A., Vol. XIV, p. 161; ibid, XIX, p. 348

(6) E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 74.

(7) Wilson, "Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus", Introduction, pp.xx,xxi.

Dandâdhisa[1] was the title of the General of the army. The government maintained a huge force consisting of -

Infantry

Cavalry

Elephants.

An inscription[2] of Arjunavarman's reign tells us that the king possessed three classes of combatants - which obviously points to the above three divisions. Even at the time when the Paramâra government was on the point of extinction, its armed forces amounted to thirty or forty thousand cavalry and innumerable infantry.[3] The Paramâras were specially noted for their elephant forces. Muñja is said to have lost one thousand four hundred and seventy-six elephants in his fight with the Câlukyas of the Deccan.[4] Sindhurâja invaded Gujarat with his elephant force.[5] After the conquest of Tripurî, Lakṣmadeva encamped on the bank of the Narmada, where his elephants alleviated the fatigue of battle by bathing in the river.[6] Arjunavarman, fought with the Caulukya Jayasiṃha, mounted on an elephant,[7] A Hoysala inscription designates the Mâlava king as the master of elephants.[8] Bows and arrows and swords were the principal weapons in use.[9] Bhoja is known to have practised archery. "Jharjharas" and Dâmaras"[10] were used as war-drums. The soldiers were quartered in forts scattered all over the country. There were forts at Ujjain, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

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(1) E.I., Vol.IX, p. 75, v. 17.

(2) J.Am.O.S., Vol. VII., p. 26.

(3) Elliot, History of India, Vol. III, p. 76.

(4) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 34.

(5) E.I., Vol. I, p. 302.

(6) Ibid, Vol. II, p. 192, v. 30.

(7) Ibid, Vol. VIII, p. 100.

(8) E.C.Vol.VI, Kd.No.156.

(9) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 71.

(10) E.I., Vol.II, p. 192, v.30.

Dhârâ[1], Rahatgarh, Bhilsa, Mandu and Gunapura.

The total income of the government was probably eighteen hundred thousand gold coins[2]. The royal dues were levied either in money or in kind. The revenue mainly consisted of -

1. A share of the produce of the fields;
2. House-tax;
3. Rent in cash[3];
4. Tolls and other dues from the market[4];
5. Ferry-tolls[5];
6. Imposts on salt[6].

Religion:

Brahmanism: The Paramâra kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. The sovereigns who supported this worship by donations include Śîyaka-Harsa, Vâkpati, Bhoja, Jayasimha, Arjunavarman, Devapâla and Jayavarman II[7]. Udayâditya built a temple to Śiva at Udayapur. The god was known under various names, such as Śambhu, Śrîkantha, Bhavânîpati, Amareśvara, Omkâra, Mahâkâla, Kâlakâleśvara, Siddhanâtha, Nilakanṭheśvara, Udaleśvara, Vaidyanâtha[8] and Gohadeśvara. Carcikâ was the favourite goddess of Naravarman[9], and Devapâla[10] had great reverence for Limbâryâ.

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(1) J.A.S.B., Vol.VII, p.738; ibid Vol. V, p. 379; E.I., Vol. IX, p. 121; I.A., Vol.XX, p. 83; Briggs' Firishta, Vol.I, p. 211.

(2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 89; Mr.Tawney thinks that the Number expressed here refers to the villages; ibid, fn. 5.

(3) J.A.S.B., V., p.382; J.Am.O.S., VII, pp. 31, 34.

(4) J.A.S.B., VII, p. 740. (5) J.Am.O.S. VII, p. 31.

(6) Ibid. (7) Proceedings & Transactions of the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924, p. 303; I.A., VI, p. 52; E.I., XI, p. 182; J.A.S.B., V., p.381; E,I,IX, pp.109, 119

(8) I.A.,VI,p.52; E.I.,XI.,p.182; E.I.,IV,p.49; J.Am.O.S.,VII, p.30; I.A.,,XI, p.222; I.A.,VI,p.56; E.I.,XIX,p.71,I.A.Vol. XVIII, p.347.

(9) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1914, p. 59.

(10) I.A., XX., p.310.

The contemporary records tell us that the following gods and goddesses were also held in great veneration by the people:[1]

Durgâ	: Râdhâ	: Ganeśa
Lakṣmî	: Vâgdevî Bhâratî	: Loligasvâmî.
Bhaṭṭeśvarî	: Hanumat	: Kaetrapâla
Vidyâdharî	: Ambikâ	: Nakulîśa.

The Four-Faced Mârkaṇḍeya.

The images of all these deities were bathed and anointed with perfumes and incense. The usual ceremonial for worship, consisted in sacrificing holy wood, Kuśa grass, sesamum-seed and rice in the sacred fire. Food and flowers were also offered. The worshipper robed himself in white garments, and said prayers to the deity.[2] Sometimes he walked thrice round the sacred cow with other purificatory ceremonial.

During this period, Malwa was one of the chief centres of the Brahmanical religion. The caste-system was at the basis of the Hindu social structure. The Paramâra kings lent their powerful support to the maintenance of its integrity Udayâditya and Naravarman declared that their swords were ever ready to protect 'varṇa' (caste).[3] There were numerous Hindu monasteries which fostered the study of the religious scriptures. At the head of each monastery was a superintendent, highly distinguished for learning. In Ujjain there was a Śaiva monastery of established repute called Nûtana; the Candikâśrama was another similar one in the same locality, where the following personages successively once assumed the office of Superior.[4] ~~in succession:~~[4]

Tâpasa	: Yogeśvararâśi	: Durvâsarâśi
Vâkalavâsi	: Maunirâśi	: Kedâraraśi.
Jyeṣṭajarâśi	: Yogeśvarî	:

The first mentioned, Tâpasa belonged to the Capalîya race,[5] and attained this high position by his sincere devotion

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(1) I.A., XIV, p.161; Rûpam, Jan.1924, p.I; E.I. II, p.189; I.A., XX, p.310; J.A.S.B. 1914, p.243; ibid VII, p. 740.

(2) J.A.S.B. VII, p. 738; I.A., XVI, p. 255.

(3) J.Bo.Br., Vol.XXI, p.351. (4) I.A., Vol.XI, pp.221-22. (5) Ibid

to the God Candiśa, whilst the last in our list, Kedârarâśi, built a temple to Śiva on Mount Abu, in Sam. 1265 - 1208 A.D.(1)

A great personage, named Bhâva Bṛhaspati, was born in the famous city of Vânârasî (Benares), situated in the viṣaya of Kânyakubja. He migrated to Malwa and resided in Dhârâ, which was the abode of many saintly people belonging to various religions. There he attained the office of Superintendent of Śaiva temples, and wrote a treatise on the doctrine of the cult of Śiva. The Paramâra kings were attracted by his qualities, and became his disciples.(2) Later on, he changed his residence and went to Gujarat, where he became the Superior of the Śaiva monasteries. The Caulukya Kumârapâla granted him a village in 1169 A.D.(3)

The people observed many religious ceremonies with great devotion. The most important of these seems to have been the 'Vasantotsava' or the Spring Festival. This ~~occasion~~ was celebrated amidst various amusements, dramas ~~being~~ occasionally being acted.(4) The other ceremonial ~~occasions~~ events of significance were:

Diwâli(5)	:	Sendhavadeva(6)	: Candragrahaṇa (lunar eclipse
Pavitraka	:	Mahâvaiśâkha	: Suryagrahaṇa (solar ")

Jainism. Side by side with the Brahmanical religion, Jainism also flourished in Malwa, though not with equal vigour. In the early part of the eleventh century A.D., the great Jaina Śvetâmbara teacher, Ammadeva, flourished in Khandesh, in the southern division of the Paramâra kingdom.(8) He preached the doctrines of Jainism, and converted many people to his faith. Numerous Jaina temples were erected in that province,

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(1) I.A., Vol. XI, p.222.

(2) Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. III, p. 13.

(3) Ibid. (4) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 101.

(5) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 46

(6) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

(7) J.A.S.B.1914, p. 242.

(8) E.I.,Vol. XIX, p.71.

in one of which was installed the image of Munisuvrata. A number of Jaina fanes, which were built in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., have been discovered at Un in the Nimar District.(1) This proves that, during that period, Jainism was not limited to Khandesh, but had extended further east, in the Central Provinces within the boundaries of the Paramâra dominion.

Jainism also made considerable progress on the north of the Vindhya mountain. Its teachers always tried to assert their influence over the Paramâra kings. The Jaina teachers, Amitagati and Dhaneśvara, lived in Malwa during the reign of Muñja, (Vide post, p.266). Dhaneśvara was the successor of Abhayadeva, in the Sûripada. He is said to have flourished when Muñja was ruling. (Peterson's 4th Report, Introduction p.3).

Muniratnasûri's Amamasvâmi-carita(2) says that the Sûris Mânatuṅga and Devabhadra were two swans, whose lake Mânasa was in the minds (mânasa) of Śrî-Śâtavâhana and Bhoja. Through the influence of the poet Dhanapâla, Bhoja is said to have become favourably inclined towards the tenets of the Jainas.(3) But it is an evident fact that up to the last day of his life he entertained unvarying devotion to the Brahmanical faith.

Merutuṅga tells(4) how the king summoned a convention in which the representatives of the different sects united.

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle 1919 pp. 61-66

(2) Peterson's Third Report p. 91 v.23

(3) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 52 ff.

(4) Ibid, p. 63.

On his putting to them the inquiry as to what constituted the true path of salvation, each spoke in favour of what was enjoined in ~~their respective~~ his peculiar religious doctrines. Subsequently, a compromise was effected, by which all agreed to work together for the solution of the problem, going carefully into the merits of the different authorities. In six months' time they arrived at the conclusion that "By meditation one obtains salvation, regardless of the religion to which one adheres." The Goddess Sarasvatî is said to have appeared to the king in this connection, with the following message:(1)

"Are you awake?
You must listen to the religion of the Buddhists, but
You must practise that of the Jainas,
You must meditate on the supreme Śiva."

We have no other evidence to corroborate the above report of Merutuṅga. It may be ~~suggested~~ inferred from this that Bhoja followed a policy of toleration in religious matters.

The great Jaina ~~author~~ author, Abhayadeva, was born at Dhârâ. His father, Dhana, was a merchant in that city. Abhayakumâra was the name of Abhayadeva before his conversion to Jainism. He obtained the position of Âcârya at the age of sixteen, and he was made Sûri by Jineśvara, in V.S.1088-1031 A.D.(2)

The king Naravarman was favourably disposed to the Jaina religion. Samudraghoṣa studied Tarka Śâstra (logic) in Mâlava.(3) Naravarman became greatly inclined to him ~~for~~ on account of his vast learning. The Amamasvâmi-caritra relates that, when Samudraghoṣa had addressed the assembly of learned men, the king Naravarman of Dhârâ, the Śiddharâja of Gujarat and the Prince of Godhra listened to him with great interest.(4)

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 63. (2) Peterson's 4th Report, Introduction p.4
(3) Amamasvâmi-caritra by Munirâtna-Sûri Peterson's Third Report, p.95, v.8
(4) Peterson's Third Report of Operation in Search of Sanskrit Manuscript in the Bombay Circle, p. 95, v.9

Samudraghoṣa's disciple, Sûraprabha, was highly renowned in Mâlava for his good qualities.(1) Naravarman also had great veneration for the Jaina teacher, Vallabha, at whose feet he is said to have bowed down his head.(2)

Jainism found a new life in Gujarat under the patronage of the Caulukya Kumârapâla (1145-1172 A.D.). The whole of Malwa was brought under his direct control; Jainas living there seem to have received fresh encouragement from him, and to have carried on their religious propaganda with much vigour.

About this time Paṇḍit Dhârâsena lived at Dhârâ. His disciple was Mahâvîra, a learned teacher versed in all the principles of the Jaina cult and Jaina grammar. He lived under the patronage of the Paramâra Vindhyavarman, who had great respect for the Jainas. During this period Âśâdhara migrated to Malwa with all his family, and placed himself under the guidance of Mahâvîra. He found the holy Triad flourishing under the benevolent care of Vindhyavarman.(3) Vindhyavarman's successor, Subhaṭavarman, was an enemy of the Jaina religion. During his reign, it seems to have received a severe check in Malwa and Gujarat. Âśâdhara does not mention ~~anything about~~ him in his writings. During his invasion of the Caulukya dominion, he took away nineteen gold jars from the Jaina temple at Dabhoi, and demolished a number of other Jaina temples in Gujarat.(4)

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(1) Peterson's Third Report, p.95, v.10.

(2) Abhayadeva's Jayantakâvya, Grantha-prasasti.

(3) Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for the Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, p. 104.

(4) Vide ante, p. 181 foot-notes 3, 4.

After the accession of Arjunavarman, Jainism again raised its head in Malwa. Âśâdhara tells us[1] that the territory of Arjunavarman was full of Jaina Śrâvakas, and that he himself lived in the city of Nalakacchapura in order to advance the cause of the Jaina faith. He wrote a series of pamphlets dealing with various aspects of its cult, ~~from various angles.~~ They contain the duties of the Yatis, a metaphysical treatise relating to Syâdvâda, the essence of the teaching of the Arhats, etc. Âśâdhara lived until the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., and was patronised by Devapâla and Jaitugi.

During this time, the Jainas succeeded in establishing a strong organisation all over Northern India, with Gujarat as their headquarters. Vastupâla (1219-1238 A.D.), the minister of the ~~Caulukya~~ Vâghelâ Vîradhavala, when he went on a pilgrimage, was attended by the "Saṅghapatis" (heads of the organised associations) from Lâṭa, Gauḍa, Maru, Kaccha, Dâhala, Avanti and Vaṅga.[2]

In the middle of the thirteenth century A.D., Devendra seems to have been the head of the Jaina monastery at Ujjain.[3] He converted Vîradhavala and Bhîmasiṃha, sons of the Maheśvara Jinacandra at Ujjain, in Saṃ. 1302 = 1245 A.D. In Saṃ. 1323 = A.D. 1266, Vîradhavala received from him the office of Sûri, under the name of Vidyânanda Sûri, And Bhîmasiṃha the post of the teacher (Upâdhyâyapada), under the name of Dharmakîrti. Devendra died in Malwa in Saṃ. 1327 = 1270 A.D., and his successor, Vidyânanda, also expired thirteen days after that date. ~~The latter's yo~~ Vidyânanda's younger brother, Dharmakîrti, then became the Sûri, under the name of Dharmaghoṣa. He died in Saṃ. 1357 = 1300 A.D.

Jainism continued to flourish in Malwa for a long time. During the whole course of the Paramâra rule, though the Jainas spent much effort in an attempt to further the cause

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(1) Report of the Search for Sanskrit MSS, by Bhandarkar, 1883-1884, pp. 103-104. (2) Vasantavilâsa, Sarga 10.

(3) I.A., XI, p. 255.

of their faith, they never succeeded in attaining predominance over the Brahmanical religion.[1] Merutunga tells us that when the flag of the Mahâkâla temple was hoisted all those of the Jainas had to be lowered.

Architecture.

The Paramâra kings were great builders of magnificent cities, lakes and temples. Bhoja rebuilt the city of Dhârâ.[2] A Hoysala grant from Belur, dated 1117 A.D., records that "Dhârâ was made prosperous by Bhoja."[3] Since his reign, it had enjoyed the position of the chief city of Malwa, even down to the time of the Muhammadan rule.[4]

Twenty miles south of the city of Bhopal are the remains of the ancient city of Bhojpur. Tradition ascribes its foundation to Bhoja. Not far from it, to the west, is the Bhojpur lake, which was once the greatest of its kind in India. The tradition runs that Bhoja was once attacked by a malady of the severest type, which threatened his life. No physician in the kingdom was able to cure him, but, at last, a recluse prescribed a remedy which, if properly applied, would definitely assure his recovery. The prescription was that the king should take a long course of baths in water supplied daily by 365 streams, and expert engineers were therefore sent all round the Vindhya hill to discover a place that should fulfil these conditions. After much search, the present site of the lake was discovered, which was fed by 359 springs, and the deficiency in the required number was subsequently made up by turning thither the courses of the river Kaliasot and its tributaries. Mr. W. Kincaid, who personally visited the lake, gives the following description of it:[5]

"It covered a valley which presents the most remarkable feature that, though it is so extensive, only two breaks occur in its wall of hills - one a little more than one hun-

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 90. (2) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 46.
(3) Mysore Inscriptions, p. 261. (4) J. Bo.Br., XXI, pp.354 ff.

dred, the other about five hundred yards wide. Both of them were spanned by very remarkable dams, consisting of an earthern central band, faced on both sides, outer and inner, with immense blocks of stone, laid one on the other without mortar, but fitting so truly as to be water-tight, the other two faces sloping inwards from the base. The lesser opening was closed by a band 87 feet in height, and 300 ft. thick at the base, or even more; the greater, by one in places 40 ft. high, and about 100 ft. broad on the top; and, though the first mentioned is now a complete wreck, the latter is intact and still continues to turn the river Kaliasot into the Betwa, and from its top the old bed of the stream is recognisable. The lesser but higher band was broken by Shâh Hussain, the greatest of the Mandu kings, for the purpose of utilising the bed of the lake."

On the ancient shore of the lake lies a number of flat blocks of stones. The people of the locality still believe that they were used as a boat-house by Râjâ Bhoja, who, every morning used to sail across the lake in order to pay his obeisance at the Buddhist caves on the opposite shore. The Bhojpur lake stands to-day as a testimony to the extent of the engineering skill and workmanship achieved by the people of Malwa under the magnificent rule of the Paramâras.

The king Udayâditya founded the city of Udayapur, thirty miles to the north of Bhilsa.(1) Tradition gives a legendary story in connection with the establishment of this city.(2) It runs as follows:-

One day the king, in the course of a hunting excursion, came upon a snake surrounded by fire and writhing in agony. He rescued the reptile, which at once begged for a drink of

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(1) 5. I.A., Vol. XVII, p. 350. ff; J.R.A.S., 1914, p. 309, 1.) Malcolm, Central India, Vol. I., p. 25. Map and plate J.R.A.S., 1916.

(2) Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India X, pp.65-66

water. This being unobtainable, the king, on the earnest request of the snake, put its mouth into his own in order to afford it temporary relief from its pain. But the snake betrayed his trust and slipped down into his stomach, which so upset and distressed the king that he determined to pass the rest of his life in Benares. With this object in view he set off from his capital, halting on his way at the present site of Udayapur, at that time only a tiny village. Here he was sleeping in his tent, watched over by the queen, when another snake, which was guarding a treasure in a hole under a tree near by, peeped out to see what was happening. The first snake saw this and thereupon addressed the second (from the stomach of the king), warning it that it would at once die, if anyone were to pour oil down into its hole. The treasure-guardian grew very angry, and retorted that the other snake was in no very safe position itself, since if anyone administered to the king a dose of pepper, salt and buttermilk, that would be sufficient to put an end to its life. The queen, overhearing this conversation, proceeded immediately to profit by the information she received, and administered the suggested dose to the king, whereupon he at once brought up the snake-dead, as had been foretold; after which he proceeded to pour oil down the hole of the other snake, and, having thus killed that also, took possession of the treasure. To commemorate this event, he built there a city and a temple and named them after himself.

The above story is, no doubt an absolute myth, but there is evidence, that the city was built by the king (in the words of a contemporary inscription)[1]. Udayapur is now, once again, only a small village, but there remain numerous traces ~~are still left~~ of its ancient glory. Udayasamudra, the construction of which is also attributed to Udayâditya (by an early record),

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1914, p. 66.

cannot now be traced.[1]

The king Devapâla built the city of Depalpur, now merely a village, about thirty miles to the north-west of Indore.[2] He also excavated a lake, known as Depal-sâgar, at one end of that village, which is now a fine sheet of water covering a space of several square miles.[3]

During the happy reign of the Paramâras, a large number of superb and magnificent temples were built in Malwa, but unfortunately only a few specimens of these remain to us now, to be described at length in the following pages. After the fall of the Paramâras, Malwa became an important centre of the Muhammadans, and the latter, in order to obtain materials for the construction of their mosques, demolished many Hindu temples. The Muhammadan historians present us with a vivid description of how Iyal-Timish sacked and ravaged the great temple of Mahâkâla at Ujjain, the object of the veneration and respect of the whole of Hindu India.

The Udayapur praśasti tells us that Bhoja beautified the world by covering it with temples, dedicated to Kedâreśvara, Rameśvara, Somanâtha, Sumḍîra(?), Kâla, Anala, and Rudra.[4] I do not think that this by any means refers to the king's participation in the building of the great temple of Somanâtha in Kathiawar or of Rameśvara in Southern India, as suggested by some historians. Besides the great temple of Rameśvara in Madura and the temple of Somanâtha in Kathiawar, there were others dedicated to the same gods in different provinces of India. At Belur, in the Bombay Presidency, there is an old temple of Rameśvara.[5] Similarly, a temple of Somanâtha is to

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(1) Ibid.

(2) In the Tabaqât-i-Akbarî the pargana of Dîpâlpûr is mentioned as a dependency of Malwa (Elliot History of India, Vol.V.P.403). The place is also mentioned in the Bâdshâh-Nâma (ibid), Vol.VII, p.19.

(3) Ibid, 1920, p.102.

(4) Kedâra-Râmeśvara-Somanâtha-(Sum)-ḍîra-kâlânala-Rudra-satkaiḥ surâśra(yai)rvyâpya ca yah samantâd-yathârtha-samjñâm jagatîm cakâra. v.20.E.I., Vol.I, p.236.

(5) Prog.Report of the Archaeol.Survey,Western Circle 1921 p.16.

be found in Deotalao in the Rewa State.[1] Consideration of these things leads me to believe that all the temples mentioned in the Udayapur prasasti were built in Malwa, though none of them can be traced now.

The great Nîlakantheśvara temple at Udayapur was built by Udayâditya in Sam 1116 - 1059 A.D.[2] An inscription of the sixteenth century A.D.[3] describes it as the most beautiful temple in India. It is one of the few temples in Malwa which were spared complete demolition by the Mohammedan iconoclasts. Immediately after the conquest of Udayapur, Sultân Muhammad Tughluq (A.D. 1325) is said to have ordered this structure to be blown up. Gunpowder was heaped in and around the temple, but the priests, by secretly introducing streams of water upon them, rendered the ammunition ineffective. The Sultân took it for a miracle, and revoked his order. One of the halls, for reading Vedas, in the corner of the courtyard, was, on that occasion, converted into a mosque.

Tradition tells us that the Mughal[4] emperor Aurangzeb, on his way back to Delhi from his Deccan wars, halted at Udayapur, and was amazed at the supreme beauty of the temple. He gave orders for its destruction, in order to build a mosque out of its materials. But Mahâdeva, the deity of the temple, appeared to him in a dream and threatened him with the penalty of death should his orders be carried out. To enforce his threat, moreover, the god smote him with illness, after which the emperor, becoming alarmed, rescinded his order.

The temple is still perfect and complete,[5] and is one of the best specimens of North-Indian architecture. It is built of hard, fine-grained red sandstone, and stands in the centre

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(1) ibid, p. 21

(2) J.A.S.B., IX, p. 548.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India, VII, p. 85.

(5) Plate. Gazetteer of Gwalior, Vol. I, Part III.

of a large paved courtyard. It consists of a shrine and a hall. The hall has three porches projecting from its side, access to them being given by flights of steps, the principal one being on the east. The lower parts of all the porches are provided with stone screens with small gaps in the entrance ways. Above the screens are stone benches with short pillars, supporting the roof. In the centre of the hall or sabhâmaṇḍapa there is a bull (Nandi) above which is a domed ceiling. Eight pillars and four pilasters support the roof of the hall. The pillars are massive but well proportioned and beautiful. Each of them is square from the bottom to a certain height, and then rises octagonal to the top, where it is crowned by a circular cap. Over each of these caps there is a bracket capital, rendering the whole pillar from top to bottom symmetrical. The external roof of the hall is pyramidal, and is made of overlapping stones forming circular steps, diminishing in size as they ascend. Each of these steps is adorned with vases of different shapes, and there are twelve ribs composed of sculptured female figures.

The tower of the shrine is similar in form to that of Gondeśvara at Sinnar, in the Nasik District, and that of Ambaranâtha, in the Thana District, and differs in detail and plan from the Khajuraho groups. Its external surface is divided into four sections by an equal number of decorated horizontal bands. Each of these divisions is covered with thirty-five miniature 'śikharas' or spires, divided equally into five rows. The bands are remarkable for their elegance of design and refined carving. The whole of the tower is surmounted by an 'amalakaśilâ' and a vase. In the north-western corner, immediately below the 'amalakaśilâ', there is a human figure elaborately dressed and ornamented, holding the lower end of a flag-staff. It is probably a statue of Udayâditya, the founder of the temple. An inscription records that Udayâditya repair-

ed this flag-staff in 1080 A.D.[1] In the sanctum there is a big stone 'linga', covered with a brass sheet, which was only recently added. The entrance-door leading to the interior of the shrine, where the deity is, is profusely decorated with sculptures. There are five jambs on each side of the door, some of which are enriched with elegant floral designs. The outermost jambs are sculptured with a series of horsemen, and thus differ in detail from the rest. On the lintel are figures of Ganesa and Siva, and on the frieze above are the figures of five goddesses in a row.

The whole structure has an extremely pleasing appearance, and every inch of it is profusely decorated with great harmony and accuracy. Mr.Beglar, who has made a special study of it, remarks that[2] "It is an excellence of execution of the floral sculptured ornamentation that this temple surpasses all others. They are executed with remarkable fineness and freedom, and are not overcrowded so as to destroy effect, but, by a judicious interposition of broad plain surfaces worked with exquisite care, the ornamental value both of the flowered bands and of the plain, ~~are~~ are mutually enhanced."

Mr.Fergusson, the well-known authority upon Eastern architecture, says that,[3] "As every part of this temple is carved with great precision and delicacy, and as the whole is quite perfect at the present day, there are few temples of its class which give a better idea of the style than this one."

~~There is a 'vedi'~~ In front of the temple is a vedi, which is said to have been built by the king for offering a sacrifice just after the completion of the ~~temple~~ edifice. It is a square chamber enclosed with stone screens.

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(1) I.A., Vol.XX, p. 83

(2) Beglar's Report, A.S.I., Vol. VII, p. 86.

(3) Fergusson's Indian and Eastern Architecture, II, p. 147

There were four subordinate temples, one in each corner of the courtyard, and four square 'vedis' for reading 'vedas' in, one in the middle of each side of the courtyard. Muhammad Tughlaq, who, as we have seen, spared the main shrine, razed to the ground the north-east corner temple, and the western hall for reading vedas, and erected in their place a mosque, which still contains two inscriptions, dated Hijra 737 and 739.

Each hall for reading vedas is a square building, the roof of which is supported by four massive pillars. The ceiling is, as usual, built of overlapping stones. There are four balconies, one on each side of the hall, two of which are closed with massive trellises. Each of these balconies is provided with a raised slab of stone which served as a seat for the reader.(1)

The Group pf Temples at Un.

The modern village of Un is situated eighteen miles to the west of Khargaon, in the Nimar District of Indore State. In the time of the Paramâra dynasty it was an important town, and was one of the chief centres of architectural activity. A large number of temples, both Hindu and Jaina, still exist there to prove its ancient greatness. They resemble the Khajuraho group in form and plan. With the exception of Khajuraho, Un is the only place in Northern India where we find so many ancient monuments together. On the wall of one of these temples there is an inscription of the Paramâra Udayâditya (1059-1086 A.D.), which gives a definite clue to the age of these buildings.

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(1) Progress Report of the Archeol. Survey, Western Circle, 1914, pp. 64-67; Cunningham's Report A.S.I, X., pp.68-69; Beglar's Report A.S.I., VII, pp. 81-88; Fergusson's Eastern Art & Architecture, II, pp. 146, 147.

(a) The Chaubara Dera temple[1] is the largest one in the group. It consists of a shrine and a mandapa. The mandapa has three porches, one on each side, of which the front one is the largest and the most elegantly carved; and on the door connecting it with the mandapa there are figures of Śiva and the seven Mothers. The dome of the mandapa is based on four stone lintels, which again stand on four round stone pillars. The dome and the pillars are remarkable for their minute carvings and beautiful designs. On the lower half of the pillars there are small and large standing female figures. The plan and workmanship of the whole of this mandapa is reminiscent of the Tejahpâla temple on Mount Abu.[2] A small passage, with a door at either end, connects the mandapa with the Garbhagṛha (sanctum). The lintel of the door facing the mandapa is very well carved, and consists of the figures of Gaṇeśa, Brahmâ, Śiva, Viṣṇu and Sarasvatî. On the northern wall of the passage are engraved the inscription of Udayâditya and a "Sarpa-bandha" (intertwined snakes), similar to that on Bhoja's school at Dhârâ. On the lintel of the door at the other end are representations of Śiva and the seven Mothers, all in dancing attitudes. The back walls of the sanctum and the pyramidal tower were broken down by a Muhammadan contractor in order to supply rubble for road-making. This has reduced the main structure of the building to a miserable condition. The interior of the tower is divided into four square cells, one over the other, diminishing in size as they ascend. Some portion of the land around the temple has been excavated, and a number of Jaina images have been brought to light. One of them contains the date V.S.1182 or 1192 - 1125 or 1135 A.D. A small fane dedicated to Śiva lies to the north of the main temple, the mandapa and front porch of which are now in ruins.

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(1) Plate ~~II~~. XVIII, Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., W.C., 1919.

(2) Eastern Art and Architecture (Fergusson), II, p.42 fn.

(b) Mahâkâleśvara.[1] This temple stands to the north of the Chaubara-Dera No.I. The roof and walls of its maṇḍapa have now collapsed. All the porches except the southern one have disappeared. The remains of the bases of the three pillars, which once supported the dome of the maṇḍapa, can still be traced. The small passage leading to the sanctum has niches in the wall containing images of Brahmâ and Śiva. The rear walls of the sanctum and the tower are broken down. The general plan of the building is the same as that of the Chamber Dera and may well be compared with the great temple at Koveh near Tikari in the Gaya District of Bihar.

(c) Vallabheśvara. This temple lies to the north-west of that just described. In later times, when its 'śikhara' (tower) collapsed, it was replaced by a dome similar to that of the Mohammedan mosque. The maṇḍapa with its porches has entirely disappeared. The lintel of the entrance door is supported by two well-shaped massive pillars. The temple is very poor in respect of carving, and the design is simple.

(d) Nîlakaṇṭheśvara.[2] This magnificent temple of Nîlakaṇṭheśvara Mahâdeva is situated in the interior of the village. The maṇḍapa and its porches have broken down. The lintel of the front door of the passage leading to the sanctum is in a ruinous condition, and is now supported by two small pillars, which seem formerly to have ~~(formerly)~~ belonged to the porch. The jambs and lintels of the doors at the end of the passage contain decorative designs. The figure of Śiva, dancing with seven divine Mothers, occupies spaces on one of the lintels. The top of the Śikhara is broken, and has fallen down. There is a 'linga' inside the 'Garbhagṛha', around which now lie scattered the images of the mediaeval Hindu deities Viṣṇu, Surya, the Varâha incarnation, and Pârvatî. There are four finely decorated bands on the external surface of the Śikhara and sanctum, each containing niches, in which lie the images of Câmuṇḍa, Naṭeśa and Tripurâri. The intervening spaces between the bands

1. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv., W.C., 1919, Plate XIX, a.
2. ibid, b.

are covered with miniature rows of Śikharas. The whole of the temple, though now in ruins, presents a graceful view of its past greatness.

(e) Gupteśvara and
(f) Mahâkâleśvara 2) These Śaiva temples are situated close to Nîlakaṇṭheśvara. The Gupteśvara is a subterranean building, and has now lost everything except a small chamber. The maṇḍapa of the Mahâkâleśvara has totally disappeared, and the top of its śikhara has fallen down.

(g) Chaubara Dera No. 2., a magnificent Jaina temple, lies between Mahâkâleśvara and Chaubara Dera No. 1. Its maṇḍapa is in good condition, with a large porch in front of it. It is square in shape, and contains eight pillars in the middle, supporting the dome. It is provided with four doorways, one of which leads to the sanctum. The Śikhara has altogether disappeared, rendering the sanctum roofless. There are two Digambara Jaina images within the sanctum, one of which contains the date Śam.13 (XX).

(h) Goaleśvara. The Jaina temple of Goaleśvara is still in almost perfect condition, except that its 'amalakaśilâ' and vase have been lost. There is no porch attached to the maṇḍapa, which is a square chamber with four domes. The floor of the sanctum is about ten feet below the level of that of the maṇḍapa. Access to the maṇḍapa from the sanctum is provided by steps downwards. The main tower is surrounded by miniature 'śikharas', like that of the Pârśvanâtha temple at Khajuraho. They are not so conventional as those on the temples of Nîlakaṇṭheśvara at Udayapur. Inside the sanctum there stands, on a pedestal a row of three 'Digambara' Jaina images ~~in a row on a pedestal.~~ An inscription records that they were dedicated in Śam.1263 - 1206 A.D.(1)

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(1) For the group of temples at Un, see Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1919, pp. 61-64, (Plates XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI).

The Nemawar Temples.

(a) The Siddhanâtha temple.

Nemawar, the ancient Narmadâpura, twelve miles from Harda station on the G.I.P. Railway, has been renowned from ancient times as a great place of pilgrimage. Here lies the magnificent temple of Siddhanâtha or Siddheśvara, dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. On the pillars of the mandapa there are two inscriptions, dated Sam. 1253 - 1196 A.D. and Sam 1281 - 1224 A.D., respectively, recording the visit of some pilgrims. The temple is complete, and consists of the sanctum with its śikhara and the mandapa. The former is built of yellowish-grey stone, and the latter of bluish sandstone. The mandapa may have been added in later times, the date of which cannot be pushed beyond 1196 A.D., and there are some structures on its top which have been made recently. It is a square chamber, having an open porch on each of the three sides. Four fine carved pillars support each of the porches. The trabeate dome of the mandapa rests on four big lintels, which are supported by two large and ten small pillars. There are niches on the pillars, containing standing figures of Śivaganas with bulls couchant near their feet. The spaces between the small pillars, are provided with finely perforated stone screens. There are also niches in the lintels, containing divine figures. The dome is the most attractive feature in the whole of the structure. In the centre of it is a pendant, around which there are carved lotus petals. Below them are sixteen stone brackets, representing female figures, intersecting a succession of circular bands. The dome presents a gorgeous spectacle, like that of the Mount Abu Vimala temple. The ceiling of the 'Antarâla' is gracefully decorated with inverted full-blossomed ~~(inverted)~~ lotus flowers. The doorway leading to the 'garbhagrha' shows beautiful designs of architectural work, and its lintel bears niches, nine in number, containing images of Brahmânî, Maheś-

varî, Kârttikeyî, Vaiṣṇavî, Varâha, Indrâṇî, Câmuṇḍâ and Mahâdevî. In the centre is Śiva holding a Vîṇâ, a Ḍâmaru and a skull-cup with his four hands. A bull couchant is below at his feet.

The 'garbhagṛha' is projected in three sides. There are five recessed corners between them, each of which contains five vertical rows of miniature temples, placed one over the other. All round the plinth of the 'garbhagṛha' ~~are~~ a large number of niches, containing altogether ninety nine semi-divine figures. The śikhara with its Amalakaśilâ is perfect, and is of the same type as that of the Nîlakaṇṭheśvara Mahâdeva at Un.(1)

(b) The Incomplete Temple of Viṣṇu.

To the north of the shrine of Śiddheśvara lies the incomplete temple of Viṣṇu. It was left unfinished beyond the garbhagṛha. Hence neither the śikhara nor the maṇḍapa is to be seen. On the plinth of the garbhagṛha there are three bands of lotus-leaves, two bands of kîrtimukhas, a row of elephants and a row of dancing human figures. Besides these, the walls contain numerous mouldings and a large number of divine figures, of which those of Viṣṇu are the most numerous. The roof of the antarâla is carved in the same manner as that of the Śiddheśvara. The jambs of the door leading to the garbhagṛha from the 'antarâla' are extravagantly decorated with mouldings containing creeper patterns and flying figures holding garlands in their hands.(2)

A Jaina Temple in ruins, in Bijawada.(3)

The great Jaina temple at Bijawada, a village 33 miles west of Nemawar and 49 miles east of Indore, is in absolute ruins. The most notable objects in it are three colossal Digambara Jaina images. One of them contains a date, Sam.

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, pp. 98-106.

(2) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1921, pp. 98-106.

(3) Ibid.

1234 - 1177 A.D., on the pedestal.

A Temple of Śiva at Moṭi.

Moṭi is the chief village of the pargaṇâ of the same name. It is thirteen miles east of Rampur, Central India, and was a place of great importance during the rule of the Paramâras. Heaps of ruins of a large number of buildings attest its former greatness. A stone inscription of the Paramâra Jayavarmanu, dated Saṃ. 1314 - 1257 A.D., has been discovered there. At present only one temple of Śiva stands in the village, which is also in a very miserable condition. The garbhagṛha is almost perfect. On the lintel of the doorway leading to its interior is a figure of Śiva known as Lakulîśa. The basement stones contain some inscriptions in characters of the twelfth century A.D. There are no traces of the maṇḍapa and other subsidiary temples.

Close to the above temple are the remains of part of a maṇḍapa of another fane. It now contains four pillars, gracefully decorated and supporting square brackets. It is believed to have been one of the finest temples in Malwa.(1)

The Mehidpur Temples.

The modern district of Mehidpur lies in Central Malwa, and is not far from Ujjain. The villages of Jharda, Makla and Delchi are within its jurisdiction. Considerable remains of the architectural buildings of the mediaeval period are to be traced there. Outside the village of Jharda are two ancient Brahmanic temples, one dedicated to Śiva and the other to Hanumat. In the interior of the village a number of Brahmanic and Jaina images are to be found. On the pedestal of a Jaina sculpture is an inscription, containing the date Saṃ. 1229 - 1172 A.D.

The fanes of Gaṇapati and Mahâkâleśvara Śiva are the two

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1920, pp. 100-102.

most important buildings in the village of Makla. They were built during the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The Mâkâleśvara temple is in good order, and deserves special attention. The garbhagṛha and the śikhara are quite perfect. The horizontal bands of the śikhara bear a series of conventional 'caitya' windows, one over the other. The walls of the śikhara and the garbhagṛha are almost plain, and contain very poor decorations. The amalakaśilâ is proportionately bigger in size. The original maṇḍapa has been destroyed, and the present one is a recent addition.(1)

The great Temple of Śiva at Bhojpur.(2)

At Bhojpur, in the Bhopal State, there is a large temple of Śiva known as Bhojeśvara, which was evidently named after the great king Bhoja. It is a building of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., and is in plan a simple square. It differs from others of its class in this respect that it has no re-entrant angles. Its exterior dimension is 66 feet. Four massive pillars support an incomplete dome inside the building. Each of them is 40 feet high, and is divided into three sections. The lower two are octagonal, and are surmounted by a 24-faced section. The whole of the pillar is tapering in appearance. The dome itself is magnificent, and is carved with rich designs. There are two sculptured figures on either side of the doorway, which is richly decorated above but plain below. There are three balconies on three sides, each supported by massive brackets and four decorated pillars. Inside the building lies a colossal 'lingam', seven and a half feet high and seventeen feet eight inches in circumference, on a platform made of three superimposed blocks of sandstone.

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1920, pp. 100-102.

(2) Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VIII, p. 121.

twenty-one and a half feet square. The temple, though incomplete, is singularly beautiful.

A Jaina temple of the same age lies close to the above shrine. It is rectangular and incomplete. It contains two figures of Pârśvanâtha and one colossal statue of Mahâvîra, twenty feet high.

Bijamandira at Bhilsa.

On the outskirts of the modern town of Bhilsa, in the Gwalior State, there is a Muhammadan mosque, known locally as 'Bijamandira'. A careful examination of this building reveals the fact that it is a converted Hindu temple of mediaeval times. A long inscription of Naravarman's reign has been discovered on one of its pillars, which records the king's unvarying devotion to the Goddess Carcikâ. It may be that the fane originally belonged to this Goddess. Another inscription, of Udayâditya's reign (i.e. Udayavarman), dated Śaka 1108 - 1186 A.D., has been found inserted in the wall of this temple.(1)

Bhojaśâlâ, at Dhârâ.

The tradition runs that the modern Kamalmauli mosque at Dhârâ was originally a building of the college established by Bhoja. It is still known as 'Bhojaśâlâ' (Bhoja's School) to the local Hindu population. Two slabs of stone, incised in the walls of this building, contain inscriptions of the reigns of Bhoja and Arjunavarman. Besides these, inscriptions of the reigns of Udayâditya and Naravarman, and a chart containing the Sanskrit alphabet and rules of grammar, have also been discovered here. The modern structure is quite Muhammadan in style,(2) and seems to have been constructed with the materials of a Hindu temple which stood on the same site.(3) Dr. Bhandarkar

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(1) J.Am.O.S., Vol.VII, p. 35.

(2) J.Bo.Br., Vol. XXI, pp. 341, 345.

(3) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1904, p.18.

is inclined to think that it was the site of the temple of Sarasvatî, mentioned in th Pârijâta-mañjarî.

All these details give us an idea of the architectural skill to which the people of Malwa attained during the happy period of the Paramâra dynasty. Iconography also rose to a high level, at this same time. In Sam.1091 - 1034 A.D., by the orders of Bhoja, the famous sculptor Manathala[1] executed an image of Sarasvatî, now in the custody of the British Museum, which has all the characteristics of mediaeval sculptures. The Goddess is in the 'abhanga' pose, with four hands, the front pair being now imperfect, half of each having disappeared. She wears a crown, and her ear-rings hang down to her shoulders, whilst round her neck is a pearl necklace, and a pearl-embroidered band encircles her breast; her waist is also decorated all round. She is attended by five subordinate figures, two above and three below. On the left, below, are a ṛṣi and a dwarf, and on the right, probably, Pârvatî on the lion. On the left above is a flying female figure with a garland in her hand; the other figure is indistinct. The Devî is in meditative mood, and her face is lovely and serene. Mr. O.C.Ganguly,[2] an expert icongraphist, remarks that the "image 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. To us, the emotion of its static conception, almost alternating between a 'râjasik' and a 'sâtvik', is most appealing." The image is also of great value for more than one reason. In it we find the union of the characteristic

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(1) Rûpam, January, 1924, p. 2. Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol.I, Part II, pp. 377-78. (by Mr.G.Rao)

(2) Ibid, p.I.

features of both the North and South Indian sculptures. Its 'uru malai' (thigh ornament) and carnet are Dravidian in style. The ornaments of its arms remind us of the early images of Bengal and Orissa.

Another image[1] has been discovered in the Devî tank at Dhârâ. It is carved out of hard white stone, and is in perfect condition. An inscription on the pedestal, recording its installation, is dated Sam. 1138 = 1081 A.D., which falls within the reign of Udayâditya. Mr.M.B.Garde identifies the Goddess as Pârvatî. The style of her ornamentation agrees in general with that of the Sarasvatî image of Bhoja. Her crown differs in detail from that of the above-mentioned image, but she too wears the necklace and garlands of pearls and ear-rings, and her four hands are adorned with ornaments. Her breast-band, drapery, and thigh ornament are similar to those of the Sarasvatî image, but there are here eight attendant figures. Above are representations of Brahmâ, Viṣṇu, Ganeśa and Śiva, and below, the female attendants with 'chowries'. Above all are the sacrificial altars, two on each side. The Devî is deeply immersed in meditation, with her hands in an attitude of prayer. Her face breathes an air of purity and is expressive of divine serenity. Mr.Garde suggests that she is engaged in performing the 'Pañcâgni-Sâdhâna' which, according to Purâṇa, was undertaken for obtaining Śiva as her husband.

There is an iron pillar at Dhârâ, the date of erection of which cannot be definitely ascertained.[2] It may be the work of Vairisiṃha II.[3] The Udayapur praśasti attributes to him the erection of a number of pillars of victory. Dr.Bhandarkar

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(1) Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol.IV, Part II. p. 100 (1922-23).

(2) A.S.I., 1902-3, pp. 245, ff.

(3) E.I., Vol. I, p. 237, v.8.

suggests[1] that it might have been set up by Arjunavarman after his victory over the Gujarat king.

Relics of the architectural activities of the Paramâras can also be traced in the far distant country of Kashmir. Kalhaṇa in his Râjataraṅgiṇî[2] records that Bhoja, King of Mâlava, once took a vow to wash his face every day with the water of Pâpasûdana tîrtha in Kashmir. He was enabled to fulfil this vow by the good offices of a certain Padmarâja, who excavated a tank for this purpose at Kapoteśvara, whence jugs full of water used to be sent to him. Kapoteśvara is the modern Kother, where the enclosure around the tank still exists, having the characteristics of the structural buildings of the mediaeval period. Local tradition runs that the king of the Deccan, once being disfigured by the growth of a number of the horns on his head, took his bath in that kuṇḍa (tank), and was relieved of his trouble, whereupon he recorded his gratitude by surrounding it with a wall. Sir A.Stein thinks that there is a good deal of truth in this story, although in those early ages, there was less facility for the easy conveyance of anything from one country to another. Jamadar Khushal Singh, at the court of Ranjit Singh, often had the water of the Ganges brought to his residence in the Punjab that he might bathe in it. Ranvîr Singh of Kashmir drank nothing but Ganges water, which was supplied to him regularly from Hardwar. The Muhammedan historians relate[3] that Ganges water was brought regularly to Gujarat, for the baths of Somanâtha. Hence it is not impossible to imagine that a great king like Bhoja could make temporary arrangements for bringing water regularly to him from that particular tank in Kashmir.

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(1) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1904, p.19.

(2) Chronicles of Kashmîr, translated by Sir A.Stein, Vol.I., p.284; Bk. VII, verses 190-193.

(3) Elliot's History of India, vol.II, App. p. 469.

Literature and Learning.

During the magnificent rule of the Paramâra dynasty, Malwa was justly renowned on account of its extensive architectural activities. But behind all these activities, there lay a life, a thought, an ideal whose refinement of character found expression rather in the literature of the time than in such concrete examples. And to this branch of liberal art the government of the country, by its benevolent support, gave opportunity of wide and unbounded development.

The Paramâra kings were great votaries of the Goddess of learning, and were in reality the very heart of the great literary movement of the period. Many of them were themselves great poets. Their generous sympathy encouraged others to devote their lives to the enrichment of the stores of literature. Sîyaka-Harṣa won imperial status for his family by the strength of his arms, and left to his successors the task of building up an ideal empire. His son, Vâkpatirâja, while doing full justice to his regal position by his care for the political interests of his realm, spared no effort to further the cause of the literary movement also. The Udayapur prasasti tells us that he cultivated eloquence, lofty poetry, the art of reasoning, and a complete mastery over the rules of the Śâstras.(1) The Kauthem (2) and Yeurgrants of the Câḷukya Vikramâditya V. describe Utpala as the chief of poets. Padmagupta writes that "after Vikramâditya and Śâtavâhana had gone home, the Goddess Sarasvatî reposed beside this poet friend."(3) To-day, all we know of the king's compositions are in the form of quotations made by contemporary and later authors in their own writings. Dhanika, in his commentary on Daśa-

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(1) E.I., Vol. I, p. 235, v.16.

(2) I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 23, l. 43 - kavi-vṛṣa.

(3) Atîte Vikramâditye gate 'stam Śâtavâhane / new line Kavi-mitre viśaśrâma yasmin devî Sarasvatî ‖ (Navas°, Sarga XI, v.93.)

rûpa, twice quotes a verse, whose authorship he ascribes in one place to Vâkpatirâja, and in the other to Muñja.(1) The Kashmirian poet, Kṣemendra, quotes three different stanzas, composed by Utpalarâja, in his books Suvṛttatilaka,(2) Kavikaṇṭhâbharaṇa,(3) and Aucityavicâracarcâ.(4) This last is a treatise on 'alaṃkâra', in which the verse composed by the king begins with "Ahau vâ hâre vâ" etc. The same stanza occurs in the anthology of Vallabhadeva, its author being given as Vâkpati, the son of Harṣadeva.(5) In the Rasikasaṃjîvinî Arjunavarman quotes a verse, the authorship of which he ascribes to his ancestor Muñja, whose other name was Vâkpati.(6) Two other verses by the king are reproduced in the Śârṅgadharapaddhati (1363 A.D.).(7) Merutuṅga has incorporated in his Prabandhacintâmaṇi some verses, which, according to him, were composed by the king during his captivity in the Deccan.(8)

"Muñja-pratideśa-vyavasthâ", a geographical description of India, is said to have been written by Vâkpatirâja.(9) His death was a real loss to the literary circles of that

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(1) Praṇaya-kupitaṃ dṛṣṭa, - vs. 66, 67.

(2) Kâvyamâlâ - Part 2, ed. Durgaprasad and Parab, Bombay 1886, -.37.

(3) Ibid, Part 4, 1887, p.125.

(4) Ibid, Part 1, 2nd ed. 1893, p. 131.

(5) Subhâṣitâvali - 3413, 3414; Peterson, p. 449.

(6) Amaruśataka, - Durgaprasad & Parab, 1889, p. 23.

(7) Vs. 126 (by Vâkpatirâja), 1017 (by Utpalarâja).

(8) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 33-35. Mr. Tawney remarks that the speeches of Muñja are to be looked upon as based on oral tradition.

(9) As. Re. Vol. IX, p. 176.

period. He is said to have exclaimed, when he was led to execution in the Câlukya capital,(1)

"Fortune will go to Govinda; glory and heroism to the
" house of the Hero;
"But when Muñja has passed away, that storehouse of fame,
" Sarasvatî, will be without support."

Sindhurâja's valuable patronage was a great inducement to the poets of his time to continue their work. His bounty to men of letters was immeasurable. His son Bhoja took great interest in the literary activities.

Vastupâla, who was the governor at Cambay under Vâghelâ Vîradhavala, ~~of Cambay~~, flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century, A.D., and he also was a great patron of poets. In the 'Vasantavilâsa' his enormous bounty towards them is compared with that of Bhoja and Muñja.(2) It tells us that he offered so many gifts to the men of wisdom, that the long accumulated fame of these two monarchs paled into insignificance before them.

Merutunga, being unable to determine the age of Bâṇa, Mayûra and Mâgha, placed them in Bhoja's entourage.(3) These erudite scholars flourished long before the king's accession. The Bhoja-carita gives the names of a large number of poets as contemporaries of Bhoja. But the list is erroneous from the chronological point of view. There can hardly be any doubt that a large number of poets did live in Malwa under his benevolent patronage.(4) Kalhaṇa tells us that both Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.D.) and Bhoja were very learned, and were the friends of poets. The king occasionally encouraged men of letters by conferring on them honorific titles. Bhâskarabhaṭṭa, son of the poet Trivikrama, received from

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 35.
(2) Kâvya-keli-rasikaḥ kavi-vṛndâvarjanaṃ samataniṣṭa tathâsan
Muñja-Bhoja-yaśasâṃ dhruvam ojaḥ-saṅcayo bhuvi
yathâ sa vṛthâ 'bhût ‖ (Sarga 5, v.14)
(3) Prabandhacintâmaṇi pp. 48-52, 64, 65.
(4) Stein's Râjataraṅgiṇî, Vol.I, p.290.

him the title of 'Vidyâpati'.[1] The Âîn-i-Akbarî[2] relates that - "Bhoja held wisdom in honour, the learned men were treated with distinction, and seekers after knowledge were encouraged by his support. Five hundred sages, the most erudite of the age, shone as the gathered wisdom of his court, and were entertained in a manner becoming their dignity and merit."

The Udayapur praśasti[3] glorifies Bhoja as the king of poets. He is said to have composed a large number of books and the authorship of the following works is ascribed to him.[4]

Name of Work	Subject of Work
(a) Âdityapratâpasiddhânta	(a) Astronomy
(b) Âyurvedasarvasva	(b) Medicine
(c) Campûrâmâyaṇa	(c)
(d) Câṇakyanîti (?)	(d)
(e) Cârucaryâ	(e) Religion
(f) Tattvaprakâśa	(f) Śaivism
(g) Nâmamâlikâ	(g) Lexicography
(h) Yuktikalpataru	(h) Arts, etc.
(i) Râjamârtaṇḍa Yogasûtravṛtti	(i) Commentary on Yoga-Sûtra
(j) " "	(j) Astronomy
(k) Râjamṛgâṅka Yogasûtravṛtti	(k) " and Medicine
(l) Vidyâvinoda	(l) Poetry
(m) Vidvajjanavallabha Praśnajñâna	(m) Astronomy
(n) Viśrântavidyâvinoda	(n) Medicine
(o) Vyavahârasamuccaya	(o) Religion
(p) Śabdânuśâsana	(p) Grammar
(q) Śâlihotra	(q) Farriery
(r) Śivatattvaratnakalikâ	(r)

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(1) E.I.Vol.I.,p.340. (2) Translated by Jarrett, Vol.II, p.216

(3) E.I.Vol.II,p.235,v.18.Kavirâja.

(4) Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufrecht, Part I.,p.418.

Name of Work		Subject of Work
(s) Samarâṅgaṇasûtradhâra	(s)	Architecture
(t) Sarasvatîkaṇṭhâbharaṇa	(t)	Alaṃkâra
(u) Siddhântasaṃgraha	(u)	Śaivism
(v) Subhâṣitaprabandha	(v)	
(w) Two Prakṛt Poems at Dhârâ (1)	(w)	

It is doubtful whether Bhoja himself wrote so many books on different subjects. Some of them might have been his own productions, but the rest seem to have been written by a group of literary men under his guidance. Of all the books in the above list, Râjamṛgâṅka alone contains the date of its composition, which is expressed in the Śaka era as 964 - 1042-1043 A.D. The king is highly esteemed by the poets Cittapa, Deveśvara, Vinâyaka, Śaṅkara, and Sarasvatîkutumbaduhitṛ. He is referred to by Daśabala, Allâḍanâtha, Raghunandana, and Śûlapâṇi in the Prâyaścitta-viveka. He is quoted in Bhâvaprakâśa and Mâdhava's Rugvinis'caya as a writer on medicine. As an astronomer he is noticed by Keśavârka, and as a grammarian and lexicographer by Kṣîrasvâmin, Śâyaṇa, and Mahîpa. (2)

Both Udayâditya and Naravarman were staunch supporters of all cultural movements. Naravarman himself was a poet. He composed the Nagpur praśasti. (3) His court was adorned with a large number of poets. On one occasion, two learned men, from a foreign country, visited Naravarman's court at Dhârâ, and proposed to the assembled company some poetic riddles. As none of the Court poets were able to solve them, the king sent them to the Jaina teacher Jinavallabha, who lived at Citrakûṭa (Chitor). Jinavallabha at once gave them the

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(1) E.I., Vol.VIII, pp.241 ff.

(2) Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol.I, p.418

(3) E.I., Vol.II.,p. 180.

right solutions, and returned them to the king. Naravarman was highly pleased with him, and received him with great honour upon his visiting Dhârâ on a subsequent occasion. A large sum of money was offered him as a gift, but he refused to accept it, and requested the king to make some endowments instead to the Jaina temples at Citrakûṭa.(1)

Next, and the last of the Paramâra kings, to be endowed with poetical genius, was Arjunavarman. His inscriptions(2) celebrate his merit by stating that he was a repository of poetry and song, and relieved the Goddess of Learning of her volumes and lute. He is the author of -

(a) Rasikajîvanî Kâvya

(b) Rasikasamjîvanî Amarusataka-ṭîkâ.

His court also was graced by a large number of poets.

Even in the dark days of the decline of their power, the Paramâra kings did not withdraw their support from those devoted to learning. Bhoja II is said to have been a great patron of poets, like his predecessor of the same name.(3)

During the period under review, many educational institutions were established in Malwa for the cultural development of the people. The modern Kamalmaula mosque at Dhârâ, as we have already noticed, is believed to have been a school building erected by Bhoja. The tradition is strongly corroborated by the discovery of two charts on the walls of that building, which contain alphabets and rules

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(1) Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS, 1882-3, p.47.

(2) Kâvya-gândharva-sarvasva-nidhinâ yena sâmpratam
bhârâvatâraṇam devyâs cakre pustaka-vînayoḥ || V.18.
J.Am.O.S. Vol. VII, p. 26.

(3) Hammîra-mahâkâvya, I.A. Vol. VIII, p. 64.

of grammar.[1] They are very important, inasmuch as they give us an idea of the method of teaching that was pursued in those ancient days. The first one is sketched out by the windings of a single serpent. On its body is engraved the Sanskrit alphabet in the Nâgarî characters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. The tail contains the inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. There are altogether fifty-three letters and symbols, and twenty-one nominal and eighteen verbal inflectional terminations in it.

The second chart is made up by the intertwining of two serpents. Its object is to record some chief rules of Sanskrit "Kâ-tantra" grammar. Personal terminations of ten tenses, moods and three numbers are described. There are also two sets of terminations, viz. Parasmaipada and Âtmanepada, for each tense and mood.

Both these records were certainly set up there for the easy guidance of the pupils. A similar mode of teaching was adopted all over the country, and charts of exactly the same type are also found in the temple of Mahâkâla at Ujjain[2] and in a fane at Un.[3] Through the strenuous efforts of all these institutions, Malwa became a chief centre of cultural activities in India. In Sam. 1232 - 1175 A.D., Narapati composed a treatise on omens, entitled 'Narapati-jayacaryâ', in which he describes the country of Malwa as being the abode of learning, where, in the city of Dhârâ his father, Âmradeva lived.[4] This atmosphere, creative of literary genius, invited many students from the neighbouring territories to migrate and set-

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(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI. ~~XXI~~. pp. 350-351.

(2) Prog. Report of the A.S., Western Circle, 1913 p.55.

(3) A.S.I., 1918-19, Part I, p. 17.

(4) Vidyâlaye Mâlava-samjña-deśe Dhârâ-purî-ramya-nivâsa-vâsî |
nânâgamajño nṛpa-loka-pûjyo nâmnâmra-devo vibudhaḥ prasiddhaḥ ||
(Bhandarkar's Report, 1882-83, pp. 220-cc.)

tle there. Thus, under the benevolent care of the Paramâras, Malwa became the resort of the most renowned and brilliant scholars and literary men of the age. Of these, the earliest known was Dhanapâla, who flourished at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries A.D.

DHANAPÂLA.

Sarvadeva, the father of Dhanapâla, migrated from Madhyadeśa, and settled in Ujjain. In fulfilment of his promise to the Jaina Vardhamâna, he asked his son to embrace the Jaina faith; but ~~the latter~~ Dhanapâla was averse to forsaking the Brahmanical religion, and this refusal to comply with his father's wishes, completely dissociated him from his family. He migrated to Dhârâ, and there studied all branches of Brahmanic learning, but subsequently, through the influence of his younger brother, he became a follower of the Jaina faith.(1) He gained the favourable notice of king Bhoja, and rose to be one of his principal court poets. The Âîn-i-Akbarî relates(2) that of the five hundred poets of Bhoja's court, Barruj (Vararuci) was the foremost, and the next Dhanapâla. So far, four books have been discovered from the pen of this writer. They are:

(a) Pâiyalacchî.(3)

(b) Ṛṣabhapañcâśikâ.(4)

(c) Tilakamañjarî.(5)

(d) A Commentary on Śobhana's Caturvimśikâ.(6)

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, p. 54.

(2) Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 216.

(3) Edited by Bühler, Göttingen, 1879.

(4) Ibid, p.9.

(5) Kâvyamâlâ Series, No. 85.

(6) Bühler, Sc. Akad, Wien, 99 (1882).pp.570-572.

The first of these works was composed in Sam.1029 - 972 A.D., when Dhanapâla was residing at Dhârâ.[1] The book was composed for the poet's younger sister, Sundarî, whom Mr. Bühler is inclined to identify with the famous Avanti-Sundarî.[2] In conclusion the poet remarks:-[3] "Those words which, being rich in flavour, are commonly employed in poetry by poets, I have arranged here; may they gladden the hearts of clever men." In the 'mangalâcarana' of this book, Brahmâ and other deities of the Brahmanical religion are invoked. At the end of the third part, the name of the Tîrthamkara Mahâvîra-Jñâtiputra is mentioned.

The Ṛṣabhapañcâśikâ consists of fifty verses in honour of the first Tîrthamkara Ṛṣabha. In conclusion the poet invokes the great Jaina Tîrthamkara:-[4] "Thus praised with devotion by me, a man of small understanding only, whose Karma is consumed like fuel in the fire of meditation, mayest thou (O Ṛṣabha!), reward me by pure knowledge (which is) a boat to cross the ocean of existence."

This proves the truth of Merutuṅga's statement that Dhanapâla later on became a staunch follower of the Jaina religion.

In connection with the composition of the third book, Tilakamañjarî, Merutuṅga narrates an interesting story. Dhanapâla, he says, was absent from the royal court for a considerable time, and, on Bhoja's enquiring into the cause of this, the poet replied that he was busy writing the Tilakamañjarî, which had just been completed. The king was curious to read the book, and, when he had done so, he

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(1) Pâiyalacchî v. 277.

(2) Ibid, p. 8.

(3) Ibid, p. 6; p. 50, v. 270.

(4) Ibid, p. 9

was much impressed by its merit, and asked the poet to make him the hero of the tale, changing the name of the country from Vinatâ to Avanti. But Dhanapâla refused to comply with the king's request, whereupon Bhoja became highly incensed, and burnt the entire manuscript. This gave a rude shock to the poet's feelings, and he became dejected and broken at the loss of his precious book. But, fortunately for him, his daughter, Bâlapaṇḍitâ, was a person of keen intelligence, and she remembered half the text of the book, and reproduced it in the orginal form. This, to a certain extent, consoled the heart of the poet, and, later on, she is said to have composed the remaining portion of the work.(1) We have no ~~other~~ evidence to corroborate this story.

ŚOBHANA.

Śobhana was the younger brother of Dhanapâla, ~~who~~ and converted the latter to the Jaina faith. He lived in Ujjain, and his only known composition is the Caturviṁśikâ-stuti.(2)

DHANAÑJAYA.

Dhanañjaya, son of Viṣṇu, was one of the learned scholars of the age. He was a poet at the court of Vâkpati-Muñja, and composed a masterly work on Hindu dramaturgy, named 'Daśarûpa'.(3) in which he remarks that he developed his literary genius by discoursing with the sovereign lord Muñja.(4) The Saduktikarṇâmṛta, the anthology of Śrîdharadâsa, quotes a verse from it.(5)

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 60-61.

(2) Text, edited by Jacobi, Z.D.M.G.32 (1878), pp.509-534.

(3) Edited by G.C.O. Haas, New York, Columbia Univ.Press,1912.

(4) Viṣṇoḥ sutenâpi Dhanaṁjayena
Vidvan-mano-rûga-nibandha-hetuḥ
âviṣkṛtam Muñja-mahîśa-goṣṭhî
-vaidagdhya-bhâjâ Daśarûpam etat. (V.91, p. 148.)

(5) Z.D.M.G. 36 (1882), pp. 533-34.

DHANIKA.

Dhanika, son of Viṣṇu, was a brother of Dhanañjaya. He was originally an inhabitant of Ahicchatra, and settled in Mâlava before Sam. 1031 - 974 A.D.(1) He was connected with the administrative department of the Paramâra government. In one of his compositions he speaks of himself as a "mahâsadhyapâla" of king Utpalarâja.(2) He cultivated the art of literature, in which he attained a high degree of perfection. He wrote a commentary in prose on Dhanañjaya's 'Daśarûpa, entitled Daśarûpâvaloka or Daśarupâloka, which gives clear proof of his high intellectual and literary attainments. It appears to have been written in the early part of the eleventh century A.D., as it contains a passage from Padmagupta's Navasâhasâṅka-carita. One of the manuscripts, at the end of the first book, contains a verse of four lines from Kṣemendra's Bṛhat-kathâmañjarî, which was composed about 1037 A.D. This seems to be a later interpolation. Dhanika also wrote a book entitled "Kâvya-nirṇaya", which is not available now. The Daśarûpâvaloka contains seven verses from it, and twenty-four stanzas from his other compositions, written both in Prakrit and Sanskrit. Three of the twenty-four stanzas are also quoted under his name in the Śârṅgadharapaddhati.(3) Whilst composing his Daśarûpâvaloka, he consulted many books on Hindu dramas and other poetical works by eminent authors. It will be interesting to give a list of them here, as it will help us to form some idea as to the sort of books to be found in the literary stores of Malwa in this far-off period. They are as follows:-(4)

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(1) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 53.

(2) Wilson, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus, London, 1871, I, XX, XXI.

(3) Op. cit., 3973, 3417, 278.

(4) Daśarûpa, ed. Haas, Introduction, pp. XXXVI, seqq.

DRAMAS Still Extant:

Mṛcchakaṭika

Śakuntalâ

Vikramorvaśî

Mâlavikâgnimitra

Ratnâvalî

Priyadarśikâ

Nâgânanda

Mahâvîra-carita

Uttara-râma-carita

Mâlatîmâdhava

Mudrârâkṣasa

Veṇîsaṃhâra

Karpûramañjarî

Viddhaśâlabhañjikâ

Anargharâghava

Mahânâṭaka

DRAMAS Unpublished or no longer Extant.

Udâttarâghava

Chalitarâma

Pâṇḍavânanda

Râmâbhyudaya

Taraṅgadatta

Puṣpadûṣitaka

OTHER WORKS of SANSKRIT and PRAKRIT LITERATURE:

Mahâbhârata.	Śṛṅgâratilaka	Hâlasaptaśatî
Ramâyaṇa	Kirâtârjunîya	Bhartṛhariśatakâni.
Meghadûta	Kâdambarî	Amaruśataka
Kumârasambhava	Śiśupâlavadha	Navasâhasâṅka-carita
Raghuvaṃśa	Bṛhatkathâ	

MINOR and UNKNOWN AUTHORS or WORKS:

Ânandavardhana

Vikaṭanitambâ (a poetess)

Vâkpatirâjadeva

Rudra

Dhanika

Bhaṭṭa Bâṇa's Mahâśvetâvarṇanâvasara.

TECHNICAL WORKS:

Bhâratîyanâṭyaśâstra

Kâmasûtra of Vâtsyâyana

Vâkyapadîya

Kâvyâlaṃkâra of Rudraṭa.

The voluminous references to authors and works in his short commentary prove fully the depth and extent of Dhanika's acquaintance with literature. He was greatly esteemed and honoured by his contemporaries for his vast learning, and left behind him a memory that will last for ages to come. He is still cherished by ~~the~~ lovers of literature, and is looked upon as one of the greatest poets that India has ever produced. A later writer, finding the Sanskrit language and literature in a most deplorable condition, lamented -

"Poetry of the school of Vidarbhâ was the sportive daughter of Vâlmîki, and, having been educated by Vyâsa, she chose Kâlidâsa for her bridegroom; she was the mother of Amara, Sundara, ~~Subhka~~ and Dhanika; but now, old and decrepit, lacking ornaments, and her tender feet slipping as she walks, to whom has she not come for shelter?" (1)

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(1) Vâlmîker-ajani prakâśita-guṇâ Vyâsena lîlâvatî
Vaidarbhî kavitâ svayaṃ vṛtavatî śrî-Kâlidâsaṃ varam।
yâsûtAmarasiṃha-Mâgha-Dhanikân seyaṃ jarâ-nîrasâ
śûnyâlaṃkaraṇâ skhalan-mṛdu-padâ kaṃ vâ janaṃ nâśritâ ॥
(J.R.A.S. [New Series], Vol. XV, p. 175.)

PADMAGUPTA.

Padmagupta, whose other name was Parimala, was a court poet of both Vâkpati - Muñja and Sindhurâja.[1] He tells us that he followed the path laid down by the poets through the grace of Vâkpatirâja. He composed the book Navasâhasâṅka-carita, it is said at the order of the king Sindhurâja.[2] In this work he mentions the names of Kâlidâsa, Guṇâḍhya, the author of Bṛhatkathâ, Bâṇa and Mayûra. Verses from the Navasâhasâṅka-carita are quoted in Vallabhadeva's Subhâṣitâvalî,[3] Dhanika's Daśa-rûpâvaloka,[4] Var[5] Bhamâha's Kâvyaprakâśa,[6] and Jayaratha's Alaṃkâravimarśinî.[7]

There can hardly be any doubt that Padmagupta produced many other literary works besides the Navasâhasâṅka-carita. At the present time, only a few of them are known to us.

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(1) Sarasvatî-kalpa-lataika-kandam
vandâmahe Vâkpatirâja-devam /
yasya prasâdâd vayam apy-amutra
kavîndra-chîrṇe pathi samcarâmaḥ || v.7
divam yiyâsur mama vâci mudrâm
adatta yâm Vâkpatirâja-devaḥ /
Tasyânujanmâ kavi-bândhavasya
bhinatti tâm samprati Sindhu-râjaḥ || V.8
(Navas°, Sarga I).

(2) Navasâhasâṅka-carita, edited by Pandit Vâmana Śâstrî Islâmpurkar, Bombay, 1895 Sanskrit Series, LIII.

(3) Peterson, No. 168.

(4) II, 37.

(5) P. 117, 7th edition, Eggeling.

(6) Kâvya-prakâśa, Calcutta, 1866, pp. 323, 337.

(7) Deccan College MSS., No. 23, fol. 166b.

Kṣemendra quotes five verses in his Suvṛttatilaka, which are extracts from the works of Parimala.[1] In the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati also a verse composed by Parimala is introduced.[2]

BHAṬṬA HALÂYUDHA.

Bhaṭṭa Halâyudha was a renowned poet of that time. In his early years he was a court poet of the Râṣṭrakûṭa kings at Mânyakheṭa. He wrote his book 'Kavi-rahasya' in the middle of the tenth century A.D., at the court of the Râṣṭrakûṭa Kṛṣṇarâja III.[3] His earliest work, however, would appear to be one on lexicography, entitled "Abhidhâna-ratnamâlâ".[4] Later he migrated to Mâlava, and lived in Dhârâ, at the court of Muñja. He prepared his "Mṛtasamjîvanî", a commentary on the "Piṅgala-chandaḥsûtra", about this time, and speaks highly of the king's liberality.[5]

AMITAGATI.

Amitagati was the disciple of Mâdhavasena, whose preceptor was Nemiṣeṇa, the head of the Jaina ascetics of the Mâthurasaṃgha.[6] He was a scholar of great fame, and flour-

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(1) Subhâṣitâvali, Peterson, pp. 51-52; J.Bo.Br.Vol.XVI, pp. 173 sqq.

(2) Subhâṣitâvali, p. 52.

(3) Published by Heller, Halâyudha's Kavi-rahasyam in beiden Recensionen herausgegeben, Greifswald, 1900.

(4) cf. Zachariae, "Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kośa)", in Grundriss der indo-ärischen Philologie, I. 3b, p. 26. (Strassburg, 1897). The text by Aufrecht, London, 1861.

(5) Sa jayati Vâkpati-râjaḥ sakalârthi-manorathaika-kalpa-taruḥ Pratyarthi-bhûta-pârthiva-lakṣmî-hatha-haraṇa-durlalitaḥ॥ Edited by Viśvanâtha Śâstrî, Calcutta, 1874. (Bibl.Ind.) and by Kedâranâtha and Panashikar, Bombay, 1908. (Kâvyamâla Series, No. 91.)

(6) Subhâṣita-ratna-saṃdoha, Kâvyamâlâ series, No. 82.

ished in Mâlava at the end of the tenth century A.D. and the beginning of the eleventh. He completed his work, "Subhâṣita-ratna-saṃdoha",[1] in Sam.1050 = 993 A.D., when the king Muñja was ruling. His other books are:

(a) Śrâvakâcâra[2]

(b) Dharmaparîkṣâ[3]

(c) Dvâtriṃśatikâ[4]

The Dharmaparîkṣâ was composed in Sam 1070 = 1013 A.D.

UVAṬA.

Uvaṭa, or Uaṭa, was the son of Vajraṭa, a resident of Ânandapura, the modern Vadnagar, in Gujarat. He settled in Avanti in the first half of the eleventh century A.D., and devoted his time to literary studies. He composed his book "Mantrabhâṣya", a commentary on the Vâjasaneya Saṃhitâ, during the reign of Bhoja.[5] He has written a commentary on Ṛgveda-prâtiśâkhya, and he is known as the author of Nigama-bhâṣya, a commentary on Yajurveda.[6]

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(1) Samârûḍhe pûta-tridaśa-vasatiṃ Vikrama-nṛpe
sahasre varṣâṇâṃ prabhavati hi pañcâśad-adhike |
samâptaṃ pañcamyâṃ avati dharaṇîṃ Muñja-nṛpatau
site pakṣe Pauṣe budha-hitam idaṃ śâstram anagham ||
(I.A., XIX, p. 361; Hertel, W.Z.K.M. 17, 105-134.
The text published in Z.D.M.G., vols.59 & 61; ibid.

(2) Ed. by R.Barjatya, Bombay, 1922.

(3) Mironow, Die Dharmaparîkṣâ des Amitagati, Leipzig, 1903, (dissertation)

(4) Ed.by S.Brahmacari, Bombay, 1922.

(5) Bhandarkar's Report 1882-83, pp. 2-3.

(6) Peterson's 4th Report, Introduction p.17.

SÎTÂ.

Sîtâ was an eminent poetess, who flourished during the reign of Bhoja.(1) Merutuṅga says she was at first employed as a cook at Dhârâ, and that, during this period in her career, a pilgrim, staying in her house, died from taking kaṅguṇî oil (aniseed). This so alarmed her, lest she should be charged with his murder, that she tried to commit suicide by taking a dose of the same emetic. But, instead of dying, she found herself thereby endowed with a brilliant intellect, and thereupon she set to work to study the three Vedas, Raghuvaṃśa, the Kâmaśâstra of Vâtsyâyana, and Câṇakya's treatise on polity. Having thus become accomplished in various arts, she went to the court of Bhoja with her daughter Vijayâ, where she gave proof of her supreme literary merit in the royal assembly, and was highly appreciated by the king. Merutuṅga's report appears to be clothed with fiction.

Padmagupta also refers to a poetess Sîtâ, who is said to have composed songs eulogising the deeds of Upendra, the founder of the Paramâra dynasty in Mâlava.(2) The two ladies would seem to be identical.

BILHAṆA.

Bilhaṇa, the Minister of Peace and War under king Vindhyavarman, was famous for his learning. Âśâdhara describes him as the lord of poets,(3) but none of his work is known to us.

ÂŚÂDHARA.

This great Jaina scholar flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D.(4) He was the son of Sallakṣaṇa, a member of the Vyâghreravâla family, and was

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp. 63-64.

(2) Navasâhasâṅka-carita, Sarga XI, v. 77.

(3) Âśâdhara's Dharmâmṛta, Grantha-praśasti, vs. 6-7.

(4) Ibid.

born in the fortress of Maṇḍalakara, situated in Sapâdalakṣa. His mother's name was Ratnî. Sarasvatî was his wife, and she gave birth to his son, Châhaḍa. When Sapâdalakṣa was conquered by Shihâb-ud-dîn Muḥammad Ghorî in 1192 A.D., Âśâdhara, for fear of being molested by the conquering armies, left his native country, and migrated with his family to Mâlava. He was a contemporary of the kings Vindhyavarman, Arjunavarman, Devapâla and Jaitugideva. The town of Nalakacchapura was the chief centre of his activities as a writer and as a teacher, and it was through his learned instruction that several great scholars of high merit were produced at that period. Devacandra studied grammar under him; Viśâlakîrti attained a mastery over "Tarkaśâstra", sitting at his holy feet; Vinayacandra became well-versed in the doctrine of the Jainas under his careful supervision; and he taught Madana the art of poetry.(1) A large number of books, ~~and~~ poems and commentaries are attributable to him, of which the following are known to us to-day:(2)

	Name of Work.		Description.
(a)	Prameyaratnâkara	:	A metaphysical treatise on Syâdvâda.
(b)	Bharateśvarâbhyudaya with a gloss	:	A poem
(c)	Dharmâmṛta with a gloss entitled Jñânadîpikâ	:	The Essence of the teaching of the Arhat.
(d)	Râjîmatîvipralambha with a gloss	:	A small poem on Neimi
(e)	Adhyâtmarahasya	:	A treatise, useful to those practising 'Yoga'.
(f)	Glosses on the Mûlârâdhanâ, Caturviṁśatistava etc.	:	
(g)	Kriyâkalâpa	:	From the Amarakośa.

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(1) Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1883-84, p. 104.

(2) Ibid.

Name of Work	Description
(h) A Commentary on Rudraṭa's Kâvyâlaṃkâra.	
(i) Sahasranâmastavana of the Arhats with a gloss.	
(j) Jinayâjñakalpa	With a gloss entitled Jinayâjñakalpadîpikâ.
(k) Triṣaṣṭismṛti	Containing stories about the sixty-three persons, abridged from sacred Mahâpurâṇas with a commentary.
(l) Nityamahoddyota	Describing the manner of washing the image of the Jinas and worshipping ~~of~~ them.
(m) Ratnatrayavidhâna	Explaining the importance of the Worship.
(n) Aṣṭâṅgahṛdayoddyota	Written to render the Vâgbhaṭa-saṃhitâ plain and easy.
(o) Bhavyakumudacandrikâ	A commentary on a particular topic of Dharmâmṛta, treating of the duties of the Yatis or monks.

Of these works, Triṣaṣṭismṛti is described as having been written in Sam.1292 - 1235 A.D., during the reign of Devapâla, and Bhavyakumudacandrikâ was completed in Sam.1300 - 1243 A.D., when Jaitugideva was on the throne of Malwa. Âśâdhara furnishes us with a short account of what inspired him to the composition of the latter work.(1)

In the city of Nalakacchapura, he says, there was a personage named Pâpa, an influential and well-to-do citizen, belonging to the Khaṇḍelwâla family, who was a devoted adherent of the Jaina faith. He had two sons, Bahudeva and Padmasiṃha. Bahudeva's three sons were Haradeva, Udayin and Stambhadeva. Haradeva told Âśâdhara that a commentary on the duties of laymen, as laid down in the Dharmâmṛta, had been written by Mahîcandra, the Sâdhu, and that there was a need for a similar

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(1) Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 104-105.

work on the duties of the Yatis, which was the most difficult portion of the book. He requested Âśâdhara to undertake this commentary, and the latter eagerly complied, with the result that "Bhavyakumudacandrikâ" was produced.

Âśâdhara was an eminent man of letters. His contributions to the literature of the country obviously were of great service to the progress of its civilisation.

MADANA.

Madana was born of a family of Gauḍa, and was a descendant of Gaṅgâdharaya.(1) In his early years he learnt the art of poetry from Âśâdhara,(2) and obtained the title of "Bâlasarasvatî" in recognition of his poetic genius,(3) rising to the position of royal preceptor(4) during the reign of Arjunavarman. His facile pen also produced the drama of "Pârijâta-mañjarî" or as it is sometimes called, "Vijayaśrî", commemorating the victory of Arjunavarman over the Gujarat king, Jayasiṃha.(5) In his commentary on Amaruśataka, Arjunavarman quptes one of Madana's verses in Śardûlavikrdita, and ascribes to him the authorship of an Âryâ and two Anuṣṭubha verses.(6) Three inscriptions of the reign of Arjunavarman, which have been noticed above,(7) were also composed by him.

DEVENDRA.

The Jaina teacher Devendra, the disciple of Jagaccandra, lived at Ujjain, and converted Vîradhavala and Bhîmasiṃha into his faith, in Sam. 1323 - 1266 A.D. He died in Mâlava in Sam. 1327 - 1270 A.D. The following works were produced by him:(8)

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(1) Gauḍânvaya-Gaṅgâ-pulina-râ(ja-haṃ)sasya (Gaṃgâdha)-râyaṇe(r Madanasya râ)ja-guroḥ .... (E.I. VIII, pp.101-2

(2) Bhandarkar's Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS. 1883-84, p. 104. (3) Ibid.

(4) J.Am.O.S., Vol.VII, p. 33. (5) E.I., VIII, pp. 101 sqq.

(6) Commentary on Amaruśataka, pp.15,16, and 44.
(7) Vide ante, p.182. (8) I.A., Vol.XI, p. 255

DEVENDRA'S WORKS: (1)

(a) Śrâddha-dina-kṛtya

(b) Karma-grantha (a treatise in Prakrit âryâ verse on the Jaina theory of the future influence of acts

(c) Siddha-pañcâśikâ (50 Prakrit âryâ vv on the beings who attain spiritual beatification, said to be excerpted from the Siddha-pâhuḍa(Prâbhṛta).

(d) Dharmaratnavṛtti.

(e) Sudarśanâ-caritram.

(f) Caitya-vandana-bhâṣya, Guru-vandana bhâṣya and Pratyâ-Khyâna-bhâṣya.

(g) Siri Usaha Vaddhamânaprabhṛtistavâdayaḥ,

(h) Siddha-dandikâ-stava (on the apotheosis of the kings of Trikhanda, of the family of Nâbhi, (i) Śrâvaka-dina-Kṛtya.

DHARMAGHOSA.

Devendra's successor in the "Sûripada" was Vidyânanda, who was again followed by Dharmaghosa. This last mentioned teacher died in Sam.1357 - 1300 A.D. His works include the following: (2)

(a) Samghâcârâkhyâ bhâṣyavṛtti.

(b) Sudhammetistava.

(c) Kâyasthitibhavasthitistavau.

(d) Caturviṁśati-jinastavâḥ.

(e) Śastâśarmety-âdistotram.

(f) Devendrairanisam iti śleṣastotram.

(g) Yuyam yuvatvam iti śleṣastutayaḥ

(h) Yamakastuti

(i) Śatapadîkaor Prasnottara paddhatiḥ

(j) Kâla-saptatiḥ

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(1) Peterson's 4th Report, Intro. P.57.
Ibid, P. 64.
(2) I.A., Vol. XI, p. 255.)

The above category includes all that are known of the most renowned poets and authors who flourished in Malwa during the period under discussion. A short review of what has been said makes it clear that, from every angle, the civilisation of Malwa, during the happy rule of the Paramâras, may be regarded as having attained to a very high position. Politically, the dynasty achieved great and glorious things. Architecture, ~~attained to~~ reached a high pitch of excellence, and the temples of Udayapur and of Un rank high among the best specimens of ancient Indian architectural remains. But above all else, Malwa can claim the highest credit for her rich contributions to the stock of Sanskrit literature. In those ancient days, few provinces of India witnessed the birth of so many literary magnates, within so short a period, as did Malwa during the reign of the Paramâra dynasty. The literature of a country is admittedly the crucial test of its culture, and Malwa, through her possession of so valuable, ~~and~~ varied and rich a literature, has proved her high achievment in that direction. At the back of all these constructive movements were the Paramâra kings. Their unstinted liberality, never failing encouragement and generous sympathy always served as a driving force towards the progressive realisation of an ideal State.

CHAPTER IX

THE ABU BRANCH OF THE PARAMÂRA DYNASTY

In the first chapter of this book we have discussed at some length the question as to the origin of the junior lines of the Paramâra princes. There, we have noticed that Vâkpati-Muñja established three new settlements at Jalor, Bhinmal and Mount Abu, to which he appointed the princes of his family as governors. Among all these minor families, the Paramâras of Abu deserve our first and foremost consideration for their significant political achievements. The following pages, therefore, will be devoted to recording their history and culture.

The territory over which this Abu branch held sway was known as Arbuda-Maṇḍala.(1) It extended at least as far as Delwara on the east, Palanpur on the south,(2) and the Godwar District on the north.(3) It was bounded on the west by the territories of the Paramâras of Bhinmal. The seat of government was fixed at Chandravati,(4) situated on the banks of the Banas near the south-east border of the Sirohi State in Rajputana, the city which is now in complete ruins.

Our information regarding the early history of the family is very meagre. Araṇyarâja, son of Utpala, was the first prince of the line to enjoy the sovereignty of this territory. He was succeeded by Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarâja, a prince of great renown. Hemacandra's Dvyâśraya-mahâkâvya(5) narrates that the Caulukya Mûlarâja I (941-997 A.D.) of Gujarat, was assisted by the Râjñ of Arbuda in his war against Graharipu, chief of Saurâṣṭra. Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarâja or his father Araṇyarâja might have been the prince of

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(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 13.

(2) Pârtha-parâkrama, App. II, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No.4.)

(3) J.Bo.Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 75.

(4) E.I., IX, p. 155, v. 5.

(5) 5th sarga, v.37.

Abu, referred to above. The Vasantgadh inscription of Pûrṇapâla was examined by both Captain Burt and Pandit Kamalakanta, some time before 1841 A.D. Both of them found a name, Śrînâthaghosî, mentioned in the record, as that of the successor of Adbhuta-Kṛṣṇarâja.(1) Since then, the stone inscription was lost sight of for a time, but, subsequently, Raibahadur G.H. Ojha succeeded in recovering it. Professor Kielhorn, while re-editing it from a fresh impression, found that the name Śrînâthaghosî had totally disappeared from the place where it was supposed to have existed.(2)

DHANDHUKA

The next ruler of this family was Mahîpâla, whose successor was Dhandhuka. Dhandhuka was a contemporary of the king Bhoja of Malwa, during whose reign the enmity between the house of Anhilwar and that of Dhârâ became very acute. As soon as the wave of Mahmûd's invasion had passed away, Bhîma I of Gujarat succeeded in restoring his kingdom to a state of normal order. About this time he seems to have turned his arms against the Paramâras of Abu, and to have demanded the submission of their ruler Dhandhuka. But Dhandhuka refused to bow down before the authority of the Caulukyas, and being unable to withstand their attack, took refuge with Bhoja of Dhârâ.(3) After this, Bhîma easily conquered Arbuda-maṇḍala, and appointed Vimala, of the Prâgvâṭavaṁśa, to govern it on his

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(1) J.A.S.B. Vol. X, pp. 667, 670-71.

(2) E.I., IX, p. 56.

(3) Caṁdrâvatîpurîśaḥ samajani vîrâgraṇî(r) Dha(ṃ)dhuḥ ||
Śrî-Bhîmadevasya nṛpaśa(sya)sevâṁ amanya(m)ânaḥ
kila Dhaṁdhurâjaḥ | nareśa-roṣâc ca tato manasvî (svî)
Dhârâdhipaṃ Bhojanṛpaṃ prapede || 6.
(Mount Abu Vimala temple inscriptions, E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 155-156.)

behalf.[1] In the year Saṃ 1088 = 1031 A.D., during his viceroyalty, Vimala built a magnificent temple of Âdinâtha on the Mount Abu.[2]

PÛRṆAPÂLA.

Bhîma, however, could not long maintain his authority over Abu. Dhandhuka's son and successor, Pûrṇapâla, probably with the assistance of Bhoja, succeeded in establishing his authority over his paternal territory. He is described as ruling over Arbuda-maṇḍala, having conquered his enemy.[3] Amṛtadevî was the name of Dhandhuka's queen, who was the mother of Pûrṇapâla and Lâhiṇî Devî.[4] Lâhiṇî was married to Vigraharâja, son of Caca and grandson of Durlabharaja, the ruler of Badarî in Vaṃśâraṭha. Saṃgamarâja was the name of Durlabha's father. He was born of the lineage of Bhavagupta, the ruler of Vaṭa. Bhavagupta was a descendant of Yoṭa, who was the founder of this royal line.[5]

The exact date of Pûrṇapala's accession cannot be ascertained. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. The earliest of them was found in a tank at Vasantgadh, in the Sirohi State, Rajputana.[6] It records that Lâhiṇî, the sister of Pûrṇapâla, on the sudden demise of her husband Vigraharâja, changed her residence to Vaṭa or Vaṭapura, on the banks of the Sarasvatî, and lived there under her brother's protection. She restored an ancient temple of the sun (Bhânu) in that locality, and excavated there a

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(1) Tava(ta)ś ca Bhîmena narâdhipena sa pratâpa-bhûrmi(mi)r
Vimalo mahâmatiḥ! kva(kṛ)to '(r)bude daṃḍapatiḥ
satâṃ priyaḥ priyaṃvado naṃdatu Jaina-śâsane!! 8. (Mount Abu Vimala temple inscription, E.I., Vol. IX, p. 156.)

(2) Mount Abu Vimala temple inscription, E.I., IX, p. 156.

(3) Utpaṃnam asyâsuvi Pûrṇṇapâlaḥ pûrṇṇâṃ imâṃ pâlaya
- v - - ll - - v - (ro 'p)i vijitya śattrûṃ(n) śaśâsa bhûmaṃḍalam Arbudasya 8. (Vasantgadh inscription, E.I. Vol. IX, p. 13.)

(4) Ibid, v. ll.

(5) Ibid, verses ll-15.

(6) E.I., Vol. IX, p. ll.

tank in Sam 1099 = 1042 A.D. The inscription was composed by the Brahman Mâtṛśarman, son of Hari. It was engraved by Śivapâla, son of the architect (sûtradhâra) Deŭka and the grandson of Durga. Nâga, a sthapati (carpenter), was the father of Durga.

The Sarasvatî is evidently the modern river of the same name which, taking its rise from Mount Abu, passes through Gujarat. The tank in which the stone was found is, in all probability, the one referred to in the inscription. If this be the case, then Vaṭapura is to be identified with Vasantgadh.

The second inscription[1] was found on a step-well in the village of Bharund in the Godwar District of the Jodhpur State. Its object is to record the construction of a step-well in Sam 1102-1045 A.D. in the village of Bhumdipadra, when Mahârâjâdhirâja Pûrṇapâla was ruling the country. The expenses of its foundation were borne by a number of Brahmans of that village. The names of the architects are given as Dhâreśvara, Deŭa, Devau and Lahampaśra.

Bhumdipadra, here mentioned, is evidently the same as the village of Bharund where the inscription was discovered. The assumption of the title 'Mahârâjâdhirâja' by the king shows that he ruled his territory independently of foreign control.

After the termination of the reign of Pûrṇapâla, we are in the dark about the history of this family for nearly a century[2]. It does not seem to have suffered any break in the continuity of its rule during this period. Dhumarâja and Dhruvabhaṭa, as mentioned in the later records, were probably among those who ruled in succession after Pûrṇapâla. The death of Bhoja about 1055 A.D. deprived the Abu princes of a strong supporter against the incursions of the Caulukyas. In the latter part of the sixth

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(1) J.Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 78.

(2) Dr. Bhandarkar thinks (E.I., Vol. XI, p. 68.) that Kṛṣṇarâja of the Bhinmal inscription was the successor of Pûrṇapâla. There is no evidence to prove it. Kṛṣṇarâja's grandfather was Devarâja, while the name of Pûrṇapâla's grandfather was Mahîpâla. Vide post, p. 318.

decade of the eleventh century A.D., when the Paramâra government was passing through a period of stress and strain, king Bhîma ~~seems to have~~ again raised his sword against the territory of Abu. He conquered the province, but seems to have allowed the Paramâra princes to rule it as his vassals. After that, Mount Abu remained a part of the Caulukya empire until the end of the thirteenth century A.D. An inscription[1] of the reign of Bhîma, dated Sam. 1119 - 1062 A.D., was discovered in the wall of the Mount Abu Vimala temple. It was issued by the king's minister.

VIKRAMASIMHA

In the second quarter of the twelfth century A.D., the Paramâra Râmadeva is found to have been ruling over Mount Abu. He was succeeded by his brother Vikramasiṃha, who was a feudatory of the Caulukya Kumârapâla. While advancing with his armies against the Câhamânas of Ajmer in 1145 A.D., Kumârapâla halted in Mount Abu, and met Vikramasiṃha, who accorded him a hearty welcome.[2] But shortly afterwards, when the Gujarat armies were fighting in Marwar, the Paramâra prince revolted and probably joined forces with the advancing armies of king Ballâla of Ujjain. Hemacandra does not mention the name of Vikramasiṃha, but relates that the two feudatories Vijaya and Kṛṣṇa, whom Kumârapâla despatched against Ballâla, while he himself was advancing against Âna, had gone over to the king of Ujjain.[3] Vikramasiṃha had however to pay the penalty of his treachery by losing his throne. Jinamaṇḍana's Kumârapâla-prabandha states that Kumârapâla defeated Vikramasiṃha in battle,[4] and cast him into prison for his evil-doing, and established in his place his nephew Yaśodhavala on the throne of Mount Abu.

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(1) No. 1780 of Mr. Cousen's list; E.I, Vol. IX p. 148.

(2) Dvyâśraya, 19th sarga, v.34.

(3) Ibid, sarga XIX, v. 98.

(4) Tataḥ sarvâvasare taṃ Vikramasiṃham âkârya dvâsaptati-sâmanta-hakkayitvâ mallaiḥ sajjîkṛtya kârâgâre nikṣiptavân | samakṣaṃ
tad-râjyâdhipaṃ tasya bhrâtṛvyaṃ Yaśodhavala-nâmânaṃ kṛtavâṃś cai (p.42

YAŚODHAVALA

Two inscriptions of Yaśodhavala's reign have been discovered. The earlier one is dated Sam. 1202, Mâgha Sudi 14 = February 1145 A.D., and is in a fragmentary state.(1) Its object is to record that the queen Saubhâgyadevî of the Caulukya family, during the reign of the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Yaśodhavala, made certain grants at the village of Âjâharî. It was engraved by the Sutradhâra Câhaḍadeva

The second inscription(2) was found in the Acaleśvara temple at Mount Abu. It is dated Sam. 1207 = 1150 A.D., and describes Yaśodhavala as a Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara. Yaśodhavala, who owed his throne to Kumârapâla, proved his fidelity to the latter by fighting on his side against the Malwa armies. Kumârapâla, immediately on his return from the battlefield of Ajmer, was informed that Ballâla had already penetrated into the heart of Gujarat and had directed the course of his army towards Anhilwar. He at once sent for a contingent and offered a terrible opposition to his enemy, and Ballâla was defeated and killed.(3) On this occasion Yaśodhavala rendered great service to his overlord, and claims to have killed the Malwa king. The Mount Abu inscription at the temple of Neminatha relates that(4) Yaśodhavala quickly slew Ballâla, the lord of Mâlava, when he learnt that the latter had become hostile to the Caulukya Kumârapâla. He ended his reign some time before 1163 A.D. the earliest known date of his son and successor, Dhârâvarṣa.

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(1) I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.

(2) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 149.

(3) Dvyâśraya, 19th sarga.

(4) Rodaḥ-kaṃdaravartti-kîrtti-laharî-liptâmṛtâṃśu-dyuter
apradyumna-vaśo Yaśodhavala ity âsît tanûjas tataḥ |
Yaś Caulukya-kumârapâla-nṛpati-pratyarthitâm âgataṃ
matvâ satvaram eva Mâlava-patiṃ Ballâlaṃ âlabdhavân || (v.35).
(E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 210-211); Vide ante, P. 160.

DHÂRÂVARSA

Dhârâvarsa was a famous ruler, and occupied the throne of Abu for a great number of years. Many inscriptions belonging to his reign have been discovered.

(1)
(a) A stone inscription, found in a shed near a temple at Kayadra, Sirohi State, records that on Saturday the 15th half of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃ. 1220 = May, 1163 A.D., Mahârâjâdhirâja Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Dhârâvarsadeva granted a remission of taxes on the village of Phulahalî, belonging to Bhaṭṭâraka Deveśvara of the temple of Kâseśvara. The royal order was executed by the prince (Pâlhaṇadeva). The inscription also contains details of some other grants. Bâla Kelhaṇa made some donations, the nature of which is not very clear. Amâtya Śivasiṃha, an inhabitant of the village of Vâsaṇa, granted a field. The witnesses of the record were Vijayarâja, son of Vâhaḍa, and Deḍâ, son of Dejaâ. The villages Phulahalî and Vâsaṇa cannot be identified.

(2)
(b) The second inscription was found in the village of Hathar, about three miles north-west of Mount Abu. It is dated Saṃ. 1237 = 1180 A.D., and records that, in the victorious reign of Dhârâvarsa, the lord of Arbuda, the minister Kovidâsa granted some pasture-lands of the villages of Sâhilavâḍâ, Mâgavâḍî and Hâthaḍalî and two ploughs of land in the village of Kumbhâranuli, to Bhaṭṭâraka Vîsala Ugradamaka, a teacher of Śivadharma. The occasion for making this donation was the "Devotthâna ekâdaśî". Of the localities, Hâthaḍalî is evidently the modern Hathar, where the inscription was found.

(3)
(c) The third inscription was discovered at Ajari. It states that on Monday, Vaiśâkha Sudi 3, Saṃ. 1240 = 1183 A.D., in the victorious reign of Dhârâvarsa, ruler of Candrâvatî, the wife of the prince Prahlâdana granted a certain piece of land to

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(1) I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.

(2) Ibid, Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

(3) Pârtha-parâkrama, by Prahlâdana, App. II.

Arhat Jagadeva, while she was residing in the village of Âjâharî. The village mentioned corresponds to the modern Ajari, where the record was discovered.

(d) The fourth inscription[1] was found in the Madhusûdana temple near Mungthala at Mount Abu. It contains the date Sam. 1245 = 1188 A.D., and does not report anything of great interest.

(e) The fifth inscription[2] was discovered on Mount Abu, and contains the date Saṃ. 1265 = 1208 A.D. At that time Dhârâvarṣa, the lord of Candrâvatî, was ruling the province under his overlord the Caulukya Bhîma II. The prince Prahlâdana is described as the heir apparent of Dhârâvarṣa. The author of the record is Kedâramiśra, the head of a Śaiva monastery at Ujjain. Its object is to record some architectural works executed by Kedâramiśra and his sister Mokṣeśvarî.

(f) The sixth inscription[3] dated Sam. 1271, Âsîja (Âśvina) Sudi 4 = October, 1214, A.D. records that the Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Dhârâvarṣadeva granted one halavâha of land in the village of Sâvaḍa Vṛddha, to a merchant named Ampa.

(g) The seventh inscription[4] was found broken in a temple of Śiva. It reports that, during the victorious reign of Dhârâvarṣa, son of Yaśodhavala and a descendant of Dhomarâja, certain persons, viz. Râṇâ Vaija, son of Vijaisi, and Laṣamsîha, Kamaṇa, Sobhâ etc. sons of Râṭhawḍa Ânâ, of the family of the Hathundi Râjputs, took a vow of observing festivity for two days commencing with the day of Mahârâtri (Śivarâtri). The inscription was issued in Saṃ. 1274 between Mâgha and Phâlguna = January 1217 A.D., on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Dhârâvarṣa was a great warrior, and was renowned for his skill in archery. On one occasion he succeeded in piercing three buffaloes with a single shot of an arrow.[5] In order to celebrate

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(1) A.S.I., 1906-7 p. 209.

(2) I.A., Vol. XI, p. 221; vide post, p. 306

(3) Ibid, Vol. LVI, p. 51.

(4) I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.

(5) Pâṭnârâyaṇa inscription, I.A. Vol. XLV, p. 78.

this achievement a statue of him was erected on the edge of the Mandâkini tank, outside the temple of Acaleśvara on Mount Abu, with a bow in his hand and three buffaloes standing in front, with their bellies pierced through. This statue still exists in perfect condition. Kovidâsa was the minister of the king's government.(1)

WAR WITH KONKAN

Dhârâvarsa was a contemporary of the Gujarat kings Kumârapâla, Ajayapâla, Mûlarâja II and Bhîma II. It appears from his inscription, dated 1162 A.D., in which he assumes the titles of both Mahâmandaleśvara and Mahârâjâdhirâja, that by that time he had attained to the position of a semi-independent chief. In the early and latter part of his reign his relations with the Gujarat sovereignty were friendly. He rendered invaluable assistance to them in their times of stress. It has been seen above that Yaśodhavala offered his services to the Caulukyas in their war against the Mâlava king. Now Dhârâvarsa followed the army of Kumârapâla in its march upon Konkan. Merutunga narrates that upon one occasion when Kumârapâla was giving a general audience to the people, he heard a bard using the great honorific epithet of Râjapitâmaha (grandfather of kings) in connection with the name of Mallikârjuna, the king of Konkan (A.D. 1156-1160). This greatly affected his kingly pride. The minister, Âmbaḍa, who understood the king's feelings at the moment, volunteered to lead an army to Konkan to humble the pride of its ruler. Kumârapâla highly appreciated the offer, and made Âmbaḍa commander-in-chief of the army for that particular occasion. Almost all the eminent chieftains of the empire were sent to assist Âmbaḍa in his operations, and after a long and weary march he reached the enemy's country. While he was crossing the strong tide of the river Kalavini, Mallikârjuna fell upon him and completely wrecked his forces. He returned to Gujarat broken-hearted, with his pride in the dust. But Kumârapâla did not lose faith in his valour, and sent him back with a fresh army to renew

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(1) Ibid, Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

operations. On this occasion, Âmbaḍa took great precautions in crossing the aforesaid river. He built a bridge over it, and successfully transported all his armies and landed them safely on the other side. Mallikârjuna opposed him with all his might, but this time he was defeated and killed, and his capital was plundered. Âmbaḍa returned to Anhilwara with a load of treasure, and presented Kumârapâla with the head of the defeated king.(1) Someśvara's Kîrtikaumudî(2) and Arisiṃha's Sukṛtasaṃkîrttana(3) also record Kumârapâla's victory over the Konkan king. Hence the general outline of Merutuṅga's report may be accepted as true.

Dhârâvarṣa seems to have been one of those chieftains, whose salutary support unquestionably enabled Âmbaḍa to gain so signal a victory. The Mount Abu inscription at the temple of Neminâtha,(4) relates that - "When Dhârâvarṣa, inflamed with anger, held his ground on the battlefield, the wives of the lord of Koṅkaṇa shed drops of tears from their lotus-like eyes." Dhârâvarṣa, in all probability, fought this battle on behalf of his overlord the Caulukya Kumârapâla.

WAR WITH THE CÂHAMÂNAS OF AJMER

Arṇorâja, the Câhamâna king of Ajmer, sustained a heavy defeat at the hand of Kumârapâla in 1145 A.D. His son Vigrahârâja (1153-1164 A.D.) paid ~~back~~ off these old scores ~~to~~ against the Caulukyas by ravaging the northern territories of the Gujarat empire.(5) This led Kumârapâla's successor, Ajayapâla, to renew hostilities against Ajmer. He is said to have succeeded in subordinating its king to himself as a tributary.(6) But as soon

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(1) Prabandhacintâmaṇi, pp.122-123. Bom.Gaz.Vol.I, part I, p.185 ff

(2) Sarga II, vv.47-48.

(3) Sarga II, v. 43.

(4) krodhâkrâṃta-pradhana-vasudhâ-niścale yatra jâtâś
cyotan-netrotpala-jala-kaṇâḥ Kaumkaṇâdhîśa-patnyaḥ ||
(v. 36.) (E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 211.)

(5) J.A.S.B., Vol. LV, p. 41.

(6) I.A., Vol. VI, p. 195.

as Bhîma II ascended the throne of Anhilwar in 1178 A.D., the hostile relations between himself and the house of Ajmer were resumed. The young Caulukya king is said to have wanted to marry the daughter of the Paramâra Jayatasimha, ruler of Bhinmal. But unfortunately for his desire, the princess was already betrothed to the Câhamâna Prthvîrâja III of Ajmer.(1) This led to a war between the Caulukyas and the Câhamânas, in which the king of the latter, Someśvara,(2) was killed.(3) Prthvîrâja III (1179-1193 A.D.) immediately after his accession, led an army against Gujarat. As on previous occasions, Dhârâvarsa once again proved his fidelity to his overlord by lending him assistance. He offered a strong resistance to the enemy. The Pârtha-parâkrama of Prahlâdana praises his repulse of a nocturnal attack by Prthvîrâja, the king of Jângala (Ajmer).(4) We are told that Bhîma II suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Câhamâna king in this warfare.(5)

WAR WITH THE GUHILAS OF MEWAR

As we have already seen in a previous chapter, the Gujarat empire began to degenerate after the death of Kumârapâla.

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(1) Vide post, p. 310.

(2) Someśvara's inscriptions are dated A.D. 1170, 1177. J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 266, 268 footnote 14.

(3) Vide post, P. 311

(4) Kim anga! Jângala-pateh sauptika-prastâvopaślokam anâ-karnitavân bhavân?
yasyâdyâpi yaśah śilîmukha-mukhotkîrnaih prasty-aksaraih
svah-strînâm divi nâyaka-sabhâ-stambhena samsmâryate |
sehe sopi na sauptikam vinipatad-draunestad aty-Arjunam
Dhârâvarsa! tavâdya pauruśam abhût tîrnopamânam bhuvi. |
(Here in line 3 the metre is wrong).
(Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV, p.3.) The MS. of the Limbdi's Pâdâ mentions the name of the Jângala king as Prthvîrâja.

(5) Vide post, p. 321.

Malwa was reconquered by the Paramâra Vindhyavarman, and the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî declared open hostility against its rulers. But its most formidable enemy was the Guhila king, Sâmantasiṃha, whose two known dates are A.D. 1172 and 1179.(1) He invaded Gujarat, which appears to have been at the time under the rule of Ajayapâla (1172-1176 A.D.). Ajayapâla sustained a severe defeat and received a serious wound on the battlefield. Someśvara(2) tells us that his predecessor, Kumâra, having worshipped the god Kaṭukeśvara, cured Ajayapâla of his wounds. In those perilous hours, Dhârâvarṣa adhered faithfully to the Gujarat dynasty, and sent his younger brother, Prahlâdana, with a strong force, to the assistance of Ajayapâla. The Mount Abu inscription tells us that(3) "Prahlâdana, whose sword was dexterous in defending the illustrious Gûrjara king when his power had been broken on the battlefield by Sâmantasiṃha, again displayed on earth the behaviour of the greatest enemy of the descendants of Danu."

The Gurjara king here referred to was apparently Ajayapâla, and Sâmantasiṃha was in all probability the Guhila king of that name. No doubt can be entertained that the timely help of the Paramâras of Abu saved the Caulukya sovereignty from ruin on that occasion.

DHÂRÂVARṢA'S REVOLT AGAINST THE GUJARAT SOVEREIGNTY

Ajayapâla and Mûlarâja II did not rule long. During the early years of the reign of Bhîma II, and as we have often noticed, the Gujarat sovereignty was overcome by a further and worse calamity. Someśvara(4) tells us that the ministers and the feudatories divided

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(1) Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1914-15, p.3.

(2) Surathotsava, Granthaprasasti, v. 32.

(3) Sâmaṃtasiṃha-samiti-kṣiti-vikṣataujaḥ
śrî-Gûrjjara-kṣitipa-rakṣaṇa-dakṣiṇâśiḥ |
Prahlâdanas tad-anujo Danuj ottam âri-câritram atra punar
ujjaṛvalayâṃ-cakâra ||
(verse 38.) (E.I. Vol. VIII, p. 211.).

(4) Kîrtikaumudî, sarga II, v. 61.

among themselves the empire of young Bhîma II. Dhârâvarṣa was apparently one of those who hoisted the standard of revolt. But in that difficult period Arṇorâja, son of Dhavala, the ruler of Bhîmapalli, came to the rescue of the Gujarat sovereign. He pressed heavily upon Dhârâvarṣa and the king of Medapâṭa, and subdued them.(1) The Sukṛtakîrttikallolinî of Jayasiṃha relates that Arṇorâja broke down the power of the lords of Medapâṭa (Mewar) and Candrâvatî.

WAR WITH THE MOSLEMS

The name of Dhârâvarṣa is prominent among those of the heroes who offered strong resistance to the southward movement of the Moslems. In 1178 A.D., when Bhîma II ascended the throne of Anhilwar, Muḥammad of Ghōr appeared with his strong force at the northern gate of the Gujarat empire. Notwithstanding his strenuous efforts, he could not break down the barrier of the Gujarat army, and was forced to retreat. A large number of his soldiers were killed on the battlefield, and those who survived suffered extreme hardships on their way back to Ghaznî.(2) The Tabaqât-i-Nâṣirî(3) relates that Shihâb-ud-Dîn Muḥammad of Ghōr advanced towards Nahrwâla by way of Uch and Multân. Bhîmdeo was a minor, but he had a large army and elephant-force, which wounded the Sultân in the battle and forced him to retreat. The Tâjul Maâṣir(4) tells us that this battle took place at the foot of Mount Abu. An early authority(5) gives the name of the place as

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(1) Yat-khaḍga-daṇḍa-yamun-âmbhasi Medapâṭa - Candrâvatî-pura-patî tridivâya magnau! (V. 75)

(2) Briggs' Firishta, Vol, I. p. 170.

(3) Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 294. cf. 9. 230.

(4) Ibid, p. 230.

(5) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 77.

Kâsahrada, the modern village of Kayadram at the foot of Mount Abu. The Sundha hill inscription[1] states that the Câhamâna Kelhaṇa of Nadula (1165-1194 A.D.) crushed the power of the Turuṣkas. His brother Kîrtipâla (1161-1215 A.D.) is also credited with a victory over the same Turuṣkas[2] at Kâsahrada.[3] Dr. Bhandarkar rightly thinks that the two brothers fought on the same occasion with the Moslems. We may reasonably suppose that they fought this war on behalf of Bhîma II, as the place of battle was apparently the same as that in which Muḥammad of Ghôr is reported to have encountered the army of the Caulukyas. Kâsahrada, the modern Kayadram, where the stone inscription of Dhârâvarṣa was found, was within the jurisdiction of his government. Hence it is almost certain that he also participated in this war against the Moslems and saved his principality by forcing Shihâb-ud-dîn to retreat.

In 1192-93 A.D. Ajmer was finally conquered by the Moslems. Two years later, in 1195 A.D., the Anhilwar government sent succour to the Mers in their effort to reconquer Ajmer. In the battle that ensued a large number of Moslems were killed, and their leader Qutb-ud-dîn Aibak was severely wounded. The Hindus advanced and encamped within one 'parsang' from Ajmer. But when all their attempts were frustrated by their enemies, a reinforcement arrived from Ghaznî, enabling the Moslems not only to drive back the Mers but also to advance upon Gujarat, from which the provisions were supplied to the Hindu forces for the reconquest of Ajmer.[4] They easily conquered Pâlî (Bali) and Nadûl, but to their disappointment they found that the road to Gujarat was strongly guarded by the united forces of Kelhaṇa and Dhârâvarṣa. The description of this battle is given with great elaboration of detail by the Tâj-ul Ma'âṣir.[5] The writer says that when in 1197 A.D.

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, Vol. XI, p. 71.

(4) Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, p. 229.

(5) Ibid, pp. 229-230.

Khusrau, (a general under Qutb-ud dîn) "reached the lofty forts of Pâlî and Nandûl, he found them abandoned and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmâns, and had collected under their leaders Râî Karan and Dârâbars, in great numbers, at the foot of Mount Abu, and at the mouth of a pass, stood ready for fight and slaughter. The Musulmâns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultân Muḥammad Sâm Ghorî had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander."

"The Hindus, seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it ~~into~~ cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass, turned their faces towards the field of battle and the plain of honour and renown; for they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the sacred enclosure of religion. The two armies stood face to face for some time, engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabî'ul awwal, in a fortunate moment, the army of Islâm advanced from its camps, and at morn reached the position of the infidels. A severe action ensued, from dawn to midday, when the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level. Rai Karan effected his escape from the field."

The Muḥammadan historian does not tell us anything about the fate of Dhârâvarṣa. There is no doubt that he played an important part in the struggle, though he shared in the defeat with all the other Hindu forces, on account of their indiscretion in leaving their most favourable strategic position at the mouth of the pass. After this victory the Moslems appear to have left Gujarat in peace for nearly a quarter of a century.

The internal trouble, which had been sapping the foundation of the Caulukya empire since the accession of Bhîma II, reached its culmination in the first quarter of the thirteenth century A.D.,

when Bhîma II was dethroned by an usurper named Jayasiṃha. But, about this time, the most prominent figure in Gujarat was Vîradhavala, the son of Lavaṇaprasâda, the ruler of Dholka.

This chaotic state of affairs in Gujarat quickly attracted the attention of Sultân Iyal-Timish (A.D. 1211-1236), and he advanced with an army towards Anhilwar. Vîradhavala shouldered the whole responsibility of defending the country in this emergency,(1) and his position was rendered the more critical by a joint attack on the south from the great Yâdava Siṅghaṇa and the Paramâra Devapâla. In that predicament, as has been narrated above, he appointed his minister Vastupâla to defend the southern frontier and himself set out for Marwar to check the progress of the Moslems. The chiefs of Marudeśa (Marwar), viz. Somasiṃha, Udayasiṃha and Dhârâvarṣa, into whose territories the armies of the Moslem general were marching without any let or hindrance, now allied themselves to him with great eagerness,(2) as did Bhîmasiṃha the ruler of Saurâṣṭra. The Hammîra-mada-Mardana gives the name of the Moslem general as Hammîravîra-Milacchîkâra, but the Prabandhacaturvimśati more correctly calls him Suratrâṇ Maujadin, which is a contraction of the name of the Sultân Mu'izz ud-dîn Bahrâm Shâh, Shams-ud-dîn Iyal-Timish, the ruler of Delhi from A.D. 1210 to 1236.

When Vîrahavala was thus rapidly advancing to oppose the Sultân, he was informed that the latter was trying to enter Gujarat from the side of Mount Abu.(3) He at once sent instructions to Dhârâvarṣa to let the enemy pass southward unobstructed and then close the mountain-pass against their return. Dhârâvarṣa acquitted himself of his task very efficiently, and the result was

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(1) Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka I, and II, vide ante, chapter VII, p. 194

(2) Śrî-Somasiṃhodayasiṃha-Dhârâ
varṣair amîbhir Marudeśa-nâthaiḥ |
diśo'ṣṭa jetuṃ sphuṭam aṣṭa-bâhus
tribhiḥ sametair-abhavyat prabhur naḥ || 8 (Hammîra-mada-mardana, Aṅka II.)

(3) Prabandha-caturvimśati.

most favourable. The Moslems, to their utter bewilderment, found themselves entrapped in the mountain-pass, hemmed in by Dhârâvarsa in the rear and Vîradhavala in front. They sustained a heavy loss and a large number of their forces lost their lives in the battle.

This war must have happened between A.D. 1219 and 1229, the date of the beginning of the ministry of Vastupâla and the composition of the Hammîra-mada-mardana. The Tabagât-i-Nâsirî[1] tells us that in A.D. 1226, Sultân Iyal-Timish sent a general to conquer the fort of Ranthambhor, and, in the year following (1227 A.D.) he himself marched against the fort of Mandwar (modern Mandor in the Jodhpur State), within the limits of the Siwâlik territory. On this occasion, he probably tried to push his way further south into Marwar, but was severely beaten back by the combined forces of Vîradhavala and Dhârâvarsa.

All these warlike activities, so successfully carried on by Dhârâvarsa, testify to the enormous strength and resources of his government. He enjoyed a long reign of more than sixty years. The dates of his inscriptions range from A.D. 1163 to A.D. 1217. If it is true that Iyal-Timish invaded Marwar in 1227 A.D., as has been suggested above, then his reign must be taken to have ended after that date.

PRAHLÂDANA

There is no definite evidence to prove that Dhârâvarsa was succeeded by his younger brother Prahlâdana. The Pâtnârâyana inscription, issued at the end of the thirteenth century, does not mention his name, and describes Somasimha as the successor of Dhârâvarsa. The Somasaubhâgya, composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century A.D., describes Prahlâdana as the lord of Arbudâcala.[2] The prince was certainly an old man at the time of

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(1) Elliot, History of India, Vol. II, pp. 324-325.

(2) ~~Op. cit.~~, Verse 13.

his accession, if indeed he outlived his brother and succeeded him at all. In his youth he was a good general, and we have already seen how, by his soldierly valour, he saved the Caulukya sovereignty from destruction when the Guhilas shattered the forces of Ajayapâla. But more than his achievements in war was to be estimated his devotion to learning. The Mount Abu inscription[1] of the reign of Dhârâvarsa, dated 1209 A.D., describes him as a prince expert in all the fine arts and useful sciences. The Mount Abu inscription, in the temple of Neminâtha, dated 1230 A.D., speaks of his high culture and learning. The poet Someśvara, who composed that record, says - "I am not certain whether it is the goddess sprung from the lotus-seated (Brahmâ) or the celestial cow, granting (every) wish that has come to earth in the form of Prahlâdana."[2] The same author writes in his Kîrtikaumudî[3] that Prahlâdana, by composing some pleasant stories, again delighted the goddess of learning, who was afflicted with sorrow on the passing away of Bhoja and Muñja. The prince produced a number of literary works. The Sârngadhara-paddhati, a collection of elegant extracts, written in the fourteenth century A.D., contains some of his compositions. Jalhaṇa's Sûktimuktâvalî also quotes some of his verses. He composed a vyâyoga or drama in one act[4], entitled "Pârtha-parâkrama," the main

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(1) saḍ-darśana-avalaṃvana(darśan âvalaṃbana)-staṃbha-sakala-kalâ-kovid-kumâra-guru-Śrî-Prahlâdanadeve yauvarâjye sati ity evaṃ kâle Kedâraraśinâ niṣpâditam idaṃ kîrttanaṃ।
(I.E., Vol. XI, p. 222.)

(2) Devî sarojâsana-saṃbhavâ kiṃ kâmapradâ kiṃ sura-saurabheyî।
Prahlâdanâkâra-dharâ dharâyâṃ âyâtavaty eṣa na niścayo me॥
(V.39) E.I. Vol. VIII, pp. 211, 216.

(3) Śrî-Prahlâdanadevo'bhûd dvitayena prasiddhimân।
putratvena Sarasvatyâḥ patitvena jaya-śrîyaḥ॥ 14.
Śrî-Bhoja-Muñjâ-duḥkhârtâ ramyâṃ vartayatâ kathâṃ।
Prahlâdanena sâhlâdâ punaś cakre Sarasvatî॥ 15. (Sarga I).

(4) Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV.

theme of which is the epic hero Arjuna's exploit of recovering the cows of the king Virâṭa by completely defeating the Kauravas. It was first staged at the court of Dhârâvarṣa, on the occasion of the investiture of the god Acaleśvara with the sacred thread.(1)

Prahlâdana was also famous for his munificence. Someśvara's Surathotsava(2) relates that philanthropic activities ceased with the death of Prahlâdana.

Prahlâdanapura, the modern Palanpur, the headquarters of the subdivision of the same name in Gujarat, 54 miles south of Mount Abu, was founded by this prince. He erected there a Jaina temple called Pârtha-vihâra. The Upadeśa-taraṅginî relates a story in connection with the foundation of this temple. One day, Prahlâdana, the lord of Arbudâcala, melted down a Jaina brass image and made a bull out of the metal for Acaleśvara Mahâdeva. In consequence of this act of desecration he was attacked with leprosy, and his kingdom was usurped by his relations. After this, as he was wandering from country to country, he happened to meet with Śîladhavalâcârya, and related to him the cause of his distress. The Jaina teacher told him that the only means of his recovery lay in acquiring religious merit by erecting numerous temples and images of the Jaina gods. The prince accordingly laid the foundation of the temple of Pâlhavihâra, and enshrined in it a golden image of Pârsvanâtha. He often found much delight in gazing at that god through the window of the shrine. He was soon cured of his disease, and passed the remainder of his life in observing the rules of the Jaina religion. This story is also narrated in

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(1) Sthâpakaḥ-Tan na jâne bhagavataḥ Śrîmad-Acaleśvara-devasya pavitrak-âropaṇa-parvaṇi kenâpi rûpakeṇâdya pramodanîyâḥ sabhâsadaḥ | Nataḥ-Ârya! tad etad atula-parâkrama-camatkâritâkhila-Bhâratasya Śrî-Dhârâvarṣasya parṣadâ prahitaṃ patrakam!..
(ibid, pp. 1-2.)

(2) Śrî Prahlâdanam antareṇa viratam viśvopakâra-vratam |
(sarga I, v. 52.).

the Commentary on the Hîrassaubhâgya,[1] but we have now no other evidence of its truth.

The earliest reference to Prahlâdanapura occurs in the prasasti of the Atimuktacaritra of Pûrṇabhadra, composed in Saṃ. 1282 = 1225 A.D.[2] Vastupâla, when on pilgrimage to Mount Abu, worshipped Pârśvanâtha in the Pâlhavihâra in Prahlâdanapura, and installed there an image of Neminâtha.

The Samarâ Râsu, a book written about Saṃ. 1371 = 1314 A.D. refers to Pâlhaṇapura and Pâlhavihâra,[3] and the Somasaubhâgya, a work composed at the end of the fifteenth century A.D., praises Prahlâdana very highly for the foundation of the above city and the temple.[4] Thus it appears that Prahlâdana lived long in the memory of the people on account of his literary and architectural labours.

SOMASIMHA

Somasiṃha, the son of Dhârâvarsa, succeeded his uncle Prahlâdana in the second quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. Three inscriptions of his reign have been discovered. Two of them are engraved on the wall of the temple of Neminâtha on Mount Abu.[5]

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(1) Op. cit. Canto I, Verses 69-128.

(2) Śrîmat-Prahlâdana-pura-vare Pûrṇabhadro gaṇir drâk
śiṣyaḥ Śrîmaj-Jina-pati-guroś câru cakre caritram |
citrâścaryaṃ vijaya-tanayasyÂtimuktasya sâdhor
dvy-aṣṭ-ârkk-âbde 1282 diti sura-gurau kârtike pûrṇamâsyâm ||

(3) Vs. 10-11.

(4) Prahlâdana-kṣiti-patir dyupatir mahobhiḥ Śrî-Arbudâcala-vibhuḥ
sa babhûva pûrvam |
tena svanâma-viditaṃ dita-pâpa-tâpaṃ saṃsthâpitaṃ puram idam
mudita-prajâdhyam || 13
tatraiṣa bhûmi-ramaṇî-ramaṇîya-hâraṃ sphâraṃ vihâram asamaṃ
samakârayac ca |
svîy-âkhyayâ pravara rai-kapi-śîrṣa-śâra-prâkâra-gopura-mahardhi-
-parîrdha-śobham || 14
samyag-dṛśâṃ viracitâdbhuta-citta-śaitye caitye phaṇâ-maṇi-niras-
ta-tamaḥ-samûham |
vighnopaśânti-karaṇaṃ śaraṇaṃ śritânâṃ śrî-Pârśva-bimbam
avilambam atiṣṭhipad ca || 15

(5) E.I., Vol. VIII, pp. 208 seq.

Their object is to record that in the month of Phâlguna, in Saṃ.1287 = February 1230 A.D., when Bhîmadeva (II) was on the throne of Anahilapura and Mahâmaṇḍaleśvara Râjakula Somasiṃha, son of Dhârâvarṣa, was ruling in Mount Abu, Tejaḥpâla, the minister of Vîradhavala, built in the village of Deülavâḍâ, on the top of Mount Abu, this temple of the holy Neminâtha, called Lûṇasiṃhavasahikâ. It was erected to increase the religious merit of his wife Anupamadevî and his son Lûṇasiṃha. It is further stated that the mahârâjakula Somasiṃha made a grant of the village of Ḍavâṇî in Vâhirahadî for the maintenance of this temple. The trustees for the temple were Somasiṃha, his son Kṛṣṇa, and many other personages of the Arbuda country.

Of the localities mentioned above, Deülavâḍâ is to be identified with the modern village of Dilwara on Mount Abu.

The third inscription (1) was found at Nana, in the Jodhpur State, Rajputana. It is dated Saṃ. 1290 = 1233 A.D. It records that in the reign of Mahârâjâdhirâja-Somasiṃhadeva, the village of Nânaka was owned by a person who was a favourite of the 'Yuvarâja Kâṇhaḍadeva. Nânaka is evidently the modern village of Nana, where the record was found.

Our knowledge about Somasiṃha's career is very scanty. He was liberal to the Brahmans, and remitted their taxes. (2) He had a great devotion to learning. He is said to have inherited bravery from his father, learning from his paternal uncle, and liberality from them both. (3)

KRSNARÂJA.

Somasiṃha was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇarâja, during whose reign, in all probability, Mount Abu was conquered and annexed for a time to the Guhila kingdom of Mewar. An inscription, (4) dated Saṃ. 1342 = 1285 A.D., discovered in the wall of a shrine, called the 'maṭha

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(1) A.S.I., 1907-8, p. 226.

(2) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 41.

(3) Dhârâvarṣa-suto 'yaṃ jayati śrî-Somasiṃha-devo yaḥ
pitṛtaḥ śauryaṃ vidyâṃ pitṛvyakâd dânam ubhayato jagṛhe ||
ibid, v. 40.

(4) Prakrit and Sanskrit inscription of Kathywar, p. 84.

of 'Pûjâri Bâbâ', to the south of the temple of Acaleśvara, proves that Mount Abu was at that time under the suzerainty of the Guhila Samarasiṃha. His governor of this newly annexed province seems to have been Jaitrasiṃha.

PRATÂPASIṂHA.

Kṛṣṇarâja's son and successor was Pratâpasiṃha, who was an intrepid warrior, and, probably with the assistance of the Vâghelâs of Dholka, regained Candrâvatî by overthrowing Jaitrakarṇa. The Pâṭṇârâyaṇa inscription glorifies him for this brilliant achievement.(1) But, though Pratâpasiṃha regained his paternal throne, he had by this time lost much of his princely authority, and now became a subordinate of Vîsaladeva, son of Bhâdadeva, a governor of Vâghelâ Śâraṅgadeva of Anhilwar.

An inscription(2) of his reign has been discovered in the temple of Pâṭanârâyaṇa, near Girwar, about four miles west of Madhusûdana, in the Sirohi State. It records that, in the victorious reign of Vîsaladeva, son of Bhâdadeva, when Pratâpasiṃha was ruling in Candrâvatî, the latter's minister, a resident of the village of Grivâda, caused the temple of Paṭṭanârâyaṇa to be repaired, between the month of Âśvina, Saṃ. 1343 and that of Jyeṣṭha, Saṃ. 1344 (= October 1286 and May 1287). The people of the neighbouring villages made the following donations for the maintenance of the temple :-

(a) One donakârî and a field in the village of Chanâra, from Devaḍâ Melâka, son of Śobhita.

(b) A dhîmaḍâ in the village of Khîmaulî from Râjaputra Vîrapâla, son of Vîhala.

(c) Eight seers of corn from each arahaṭṭa and two seers from each dhîmaḍu and one seer of grain from each plough in the village of Kâlhaṇavâḍâ, from the villagers of Âulî.

(d) Ten drammas from each of his villages, from Nuḍimala, son of Guhila.

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(1) Pradyumna-kalpo 'jani yena sa Śrî-Pratâpasiṃho'ri-karîṃdra-siṃhah || 17| Kâmaṃ pramathya samare jagad-ekavîras taṃ Jaitrakarṇṇam iha Karṇṇam ive'ṃdra-sûnuh | Candrâvatîṃ para-kulodadhi-dûra-magnâṃ urvvîṃ varâha iva yah sahasoddadhâra || 18. | (I.A., Vol. XLV, p. 78).

(2) ibid. p. 77.

(e) The revenue of the Colapikâ, in the village of Madâülî, for twelve ekâdasîs, and the export duty of Candrâvatî, from the Râjaputra Gâmgu (Gângu) and Karmasimha.

The inscription attributes the installation, there of this god Pattanârâyana ~~there~~ to the epic hero Râma. He is said to have established the god Suddhesvaradeva near Abu, after having proved Sîtâ's purity by means of the fire-ordeal.

About this time, the Câhamânas of Ranastambhapura led an expedition against Mount Abu, in the course of their southern march. Their great king Hammîra (1283-1301 A.D.), launched a series of campaigns against the neighbouring Hindu chiefs. The Hammîra-mahâkâvya relates that (1) the king, in the course of his 'digvijaya', ravaged the country of Mewar and reached Mount Abu, whose ruler, submitted to him, although he was famous for his military skill. He halted for some time on Mount Abu, worshipped in the temple of Rsabhadeva, and, having bathed in the holy Mandâkinî, paid his devotion to Acalesvara. The Abu king here referred to may have been Pratâpasimha. He probably did not long survive this event, and died apparently without male issue.

Vîsala, the Viceroy of the Vâghelâs over the northern part of the Gujarat empire, then brought Mount Abu under his direct control and made Candrâvatî his capital. An inscription (2) from Abu, dated Sam. 1350 = 1293 A.D., relates that Vîsala governed eighteen hundred mandalas from his residence at Candrâvatî under the suzerainty of Sârangadeva of Anahilapura.

But the province did not long remain under the sway of the Vâghelâs, whose authority became totally extinct at the close of the thirteenth century. In 1297 A.D., Alaf Khân, the brother of the Sultân Alâ-ud-dîn Khiljî, wrested Gujarat from Karna, the successor of Sârangadeva, and established there the supremacy of the Moslems. (3) During this period of unrest, the Câhamânas of Nadol took possession

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(1) I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 64.

(2) Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 311.

(3) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 205.

of Mount Abu and incorporated the province into their territory. The Mount Abu inscription (1) of the Câhamâna Luṇṭigadeva, dated Sam. 1377 = 1320 A.D., relates that the king conquered Candrâvatî, and ruled over the divine territory of Arbuda.

Thus we find that the Paramâra family at Candrâvatî lost its political power about the same time as the imperial house at Dhârâ. A short review of this chapter will show that, though this junior branch of rulers owed their territory and throne to the main family at Dhârâ, they subsequently severed all political relations with it under adverse circumstances. The resources of their government were not such as to enable them to maintain their independence against foreign invasions, and thus, when the government of Malwa suffered a temporary degeneration after the death of Bhoja, the Abu princes had no other alternative ~~than~~ but to submit to the mighty force of the Caulukya Bhîmaī. After this they always kept up friendly relations with the Gujarat dynasty by acknowledging its supreme authority. They helped the latter on many occasions with strong military forces, and, on more than one occasion, saved it from complete destruction. They were the gate-keepers of the Gujarat empire, and successfully defended their position from the onslaught of the foreigners. One most noticeable feature of their long career is that they are never found to have assisted the Caulukyas in their protracted war with the Paramâras of Malwa. Holding a subordinate position and ruling over a small territory, they yet figured very prominently in the political arena of this period, and deserve credit for their magnificent achievements. The main cause of their downfall was the invasion of the Guhilas of Mewar and the Câhamânas of Raṇastambhapura, who gave a fatal blow to the governmental power.

THE SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY.

A brief note will be made below of the social, religious and architectural history of Mount Abu under the rule of these Paramâra princes.

Mount Abu lies in 24°36' N. and 72°43' E., seventeen miles north-west of Abu station on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway. It is 4,000 feet above sea-level, and its summit is crowned with a plateau

(1) E.I., Vol. IX, p.80.

about 12 miles long and about 3 miles broad, and is rendered very charming by its admirable scenery. The rivers Banas and Mandakini pass through it, and the Nakhi Talao (lake), half a mile long and a quarter of a mile broad, adds greatly to the beauty of the place. Hemacandra, who was a contemporary of Yaśodhavala and Dhârâvarṣa, tells us that (1) the Arbuda country over which the Paramâras ruled contained eighteen hundred villages, but of these we know only the following from the contemporary records hitherto discovered.

	Name of Village	Modern equivalent
1)	Roheḍâ	
2)	Vîhala	
3)	Bhundipadra	Bharund
4)	Phulahalî	
5)	Vâsaṇa	
6)	Sâvaḍavṛddha	
7)	Âjâharî	Ajari
8)	Sâhalavâḍâ	Selwara, 8½ miles W.N.W. of Dilwara.
9)	Kumbhâranuli	
10)	Mâgavâḍî	
11)	Hâthaḍalî	Hathar
12)	Kurikâbhukti	
13)	Grivida	Girwar
14)	Chanâra	
15)	Khîmâüli	
16)	Âulî	
17)	Kanakhala	
18)	Deülavâḍâ	Delwara
19)	Ḍavâṇî in Vâhircahadi	
20)	Śrîmâtâmahabu	
21)	Âbuya	Abu, 1½ miles S.W. of Dilwara.
22)	Orâsâ	Oria, 3 miles N.E. of Dilwara.
23)	Uttâracha	Utraj, 5½ miles N.E.o Dilwara.

(continued)

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(1) Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, V. 38, p. 287.

	Name of Village	Modern equivalent
24)	Sihara	Sera, 8 miles N.E. of Dilwara.
25)	Sâla	Salgaon, 1 mile E.S.E of Dilwara.
26)	Heṭhauñji	Hetamji, 2 miles S. of Dilwara.
27)	Âkhi	
28)	Koṭadi	Kotra, 7 miles E. of Dilwara.
29)	Bhâlibhâdâ	
30)	Umbaraṇakî	Umarni, 7 miles S.S.W of Dilwara
31)	Sarauli	
32)	Kâsahrada	Kayadra
33)	Dhauli	Dhauli, 8½ miles W.S.W. of Dilwara.
34)	Muṇḍasthala	Murthala, 8½ miles S.E. of Dilwara.
35)	Phîlini	
36)	Haudâudrâ	
37)	Gaḍâhâḍa	Gadara, 11 miles S.S.W. of Dilwara.
38)	Maḍâülî	
39)	Kâlhaṇavâḍa	
40)	Khîmâulî	

Of the cities or town the following are known to us:

1) Candrâvatî
2) Prahlâdanapura
3) Vaṭapura

The residents of all these villages followed either the Hindu or the Jaina religions. The Brahmans were divided into various Gotras, some of which were -

Âtreya,
Kâśyapa,
Śâṇḍilya,
Garga, etc.(1)

and a section known as "Gûgulî".(2) Of the Kṣatriya and the other castes, the following families are known:-

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(1) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 76; I.A., XLV, p. 80.

(2) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 206.

(a) Hâthundi of the Râṭhor tribe.[1]

(b) Devaḍa - a branch of the Câhamânas.[2]

(c) Prâgvâṭa.

(d) Ûesavalâs or Oisavâlas.

(e) Śrîmâlas.

(f) Dharkaṭas.

(g) Pratihâra Rajputs.[3]

The Bhîls, who were aboriginals, formed an important section of the population.[4] Their chief occupations were the cultivation of the soil, painting, and gambling,[5] and they sometimes acted as guides in the hilly tracts.

In every village there were fields for cultivation and pasturelands for grazing cattle.[6] Barley and rice were the chief crops of the fields.[7] The country possessed a large number of beautiful forests.[8] There were mines yielding various kinds of mineral products, the chief of which were jewels and precious stones.[9] The dramma was one of the coins in their currency system.[10]

The people were rich and healthy. The country was seldom visited by famine, and there were few diseases among the population. The climate was cold, and the people wore lions' skins[11] against its rigour. They enjoyed a very happy existence. Sometimes they undertook corporate work for the welfare of the villagers: e.g. a number of the inhabitants of the village of Bhundipadra united in contributing various sums of money for the construction of a step-well, with the object of providing pure drinking water for the people of the locality. The donors are described as realising that one can remain alive even for a month without food, but that without water none can

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(1) I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 51. (2) Ibid, Vol. XLV, p. 77.

(3) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 206. (4) Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga.

(5) Ibid. (6) I.A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

(7) Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga. v. 60. (8) Ibid, V. 54, p. 299.

(9) Ibid, v. 53. (10) I.A., Vol. XLV, p. 80.

(11) Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, vs. 51-52.

survive even for a day and a night.[1]

The Paramâra princes were assisted in the administration of the country by their ministers. The Talâras were executive officers whose duty was to maintain peace and order in the villages.[2]

In the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the annual income of the government was one lakh of coins, out of which the tributes to the Caulukya sovereigns of Gujarat[3] had to be paid.

RELIGION.

During this period, both Brahmanism and Jainism flourished vigorously in this country. The people believed that Mount Abu had enjoyed the honour of being a great place of pilgrimage from the time of the Vedas. It was regarded as an abode of the Vedic ṛsis Vasiṣṭha and Viśvâmitra.

BRAHMANISM.

The followers of the Brahmanical religion were devout worshippers of Śiva and the Sun (Bhânu). Bhaṭṭâraka Vîsala Udradamaka[4] was once the âcârya of Śivadharma. Vaṭapura was a prosperous town, inhabited by a large number of musicians, heroes and warriors.[5] Here all the inhabitants, together with the Brahmans, were devotees of Bhânu.[6] The people worshipped Śiva under various names - viz, Koteśvara, Atulanâtha, Kanakhalanâtha, Śûlapâṇi, Kanakhala Śambhu,[7] and Kâśeśvaradeva.[8] The Gods Nârâyaṇa, Varuṇa, Gaṇeśa and the Goddess Sarasvatî were also invoked and worshipped.[9] Special reverence was shown to Brahmans and cows. It was generally believed that any act of piety done to them opened to one the gate of Heaven, while, ~~(per contra),~~ to kill a Brahman was considered the most heinous of crimes. In the forest Sindhukâ and other Devîs were believed to have dwelt. People from foreign countries assembled there every year to celebrate Śrî-Mâtâ's festival.[10]

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(1) J.Bo.Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 76. (2) I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.

(3) Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, V. 62, p. 303. (4) I.A., Vol.XLIII, p.193

(5) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 15, v. 24. (6) Ibid.

(7) I.A., Vol. XI, p. 222. (8) Ibid, Vol. LVI, p. 51.

(9) J.Bo.Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 75; I.A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193; Vol. XLV, p. 79. (10) Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, V. 54.

The government spent a vast sum of money annually on the celebration of Śrî-Devî's festivals.(1)

JAINISM.

Jainism seems to have found a strong footing in Mount Abu from the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., when Vimala, a devout follower of the Arhat, obtained the viceroyalty of the province for a short period. The Upadeśataraṅgiṇî relates that the prince Prahlâdana became in the latter part of his life, became a convert to the Jaina faith. His nephew Somasiṃha showed his liberality to the Jainas by granting a village for the maintenance of the temple of Neminâtha. The Jainas worshipped there Âdinâtha, Neminâtha, Ṛṣabhadeva, Śântinâtha and Aranâtha.(2)

In later periods the purity of Mount Abu seems to have been tainted by the penetration of some evil elements. The great poet Someśvara describes it as an abode of vice and virtue.(3) He says:- There is this Arbuda, the peak of a range of mountains, the son of the mountain that is the father-in-law of the husband of Gaurî, who, carrying the Mandâkinî on his top plaited round with clouds, personates the moon-bearer (whose) brother-in-law (he is), (as the latter carries the Gaṅgâ on his head covered with thick braids).

"In one place on this (mountain) love enters even him who strives after deliverance, when he beholds the lovely women enjoying themselves; in another even the mind of a frivolous man becomes indifferent to the world, when he sees the line of sanctuaries to be visited by ascetics."

Both the Hindus and the Jainas recorded their devotion to their respective faiths by laying the foundations of numerous magnificent temples.(4) Deüka, Nâga, Dhâreśvara, Dewa, Devau, Lahampaśra,(5)

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 312.

(3) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 215.

(4) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 12.

(5) J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 77.

Pâlhaṇa,[1] Cāḍadeva[2] and Candreśvara[3] were among the architects of this period. There were the temples of Vasiṣṭha and Acaleśvara Mahādeva.[4] In Vaṭanagara Lāhiṇīdevī, the sister of Pūrṇapāla, repaired an ancient temple of the sun, and founded a tank close to it.[5] In 1209 A.D. Kedārāśī, a resident of Ujjain, built two large temples of Śūlapāṇi, and renovated the temples of Koṭeśvara and Atulanātha, in the holy place of Kanakhala. He also paved the interior of that place of pilgrimage with large stone slabs and surrounded it with high walls.[6] A row of pillars of black stone was erected by him in the maṇḍapa of the temple of Kanakhala Śambhu. His sister Mokṣeśvarī also built there a temple of Śiva. The temple of Paṭṭanārāyaṇa, near Girwar, which was restored by the minister Delhaṇa, seems to have been a work of that period.

The Jainas mostly limited their architectural activities to Dilwara on Mount Abu. They built there many fanes, two of which deserve our special attention. Both of them are constructed of white marble, and their chief characteristic lies in their domes, which introduced a new style into the ancient Indian architecture.

The first one was built by Vimala, a viceroy of the Caulukya Bhīma I, in 1031 A.D.[7] In the centre of its courtyard there was a cross-legged image of Ṛsabhanātha or Ādinātha in a cell which terminates upward in a pyramidal roof. In front of this is a maṇḍapa, which is faced by a large portico, surmounted by a dome resting on eight pillars. All of them are enclosed in a courtyard 128 ft. by 75 ft. inside, surrounded by a double colonnade of smaller pillars, forming porticoes to a range of cells, fifty-two in number.[8] Each cell contains a cross-legged image of Jina. The entrance to the courtyard

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(1) I.A., Vol. XI, p. 222. (2) I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.

(3) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 219. (4) Dvyāśraya, 16th sarga, v. 49.

(5) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 12. (6) I.A., Vol. XI, pp. 221-222.

(7) E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 155 seqq.

(8) The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, by Fergusson, Vol. II, p. 38.

is through a domed portico, supported by six pillars, in front of which is a square building. Inside the latter are ten statues of human figures, mounted on an equal number of elephants, (representing Vimala and his family).

The style of the second temple, built in 1230 A.D.[1] by Tejahpâla, a minister of Vâghelâ Vîradhavala, is similar to that of the preceding one, but with divergences of detail. Here Tejahpâla's family stand just behind the shrine, in the courtyard, separated from the rest by a pierced screen of open tracery. The Mount Abu inscription relates that[2] "the minister Tejahpâla, a moon on earth, erected the temple of the lord Nemi, which shines by lines of stones as white as conch-shells, (and) is resplendent like the moon and jasmine flowers, a lofty hall (mandapa) in front (of it), fifty-two shrines for the best of the Jinas on the sides of it, and a seat (balânaka) in the front."

Externally, both the temples are very simple in form; but in the interior, the pillars and the dome are lavishly adorned with decorative designs. In the centre of the dome there is a pendant of superb excellence, at the base of which, on brackets round the circumference, stand sixteen four-armed female figures of Vidyâdevî (the goddess of knowledge). The roofs of the corridor also are beautified with graceful floral designs. Mr. Fergusson remarks that-[3] "The whole is in white marble, and finished with a delicacy of detail and appropriateness of ornament which is probably unsurpassed by any similar example to be found anywhere else. Those introduced by the Gothic architects in Henry VII's chapel at Westminster, or at Oxford, are coarse and clumsy in comparison."

Candrâvatî, the capital of the Paramâra princes, was a city of great importance. It is bounded on the east by the hills, on the south by the river Sivalan, and on the north-west by the river Banas. In ancient times the city contained innumerable temples of great

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(1) E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 218. (2) Ibid.

(3) The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 41.

magnificence, but they are now in complete ruin. Scores of mounds of bricks, that formed the foundations of these old temples, and fragments of marble and stone are found all over its ancient site. An old Brahmanic temple still stands there in a comparatively perfect state of preservation. It is built entirely of white marble, and is one of the best specimens of Brahmanic architecture. It is profusely decorated, and its designs are graceful. It contains one hundred and thirty-eight images, the smallest being placed in niches. The principal figures are a three-headed statue, with a female seated on his knee, sitting in a car with a large goose in front; Śiva with twenty arms; Bhairava with twenty arms, one holding a human head by the hair; a victim lying dead, with a nymph on each side, one of whom appears to be drinking the blood falling from the head; dancing nymphs with garlands and musical instruments.(1)

The prince Prahlâdana also founded a temple of Jina Pârśvanâtha in Palanpur.(2)

Our information regarding the literary activities of the people of Mount Abu, during the period under review, is very scanty. Hemacandra relates that Mount Abu was a centre of Sanskrit learning, to which scholars from different parts of India came for study.(3) Prince Prahlâdana, as we have already said, was a great poet, and wrote a drama entitled "Pârtha-parâkrama."

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(1) Archaeological Survey of Western India, Burgess and Cousens, Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff.

(2) Vide ante, p. 287.

(3) Dvyâśraya, 16th sarga, v. 75.

CHAPTER X.

THE PARAMÂRAS OF ARTHUNA.

The modern states of Banswara and Dungâpur lie on the southern border of Rajputana. In ancient times both these territories went by the common name of Vâgaḍa(1), and were ruled over for a long time by a junior branch of the Paramâras, who held the country as feudatories of the imperial house of Dhârâ. The modern village of Arthuna, about 28 miles west of Banswara, contains the ruins of an old and extensive city. There are also remains of about a dozen Hindu and Jaina temples. According to local tradition the place was anciently known as Amarâvatî. It appears to have been the head-quarters of the province during the rule of the Paramâras. The Paramâra princes of Arthuna were descendants of Ḍambarasiṃha, the younger son of Upendra-Kṛṣṇarâja.(2)

The earliest known ruler of the family is Dhanika,(3) who flourished in the middle of the tenth century A.D., and built the temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahâkâla, in Ujjain.(4) His successor was Cacca, also known as Kakka or Kaṅka,(5) a contemporary of Sîyaka-Harṣa of Malwa (948-972 A.D.). Cacca was a brave warrior, and accompanied the armies of Sîyaka in their march against the Râṣṭrakûṭa Khoṭṭiga of Mânyakheṭa. In the battle which took place at Kalighaṭṭa, on the bank of the Narmada, Cacca showed his wonderful valour, and died fighting bravely. The Arthuna inscription, while recording his princely

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(1) Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XI, p. 380.

(2) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 304.

(3) A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19. (4) Ibid.

(5) Ibid; E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 296.

qualities, relates that[1] "Mounted upon his elephant's back, on every side with showers of arrows shattering the host of the lord of Karnâṭa upon the banks of the Narmada, slaying thus the foes of the blest king Śrîharṣa the lord of Mâlava, he went to heaven, a valiant warrior, worshipping with the lotuses of the eyes of the ladies of the Gods."

The Panhere inscription[2] gives us the same information, and adds to it the name of the place, Kalighaṭṭa on the Narmada, where the battle was fought.

Cacca was succeeded by Caṇḍapa, who was followed by Satyarâja. Satyarâja was a contemporary of the great Bhoja of Dhârâ, and fought on his behalf against the Caulukyas of Gujarat.[3] The Panhera inscription[4] records his victory over the Gurjaras. It may be that he took a prominent part in sacking Anhilwar with Kulacandra, the general of Bhoja. He married a Câhamâna princess named Râjaśrî,[5] and had two sons, Limbarâja and Maṇḍana (Maṇḍlika), of whom the former succeeded him on the throne, to be followed later by Maṇḍalika, who was a feudatory of the king Jayasiṃha of Malwa (1055-1059 A.D.).[6] An inscription of his reign, now unfortunately broken in pieces, has been found engraved on a slab built into the wall of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahâdeva at Panhera. It is dated V.S. 1116 = 1059 A.D., and relates that the princes erected a temple of Śiva known as Maṇḍaleśvara at Pâsulâkheṭaka and granted villages for its maintenance. It is obvious that Pâsulâkheṭaka was the ancient name of the modern Panhera, and the temple in which the stone was discovered is the same as that erected by the prince.

The Arthuna inscription devotes as many as twenty verses to

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(1) Ârûḍho gaja-pṛṣṭha vâhuta(âhata?)-sa(śa)râsârai raṇe sarvvataḥ
Karṇṇâṭâdhipatervva(bba)laṃ vidalayaṃs tan Narmmadâyâs taṭe
Śrî-Śrîharṣa-nṛpasya Mâlava-pateḥ kṛtvâ tathâri-kṣayaṃ
yaḥ svarggaṃ subhaṭo yayau sura-vadhû-netrotpalair arcitaḥ || v. 19.
(E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 299).

(2) A.S.I., 1916-17, p. 19, unpublished. (3) ibid.

(4) Ibid. (5) A.S.I., 1916-17, p. 19. (6) ibid.

the commemoration of Mandalika's princely qualities.(1) But nothing in particular can be gleaned from them. Verse 30 narrates that he increased his fortune by baffling the hostile action of his enemy. That he was a great warrior admits of no doubt. The Panhera inscription(2) records that he captured in battle the commander Kanha, together with all his horses and elephants, and handed them over to Jayasimha. It has been suggested in a previous chapter(3) that this Kanha was a feudatory of the Câlukya Someśvara I (1042-1069 A.D.), the king of Karnâṭa. During the reign of Someśvara, a series of campaigns were launched by his government against Malwa and the other countries on the north. Kanha probably accompanied one of these expeditions, and fell a captive in the hands of this Paramâra prince.

Mandalika was famous for his liberality. He built a town and adorned it with white houses and gardens;(4) he also established the following imposts for the maintenance of the temple of the god Mandaleśvara, near Arthuna.(5)

"On every 'bharaka' of cocoanuts, one fruit; on each 'mûṭaka' of salt, a 'mânaka'; from every thousand arecanuts, one nut; on every ghaṭaka of butter and sesam oil, one palikâ.

On each koṭikâ of clothing fabric were assigned one and a half rûpakas; on a jâla, two pûlakas.

For each house of the traders in the local bazaar was assigned by him a dramma on the Caitra festival and on the festival of the sacred thread.

On the shops of the braziers was likewise imposed a dramma for the month, on (each) vumvaka of the distillers four rûpakas.

On every house of the whole population a dramma, on the gambling (house) two rûpakas.

On each lagaḍâ were assigned two santas, on each karṣa of oil a pâṇaka; on each load of cattle-fodder a vṛṣa-vimśopaka.

A dramma on each traders' association.

On a pile of sugar a dramma, on a water-wheel a hâraka of barley.

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(1) E.I., Vol. XIV, pp. 305-307. (2) A.S.I., 1916-17, p. 19.

(3) Vide ante, p. 121. (4) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 310. (5) Ibid, pp. 309-10.

On a clear twenty (packs) of loaded grain one bharaka, and on a bharaka (of the same) one chaṅga(1).

One citron from each lagaḍâ, and the vâpa from a mûṭaka of barley and likewise on âṭavika."

Maṇḍalika was succeeded by his son Câmuṇḍarâja. Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

The first one(1) was found on the right side of the śikhara' of the temple of Maṇḍaleśvara Mahâdeva, about a mile to the east of Arthuna. Its object is to record that, in Sam. 1136 = 1079 A.D., Câmuṇḍarâja repaired the temple of Maṇḍaleśa. He confirmed the arrangement made by his father for the maintenance of the temple, and himself added to it the following impost:(2)

"On each bharaka of candied sugar and jaggery belonging to the traders, one varṇikâ; on each bharaka of Bengal madder, thread, and cotton, one rûpaka."

This inscription was composed by Candra, younger brother of Vijaya- Sâdhâra, the son of the poet Sumati-Sâdhâra, a member of the Sâdhâra family. It was written by Âśarâja, son of the junior Śrîdhara of the Kâyastha race.

The second inscription(3) was discovered in a ruined temple of Śiva at Arthuna. Asadeva, Bhavyasaraja, and Anantapâla, were three brothers. Anantapâla built a temple of Śiva in V.S. 1137 = 1080 A.D. during the reign of Câmuṇḍarâja, and this temple was apparently the same as that in which the record was discovered.

The third inscription(4) is much defaced, and was found in a Jaina temple at Arthuna. It contains the name of this prince, and is dated Sam. 1157 = 1100 A.D.

The fourth inscription(5) is now in the Ajmer Museum, and does not contain any date.

Câmuṇḍarâja attained mastery in the art of warfare, and is said to have fought many battles with his enemies. The Arthuna

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(1) E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 295. (2) Ibid, p. 309.

(3) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p. 35, unpublished.

(4) Ibid, unpublished. (5) Unpublished.

inscription[1] relates that he crushed the power of Sindhurâja in battle. Sindhurâja was probably the king of Sindh. Câmuṇḍarâja was a great devotee of Śiva, and dispensed bounties to the Brahmans. He was succeeded by his son Vijayarâja.

Two inscriptions of Vijayarâja's reign are known to us. The first[2] is dated Sam. 1165 = 1108 A.D., and records the installation of the image of Hanumân, on the pedestal of which it is found engraved. The second inscription was issued one year later, in Sam. 1165 = 1109 A.D.[3]

After the reign of Vijayarâja, we do not know anything about the family. It appears to have ruled over its territory up to the sixth decade of the twelfth century A.D.

In 1145 A.D., Malwa was conquered by the Caulukyas of Gujarat, and was ruled by them till 1174 A.D. With the decline of the power of the house at Dhârâ about this time, the Vâgaḍa branch seems to have lost its political supremacy. Taking advantage of its helplessness, the Guhilas of Mewar invaded the country and annexed it to their own kingdom. Mûtâ Neṇsî relates that the Guhila Sâmantasiṃha (1172-1179 A.D.), having established his supremacy in Vâgaḍa, brought all the surrounding territory under his control. An inscription[4] of his reign, dated V.S. 1236 = 1179 A.D., confirms this fact. His descendant, Sîhaḍa (1220-1234 A.D), issued an inscription from Vâgaḍavaṭapadraka.[5]

The war between Harṣa of Malwa and the Râṣṭrakûṭa Khottiga took place in 970-971 A.D. The prince Cacca died in this battle. Taking 970 A.D. as the beginning of Caṇḍapa's reign, if a period of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, the genealogy of the Vâgaḍa line runs as follows:

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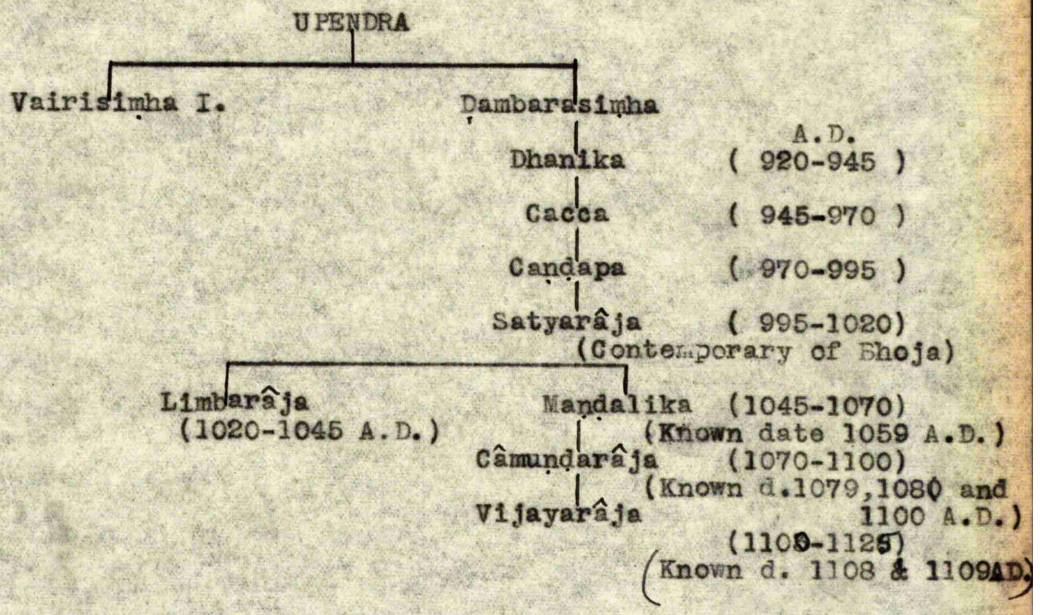
(1) V. 55. (2) Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1918, p. 2.
(3) A.S.I., 1908-9, p. 118, unpublished.
(4) Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p.35.
(5) ibid, p. 36; I.A., Vol. LIII, p. 102, footnote.



JALOR BRANCH

Our knowledge about the Paramâras of Jalor is also very scanty. Candana, the son of Vâkpatirâja, is the first prince of this branch, he was followed by Devarâja, Aparâjita, Vijjala, Dhârâvarsa, and Vîsala. An inscription (1) of Vîsala's reign has been discovered in Jalor. The record was issued in Sam. 1174 = 1117 A.D., on the occasion of the installation of a golden jar in the temple of Sindhurâjeśvara by Malaradevî, queen of Vîsala. Nothing is known about the successor of Vîsala.

The dynasty was overthrown by the Câhamânas of Nadol in the latter part of the 12th century A.D. Muṇôtâ Nensî relates that the Câhamâna Kîrtipâla, younger brother of the king Kelhaṇa (1164-1192 A.D.) wrested Jâbâlipura (Jalor) from the Paramâras. After this conquest, the seat of the Câhamâna government was transferred from Nadol to Jalor.

Assuming 1117 A.D. as the year of the accession of Vîsala, if a reign of twenty-five years is allotted to each generation, the

(1) Unpublished; Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1909, p. 54.

genealogy of the Jalor branch stands thus:

	A.D.
VÂKPATIRÂJA	(972-997)
:	
Candana	(992)
:	
Devarâja	(1017)
:	
Aparâjita	(1042)
:	
Vijjala	(1067)
:	
Dhârâvarṣa	(1092)
:	
Vîsala	(1117-1142)

THE BHINMAL BRANCH

The Bhinmal branch of the Paramâras played a considerable part in the history of this period. The princes of this family designated themselves the rulers of Marumaṇḍala.(1) Their territory extended up to Balmer, in the Jodhpur State, on the west, and their capital was at Śrîmâla, the modern Bhinmal, in Jodhpur State, a hundred miles south-west ~~from~~ of Jodhpur itself.

Our main source of material for building up the short history of this family is the mutilated Kiradu inscription.(2)

As has been remarked above,(3) Sindhurâja's son Dûsala obtained his territory of Marumaṇḍala from his uncle Vâkpatirâja, in the latter part of the tenth century A.D. After ~~a mention of~~ one reference to this prince, a few lines in the Kiradu inscription are illegible, as they are totally broken. Next we come across the name of the prince Devarâja. An inscription(4) of his reign has been discovered. It is dated Sam. 1059 = 1002 A.D., and was issued when the king was residing in Śrîmâla, (i.e. Bhinmal).

Devarâja seems to have established friendly relations with the Câhamânas of Śâkambharî after the defeat of the Mâlava king,=

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(1) Kiradu inscription - unpublished. (2) Ibid.

(3) Vide ante, p. 28.

(4) Śrîmâl âvasthita-mahârâjâdhirâja-Śrî-Devarâja (unpublished).

Sindhurâja, by the Caulukya Câmuṇḍarâja.[1] His inscription relates that he pleased one Durlabharâja by his military achievement. Durlabha was in all probability the Câhamâna king of the same name, the younger brother of Vigraharâja, who ruled in the latter part of the tenth century A.D.

After the mention of Devarâja, some lines in the Kiradu inscription are again found broken. I think we miss in them the name of Dhaṃdhuka. Next comes Kṛṣṇarâja. Two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

The first one is found on a pillar of a rest-house, east of the temple of Bârâji, in the town of Bhinmal.[2] It was issued in Saṃ. 1117 = 1060 A.D., when Mahârâjâdhirâja Śrî-Kṛṣṇarâja, son of Dhaṃdhuka, grandson of Devarâja of the Paramâra race, was ruling at Śrîmâla. Its object is to register the facts that five personages, viz. Kiriṇâditya (Kiraṇâditya ?) and Vânî Dhaṃdhaka, sons of Jela of the Dharkuṭa family, Dada Hari, son of Mâdhava, Dhaṃdhanaka, son of Dharaṇacaṇḍa, and Dharaṇâditya, son of Sarvadeva of the Ṭhakhâṭa race, undertook the work of repairing the temple of the Sun-god named Jagatsvâmi. After the completion of the work, a Brahman named Jejâka made at his own cost a golden jar and placed it on the temple. The king Kṛṣṇarâja, in order to meet the expenses of the temple, ordered that a certain village in the Śrî[3] .... purîya-maṇḍala should pay to it yearly 20 drammas. He also granted for the same purpose a plot of land and a droṇa from his store (of the crops) in the village of Sacaliyâ. The grant was executed by Caṇḍana.

The second inscription,[4] dated Saṃ. 1123 = 1066 A.D., was found on a pillar of the temple of Jagsvâmi at Śrîmâla. It also mentions the name of Kṛṣṇarâja as ruling in Śrîmâla, and designates him as mahârâjâdhirâja. It mentions the names of a number of servants of the officers of religion in the service of the God Caṇḍîśa Mahâdeva, and records the gift of a certain number of drammas by the Brahmans Gugâ and Vâhaṭa in favour of the above deity.

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(1) Vide ante p. 78. (2) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 472.

(3) A portion containing the name of the province is missing.

(4) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 473.

The decline of the power of the Paramâra government at Dhârâ in the sixth decade of the eleventh century A.D., left the Caulukya Bhîma free to ravage its collateral branches in Marwar and Abu. Kṛṣṇarâja's military strength was too insignificant to check the onward march of the Caulukyas. He fell a captive into the hands of Bhîma and was thrown into prison. In this terrible calamity he obtained his release through the help of the Câhamânas of Nadol. In the Sundha hill inscription[1] king Bâlaprasâda, the successor of Anahilla, is described as having forced Bhîma to release Kṛṣṇadeva. Bhîma closed his reign in 1063 A.D. The Bhinmal inscription, dated 1066 A.D., referred to above, proves that Kṛṣṇarâja, after his release, regained his throne and ruled his territory as an independent monarch. He was followed by Soccharâja, Udayarâja and Someśvara.

The Kiradu inscription,[2] dated Saṃ. 1218 = 1161 A.D., was issued during the reign of the last-mentioned prince.

In the middle of the twelfth century A.D., the Câhamânas of Nadol seem to have wrested from him the territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Caulukya Kumârapâla. The Câhamâna Alhaṇa, a feudatory of the Caulukyas, issued an inscription dated Saṃ. 1209 = 1152 A.D., from Kiradu.[3]

Kumârapâla's victory over the Ajmer king Arṇorâja brought a period of great prosperity to the Gujarat empire. But Vigraharâja (1153-1164 A.D.), the successor of Arṇorâja, a powerful military leader, invaded the territory of the Caulukyas, and is said to have converted Naddula (Nadol) into a naḍavâla (i.e. bed of reeds) and Jâvâlipura (Jalor) into Jvâlâpura (i.e. a city of flame).[4] He also reduced many small villages of his enemy into hamlets.[5]

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(1) Jajñe bhûbhṛt tad anu tanayas tasya Vâ(Bâ)laprasâdo Bhîma-
kṣmâbhṛc-caraṇa-yugalî-marddana-vyâjato yaḥ |
kurvan pîḍâm ativa(ba)latayâ mocayâmâsa kârâ
gârâd bhûmîpatim api tathâ Kṛṣṇadevâbhidhânaṃ || v. 18.
(E.I., Vol. IX, p. 76).

(2) Unpublished. (3) E.I., Vol. XI, p. 43.

(4) J.A.S.B., Vol. LV, p. 41. (5) ibid.

Someśvara probably took advantage of this disturbed condition of things in Marwar and to regained his ancestral territory of Kiradu with the assistance of the Câhamânas of Ajmer.

Someśvara appears to have been succeeded by Jayatasîha. An inscription of Jayatasîha's (Jayatasiṃha's) reign[1] has been discovered on a pillar in the temple of Jagsvâmi, at Bhinmal. It records that in Saṃ. 1239, Âśvina, = 1182 A.D., October, in the victorious reign of the Mahârâjaputra Jayatasîha, at Śrîmâla, a certain person, viz. Aravasâka Vahiyana, the Guhila, son of Pramahidâ, gave to Vâlâkadeva one dramma in cash.

The Rajput bard describes Jaitsî as a Paramâra, ruling in Abu.[2] He is also mentioned as a contemporary of Caulukya Bhîma II (1178-1239 A.D.) and Câhamâna Pṛthvîrâja III, son of Someśvara, the king of Ajmer (1179-1193 A.D.). It is evidently an error on the part of the bard to describe him as the king of Abu, where Dhârâvarṣa ruled from 1162 to 1217 A.D. in unbroken continuity. The bard relates to us an interesting incident[3], which resulted in a terrible fight between Jaitsî and the Câhamâna Pṛthvîrâja III on one side and Bhîma II on the other.

The story runs that Jaitsî had a very beautiful daughter, Ichanikumârî, who was betrothed to Pṛthvîrâja III, and that Bhîma II, hearing about her extreme beauty, determined to have her for himself wife. ~~himself.~~ He sent an ambassador to the Paramâra chief, demanding the hand of his daughter, but Jaitsî and his son Salakha refused to comply with this request, as the princess was already betrothed to the Câhamâna prince. This infuriated Bhîma, and he ordered the invasion of Abu. Jaitsî, finding his strength quite inadequate to check the progress of the mighty Caulukyas, solicited the Câhamânas for assistance. The Câhamânas took up his cause with great zeal, but in the battle that ensued, the Paramâra chief and his son were forced to surrender Abu and fled to Marwar. Bhîma then advanced upon Ajmer, and having

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(1) Bombay Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, p. 474.

(2) Forbes Râsmâlâ, Ed. by Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 202.

(3) Ibid, pp. 202 sqq.

slain its king Someśvara, returned to Gujarat. But Pṛthvîrâja took over the government of his deceased father, and, within a short time, invaded Gujarat with a strong force. He defeated the Caulukyas and avenged his father's death by killing Bhîma.

The above story probably contains some amount of historical truth, notwithstanding the fact that there are in it some gross inaccuracies. Bhîma II, who ruled from 1178 to 1239 A.D., was certainly not killed by Pṛthvîrâja III. That the Câhamâna king did invade Gujarat about this period, is borne out however by a contemporary record. The Pârtha-parâkrama relates that the Paramâra Dhârâvarsa ruler of Abu, who was a feudatory of Bhîma II, repulsed a night-attack by Pṛthvîrâja, the king of Jângala.(1)

Jayatasiṁha's reign came to an end shortly after that event. He seems to have been succeeded by his son Salakha. The fall of the House of Ajmer, in 1193 A.D., left the Paramâras of Bhinmal in a state of helplessness. The Câhamânas of Nadol took the earliest opportunity to fall upon them and deprived them of their territory. The Sundha hill inscription relates that the Câhamâna Udayasiṁha ruled over Naddula, Jâvâlipura, Mâṇḍavyapura, Vâgbhaṭameru, Sûrâcaṇḍa, Râṭahrada, Keḍa, Râmasainya, Śrîmâla, Ratnapura and Satyapura.(2) Three inscriptions of his reign, dated Sam. 1262, 1274 and 1305 (= 1206, 1218 and 1249) were issued from Śrîmâla.(3) Thus we find that the two collateral branches of the Paramâras in Marwar were deprived, almost simultaneously, of their political power by the Câhamânas of Nadol, ~~at about the same time, in~~ at the end of the twelfth century A.D.

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(1) Vide ante, p. 279, footnote 4.

(2) E.I., Vol. IX, p. 73.

(3) Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, Part I, pp. 474-476.

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The Paramâras of Malwa.								
1	Harsola	C.	1005	949	Sîyaka	R.		E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 236.
2	Ahmedabad	C.	1026	969	Sîyaka	R.		E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 177.
3	Ujjain	C.	1031	974	Vâkpati-Muñja	R.		I.A, Vol. VI, p. 51.
4	Ujjain	C.	1036	979	Vâkpati-Muñja	R.		I.A., Vol. XIV, p. 160.
5.	Banswara	C.	1076	1020	Bhoja	R.		E.I., XI, p. 182.
6	Betma	C.	1076	1020	Bhoja	R.		E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 320.
7	Ujjain	C.	1078	1021	Bhoja	R.		I.A., Vol. VI, p. 53.
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9	Tilakwada	C.	1103	1047	Bhoja		P.	Proceedings and Transaction of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919, p. 31
10	Kalvan	C.	undated		Bhoja		P.	E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 69.
11	Mandhata	C.	1112	1055	Jayasiṃha	R.		E.I., Vol. III, p..46.
12	Panhera	C.	1116	1059	Jayasiṃha	R.		Unpublished - referred to i A.S.I., 1916-17, Part I, p. 19.
13	Udayapur	S.	undated		Udayâditya	R.		E.I., Vol. I, p. 233.
14	Udayapur	S.	1137	1080	Udayâditya	R.		I.A., Vol. XX, p. 83.

Serial No:	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	Date V.E.	Date A.D.	The Paramâra Kings named	Royal	Private	References
15	Un	S.	undated		Udayâditya	R.		A.S.I., 1918-19, p. 17.
16	Dhara	S.	undated		Udayaditya	R.		J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p.35
17	Jhalrapatan	S.	1143	1086	Udayâditya	R.		J.A.S.B., 1914, p. 241.
18	Udayapur	S.	1151	1094	Naravarman		P.	A.S.I., 1923-24, p. 135, (unpublished.)
19	Nagpur	S.	1161	1104	Naravarman	R.		E.I., Vol. II, p. 180.
20	Madhukaraghar	S.	1164	1107	Naravarman		P.	J.R.A.S., Vol. I, p. 226.
21	unknown	C.	1159,1167	1102,1110	Naravarman	R.		Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle, 1921, p. 5 (unpublished)
22	Bhilsa	S.	undated		Naravarman	R.		ibid, 1914, p.59. unpublis
23	Dhar	S.	undated		Naravarman	R.		J. Bo. Br., Vol. XXI, p.35
24	Ujjain	C.	1192	1135	Yaśovarman	R.		I.A., Vol. XIX, p. 348.
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29	Bhopal	S.	Śaka 1108	1186	Udayâditya	R.		J.Am.O.S., Vol. VII, p. 35
30	Bhopal	C.	1256	1199	Udayavarman	R.		I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 252.
31	Piplianagar	C.	1267	1210	Arjunavarman	R.		J.A.S.B., Vol. V, p. 378.
32	unknown	C.	1270	1213	Arjunavarman	R.		J.Am.O.S., Vol. VII, p..33
33	unknown	C.	1272	1215	Arjunavarman	R.		J.Am.O.S., Vol. VII, p. 25

Serial No:	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	Date V.E.	Date A.D.	The Paramâra Kings named	Royal	Private	References
34	Harsaṇda	S.	1275	1218	Devapâla		P.	I.A., Vol. XX, p. 310.
35	Mandhata	C.	1282	1225	Devapâla	R.		E.I., Vol. IX, p. 103.
36	Udayapur	S.	1286	1229	Devapâla			I.A., Vol. XX, p. 83.
37	Udayapur	S.	128(9?)	123(2)	Devapâla			I.A., Vol. XX, p. 83.
38	Rahatgarh	S.	1312	1256	Jayavarman II		P.	I.A., Vol. XX, p. 84; A.S. (Cunningham) Vol. X, p. 31
39	Mori	S.	1314	1257	Jayavarman II			Progress Report of the Arc aeological Survey (W.C.), 1913, p. 56.(uppublished)
40	Godarpura	C.	1317	1260	Jayavarman II	R.		E.I., Vol. IX, p. 120.
41	Pathari		1326	1269	Jayasiṃha II			Kielhorn's Northern List, E.I., Vol. V, App. No. 232
42	Udayapur	S.	1366	1209	Jayasiṃha II			I.A., Vol. XX, p. 84.
			The Inscriptions of the Paramâras of Abu					
L	Vasantgadh	S.	1099	1042	Pûrṇapâla		P.	E.I., Vol.IX, p. 11.
2	Bharund	S.	1102	1045	Pûrṇapâla		P.	J.Bo.Br., Vol. XXIII, p. 7
3	Ajari	S.	1202	1145	Yaśodhavala		P.	I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 12.
4	Mount Abu	S.	1207	1150	Yaśodhavala			E.I., Vol. IX, p. 149.
5	Kayadra	S.	1220	1163	Dhârâvarṣa	R.		I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
6	Hathar	S.	1237	1180	Dhârâvarṣa		P.	I.A., Vol. XLIII, p. 193.
7	Ajari	S.	1240	1183	Dharavarsa		P.	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. IV, App. II.
8	Mangthala	S.	1245	1188	Dhârâvarṣa			A.S.I., 1906-7, p. 209, unpublished

Serial No:	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	Date V.E.	Date A.D.	The Paramâra Kings named	Royal	Private	References
9	Mount Abu	S.	1265	1208	Dhârâvarsa		P.	I.A., Vol. XI, p. 221.
10	Ajmer Museum	S.	1271	1214	Dhârâvarsa	R.		I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
11	Ajmer Museum	S.	1274	1217	Dhârâvarsa		P.	I.A., Vol. LVI, p. 51.
12	Mount Abu	S.	1287	1230	Somasimha		P.	E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 208.
13	Mount Abu	S.	1287	1230	Somasimha		P.	E.I., Vol. VIII, p. 219.
14	Nana	S.	1290	1233	Somasimha		P.	A.S.I., 1907-8, p. 226, (unpublished).
15	Girwar	S.	1344	1286	Pratâpasimha		P.	I.A., Vol. XLV, p. 78.
Paramâras of Arthuna.								
1	Panhera		1116	1059	Mandalika	R.		A.S.I., 1916-17, p. 19, (unpublished).
2	Arthuna	S.	1136	1079	Câmundarâja	R.		E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 295.
3	Arthuna	S.			Câmundarâja		P.	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1915, p. 35.(unpublished.)
4	Arthuna	S.	1157	1100	Câmundarâja			ibid, (unpublished)
5	Ajmer Museum	S.	undated		Câmundarâja			unpublished.
6	Ajmer Museum	S.	1165	1108	Vijayarâja			Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, 1918, p. 2. (unpublished)
7	Ajmer Museum	S.	1166	1109	Vijayarâja			A.S.I., 1908-9, p. 118, (unpublished)

Serial No:	Place of Origin	Stone or Copper-Plate	Date V.E.	Date A.D.	The Paramâra Kings named	Royal	Private	References
Jalor Branch								
1	Jalor	S.	1174	1117	Visala		P.	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, 1909, p. 54. (unpublished).
Bhinmal Branch								
1	Bhinmal	S.	1059	1002	Devarâja	R.		unpublished.
2	Bhinmal	S.	1117	1060	Krsnarâja		P.	Bombay Gaz. Vol. I, Part I p. 472.
3	Bhinmal	S.	1123	1066	Krsnarâja		P.	ibid, p. 473.
4	Kiradu	S.	1218	1161	Someśvara			unpublished.
5	Bhinmal	S.	1239	1182	Jayatasimha			Bombay Gaz. Vol. I, Part I p. 474.

The inscriptions of the other dynasties.

	Names	Reference
	Râṣṭrakûṭa	
1	Radhanpur plates of Govinda III, Ś730	E.I., Vol. VI, p. 239.
2	Nilgund inscription of the time of Amoghavarṣa I, Ś788.	E.I., Vol. VI, p. 98.
3	Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa I, Ś793.	E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 235.
4	Baroda plate of Karkarâja, S734.	I.A., Vol. XII, p. 156.
4a	Bijapur inscription of Dhavala of Hastikundi, Saṃ. 1053.	E.I., Vol. X, p. 17.
	Pratihâra.	
5	Gwalior inscription of Bhoja.	E.I., Vol. XVIII, p. 112.
6	Partabgarh inscription of the time of Mahendrapâla II, 946 A.D.	E.I., Vol. XIV, p. 176.
	Câḷukya	
7	Nilgund inscription of Taila II, 5904.	E.I., Vol. IV, p. 204.
8	Kauthem grant of Vikramâditya V, 5830.	I.A., Vol. XVI, p. 15.
9	Kulenur inscription of Jayasiṃha II, 5950.	E.I., Vol. XV, p. 329.
10	Miraj plates of Jayasiṃha II, 5946.	I.A., Vol. VIII, p. 11.
11	Sudi inscription of Someśvara I, 5981.	E.I., Vol. XV, p. 85.
12	Hottur inscription of Someśvara I, 5988.	E.I., Vol. XVI, p. 81.
13	Sudi inscription of Someśvara II, 5996.	E.I., Vol. XV, p. 96.
14	Balagami inscription of the time of Someśvara II, 5993.	Mysore Inscriptions, p. 164
15	Gadag inscription of Vikramâditya VI.	E.I., Vol. XV, p. 348.
16	Shikar Talug inscription of Vikramâditya VI.	E.C., Vol. II, Sk. No. 124.
17	An inscription of Someśvara III's reign, S.1051.	E.C., Vol. VII, Sk. No. 100.
18	A Câḷukya inscription, about 1157 A.D.	Mysore inscriptions, p. 58.
19	A Câḷukya inscription, 1158 A.D.	Mysore inscriptions, p. 153.
20	A Câḷukya inscription, about 1165 A.D.	Mysore inscriptions, p. 61.
	Caulukyas	
21	An inscription of Jayasiṃha, 1134 A.D.	J.Bo.Br., Vol. XXV, p. 322
22	Ujjain inscription of Jayasiṃha 1138 A.D.	I.A., Vol. XLII, p. 258.
23	Dohad inscription of Jayasiṃha, 1139, 1145 A.D.	I.A., Vol. X, p. 169.
24	Vadnagar praśasti of Kumârapâla 1151 A.D.	E.I., Vol. I, p. 293.

	Names	Reference
25	Udayapur inscription of Kumârapâla 1163 A.D.	I.A., Vol. XVIII, p.343.
26	Somnath inscription of the reign of Kumârapâla, 1169 A.D.	Vienna Oriental Journ. Vol. III, p. 1.
27	Udayapur inscription of Ajayapâla, dated 1172 A.D.	I.A., Vol. XVIII, p.343.
28	Devapaṭan inscription of the reign of Bhîma II, 1216 A.D.	E.I., Vol. II, p. 437.
29	Grants of Anhilwar Caulukyas.	I.A., Vol. VI, pp.200 ff.
30	Surat grant of the Lâṭa chief Kîrtirâja, Ś940.	Vienna Or. Journ., Vol. VII, p. 88.
31	A copper plate grant of the Lâṭa chief Trilocanapâla, Ś972.	I.A., Vol. XII, p. 196.

Vâghelâs

32	Dabhoi inscription of Vîsala, Sam. 1311	E.I., Vol. I. p. 20.
33	Vîsala's inscription, 1260 A.D.	I.A., Vol. VI, p. 212.
34	Arjuna's inscription, 1271 A.D.	I.A., Vol. XI, p.107.
35	Cintra praśasti of Sârangadeva.	E.I., Vol. I, p. 271.
36	Arjuna's inscription.	I.A., Vol. XI, p. 104.

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37	Inscriptions from Khajuraho	E.I., Vol. I, pp.121, ff.
38	Inscription from Mahoba.	E.I., Vol. I, p. 217.
39	Mau inscription of Madanavarman.	E.I., Vol. O. p. 198.
40	Ajaigarh inscription.	E.I., Vol. I, p. 326.

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41	Bheraghat inscription of Alhaṇadeva, C.E.907.	E.I., Vol. II, p. 7.
42	Karnbel inscription of Jayasiṃha.	I.A., Vol. XVIII, p.217.
43	Kalha plate of Soḍhadeva, Sam. 1134.	E.I., Vol. VII, p.85.

Kacchapaghṭas

44	Dubkund inscription of Vikramasiṃha, Sam.1145.	E.I., Vol.II p. 232.
45	Sasbahu temple inscription of Mahîpâla, Sam. 1150.	I.A., Vol. XV, p. 33.

Hoysala

46	Ereyanga's inscription 1100 A.D.	E.C., Vol.V, AK.No.102a.
47	Shimoga Taluq inscription of Viṣnuvardhana, about 1112 A.D.	E.C., Vol. II,sh. Np.64

	Names	Reference
48	Belur copper-plate of Visṇuvardhana, 1117 A.D.	E.C., Vol. V, p. 26, Hn. No. 53.
49	Narasiṃha I's inscription, 1159 A.D.	E.C., Vol. II, No: 349. (Sravana Belgola inscription).
50	Narasiṃha I's inscription, 1161 A.D.	E.C., Vol. V. AK. No.117.
51	Narasiṃha I's inscription, 1164 A.D.	E.C., Vol. IV, p.119, Ng. No: 30.
52	Narasiṃha I's inscription, about 1150 A.D.	E.C., Vol. IV, kp. No.32.
53	Narasiṃha I's inscription, 1162 A.D.	E.C., Vol. IV, HS. No:137.
54	Ballâḷa II's inscription, 1177 A.D.	E.C., Vol. V, A.K. No: 62.
55	Ballâḷa II's inscription 1192 A.D.	Mysore inscription, p.104.
56	Ballâḷa II's inscription, 1196 A.D.	E.C., Vol. VI, TT. No.45.
57	Ballâḷa II's inscription, 1207 A.D.	E.C., Vol. VI, KD. No:127.
58	Ballâḷa II's inscription, 1209 A.D.	E.C., Vol. V, AK. No: 40.

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59	Samgamner inscription of Bhillama, 1922.	E.I., Vol. II, p..212.
60	Patna inscription of the reign of Siṅghaṇa.	E.I., Vol. I, p. 338.
61	Bahal inscription of Siṅghaṇa, 1222 A.D.	E.I., Vol. III, p. 113.
62	Bhillama's inscription, 1189 A.D.	E.I., Vol. XV, p. 34.
63	Kṛsṇa's inscription, 1250 A.D.	E.I., Vol. XIX, p. 23.
64	Kṛsṇa's inscription, 1252 A.D.	J.Bo.Br., Vol. XII, p. 34.
65	Thana plates of Râmacandra, 1272 A.D.	E.I., Vol. XIII, p. 202.

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66	Bijolian inscription of Someśvara, 1169 A.D.	J.A.S.B., Vol. LV, p. 41.
67	An unpublished inscription.	Ajmer Museum.
68	Inscription of the reign of Hammîra, Saṃ.1345.	E.I., Vol. XIX, p.45.
69	Sundha hill inscription of Cáćigadeva, Saṃ.1319	E.I., Vol. IX, p. 70.

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70.	Jhansi inscription of Sallakṣaṇasiṃha.	E.I., Vol. I, p. 214.
71	Sravana-Belgola epitaph of Mârasiṃha II.	E.I., Vol. V, p. 151.
72	Belava copper-plate of Bhojavarman.	E.I., Vol. XII, p. 37.
73	Ingnoda inscription of Vijayapâla,1133 A.D.	I.A., Vol. VI, p..55.
74	Madagihal inscription, S. 1093.	E.I., Vol. XV, p. 348.
75	Chamba plate of Somavarma and Asatadeva.	I.A., Vol. XVII, p. 7.
76	An inscription from Udayapur.	J.A.S.B., Vol. IX, p.549.

The Paramâra Dynasty

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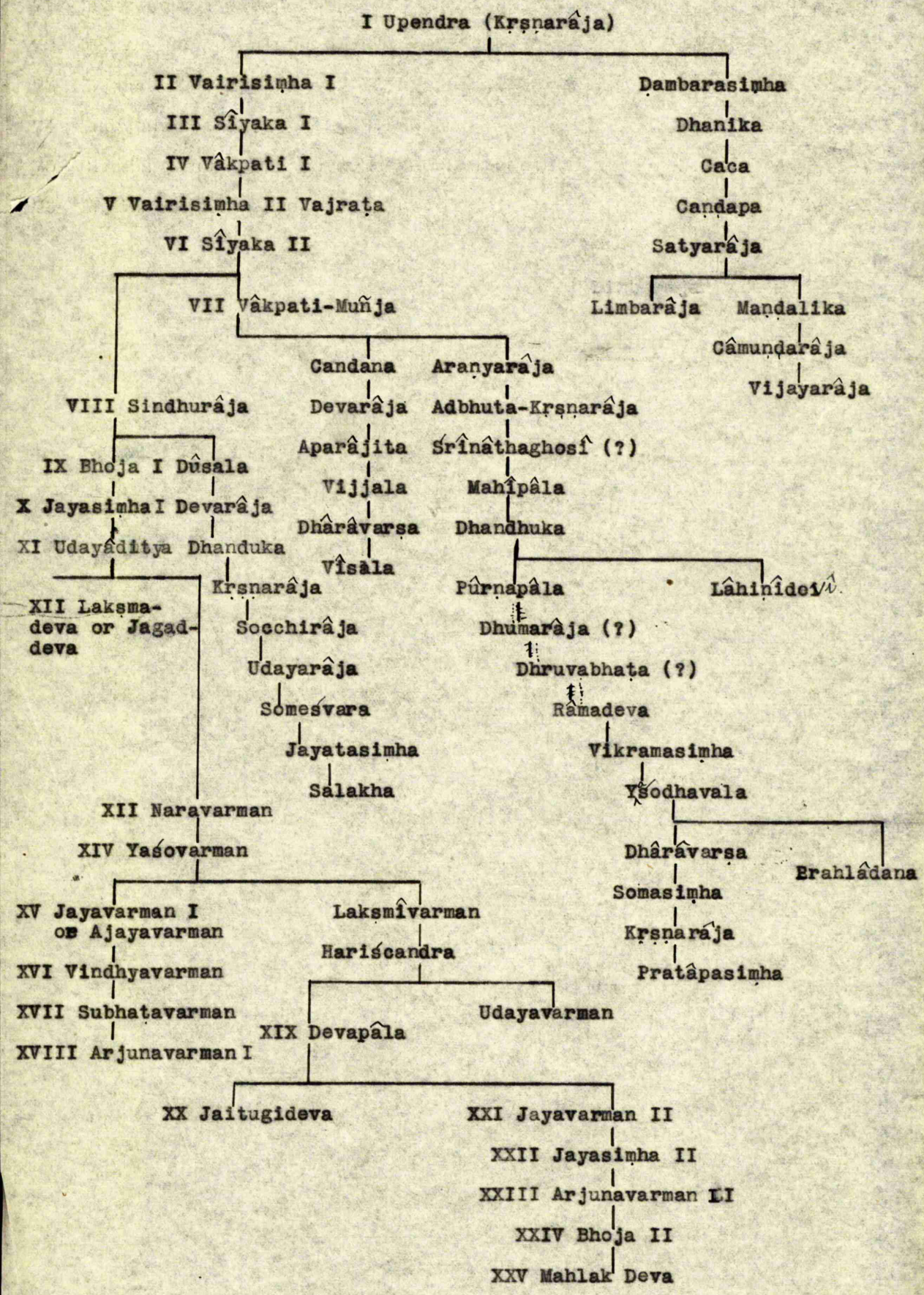

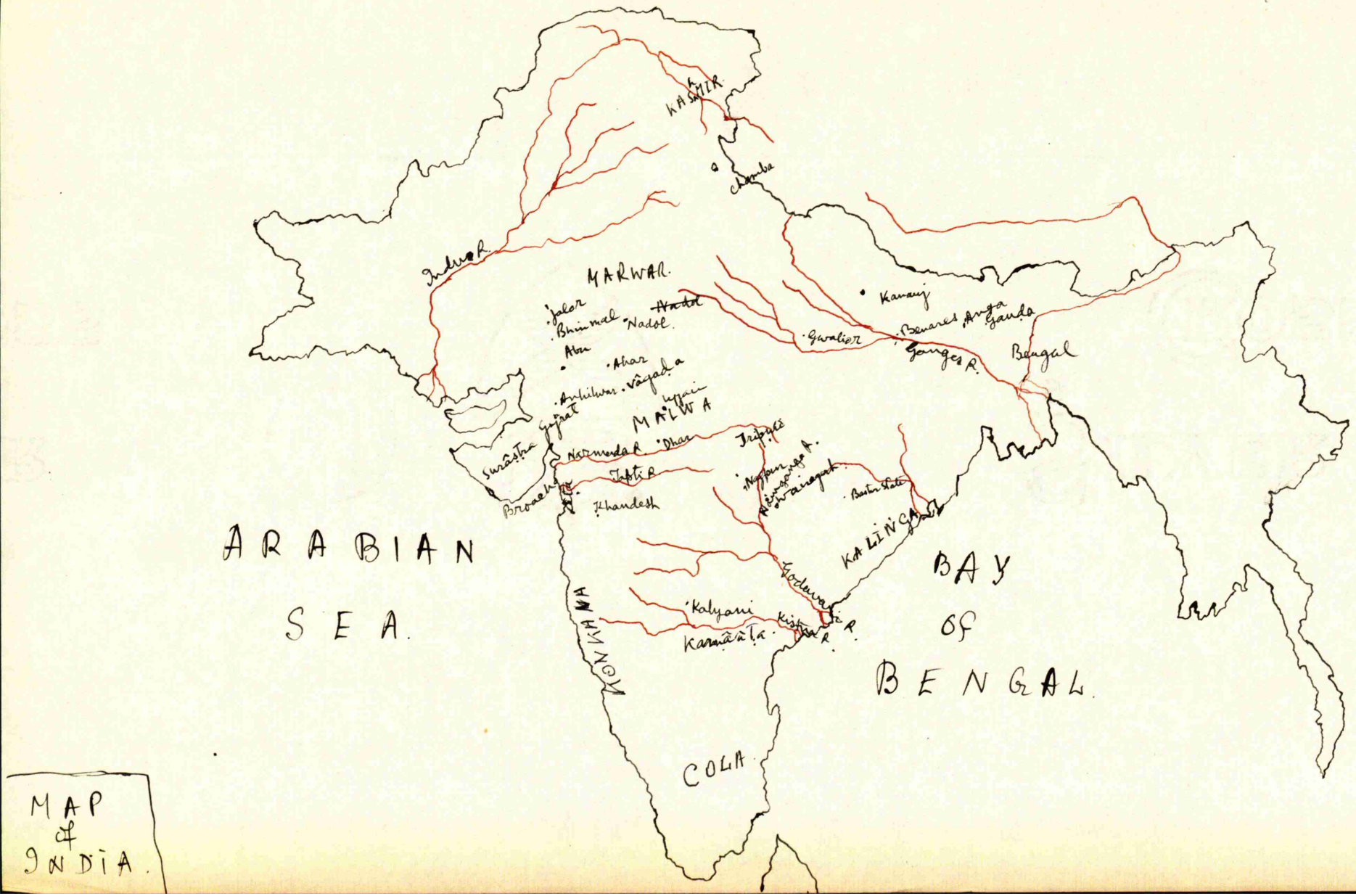
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